Scots Emigrants to East Jersey, 1682-1702: Motivations and Outcomes

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Abstract

Between 1683 and 1685 several hundred Scots emigrated to East New Jersey, home to the Native American Lenape and earlier Dutch and English settlers. While Insh in his *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (1922) deemed this venture a success, it has been overshadowed by the later failure of the Darien expedition. It deserves attention, seeking greater understanding of the emigrants, their motivations, and the nature of 'success': what did this mean, and for whom?

This study delves into the backgrounds of the emigrants and what became of them in the period of settlement up to 1702 when New Jersey became a royal province. It adopts a prosopographical approach, based on a project database drawing on underused sources in Scotland and New Jersey. This captured details of 603 emigrants plus those of a wider range of people, including their kin in Scotland, influential supporters, absentee investors and emigration agents.

The research highlights an unusual mix of emigrants, brought together at a time of social strife and economic uncertainty. They came from discordant religious-cum-political groups (Royalists and religious moderates, Quakers and Covenanters), and included transported prisoners as well as free emigrants and indentured servants.

The dissertation provides fresh perspectives on the main protagonists and lesser-known figures, informed by a model of influences on decisions to emigrate. Distinctive features relating to their motivations include the influence of leaders, the closeness of kinship groups and business networks, religious affinity, and economic aspirations varying by social status.

Some free emigrants thrived, establishing farms and estates and doing well as merchants. Several played a substantial role in the governance of the province. Amongst indentured servants and Covenanter prisoners there were conspicuous examples of economic and social mobility. Others got by or struggled, and there is no record of over 40% after their arrival. Evidence suggests that in this period there were constructive relationships with the Lenape, and few enslaved people were owned or employed by Scots.

The database can facilitate future prosopographical research, e.g., on longer term outcomes for emigrant families and on the activities and networks of Scottish East Coast merchants, including how family members established themselves in transatlantic trade based beyond Scotland.

Contents

Figures and Tables

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I must thank Joseph Wagner who kindly shared his unpublished dissertation on *Scottish Colonisation Before Darien* and led the way on clarifying the ships involved in the East Jersey venture. It was a pleasure to share knowledge with Linda Fryer about the Carolina Company and East Jersey, looking at who was involved as investors in the two ventures.

Special thanks are due to National Records of Scotland who granted me credits for online access to Old Parish Register and testamentary records through Scotland's People, extremely helpful in building my emigrant database.

Abbreviations

NJHS New Jersey Historical Society

NJSA New Jersey State Archives

NLS National Library of Scotland

NRS National Records of Scotland

- JC Records of the High Court of Justiciary
- GD Gifts and Deposits
- OPR Old Parish Registers
- RD Registers of Deeds (Books of Council and Session)
- RH Register House papers

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

RPS Records of the Parliament of Scotland

RPCS Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 3rd Series (1661-1689)

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 From Scotland to East New Jersey

Between 1683 and 1685 several hundred Scots emigrated to East New Jersey, home to the native Lenni-Lenape and some Dutch and English settlers. Some were inspired by visions set out by Quaker, Robert Barclay of Urie, and by Presbyterian, George Scot of Pitlochie. The emigrant ships carried a mix of landed gentry, merchants, indentured servants, tradespeople and family members, along with many dissident Covenanters transported as prisoners.

Insh, in his 1922 review of Scottish colonial schemes before the Act of Union in 1707, considered that the East Jersey enterprise "met with considerable success".[1] This was uniquely so given how other 17th century ventures were hamstrung in a variety of ways. In the literature of Scottish emigration and trade, however, the East Jersey venture often reads like a footnote ahead of fuller treatment of the calamitous Company of Scotland in Darien (1696-99) or of later Scots forced to leave their homeland.[2]

There has been little systematic research on the vast majority of the emigrants to build on the seminal work by Landsman in 1985, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*.[3] My dissertation delves into how and why the emigrants came to leave Scotland and what became of them. I have adopted a prosopographical approach, drawing on underused sources to gather details not only of the emigrants but also those of a wider range of people involved: their kin and associates in Scotland, influential supporters, absentee investors and emigration agents.

The approach allows fresh and more nuanced perspectives on motivations and family circumstances, on kinship and business networks, and on political and religious tensions amongst the principal groups involved: Royalists and religious moderates, Quakers, and Covenanters. It joins up disparate treatment of the episode in Scottish and Colonial American historiographies and serves as a case study with unique features for comparison with other transatlantic colonial ventures. East Jersey is intriguing as a substantial colonial

[1] George Pratt Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1922), 3
[2] E.g., Ian Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America 1603-1803* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), 13-14; T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), 39-40. Alexander Murdoch, *Scotland and America, c.1600-c.1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 18-20
[3] Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton University Press, 1985)

settlement, planned at a time when Scotland was in the early stages of both capitalist development and social enlightenment.[4]

To form a manageable topic for an M.Phil. dissertation involving the preparation of a substantial database, this study is confined to a period of 20 years from the planning of the first voyages in 1682 to 1702 when New Jersey was constituted as a royal colony integrated into English governance. This period is long enough to allow some assessment of the economic and social outcomes experienced by the emigrants and of ways in which the colonial venture may be regarded as 'successful'.[5] My analysis concentrates on the initial emigrants, as during this period few followed them.

Context in Scottish and transatlantic historiography

East Jersey sits on a continuum of transatlantic ventures involving Scots during the 17th century and introduces many themes that recur in subsequent experience of emigration and empire.[6] These include the 'push and pull' motivational factors at play; the social and economic trajectories of emigrants; the contribution of Scottish identity and networks; and the influences of religious confessions and government policy. Between 2005 and 2012, Dobson, Gingrich and MacInnes highlighted the case for more research on colonial ventures in the light of expanding knowledge on Scotland's place in the Atlantic world.[7]

For decades, the only dedicated review of Scottish schemes before Darien was Insh's which covered attempts to colonise Nova Scotia in the 1620s through to East Jersey and its parallel to Carolina in the 1680s.[8] We now have the authoritative work of Wagner whose 2020 doctorate sought to update Insh. He explored the connections between the main actors within the context of the dual monarchy and separate governments of England and Scotland and mercantilist jostling for competitive advantage.[9] Wagner has since described

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[4] Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014) 108-124; Ian Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History* (London: Longman, 1995), 288-290

[5] Developments in the 18th century are covered in Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony,* and John Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton University Press, 1962)

[6] Murdoch, *Scotland and America*, 11-38

[7] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas' in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105-132; Allan I. MacInnes, 'Scottish circumvention of the English Navigation Acts in the American colonies 1660-1707' in Günther Lottes, Eero Medijainen and Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, eds. *Making, Using and Resisting the Law in European History* (Pisa University Press, 2008), 98; Kurt Gingrich, '"To Erect a Collonie of Scottish Subjects in Aney Pairt of America": The Quest for a Scottish Colony in North America in the 1680s', *Journal of Early American History* 2, 2012, 68-98

[8] Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*

[9] Joseph Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien: Opportunities and Opposition in the Union of the Crowns' (unpublished PhD, University of St Andrews, 2020)

some of the ventures in greater depth, highlighting themes such as opposition from English merchants and Parliament, and the necessity of securing political patronage and royal approval.[10]

Two literary and cultural historians have focused on early Scottish colonial attempts, informing consideration of emigrant motivations. Macfarlane assessed how printed materials influenced popular opinion and legitimised colonial ventures, while Sandrock placed contemporary plays and promotional tracts in the context of a search for Utopia, where such ventures were viewed as a mark of modernity and a means of overcoming economic backwardness.[11]

Macfarlane and Wagner both devoted specific attention to East Jersey and Carolina. Macfarlane concentrated on the arguments made for these colonies, backed up by letters from earlier settlers, while Wagner reviewed the political background, the organisation of the schemes and their principal outcomes.[12] Wagner also investigated details of the emigrant voyages to East Jersey and Carolina, resolving common confusions in the literature about the ships and their passengers.[13]

These studies complement earlier scholarship particular to East Jersey, dating before Landsman to Pomfret in 1962 and Whitehead in the mid-19th century.[14] Pomfret stressed religious persecution as a driving force behind the Scots emigration, echoing the popular narrative about the foundations of American society in a search for freedom.[15] This emphasis has parallels in other research on early European migration to North America, not least that surrounding religion as a driving force behind the Puritan 'Great Migration'

[10] Joseph Wagner, 'Multiple Monarchy and the Kent Island Controversy: A Scottish Licence, Chesapeake Rivalries and the London Business World', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 42.1 (2022), 1–19; Joseph Wagner, 'The Scottish East India Company of 1617: Patronage, Commercial Rivalry, and the Union of the Crowns', *Journal of British Studies*, 59.3 (2020), 582–607

[11] Kirsten A. Sandrock, *Scottish Colonial Literature: Writing the Atlantic, 1603-1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021); Cameron Alasdair Macfarlane, '"A Dream of Darien": Scottish Empire and the Evolution of Early Modern Travel Writing' (unpublished Ph.D., Durham University, 2018)

[12] Macfarlane, ibid., 95-132; Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien', 113-182

[13] Joseph Wagner 'The Scottish Colonising Voyages to Carolina and East New Jersey in the 1680s', *The Northern Mariner*, 30.2 (2020), 155–66

[14] William A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1856); William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (Newark: M.R. Dennis, 1875); John Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey*

[15] Pomfret, ibid., 182-198

from England in the 1630s.[16] However, more recent contributions have tended to rebalance earlier historiography, drawing out the significance of economic motivations.

There have been more recent articles on specific topics, including Fryer on the leadership role played by Robert Barclay of Ury, and Cunningham, Lett and Lurie on administrative sources relating to the initial period of Scots emigration.[17] This renewed interest led to the New Jersey Early Land Records Project with its online database and scanned documents, valuable for my research.[18]

1.2 The 'leading lights' and the role of merchants

Landsman played heavily on the involvement of Scots landowners, their interest in agricultural improvement and desire to replicate Scottish social structures in East Jersey.[19] While the significant role of Robert Barclay of Ury is reasonably well documented, there is less appreciation in the literature of the motivations of other principal protagonists including Lord Neill Campbell of Ardmaddie and George Scot of Pitlochie.[20] Furthermore, there has been limited attention to back-stories and milieu of the merchants involved, figures such as Andrew Hamilton and John Johnstone who leave footprints in the histories of New Jersey and neighbouring colonies.[21] Correspondingly, little use has been made of records in Scotland to elucidate these.

Focusing on the processes for colonial settlement and emigration can cast new light on an under-explored aspect of Scottish historiography: that of merchants and investors in the latter part of the 17th century, on their businesses and networks. There have been few studies of local business communities and none that compares for depth with Agnew's for

[16] Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1991); David Grayson Allen, 'The Matrix of Motivation', *New England Quarterly*, 59.3 (1986), 408–18

[17] Linda G. Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey', *Northern Scotland*, 15.1 (1995), 1–17; John T. Cunningham, *The East of Jersey: A History of the General Board of Proprietors* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1992); Joseph R. Klett, 'Transcription of the Minutes of the Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1684' and Maxine N. Lurie, 'The Barclay Record Book and Its East Jersey Minutes', both in *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries*, 63 (2007), 10-22, 29-78

[18] New Jersey State Archives, https://wwwnet-dos.state.nj.us/dos_archivesdbportal/EarlyLandRecords.aspx [accessed 13 November 2024]

[19] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 72-96

[20] D. Elton Trueblood, *Robert Barclay* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury', 1–17.

[21] Michael J. Birkner et al, *The Governors of New Jersey: Biographical Essays* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 40–44; Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, 68–84.

Belfast.[22] Those relating to East Coast of Scotland have relatively little to say on transatlantic trade, and when they do, they tend to refer only to trade in indentured servants.[23] More is known of the growing commercial role of the Clyde ports and trade with the Caribbean and Chesapeake.[24]

Zickermann has gone so far as remarking that it is astonishing that more attention has not been paid to merchant families in this period.[25] Her own research with Murdoch has explored the world of Scots active in trade across the North Sea and Baltic, serving to bring out the significance of kinship and personal networks.[26] Talbott in her study of early modern trade between Scotland and France emphasised the need to understand the personal circumstances of merchants and their reliance on family members located in other countries.[27]

Another research gap in this period surrounds Scots merchants in London, highlighted during the 'Anglo-Scottish migration and the Making of Great Britain' project led by Brown and Talbott.[28] The city was rapidly establishing a primary role in the Atlantic economy, with notable contributions being made by Quakers and other non-conformists, Jews and Huguenots.[29] A few Scots Quakers based in London were involved in early planning of Quaker colonial ventures in North America including East Jersey. Most scholarly attention to Scots merchants in London has focused on the 18th century, e.g., by Hancock.[30]

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[22] Jean Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families in the Seventeenth Century* (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1996)

[23] Duncan Macniven, 'Merchants and Traders in Early Seventeenth Century Aberdeen', in *From Lairds to Louns: Country and Burgh Life in Aberdeen 1600-1800* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1686), 57–69; Sue Mowat, *The Port of Leith: Its History and Its People* (Edinburgh: Forth Ports plc), 203-224; David Ditchburn and Marjorie Harper, 'Aberdeen and the Outside World', in *Aberdeen before 1800: A New History* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 377–407

[24] Eric J. Graham, *The Shipping Trade of Ayrshire, 1689-1791* (Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1991); T.C. Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 47.143 (1968), 53–71

[25] Kathrin Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchant Families in the Early Modern Period', *Northern Studies*, 45 (2013), 116

[26] Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchant Families', 100–118

[27] Siobhan Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations, 1560–1713* (Routledge, 2015), 38-41

[28] 'Anglo-Scottish migration and the Making of Great Britain, 1603-1762' project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AH/K000012/1), 2012-2014. Outputs have revolved around selected individuals rather than providing an overview of merchants, e.g., Keith Brown and Allan Kennedy, 'Assimilation Aborted: Henry Clerk and the Limits of Anglo-Scottish Integration in the Age of Union', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 38.2 (2018), 199–218

[29] Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

[30] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)

The presence of Scots already based in America and the Caribbean provides additional context to explore, including their involvement in trade across the Middle Colonies (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania).[31] In addition to Gallagher's work on the networks of Livingston and Borland, Mijers has described Scots involvement in New York operating at the interstices of Dutch and English trade.

Limited attention has been paid to the role of Scots in the trade of East Jersey, other than in references to competition between Perth Amboy and New York for harbour and customs dues.[32] There is little on movement along the Atlantic seaboard and inland, and on how links with Scotland were maintained and developed. Devine and Rössner remarked on how quickly family and neighbourhood networks in Scotland adapted to new transatlantic opportunities during the 18th century, switching their attention away from the North Sea and relying on trust between Scots to reduce risks.[33] However, did this begin to play out earlier amongst merchant families involved in East Jersey? Who amongst the emigrants took part in trade and what was traded, to where? What roles did networks and ethnic and religious ties play?

These subjects have wider historiographical relevance. Sabean and Teuscher observed that few studies of ethnic and commercial diasporas have treated families and kinship groups in depth, while Trivellato has advocated study of how family members raise, manage and transmit capital.[34] The latter stressed the importance of 'weak ties' such as friendship, mutual self-interest, and shared expectations provided by cultural identity and wider interactions.[35] This theme is present in Haggerty's work on family networks and in Graham's journal review of mercantile networks in the early modern world.[36]

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[31] See, e.g., Douglas Hamilton, 'Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23.2 (2011), 283–300

[32] Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony*, 168

[33] T.M. Devine and Philipp R. Rössner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600–1800', in *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 37

[34] David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, 'Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families', in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 1; Francesca Trivellato, 'Marriage, Commercial Capital, and Business Agency' in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe*, 107-130

[35] Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009);

[36] Sheryllynne Haggerty, 'I Could "Do for the Dickmans": When Family Networks Don't Work', in *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society, 1660-1914* (London: German Historical Institute, 2011); Aaron Graham, review of 'Mercantile Networks in the Early Modern World' by Nuala Zahedieh and others, *Historical Journal*, 56.1 (2013), 279–95

1.3 The 'supporting cast'

Relatively little has been written about female emigrants to East Jersey, reflecting limited evidence from documentary sources and the older historiography which concentrated on male roles. Wives and other female family members could exercise considerable influence in household decisions to emigrate, not least where families contained committed women of the kind celebrated in the Covenanter martyrology.[37] Women inevitably had a huge contribution to make in colonial settlement, and any widows would have been likely to exercise their legal powers in continuing family farms, in trade and in property transactions.

The leaders of the East Jersey venture could only succeed in their design if they were able to attract sufficient skilled and other workers to clear land, build houses and infrastructure and carry out other essential tasks. The typical model of the time was for property owners and merchants to bring indentured servants. Some of these might be servitors with a pre-existing relationship with a proprietor, expected to provide loyal and dutiful service in return for payment and protection, while others would be recruited on the open market or impressed into service. There is a wealth of literature on indentured servants in colonial America and the abuses many suffered, including studies of both adults and children from Scotland.[38] However, none deals with those who reached East Jersey.

In 1684 and 1685, there were also prisoners, Covenanters who would neither swear oaths of allegiance nor abjure taking up arms against the King. Transportation was used by the Privy Council to dispose of dissidents who were seen as a threat to social order.[39] The Council looked to merchants to take responsibility for this cargo, with prisoners expected to enter into indentures to pay for the costs of their passage.

[37] James Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1850)
[38] Abbott Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947); David W. Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge University Press, 1981); Jacqueline A. Rinn, 'Factors in Scottish Emigration: A Study of Scottish Participation in the Indentured and Transportation Systems of the New World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Aberdeen, 1979); Angela Austin, 'Forgotten Children: Scotland's Colonial Child Servants, 1680-1760' (unpublished M.Phil., University of Glasgow, 2017).
[39] Karin Bowie, *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland, c.1560–1707* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 126-135.

1.4 A prosopographical approach

The East Jersey venture lends itself to a prosopographical approach, assembling biographical data on the emigrants — mostly little-known — from diverse sources. This involves building and analysing a database incorporating those known to have left Scotland, their close kin and associates. Taking a cross-generational and network approach facilitates consideration of family and wider influences on the emigrants, as well as the early outcomes for members of emigrant families. In the wider historiography, this approach chimes with Tadmor's 2010 call for greater attention to "enmeshed patterns of kinship and connectedness" over time, given their significance in mobilising economic and social capital in a period of quickening change.[40]

The database provides a resource for reviewing and analysing:

- emigrant motivations and influences on their decisions;
- connections between the main protagonists: leaders of the voyages, emigrant investors, absentee investors, and their agents in Scotland and East Jersey;
- how matters worked out economically and socially for those who left and for their families in Scotland; and
- the role of kinship, commercial networks, faith communities and ethnic affinity in mobilising for emigration and in shaping outcomes for the emigrants.

For simplicity and robustness, I chose Family Tree Maker (FTM) genealogical software rather than creating a database from scratch. This adopts the GEDCOM standard with universal conventions for data input and allows data export for analysis using proprietary or open-source software.[41] I am making my database available online for others to pursue further place-based or family research. Please see my separate paper on compiling the database and sources used.[42]

The core of my database comprises 562 emigrants of Scots origin or extraction who sailed to East Jersey between 1683 and 1685 (474 adults and 88 children). I coded a further 41 later emigrants arriving before 1702, 28 absentee landowners, 26 emigration agents and 10 correspondents. The entire database contains records of 2,571 individuals, compiled in

[40] Naomi Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 25.1 (2010), 15–48

[41] GEDCOM is an acronym from 'Genealogical Data Communication'. Family History Department, *FamilySearch GEDCOM 7.0 Specification* (Church of the Latter Day Saints, 2021)

[42] Derrick Johnstone, 'East Jersey Bound: Database Notes and Bibliography', *East Jersey Bound* https://eastjerseybound.scot/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/East-Jersey-Bound-database-notes-and-bibliography.pdf [accessed 14 January 2025]

the process of identifying and establishing facts about the emigrants. Thus the remainder is accounted for largely by forebears, children and wider kin and associates. Details of the next generation of emigrant families provide a resource for future research.

1.5 Sources

In building the database, I sought to make the most of primary sources in identifying the people involved, piecing together their significant decisions, legal transactions, life events, family connections and other associations. I used secondary sources for background, triangulating evidence and prompting leads to fill data gaps.

Previous scholars have made limited use of parish records and deeds in Scotland relating to those involved in the East Jersey venture. I have accessed over 450 vital event (birth, marriage and death) and testamentary records on Scotland's People provided by National Records of Scotland (NRS) and reviewed over 160 documents in their Deed Registers Gifts and Deposits collections, supplemented by manuscripts held by the National Library of Scotland (NLS). For East Jersey, the digitised Early Land Records have proved invaluable. Such sources help, e.g., in identifying parties to contracts, legatees, witnesses or godparents, and can illuminate something of what was in people's minds. Deeds, for example, may show needs to borrow, release cash, settle debts or make provision for family members remaining at home.

Published transcriptions and compilations of primary sources have proved very useful, notably the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Dobson's *Scottish Quakers and Early America* and Strath-Maxwell's *Digest of Quaker Births, Marriages and Burials*.[43] Several volumes in the series of *Documents relating to the colonial and revolutionary history of the State of New Jersey* series published by the New Jersey Historical Society (NJHS) provide original records, or abstracts of them.[44]

[43] Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1835), III and IV; David Dobson, *Scottish Quakers and Early America: 1650-1700* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1998), which lists Scottish Quakers and possible Quakers, drawing on NRS and New Jersey sources; Archibald Strath-Maxwell, *Digest of Quaker Births, Marriages and Burials in Scotland* (University of Aberdeen, 1960), records of the Society of Friends held by NRS. Other compilations include burgess rolls, Services of Heirs and the Register of Sasines.

[44] William Nelson, *Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1664-1703* (Paterson: New Jersey Historical Society, 1899); William Nelson, *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Volume 1, 1670-1730* (Paterson: New Jersey Historical Society, 1901)

Starting points for building the core database of the emigrants and their families included lists of:

- prisoners sentenced to transportation listed in the Register of the Privy Council;[45]
- those who died aboard Pitlochie's ship;[46]
- indentured servants brought into East Jersey between 1683 and 1685 — supplemented by a trawl of New Jersey archival sources to identify free emigrants not appearing in these lists.[47]

I checked names against a list of 476 passengers included by Wagner in his dissertation, obtained after I had compiled the initial phase of building my database.[48] Correspondents and other friends and associates of the emigrants appear in George Scot's *Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey* while the names of the agents who promoted the East Jersey venture are contained in this and other contemporary promotional literature.[49]

There have been many data gaps and puzzles to address in building the database and conducting my research more generally.[50] For example, vital event records in many Scottish parishes have been lost and in East Jersey there were no systems in place other than for probate. Records that survive tend to concern people with some property. There is much less for the 'middling sort' in society and very little for poorer people, unless they entered into indentures or were prosecuted for offences. Even for those with property or in business, many transactions were never put on paper and numerous records have been lost over time.

1.6 Conceptual approach to emigration

A conceptual framework can assist in understanding factors lying behind the decisions of emigrants to leave their native shores — in the East Jersey case, where they were free to

[45] RPCS, especially volumes VIII-X covering 1684 and 1685; cross-checked with Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings*, iv, 221-223
[46] Anon., 'A List of Persons Who Died on Pitlochie's Ship' (Perth Amboy, 1685), NLS Wod.Qu.XXXVI, lxv, f.221
[47] Nelson, *Calendar of Records* and *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*; online New Jersey Land Records (e.g., NJSA, A(EJ) folios 154-156 'The names of such p[er]sons as were imported into this province', 5 December 1684; A(EJ) 225, 'List of persons imported by John Campbell, December 1685')
[48] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation Before Darien', Appendix B, 194-198;
[49] George Scot, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685); Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683)
[50] Johnstone, 'East Jersey Bound: Database Notes and Bibliography'

choose and not sentenced to transportation. While little personal testimony survives, such a framework can help to point to other evidence which allows inferences to be made.

De Haas in his 2021 review considered migration studies to be an under-theorised field of enquiry.[51] His view was that dominant paradigms tend to depict migrants as either "rather soulless individual utility-maximisers" or as "passive victims", significantly underplaying agency on the part of migrants. This he defined as people's ability "to make independent choices and to impose these on the world and, hence, to alter the structures that shape people's opportunities or freedoms".[52] He also stressed the importance of patterns of social relations, beliefs and behaviour in setting the context for decisions over migration.[53]

Failure to address these dimensions, De Haas argued, leads to insufficient attention to people's access to resources (economic, social, cultural and physical), deep-seated motivations (such as wanderlust), and variations in propensity to migrate according to social and cultural contexts and family life-cycles. This led him to formulate a framework around people's aspirations to migrate and their capabilities to do so. This echoes Thompson in his 1991 review of early modern migration studies where he emphasises considering contexts, classes and occupational groups, and providing individual biographies.[54]

Building on De Haas, Thompson and others, I have developed a model to guide my study of the East Jersey migration.[55] Figure 1 sets this out: first, highlighting stimuli which push or pull interest in emigration, followed by factors which influence whether or not people ultimately decide to leave. The model could be applied in other settings, taking account of the political, economic and social contexts of the contemporary place and period.

[51] Hein de Haas, 'A Theory of Migration: The Aspirations-Capabilities Framework', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9.1 (2021), 2

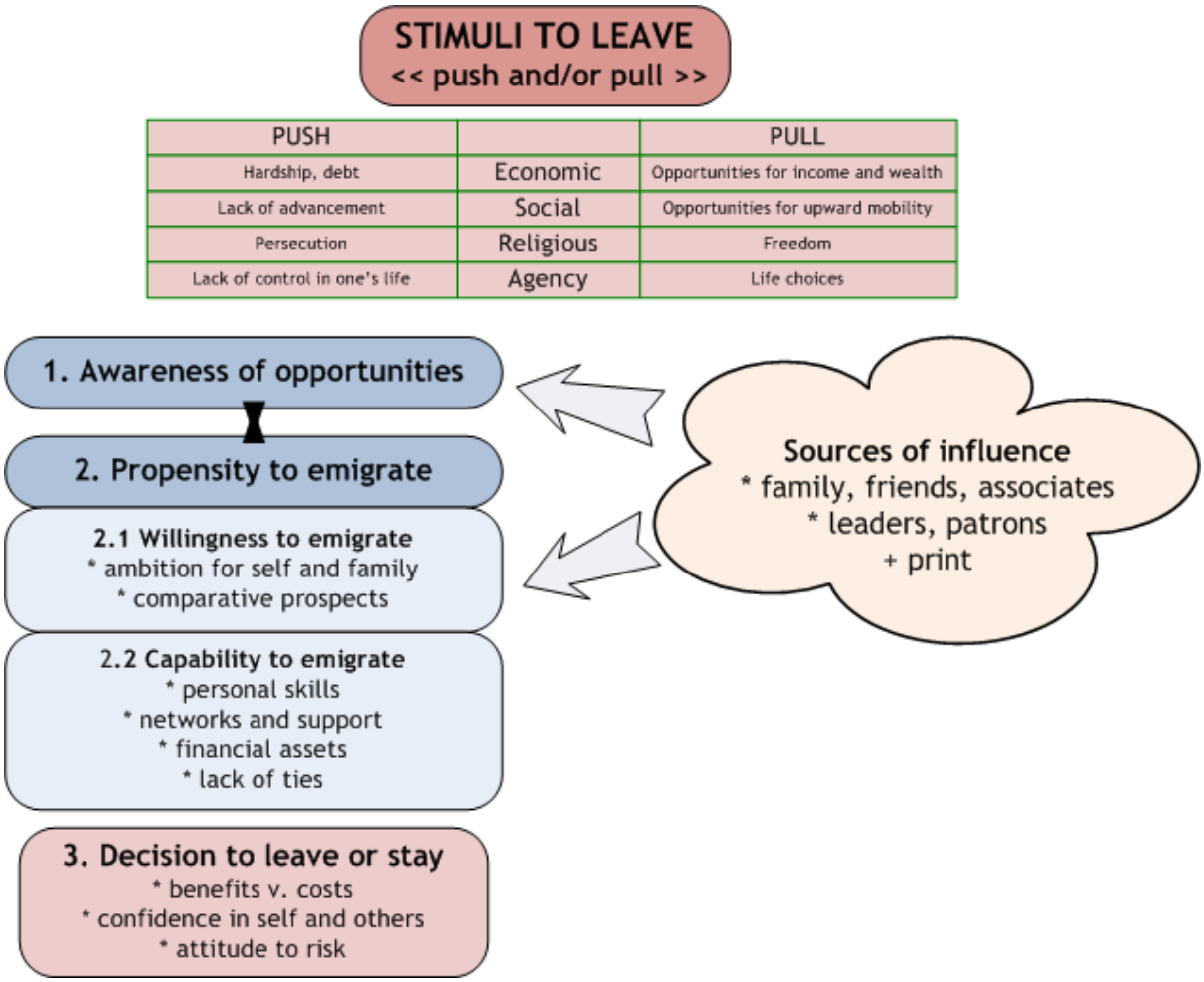
[52] Ibid., 8,14. This definition follows Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische (1998) 'What Is Agency?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103.4 (1998), 962–1023

[53] More generally, this approach accords with Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580-1740* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001), 14.

[54] Roger Thompson, 'State of the Art: Early Modern Migration', *Journal of American Studies*, 25.1 (1991), 59–69. See also Nancy L. Green, 'The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 13.4 (1994), 3–22

[55] See also, e.g., Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 1-52; Nicholas P. Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford University Press, 1994); John Donoghue, 'Indentured Servitude in the 17th Century English Atlantic: A Brief Survey of the Literature', *History Compass*, 11.10 (2013), 893–902

Figure 1-1 Influences on decisions to emigrate



People need to be aware of the opportunities offered by emigration. This may come through education, members of their family or wider kin, their friends and associates in broader social and business networks. Propensity to emigrate is then a factor of willingness to leave one's native land and capability to do so.

Willingness to consider leaving depends on external and internal factors. The former primarily concern prospects for economic and social advancement weighed against those of staying at home. Family context may be crucial, for instance, in the strength or otherwise of finances or in prospects of inheritance.[56] Religion may also affect economic and social opportunities at home, e.g., where religious beliefs bring adherents into conflict with the authorities or prevent them from taking up public appointments.

Intrinsic dimensions relate to attitudes and aspirations. They include people's world view, hopes for a better life for their children, and their spirit, enterprise and attitude to risk.

[56] Leonard Kasdan, 'Family Structure, Migration and the Entrepreneur', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7.4 (1965), 345–57.

Potential leavers need to be aware not only of the opportunities but also to have the capability to emigrate. They have to be able to cover their costs of transport and initial settlement. Other considerations are having skills to succeed in a new world, and whether they have responsibilities for dependent relatives. Some may benefit from the backing of their family or patrons.[57]

Decisions whether or not to leave will be influenced by immediate family members, by friends and peers, and by the persuasiveness, authority and competence of the leaders of the emigration voyages and their agents. The decision may take into account the possible consequences for those they leave behind. At a personal level, confidence in themselves and in their fellow emigrants will matter, along with willingness to take risks. Decisions may be triggered by recent events or the result of longer gestation.

Many factors determine how emigrants subsequently fare, again both intrinsic and extrinsic, including their attitude, capabilities and adaptability, and the wider circumstances they encounter. Some may contemplate returning home if they consider that they can meet their goals and aspirations better there, and if they can afford to do so.

1.7 Dissertation structure

The following chapters consider the questions posed above, addressing in particular: What circumstances lay behind the emigrant voyages? Why did the emigrants leave and what did they hope to gain? How did their decisions work out? In what ways was the East Jersey venture a success, and for whom?

Chapter 2 sets the scene, offering a brief overview of the Scottish pursuit of colonial and trade opportunities and the political and economic circumstances behind the Scots settlement of East Jersey. Most notably these include on the one hand efforts to promote trade despite the barriers created by the Navigation Acts of the English Parliament, and on the other, the desire of the government to remove religious dissidents abroad. It also describes briefly the principal emigrant voyages and introduces protagonists who promoted the colonial venture and led the settlement.

[57] Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 16.2 (1989), 408–35

Chapter 3 provides a breakdown of the emigrants who sailed between 1683 and 1685, drawing on the prosopographical database. The analysis highlights, where possible, age, geographical origin, status, occupation and religious affiliation.

Chapter 4 reviews the personal circumstances and motivations of these emigrants, distinguishing those who purchased land at the outset, those who travelled of their own free will, and the Covenanters who were banished or otherwise encouraged to leave. It reflects on the case made by promotional literature of the time to attract settlers and considers the wider range of factors encouraging emigration including economic prospects at home and family debt. It makes use of the migration model set out above.

Chapter 5 reviews how matters turned out for the emigrants in the initial period of Scots settlement, reflecting on their goals and expectations, e.g., for economic betterment, social standing and freedom to pursue their own particular brand of religion. It looks at the influences of ethnic and religious affiliation and the extent of early assimilation, and touches on contributions made by indigenous Americans and enslaved Black Africans to the Scots settlement. The chapter includes brief illustrations of some emigrants who succeeded socially and economically, and identifies others who moved elsewhere in America or returned to Scotland.

Chapter 6 provides the conclusion, considering the nature of 'success' of the East Jersey venture from different perspectives. It reviews the most prominent emigrant motivations and outcomes, and the significance of kinship and business networks.

Overall, the research is intended to help to join up the historiographies of Scotland and New Jersey set in the wider context of early modern American colonial settlement and the development of the Atlantic economy. It aims to bring to life more of the main protagonists and lesser known figures, shedding light on the processes at play, the decisions people took, and how they were rewarded or otherwise.

Chapter 2: Setting the scene

2.1 Scottish pursuit of colonial and trade opportunities

Chapter 2 sets the scene for later chapters which review the motivations of the East Jersey emigrants and what became of them. It summarises the contemporary Scots search for colonial opportunity then considers the circumstances behind the East Jersey venture: on the one hand, the efforts of Scots to promote trade despite barriers created by the Navigation Acts, and on the other, state persecution of religious dissidents. A notable consequence was the extent to which planning for East Jersey brought together three disparate interests: Royalists and religious moderates, Quakers, and Covenanters. The emigrant population reflected these divisions and featured not only free emigrants but also large numbers under indenture and many transportees.

This chapter describes how the East Jersey opportunity arose and the organisation of the venture. It introduces the emigrant voyages and some of the protagonists who feature in later chapters. Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the emigrants while Chapter 4 deals with their motivations, especially where they had freedom to choose.

The East Jersey project was but one in a series of attempts at overseas settlement by Scots in the 17th century in efforts to emulate the growing success of English and Dutch colonies.[58] The earliest initiative was in the 1620s to Nova Scotia, led by influential Scots courtiers such as Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun and Sir William Alexander of Menstrie under royal patronage.

Initially the Union of the Crowns in 1603 benefitted Scots traders, facilitating access to the markets in England and its colonies. Scotland's domestic trade improved during the next 30 years, but was followed by what Whyte called "a 15-year period of disaster for the Scottish economy" triggered by the signing of the National Covenant and ensuing civil war.[59] The Cromwellian occupation in the 1650s brought some stability but thereafter Scots faced increasing legal barriers to trade.[60] The prevailing economic philosophy in Europe was mercantilism, whereby nations jockeyed to develop colonies and control trade, seeking to foster domestic manufacture and shipping through protective policies

[58] Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*; Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien'
[59] Theodora Keith, *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland, 1603-1707* (Cambridge University Press, 1910), 32-41; Ian Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 281
[60] Keith, *Commercial Relations*, 65-66

and to maximise royal revenue.[61] Merchants found inventive ways to circumvent these measures, while dealing with national and religious antagonisms and practical difficulties in conducting long-distance trade.[62]

Navigation Acts passed by the English Parliament in 1660, 1663 and 1673 sought to limit trading opportunities with England's colonies for competitor nations.[63] Ships had to be English-owned and registered, crews had to be at least 75% English, and captains were required to post substantial bonds against non-compliance. Specified commodities such as sugar and tobacco could only be shipped between the colonies and ports in England. Not only did these restrictions apply to the United Provinces and France but also Scotland.[64] Parliamentarians in London objected to prospects of Scots benefitting from England's colonial investments and allowing back-door entry for Dutch merchants.[65]

Scots merchants found ways around the Navigation Acts, e.g., dealing with Englishmen resident in Scottish ports, recruiting English merchants to act as fronts, and encouraging family members to establish themselves in English and colonial ports.[66] Despite these efforts, the Navigation Acts helped ensure that by 1680 the Scottish maritime sector remained small in comparison with England's, with perhaps only 300 sea-going ships in total.[67] By 1682 transatlantic trade was regular and growing, albeit involving less than 10 ships a year out of Scotland, all from the Firth of Clyde[68]. East Coast traders continued to focus on well-established links across the North Sea and south to Biscay and beyond. Talbott, in her review of trade between Scotland and France, stressed the enterprise of Scots merchants and the strength of their informal networks and diasporic links, even if the returns from trade to the Scottish Treasury were meagre.[69]

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[61] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002), 1–10

[62] Henry G. Roseveare, 'Some Reflections', in *Merchant Organization and Maritime Trade in the North Atlantic, 1660-1815* (Liverpool University Press, 1998); Nuala Zahedieh, 'Overseas Expansion and Trade in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1998)

[63] Keith, *Commercial Relations*, 111-115

[64] Macinnes, 'Scottish Circumvention of the English Navigation Acts', 110-125

[65] Keith, *Commercial Relations*, 88-89

[66] Theodora Keith, 'Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, 6.21 (1908), 32–48; Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 113

[67] T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963), 54. Estimate based on analysis of the customs books of Forth ports in 1685. His estimate for carrying capacity of 20,000 tons compares with 150,000 tons out of London alone. Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Liverpool University Press, 2012), 14-26

[68] Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland*, 37-51

[69] Siobhan Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations, 1560–1713* (London: Routledge, 2015), 8-9

Merchants in Scotland did not have the wealth to compare with those of London thus inhibiting their ability to raise capital for substantial trading or colonial ventures. Necessary outlays included chartering costs, crew wages, port costs, fitting out and maintenance, cargo purchase, and insurance — if they could get it.[70] Promoters had to form expectations of profit from the goods shipped and the likelihood of securing return cargoes, and bear the risks accordingly.

Investment remained weak after the dislocation of civil war. Customs data show that while Scotland's trade had recovered by the mid-1670s, it dropped after 1679 with the renewal of religious strife. This was the backdrop to the creation of a Committee on Trade in 1681 to consider ways of developing the economy. One proposal from merchants was for establishing a Scottish colony, with Florida as the favoured location.[71]

Impetus was given to the work of the Committee by the presence in Edinburgh of Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York, who had been appointed as Lord High Commissioner of Scotland in 1679.[72] The move north for him was timely: he wished to build support and loyalty and to distance himself from protests in London about his possible succession as a Catholic monarch.[73] He had a strong interest in international trade and how this could increase his personal fortune. He had been a founding shareholder of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa in 1660 and held naval command as Lord High Admiral of England until 1673 when obliged to resign under the Test Act which barred Catholics from public office. His brother Charles granted him the colony of New Netherland in 1664, leading to its change of name to New York.[74] In face of opposition from English merchants and parliamentarians, he supported Scottish endeavour, for instance, in 1669 issuing passes for two ships, the *Hope* and the *James* of Leith, to carry Scottish merchants and 400 emigrants to New York.[75] This venture failed: the *Hope* foundered near Fraserburgh in October that year and no record survives of the *James*.[76]

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[70] Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 80–89
[71] Privy Council of Scotland, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd Series (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877), VII (1681-1682) - hereafter RPCS VII, 664–65.
[72] His role was to represent the Crown and preside over Parliament. James's title in Scotland was Duke of Albany.
[73] Alastair J. Mann, *James VII: Duke and King of Scots* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2014), 133-169.
[74] W.A. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633–1701), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/14593 [accessed 25 November 2024]
[75] NRS GD29/106; Mann, *James VII*, 179
[76] Peter Gouldesbrough, 'An Attempted Scottish Voyage to New York in 1669', *Scottish Historical Review*, 40.129 (1961), 56–62

2.2 The religious backdrop

The presence of James, Duke of York in Edinburgh was welcomed by many, especially Royalist, Scots. It meant that the city was home to a prince and court and there was hope of greater political and social stability. But religious tensions were prominent, especially with Covenanters and, in a different way, with Quakers.

Covenanters

Covenanting was no longer the mass movement of the 1640s, with many Scots having tired of the ensuing strife. While opposition to the government policy on religion further weakened after the defeat of Covenanter forces at Bothwell Bridge in June 1679, the cause continued to be upheld fervently by activists, called the 'Remnant'.[77] Many were from a younger generation than those who had been through the wars of the 1640s and the persecutions following the Pentland Rising in 1666. They continued to regard Charles II as an illegitimate monarch who had betrayed the covenants he swore at his coronation in Scotland in 1651.

James was determined to quell this opposition. He was surrounded by politicians who pursued a hard line against those unwilling to conform on religious practices, swear allegiance to the Crown and abjure the use of arms in opposition. Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh considered that dissidents should leave the country and if they stay "it must be excus'd, to execute those who would destroy it".[78] There was a return to the persecution of the 1660s, with many imprisonments, fines and forfeits on suspicion of complicity in the recent uprising, harbouring rebels or attending conventicles. Some Covenanters were executed and others killed in the fields, creating martyrs for the cause. Many ministers were deprived of their parishes, while landowners were held responsible for the conduct of their tenants and heads of households for that of their children and servants. Oaths were used to prove loyalty to the King and government but were drafted in ways which provided a severe test of conscience for Presbyterians. The issue was acute for many under the 1681 Test Oath: can one promise both to be loyal to the King *and* follow the 1560 Confession of Faith and its exhortation to obey the monarch only in matters "not repugnant to the commandment of God"?[79] This was a challenge for

[77] They were also called the 'Society People', having organised themselves in 1681 as the United Societies, and 'Cameronians' after one their leaders, Richard Cameron, killed at Aird's Moss in 1680.
[78] George Mackenzie, *Jus Regium* (London: R. Chiswel, 1684), 134
[79] Parliament of Scotland, *The Confession of Faith* (1560)

moderates as well as for activists.[80] Persecution strengthened the resolve of the Remnant, who took up arms to protect themselves. In turn, a new oath of abjuration was introduced, requiring rejection of treasonous principles or face the death sentence.[81]

The Privy Council in Scotland regarded transportation to "his Majesties plantations abroad" as appropriate punishment. On 27 November 1679, 257 prisoners from the Battle of Bothwell Bridge left Leith aboard the *Croune* of London bound for America. A fortnight later she foundered off Deerness, Orkney with the loss of 211. Many were said to have drowned while unable to escape the hold.[82]

Transportees were not sentenced to penal servitude; rather, it was expected that merchants would sell them on arrival as indentured servants. Having completed their terms as servants they would be free, though not to return home. Traders were drawn to the prospect of profit in addressing recurrent labour shortages in the English colonies. Carrying indentured servants was one activity open to Scots under the Navigation Acts, and the practice of transportation thus became well-established.[83]

Quakers

Members of the Society of Friends — 'Quakers' — were also subject to persecution during the reign of Charles II, often pursued under legislation aimed at Covenanters such the ban on conventicles. The nature of their beliefs set them at odds with members of the Church of Scotland, episcopalian and Covenanter alike, notably in their rejection of church structures and authority, their view of the Bible as a guide not law, and their belief that salvation was open to all. Their non-conformist behaviour, such as their refusal to swear oaths, pay teinds (church taxes) and to take off their hats (a mark of deference they saw as due only to God) generated further opprobrium.[84]

Most Scots Quakers lived in the North East where they formed a very tight-knit group, with bonds strengthened by their shared experience of imprisonment, fines and local animosity. DesBrisay ascertained that during the 1670s nearly every adult male Quaker spent some time in Aberdeen Tolbooth[85].

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[80] Bowie, *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland*, 129-132
[81] Ibid., 131-132
[82] John H. Thomson, *A Cloud of Witnesses* (Edinburgh, 1714), 274-276
[83] Adams and Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and* Hope, 21. They identified 26 warrants issued by the Privy Council between 1665 and 1685, covering over 800 people.
[84] George B. Burnet and William H. Marwick, *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland, 1650-1950* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1952), 131
[85] Gordon DesBrisay, 'Catholics, Quakers and Religious Persecution in Restoration Aberdeen', *The Innes Review*, 47.2 (1996), 145

Persecution of Quakers was stayed by instruction of the Duke of York in 1679 but there were no guarantees for the future[86]. In 1683, George Haliburton, Bishop of Aberdeen, petitioned the Privy Council to prevent Quakers establishing burial grounds, meeting houses and schools which would train children in "godles and hereticall opinions"[87]. Overall, however, they were not treated as severely as Covenanters. James and Privy Councillors did not see them as a physical threat given that they accepted that the monarch was appointed by God and that they refused, in principle, to take up any arms.

While there were not large numbers of Quakers in Scotland they were to play a very influential role in the East Jersey project.[88] Their history should be seen as part of a British, indeed a transnational movement, with early proselytisers arriving in Scotland in the 1650s. Thereafter 'convinced' (converted) Quakers maintained strong links with their counterparts south of the border, not least with merchants in London.

Following the lead of their founder George Fox, Quakers regarded the world as their parish.[89] Some 60 Quaker missionaries crossed the Atlantic between 1655 and 1662 determined to spread the word about the 'Inner Light' at the core of their beliefs: the direct personal experience of God's spirit and guide to a model life[90]. As in Britain, these missionaries were successful in fostering the sense of belonging to a society with no formal creed or religious hierarchy.[91] Fox himself voyaged to Barbados in 1671, travelling on to the Chesapeake and New York and anticipating the creation of a colony offering asylum from persecution.

2.3 The East Jersey venture

The origins of New Jersey lie in the English acquisition in 1664 of New Netherland of which 'Novo Caesaria' (New Jersey) was part. The Duke of York thereafter granted the land between the Hudson and the Chesapeake he received from his brother to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret for their role in the takeover. They allocated their lands to create East and West Jersey, a division formalised in 1676.[92] Berkeley sold his western portion to a London-based Quaker consortium including William Penn, Gawen Lawrie (a

[86] NRS GD244/1/84
[87] RPCS VIII (1683-1684), 47
[88] An upper estimate of the number of Quakers in Scotland around 1695 is 1,400-1,500. Burnet and Marwick, *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland*, 184
[89] Frederick B. Tolles, *The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1952), 6
[90] Ibid., 19
[91] Rufus M. Jones et al, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 314-315
[92] Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey* (Trenton: W.S. Sharp, 1765), 88-91

merchant of Scots descent) and Lawrie's son-in-law, William Haige.[93] These purchasers were 'Proprietors' in a model of colonial development where each investor held the same stake and shared in governance. Under a royal charter they were granted rights including land distribution and authority under English law.

The Quakers planned an experiment in social reform with the right to free worship, a democratic assembly, trial by jury and no imprisonment for debt. In summer 1677, their first ship, the *Kent,* set sail for West Jersey and within 18 months some 800 Friends had settled there. These developments caught the attention of Quakers in Scotland but none emigrated at this time.

In 1680 the eastern half of New Jersey was put on the market by Carteret's heirs. It was bought by a group of 12 English Quakers led by William Penn early in 1682. However, as King Charles had already granted Pennsylvania to Penn the previous year, they were prepared to dilute their stake in East Jersey by inviting another 12 investors as Proprietors.

This presented the opportunity for Scots. Those taking advantage included the brothers, James Drummond, Earl of Perth and John Drummond of Lundin, both Privy Councillors and close confidantes of James. [94] They each bought 1/24th of the East Jersey land grant in 1682 along with three other Scots: Robert Barclay of Ury, his younger brother David and their uncle, Robert Gordon of Cluny.[95] Both Barclays were Quakers and had been subject to the persecution of their community in Aberdeenshire. Robert was a Quaker leader and his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, first published in 1676, proved highly influential in shaping the direction of the movement, nationally and internationally.[96]

The Drummonds wanted Robert Barclay to play a leading role, prevailing upon him in September that year to become the (non-resident) governor of East Jersey in return for 5,000 acres to be developed at his discretion. The following year these Scots Proprietors were joined by a first cousin of the Barclays, Sir John Gordon of Durno, and by another Quaker from Aberdeenshire, Robert Burnet of Lethintie. Perth sold part of his proprietorial

[93] Haige came from the Bemersyde family, Berwickshire.
[94] In 1684, the Drummond brothers took centre stage in Scottish politics in 1684 when Perth became Chancellor, and Lundin, Secretary. Lundin was created Earl of Melfort in 1686.
[95] The 24 Proprietors were granted heritable rights in East Jersey under a release (a form of charter) from the Duke of York on 14 March 1683. Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, eds., *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New-Jersey* (Philadelphia: W. Bradford), 141-150
[96] Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, 44-60,78-94

share to Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat (Lord Clerk Register and fellow Privy Councillor) while Quaker Gawen Lawrie took up half of Cluny's.

Barclay was a friend of both James, Duke of York, and Penn. As a direct descendant of a Stuart king (James IV, his five times great-grandfather), he had an entrée to court.[97] James thought highly of Barclay's abilities and was open to persuasion about Quakers. It suited James's pro-Catholic intentions to show tolerance towards them.[98] He also appreciated that Barclay's father had been a member of the moderate Covenanter party who took part in the Engagement in support of his father, Charles I in 1648.[99]

This royal favour helped to consolidate the backing of other members of the Stuart administration in Scotland including Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (Lord Advocate and Privy Councillor), one of Tarbat's close relatives. Their political motives included securing revenue for the Exchequer through trade and enhancing Scotland's pride and international prestige. Increasingly, they viewed East Jersey as somewhere to send the most intransigent Covenanters.[100]

Led by Barclay and Lethintie, these Proprietors sought to involve more Scots through selling substantial fractions of their holdings leading to the term, 'fractioner' being used to describe this group of landowners.[101] Between 1683 and 1685 they attracted 36 such investors, the majority (20) in 1684. Of these, nine bought shares from Burnet, eight from Barclay and five from Durno.

Nearly two-thirds (21) of the fractioners were merchants, with landowners (five) the next largest group. Of the merchants, 10 were sons of landowners, mainly younger sons (eight). Four fractioners were doctors, three were advocates, one a manufacturer and another a university bursar. Many (11) were under 30, and the average age was 35 years old.

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[97] He was also nephew of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, the 'premier baronet' of Scotland, a rank created by James VI and I to encourage investment in Nova Scotia.

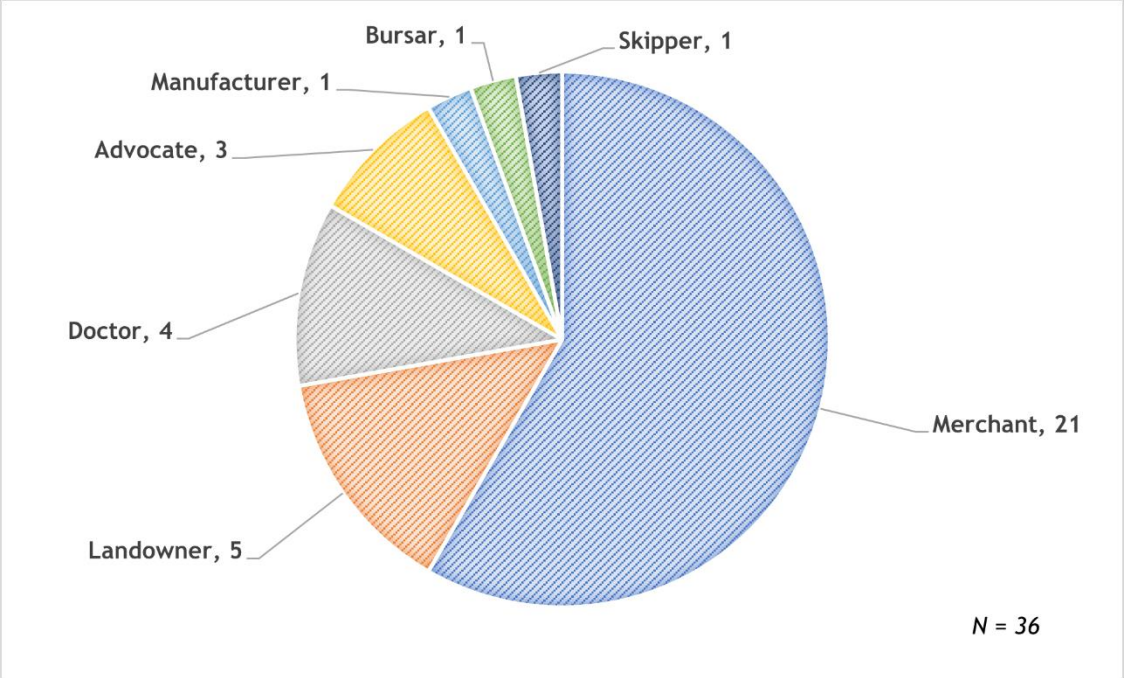
[98] The Earl of Perth wrote a postscript in a letter to Barclay in October 1680, "The Duke speaks wonderfully of you". Hubert F. Barclay, *A History of the Barclay Family: Part III, The Barclays in Scotland and England* (London: St. Catherine Press, 1934), 158

[99] Ibid., 181

[100] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation Before Darien', 130–31

[101] These varied as proportions of the 1/24th shares of East Jersey held by each of the Proprietors. This contrasted with the policy in West Jersey where much smaller holdings were allowed, enabling the participation of yeoman farmers and so meeting expectations amongst English and Welsh Quaker emigrants.

Figure 2-1 Occupations of Fractioners, 1683-85 (numbers)



Seven fractioners were associated with the royal court or political establishment as sons of nobility, holders of office through patronage, or through in-laws. This group included Robert Barclay's brother, John, his brother-in-law Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil, and George Mackenzie of Kildun, son of the 2nd Earl of Seaforth. Several of these investors were connected to the Earl of Perth: Perthshire neighbours, David Toschach of Monzievaird and John Campbell of the Duncrosk family, and his kinsman, merchant Gawen Drummond from Prestonpans.[102] Two were merchants: John Dobie, who was married to Elizabeth Milne, daughter of the King's Master Mason; and James Johnstone, whose tutor in his minority was Alexander Maitland, chamberlain and nephew to the Duke of Lauderdale.[103] Together with the Scots Proprietors, this group accounted for about a third of the initial investors in East Jersey.

The largest group of the 36 fractioners, almost half, originated in North East Scotland, although more had a residence in Edinburgh (10) than Aberdeen (eight). A quarter were Quakers who had shared the experience of persecution in Aberdeen, such as David Falconer, Andrew Galloway and John Laing of Craigforthie. Falconer, a merchant active in Aberdeen and Edinburgh and brother of Sir John Falconer, Master of the Mint, played a pivotal role. He was close to the Barclays, as a factor to Robert Barclay's father and married to a sister-in-law of Robert's, Margaret Molleson. Falconer acted as an agent for

[102] NJSA A(EJ) Folio 200; D(EJ) Folio 148-150; O(EJ) Folio 431. Gawen came from the Drummonds of Newton of Blair family.
[103] NRS OPR 685/1 440/263; CC8/8/74

the West Jersey voyages in 1681, as did Galloway who is recorded as holding land there as early as 1676.[104] Other Quaker fractioners included merchants James Miller of Gartshore near Kirkintilloch and Charles Ormston from Kelso.[105] Ormston's business was textiles and he was said to have been "banker and merchant for one half the Border gentry".[106]

The parallel venture to South Carolina

There was a contemporary initiative, the Carolina Company, which competed for attention and investment and whose outcomes were to prove a marked contrast to those of East Jersey. This was formed in Glasgow in 1682 and promoted by Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, both of whom were later implicated in the Rye House Plot in April 1683 to overthrow the King and the Duke of York.[107] The Company was supported by a considerable number of landowners and merchants, with 86 attending at least one of its meetings. Most were dissident Presbyterians from the West of Scotland.[108] Commercially, they had an eye on Carolina's potential for sugar cane cultivation, trade with the Caribbean and export of Scottish textiles. Given the background of the proponents, this undertaking, while attracting royal approval, did not gain the same degree of political support enjoyed by the East Jersey venture. Wagner has ascertained that only 49 of over 500 emigrants from Scotland and Ireland reached the new settlement of Stuart's Town in 1684, the rest having been shipwrecked, fallen ill or, in the case of some transported prisoners, sold as indentured servants in the English colony of Charles Town.[109] These emigrants had to contend with malaria and yellow fever, opposition from the English settlers and hostility from neighbouring Spanish colonies. They lacked experience in relationships with the native Yamasee, supplying them with guns which were used in raids on Spanish missions. This led in turn to a serious attack by a Spanish 'pirate catcher' which led to the abandonment of Stuart's Town in 1688. The

[104] NJSA Liber 2, Part B: Folio 32; Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 195. Other Quakers involved in 1681 were Edinburgh burgesses Hector Allen (master of the *Adventure of Leith*) and Maurice Trent who purchased land in West Jersey (NJSA Glo Deeds, Book 3: Folios 77,79) and two who were agents: Hew Wood, gardener to the Duchess of Hamilton and Aberdeen merchant John Cowie.

[105] Two Quakers at Holyrood in Edinburgh obtained smaller amounts of land: John Hancock and Bartholomew Gibson. Gibson was the King's Farrier and was said to hold the land for an illegitimate son of King Charles II. James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* (London: Cassell, 1881), ii, 21

[106] John Russell, *The Haigs of Bemersyde* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1881), 280

[107] Peter Karsten, 'Plotters and Proprietaries, 1682-83: The "Council of Six" and the Colonies', *The Historian*, 38.3 (1976), 474–84

[108] Linda G. Fryer, 'Documents Relating to the Formation of the Carolina Company in Scotland, 1682', *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 99.2 (1998), 110–34

[109] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien', 1-4

Scots fared poorly in comparison with Huguenot immigrants of the time who had had less ambitious goals and were able to adjust better to their circumstances in Carolina.[110]

2.4 Mobilising for East Jersey

The first emigrant ship bound for East Jersey, the *Exchange* of Stockton set sail from Aberdeen in August 1683. Wagner has identified six other ships carrying emigrants to East Jersey between 1683 and 1685 by which time the vast majority had arrived, with various sources suggesting around 100 by December 1683, over 300 in 1684 and about 250 the year after.[111] Some individuals and families arrived independently via New York or Philadelphia. These years constituted the main phase of emigration, with much smaller numbers following thereafter.

The plan

The Scots Proprietors drew on Quaker plans for West Jersey and Pennsylvania but, as Landsman has shown, chose to reflect societal and land ownership patterns in Scotland. They envisioned a country of landed estates, embodying the stratification present in much of Scotland: lairds, tenants, skilled workers and farm servants, albeit with incentives for the latter categories to obtain heritable land of their own.[112] Perth Amboy was to be established as the main town and port, named after the Earl of Perth and the Native American name, Ompoge, for the point on which it was situated.

The Proprietors each had to buy rights to an initial 10,000 acres "in the best and most convenient places" at a price of "ten pounds sterling for each hundred 100 acres", i.e., £1,000 for a full share.[113] In addition the Proprietors were each expected to contribute £100 towards the cost of tools, livestock and seed needed for the new settlements and provisioning of the voyages.[114] They were initially allowed to sell land to fractioners at

[110] Kurt Gingrich, '"That Will Make Carolina Powerful and Flourishing": Scots and Huguenots in Carolina in the 1680s', *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 110.1/2 (2009), 6–34; Wagner, 'Scottish Colonising Voyages', 148-182

[111] Wagner, ibid., 165-166. These are estimates based on contemporary sources. One further ship, the *Unity* is reported as having sailed from Montrose in 1688 but very little is known about its passengers.

[112] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony,* 107-111

[113] It is difficult to provide comparable figures for land prices in Scotland because of the extent of land already under cultivation and pasture, and the frequent calculation of rents and value based on produce not acreage. One later example, from Lanarkshire in 1771, works out at £1/acre for 'infield', cultivated land and 5s/acre for pasture. Muir Johnstone, 'Farm Rents and Improvement: East Lothian and Lanarkshire, 1670-1830', *Agricultural History Review*, 57.1 (2009), 52

[114] Leaming and Spicer, *Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions*, 186,208. Each Proprietor was also expected to buy a lot in Perth Amboy and build a house.

double their purchase price, reflecting the risks they were taking and the expected quality of the first lands to be taken up.[115]

Proprietors were also attracted to the prospect of receiving annual quitrents. This system was similar to feu duties in Scotland which were based on the feudal notion that as the monarch ultimately owns the land and protects his or her subjects, occupiers should provide service in return. Once military in nature, this had evolved to take the form of payments in lieu to the Crown or other superior landowner who held a crown charter, in the East Jersey case, the Proprietors. The practice was already in place in East Jersey as it applied across all British colonies.[116] Quitrents were set at 2d/acre, resulting in hypothetical income of £83 6s 8d per annum on an initial proprietary holding.

Acting speedily in emigrating or sending over a family with at least three working hands, Proprietors were to benefit from the initial release of 1,000 acres per proprietary holding. Those who left their land unsettled or unimproved would have to wait for later releases before they could expand their estate. The Proprietors anticipated dividends on their investment in the form of further land in proportion to their holdings.[117]

Husbandmen able to bring their families, a few servants, stock and £100 Scots in commodities were to be allocated between 100 and 500 acres on arrival. They would bear no charges in the first seven years and thereafter could buy the land at the rate of 2s 6d per acre.[118] Tradesmen who could afford their own fares were promised 30 acres and employment in their first year.[119]

Given the need for skills and labour in establishing new settlements and developing agriculture and trade, the employment of indentured servants was a fundamental part of the Scots' scheme.[120] Individuals or family units would be contracted to landowners or merchants, typically for a term of four years though less for some skilled craftsmen.

In return for their fare (£5 for adults), the servants were to be provided with clothing and perhaps a cow and a pig, and grain to sow one acre.[121] They would gain their headland, a heritable grant of 30 acres (more for some skilled workers) and be required to pay

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[115] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 13-14
[116] Beverley W. Bond, 'The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies', *American Historical Review*, 17.3 (1912), 496–516
[117] Pomfret, *Province of East New Jersey*, 144-145,230
[118] Scot, *Model of Government*, 104
[119] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 15
[120] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonising Voyages', 161
[121] The fare was £2 10s for children under 10, £0 for suckling children. Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 14. These fares compare with an average wage for farm servants in Aberdeenshire in 1695 of £10 1s for men and £6 7s 5d for women. A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 289

quitrent thereafter.[122] Children would be expected to serve until they became 21. Owners of indentured servants could hire them out to others and could sell them to others if still under contract.

First phase: 1683

The *Exchange* carried about 100 settlers who left from Leith and Aberdeen in August 1683, arriving at Staten Island off East Jersey on 19 December. The Scots Proprietors invested considerably in the ship's cargo, placing responsibility on David Barclay for its sale or stockholding on arrival. The shipment included shoes, worsted stockings, linen, woollen cloth, felt hats, gloves, saddles and miscellaneous goods for hoped-for markets.[123] Amongst the passengers were merchants and sons of landed families who had bought land, 47 indentured servants and some family members.[124]

Second phase: 1684

The first ship to leave in 1684 was the *Thomas and Benjamin* of London carrying about 130 emigrants, under command of a Scottish skipper, Thomas Pearson from Montrose[125]. It took clothing and meal aboard in Leith in May before loading millstones and textiles at Montrose. It had a straightforward Atlantic crossing, leaving in early July and arriving in October, sailing via Killybegs on the Donegal coast. Leaders of this voyage included brothers Robert and Thomas Fullarton from the Kinnaber family in Kincardineshire.

Next was the *Shield* of Stockton which six years earlier had carried Quakers to West Jersey. It left Leith on 11 July, carrying about 160 passengers.[126] Patrick Falconer was responsible for shipping a similar cargo to that carried by the *Exchange*.[127] Passengers included merchants Thomas Gordon of the Pitlurg family and David Mudie from Montrose, along with family members and indentured servants. The *Shield* arrived at the Patuxent River in Chesapeake Bay on 29 September where her master, Daniel Towes, sought a return cargo of tobacco. The immigrants were left to make their way more than 100 miles overland or by coastal craft to Perth Amboy.

[122] For servants settling before 25 March 1685, 'masters of familie' were offered an additional 50 acres.
[123] NRS E72/15/26/10-11
[124] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonising Voyages', 161
[125] Ibid., 161
[126] George Scot, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey*, 1
[127] NRS E72/15/28/8

Two other ships carried smaller numbers of emigrants in 1684. The *Seaflower* arrived in East Jersey on 6 August 1684 after a much delayed departure from Leith.[128] She was chartered by Dr George Lockhart, a Scots merchant operating in New Jersey, New York and London. He had been promoting the attractions of East Jersey for more than 10 years.[129] The *Blossom* left later from London carrying a leading Quaker, George Keith, his family and two servants[130]. She wintered in Barbados before continuing to New Jersey.

The voyage of a third was advertised, with David Toschach of Monzievaird in the lead, to leave from Glasgow during summer 1684. He appears to have assembled a party of emigrants including family members and servants and he was in Perth Amboy by March 1685[131]. Both Lockhart and Monzievaird committed themselves to transport a small number of banished prisoners.[132]

Third phase: 1685

There were two emigrant voyages in 1685, one promoted by Lord Neill Campbell of Ardmaddie, the other by George Scot of Pitlochie. Their stories were entwined with that of the uprising in May led by the exiled Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, Lord Neill's brother, who bid to overthrow James VII and II, the erstwhile Duke of York, who had succeeded his brother Charles II in February that year.

The Privy Council had been aware for some time of Argyll's plans and prepared by arresting known rebels and possible supporters. As early as July 1684 the Council placed Lord Neill under a large bond of £5,000 sterling to remain in Edinburgh.[133] In May 1685 with Argyll's invasion imminent, they held him captive in Blackness Castle. At the same time nearly 170 Covenanter prisoners who had refused to swear allegiance to the King were gathered in Leith.[134] Most were then marched 100 miles to Dunnottar Castle where they were held in poor conditions before returning south in August.

Campbell and Scot were already drawn to prospects for a Scots colony. Both had put their names down as undertakers in the Carolina Company in 1682, before deciding to pursue

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[128] Peter R. Christoph, ed., *The Dongan Papers: 1683-1688* (Syracuse University Press, 1993), ii, 81-87

[129] George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey*

[130] Keith was one of the Aberdeenshire Quakers subjected to persecution in the 1670s. He subsequently taught at a Quaker school in Waltham Abbey, Essex before being imprisoned in Newgate Jail for 18 months until February 1684. He emigrated to take up the appointment of East Jersey Surveyor.

[131] NRS GD24/1/826.148

[132] RPCS VIII, 709-710; IX, 210. Toschach's brother Duncan, an Edinburgh merchant, signed a bond of caution on 4 July 1684 relating to the transportation of two thieves held in Stirling Tolbooth.

[133] RPCS IX (1684), 382

[134] James Anderson, *The Black Book of Kincardineshire* (Aberdeen: Lewis Smith and Son, 1879), 9-11

East Jersey instead.[135] Campbell bought 8,000 acres in August 1684 from Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat and partnered with prominent Edinburgh merchant, Robert Blackwood, to ship indentured servants and provisions to the new colony. Twice thereafter he petitioned the Privy Council to carry emigrants to America, provided they were not rebels or fugitives. The uprising delayed matters and he again appealed on 21 July 1685 along with some of his tenants, this time with success.[136] The *America Merchant* of Stockton sailed from Leith on 26 August with Campbell and a party of 50 or so, arriving safely in November.

George Scot of Pitlochie and his wife, Margaret Rigg were staunch Covenanters, frequently pursued by the authorities in Fife for attending conventicles. They were subjected to fines and George was imprisoned on the Bass Rock in 1677. In 1679 he was required to remain in the confines of his own property but this did not prevent him visiting London where he was inspired by plans of London merchants for colonial development in North America.[137] He petitioned the Privy Council on 24 December 1684 to transport prisoners "lately sentenced to the Plantationes". He was encouraged by senior members of the Privy Council who hoped he would be able to persuade dissident Covenanters to leave the country of their own accord. Scot proceeded to draft what has become known as his *Model of Government* of East Jersey, essentially a very long promotional tract. In this he expressed his arguments for emigration, rebutted objections, and included letters from recent emigrants extolling the attractions of East Jersey. The publication was dedicated to the Drummond brothers and Tarbat.

Scot had some success in attracting free migrants but fewer than he hoped. In March 1685 he again sought permission to carry prisoners, asking for 100. This was favoured by the Privy Council, though they required Scot, as they had with Campbell, to take only people below a certain rank (i.e., no heritors with lands with annual rent of over £100 Scots).[138] Scot was expected to visit jails in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling to secure the voluntary agreement of prisoners to join him. This task proved largely unproductive. Many Covenanter prisoners wanted to continue to oppose the Crown and preferred to risk further punishment. Some may also have been mindful of the fate of those who were transported aboard the *Croun* in 1679.

[135] Fryer, 'Documents Relating to the Formation of the Carolina Company', 131–132
[136] RPCS X (1684-1685), 184-185; XI, 331
[137] Scot, *Model*, 1-2
[138] RPCS X, 181. Privy Councillors feared the loss of wealthier individuals and their families.

Scot commissioned the *Henry and Francis* of Newcastle for the journey. It was to set sail from Leith on 20 July, laden with linen, woollen cloth, worsted stockings and wine.[139] However, the departure was much delayed, affected by official vacillation over what was to happen to the Dunnottar prisoners and captured Argyll rebels. By this time, Privy Council members wanted the Covenanter prisoners out of the country and they were prepared to dispose of a large number.[140] The Privy Council decided that 50 would go with Scot and made separate arrangement for transportation to the West Indies of 177 Argyll rebels[141]. In the end over 120 prisoners from Dunnottar and other prisons embarked in Leith. The ship was still anchored off Leith in late August when 22 men and six women wrote a trenchant testimony decrying their fate, abominating their persecution and relying on God to see them through.[142]

The *Henry and Francis* eventually left the Forth on 5 September with up to 200 passengers. Provisions had deteriorated, having been loaded several weeks previously, and many of the Dunnottar prisoners were in very poor health. It was not long before fever, possibly typhus, broke out, resulting in the deaths of over 60 passengers and crew.[143] The ship arrived in Perth Amboy after a much longer and stormier crossing than Campbell's.

Agents for East Jersey

Over the course of these three years over 50 people acted as agents. They were mainly located in East and North East Scotland though in 1685 George Scot cast his net wider and drew agents from South West Scotland, Belfast, Dublin and Newcastle. Their role was to provide information to anyone interested rather than being incentivised to recruit numbers. About a quarter of the agents decided to emigrate. Those who did not included Proprietors such as Tarbat and Lundin, merchants in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and the Borders, and close family members of emigrants such as John Fullarton of Kinnaber and Dr John Gordon of Collieston. Nearly a third were Quakers including merchant John Swinton from Edinburgh. He was the son of John Swinton of that Ilk who had been instrumental in convincing Robert Barclay's father to become a Quaker while imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in 1666.

[139] NRS E72/15/32/19; NRS E72/15/34/3-4
[140] RPCS XI (1685-1686), 148
[141] RPCS XI, 136-137
[142] Anon, 'Banishment from Scotland, 1685', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 40.2 (1962), 121–25
[143] Anon., 'A List of Persons Who Died on Pitlochie's Ship', NLS Wod.Qu.XXXVI, lxv, f.221

2.5 East Jersey in the early 1680s

East Jersey was home to the native Lenni-Lenape (Lenape) whose name translates as the "original people". There were perhaps up to 6,000 living in the whole of New Jersey, part of a sparse population stretching across much of New York and the Chesapeake.[144] (East Jersey constitutes about half of the modern state of New Jersey and, at 4,360 square miles, is slightly smaller than North East Scotland.)[145]

The Lenape had sold tracts of land to European settlers before the 1680s, primarily on the coast and along river banks. This was typically in exchange for goods they valued such as wampum (shell beads used as currency and ornaments), clothing, tools, kettles and hunting guns. They expected to co-exist with the incomers and exercise customary user rights and privileges to plant, fish, hunt and construct villages, central to their traditional concept of communal property.[146]

Earlier settlers comprised mainly English Puritans from New England and Dutch Calvinists along with smaller numbers of English Baptists, Quakers and Anglicans, Swedish Lutherans and Huguenots. Most were living within the bounds of seven townlands. A contemporary appraisal for the Board of Proprietors suggested around 3,500 such inhabitants.[147]

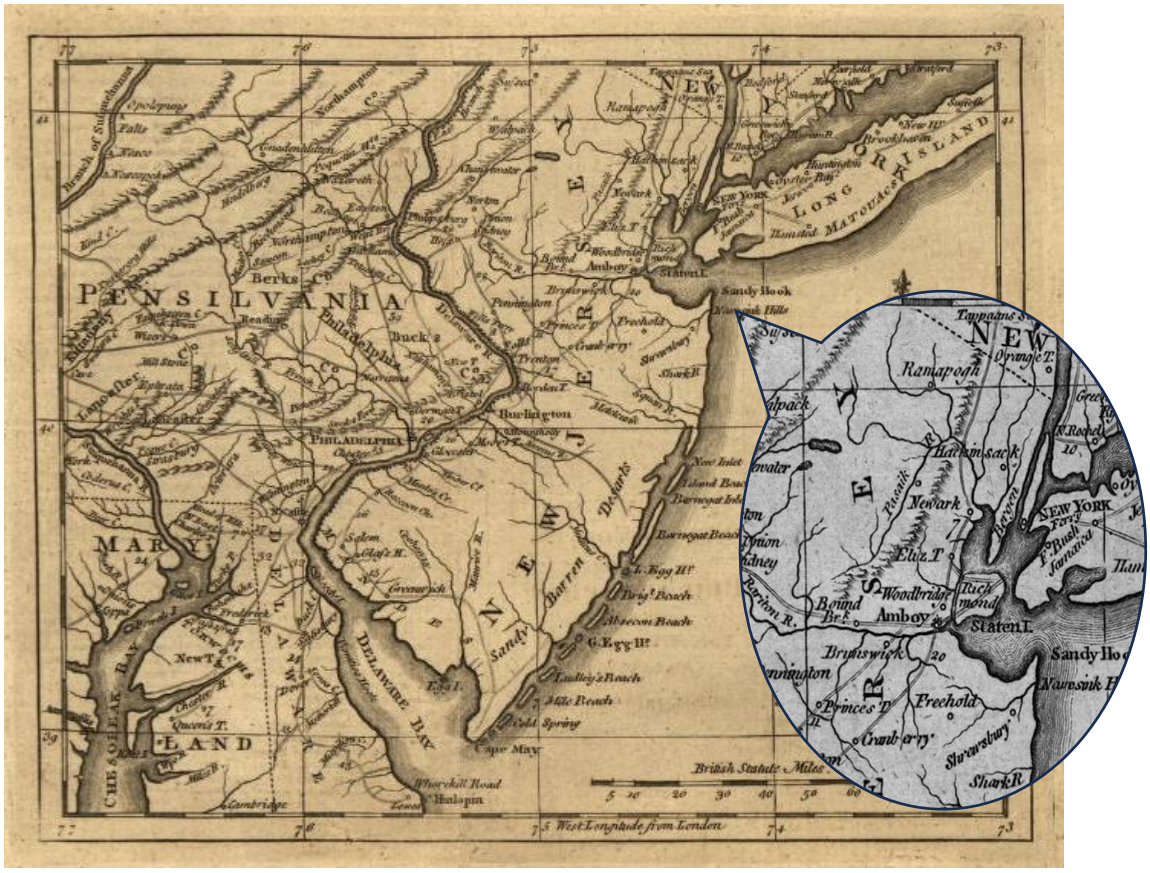
[144] Peter O. Wacker, *Land and People - A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 58, notes estimates of the Lenape population ranging from 2,400 to 6,000 in New Jersey. The Lenape also lived across much of the Middle Colonies, and were known by settlers around the Chesapeake as 'Delaware Indians'.

[145] Defined as Aberdeenshire, Angus, Kincardineshire and Moray. In 1755, the population of this region was 277,190. Alexander Webster and James Gray Kyd (ed.) *Scottish Population Statistics: Including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1952)

[146] Paul D. Boyd, *Atlantic Highlands: From Lenape Camps to Bayside Town* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2004); Claude Epstein and Jean R. Soderlund, 'Lenape-Colonist Land Conveyances in West New Jersey: Evolving Expectations in Space and Time', *New Jersey Studies*, 4 (2018), 179–211

[147] Joseph R. Klett, 'An Account of East Jersey's Seven Settled Towns, circa 1684', *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, 80 (2005), 106–14. The townships were in order of size: Elizabeth(town), Woodbridge, Middleton, Newark, Piscataway, Shrewsbury and Bergen.

Figure 2.2 Map with East Jersey settlements relative to New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware (extract from 'A Map of the country round Philadelphia', 1776)[148]



A few earlier settlers had Scots surnames. One Scot was said to have been transported following the Battle of Dunbar in 1650: John 'The Scotchman' Smith, a freeholder who lived in Woodbridge.[149] Another was John Crawford, "gentleman of Ayrshire" who arrived in 1676 from Barbados.[150] They are not known to have had any prior contacts with the Scots emigrants of the 1680s.

Contemporary accounts asserted that the Lenape and settlers co-existed peacefully in this period, substantiated by recent research.[151] There was, however, a fundamental tension between the Lenape conception of property rights and that of the Europeans who adhered to the 'Right of Discovery', rooted in their legal and theological traditions. In the latter's

[148] Anon., *A Map of the country round Philadelphia including part of New Jersey, New York, Staten Island, & Long Island* (London, 1776). Original held by the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3790.ar104101/?r=0.276,0.085,0.596,0.369,0 [accessed 16 November 2024]. The town of Middleton is not shown on this map but is close to the later settlement of Freehold.

[149] Joseph W. Dally, *Woodbridge and Vicinity* (New Brunswick: A.E. Gordon, 1873), 28

[150] William Nelson, ed., *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1902), ii, 165

[151] See, e.g., Epstein and Soderlund, 'Lenape-Colonist Land Conveyances', 179

eyes, it was legitimate to claim sovereignty over any lands they 'discovered' which were not already under the control of a Christian monarch. In the case of East Jersey, "all land is holden of the king" under English law, and the Proprietors were granted property rights by royal charter.[152]

The Proprietors required that title be bought from the Lenape before any survey and distribution of land[153]. This decision reflected a Quaker view which, in the words of William Penn, saw native peoples as "natural Lords of the Soil" to be lived with as "Neighbours and Friends".[154] This was also pragmatic, reducing risks of indigenous opposition. Racist and imperial undertones were evident, however: Scot, for example, regarded native Americans as feral and advocated colonial endeavour as a great opportunity to honour God by propagating Christianity[155].

Much of East Jersey was forested, with some cultivation by the earlier colonists of indigenous crops and imported strains alongside pastoral farming. Trade with the Lenape, primarily in maize and furs, was well-established.[156] For new settlers, there were huge tasks of forest clearance and land preparation, undertaken by small family units, indentured servants and enslaved workers.

In 1680, there were around 120 enslaved Black Africans in East Jersey, adding about 3% to the settler population. While some were Dutch-owned, many had been imported by English Barbadian planters who moved to Bergen County between 1667 and 1670.[157] About half worked at a Quaker-owned iron works in Shrewsbury, Monmouth County while others were mainly engaged in agricultural tasks[158]. Their origins were the Gold Coast, Bight of Benin and Angola.[159] Just six slaves arrived with the Scots, imported from London by Quaker merchants, Gawen Lawrie and William Haige in 1684[160].

[152] Daniel K. Richter, 'To "Clear the King's and Indians' Title": Seventeenth-Century Origins of North American Land Cession Treaties', in *Empire by Treaty: Negotiating European Expansion, 1600-1900*, ed. Saliha Belmessous (Oxford University Press, 2014), 48-49
[153] This was also the case for the Presbyterian-led Carolina Company. Richter, ibid., 69
[154] Richter, ibid., 47
[155] Scot, *Model*, 13,23,31
[156] Wacker, *Land and People*, 104-107
[157] Ibid., 191
[158] Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, 316
[159] Graham Russell Hodges, *Root & Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 38
[160] Nelson, *Calendar of Records*, 61

2.6 Setting the scene - conclusion

This chapter has introduced some of the commercial, social, political and religious factors which conditioned the decisions of Scots to emigrate, where they had the choice and explains the background for those who had not. This was a time in Scotland of political interest in economic improvement, in actions to develop manufacturing and overcome trading obstacles, aiming to close the widening economic gap with England. Colonial schemes were one option, expected to raise Scotland's prestige and provide merchants with new opportunities. It was also a period of considerable religious dissent and social turmoil.

A consequence was the striking mix of people involved in the East Jersey venture: Royalists and religious moderates, Quakers and Covenanters, amongst whom there were significant differences in circumstances and beliefs. Remarkable too was the assortment of free emigrants, indentured servants and transported prisoners, with potential implications for how they all fared in their new land.

The venture would not have happened without, at the outset, the interest of the London Quaker merchants in colonising New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the crucial contributions of Robert Barclay. These were, first, in interceding with James, Duke of York to support the Quakers' enterprise and secure the blessing of King Charles, significant given the history of political opposition to Scots colonial schemes by merchants and Parliament in England. Secondly, he helped to bring Scots, Quakers and non-Quakers alike, to the table to purchase stakes in East Jersey, and thirdly, he drove the planning of the venture. Important too was the political support and personal financial interest of Perth, Lundin and Tarbat, and the willingness of many of the merchants involved to collaborate and pool resources to make the project happen. The wider involvement of Scots as landowners and emigrants ensured that what started as a religious Quaker initiative became distinctively Scottish.

The next chapter reviews characteristics of the initial emigrants based on an analysis of my database, before Chapter 4 considers the motivations of individual emigrants in more depth, drawing out specific ways in which these background factors influenced decision-making. Chapter 5 proceeds to consider the outcomes for the different categories of emigrant.

Chapter 3: Who emigrated to East Jersey?

3.1 The early Scots emigrants

Chapter 3 provides a breakdown of the emigrants who set sail between 1683 and 1685, drawing on the prosopographical database. It illustrates their composition: family status, age, occupation, geographical origin and religious affiliation. The data include both those who survived the crossing and those who did not. Wider connections through kinship, acquaintance and business are considered in Chapter 4 in looking at evidence surrounding motivations and support for emigration. The appraisal builds on Landsman's 1985 analysis, notably on origins and occupations, drawing on a wider range of sources. In doing so, it highlights distinctions between the different categories of emigrants: free, indentured and transported; and the faith-cum-political dimensions of Royalists and religious moderates, Quakers and Covenanters.

As introduced in Chapter 1, the dataset has been compiled from diverse sources and builds on path-breaking work of Joseph Wagner to clarify details of the emigrant ships and their passengers.[161] Sources in Scotland and New Jersey include a range of birth, marriage, testamentary, property and other legal records, supplemented by local and family histories.[162] There remain many gaps, varying by type of emigrant. There are no comprehensive passenger lists available which compare, for example, to those used in research into the Great Migration to New England in the 1630s, where details of origin, occupation, age and family structure survive for the passengers on seven ships.[163] There are uncertainties about when some of the Scots arrived in East Jersey, and when some children were born. Few children were recorded as passengers but more appear in other records, e.g., baptisms in Scotland, parental wills, marriages in the early years of the East Jersey settlement, and names on monumental inscriptions.

It has proved possible to confirm 562 Scots emigrants who sailed to East Jersey between 1683 and 1685.[164] Figure 3-1 provides a breakdown by category of emigrant, including

[161] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation Before Darien', Appendix B, 194-198; Wagner, 'The Scottish Colonising Voyages', 155–66

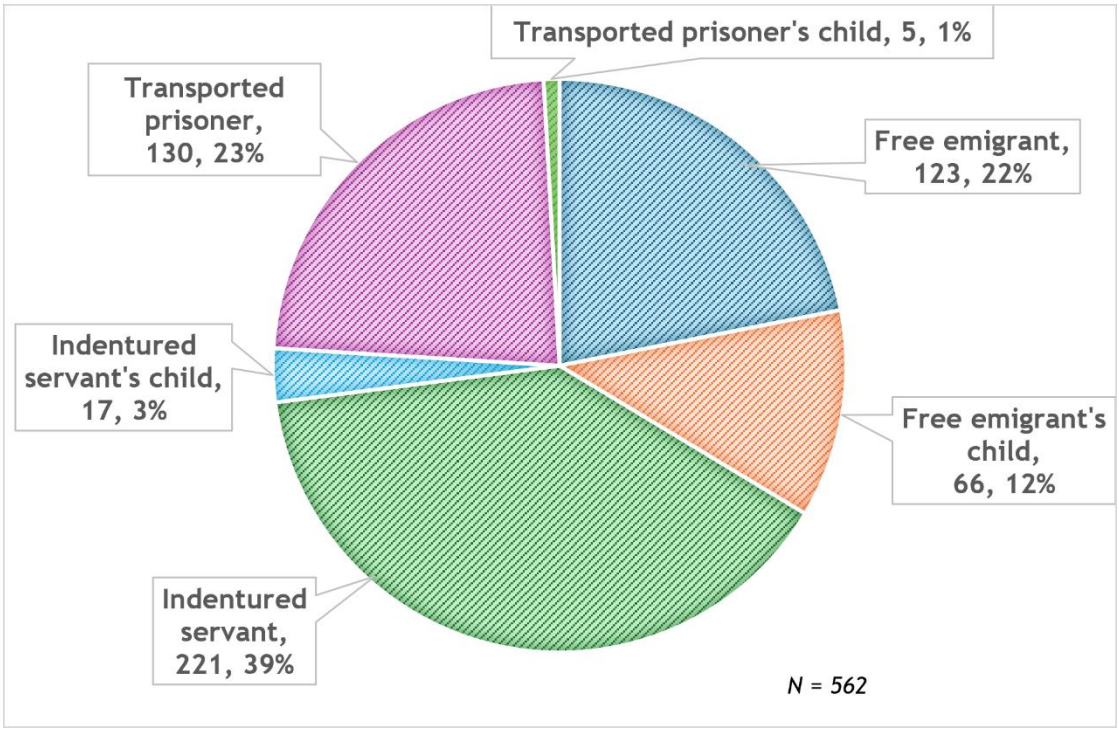
[162] Johnstone, 'East Jersey Bound: Database Notes and Bibliography'

[163] Virginia Dejohn Anderson, 'Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England, 1630-1640', *New England Quarterly*, 58.3 (1985), 339–83

[164] This analysis excludes later emigrants. After 1685 there were no further waves. In 1688 the Middlesex County Court referred to 50 unnamed servants carried aboard the *Unity* by David Mudie - Preston W. Edsall, *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey, 1683-1702* (Philadelphia: American Legal History Society), 136. No associated records exist.

children. Free emigrants accounted for one third, indentured servants for two-fifths and transported prisoners, a quarter.

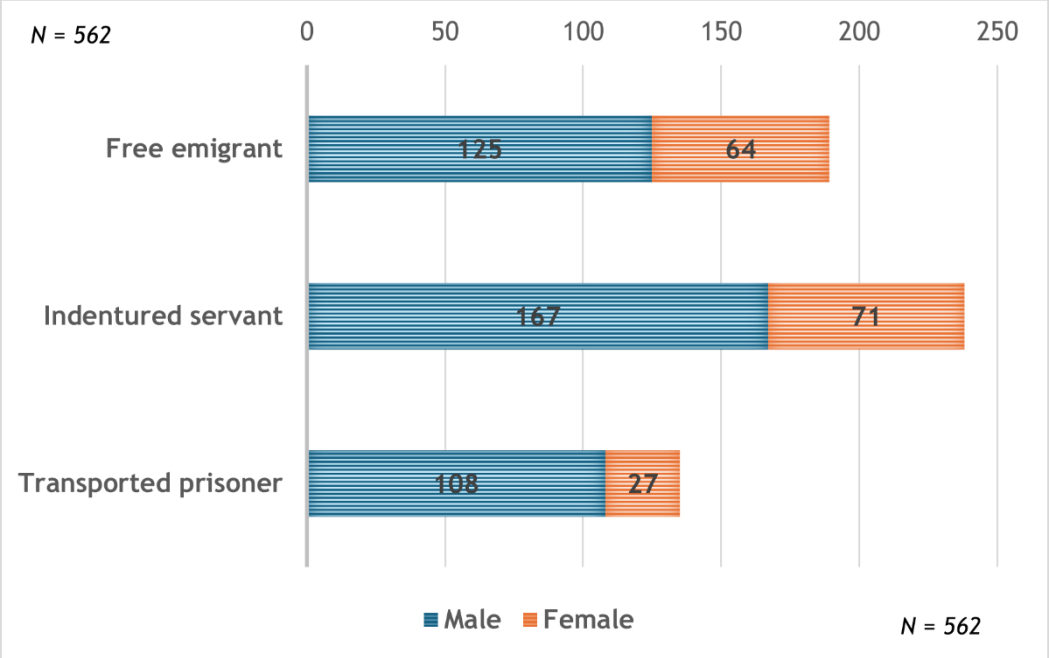
Figure 3-1 Scots emigrants, 1683-85, by category



Around three quarters of the emigrants were male and one quarter female, a proportion similar across all three categories of emigrant (Figure 3-2). This accords with Galenson's research into indentured servants from England during the 17th century but differs from that found by Anderson on the Great Migration to New England in the 1630s where there was a much higher percentage of women (43%).[165] Overall, Anderson found a different pattern to this migration, with a much higher proportion of family groups who followed religious leaders in pursuit of a Puritan society.

[165] David W. Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Anderson, 'Migrants and Motives', 349

Figure 3-2 Gender breakdown of Scots emigrants, 1683-85, by category



There were at least 88 children (one in five of the total of free and indentured emigrants). Available birth records in Scotland show that while some were in their teens, others were very young. The median age of the children, as at 1685, was seven.[166] The Great Migration research found a higher proportion of children, 31% aged under 14. This was a different type of population movement: adult migrants were older on average, there were relatively few servants, and no prisoners.

Amongst the East Jersey emigrants were at least 38 family groups with children, accounting for at least 139 people (25% of all emigrants). Free emigrants accounted for 24 families, indentured servants for 12, and transported prisoners for two. Examples included fractioner David Toschach of Monzievaird, his wife Jean Campbell, son Thomas, sister Margaret and brother-in-law, Captain Patrick McGregorie; and indentured servants, John Oliphant, his wife Janet Gilchrist and daughters Margaret and Janet from Pencaitland, East Lothian.[167]

There were additionally at least 14 cases of siblings brought in as servants, such as Colin and Robert Campbell, Daniel and John Mackdaniell, and Bessie and John Pollock. Another three accompanied their married brothers and their wives. Amongst the free emigrants were three Gordon brothers from Pitlurg in Banffshire, two Fullarton brothers from Kinnaber near Montrose and two Johnstone brothers from Edinburgh. There were other

[166] It was possible to identify birth years for 66 out of 88 children, either from records or approximation based on other evidence.
[167] NJSA A(EJ): Folio 252

family combinations, such as Robert Drummond who came with his uncle Gawen, a merchant from Prestonpans, his aunt and cousins.

Some 59 deaths at sea were recorded, a mortality rate of 10%. Almost all of these occurred aboard the *Henry and Francis* in 1685, about a third of its passengers.[168] Of those who died, over half (32) were free emigrants and almost all the rest were transported prisoners. There were therefore at least 503 survivors of the emigrant voyages, who form the subset for my analysis in Chapter 5.

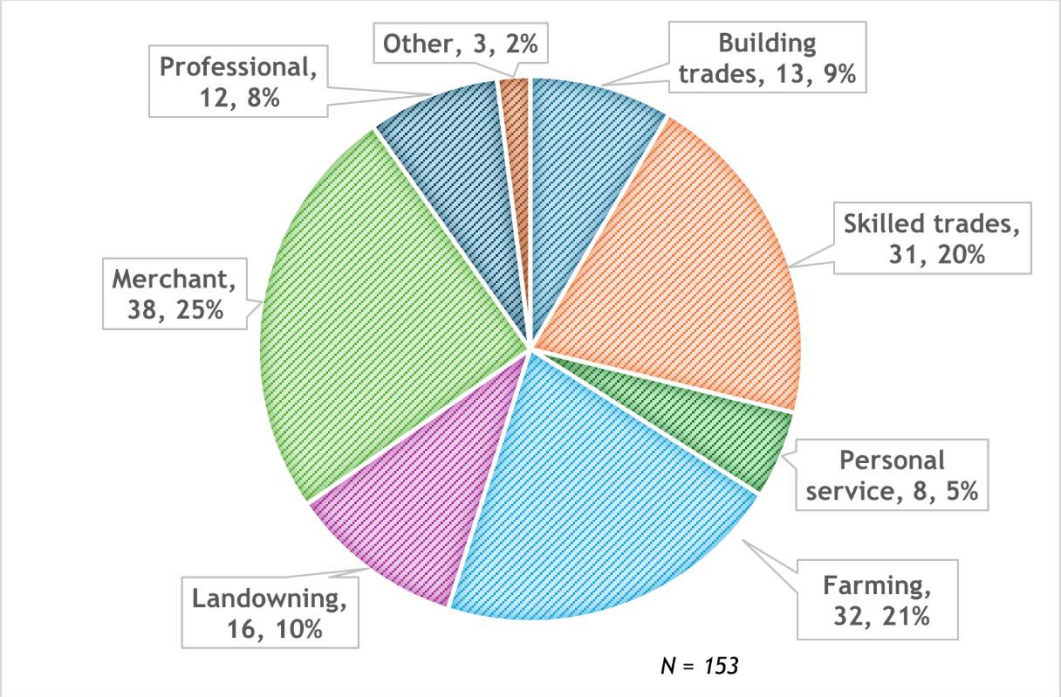
3.2 Occupations

It has been possible to identify specific occupations for 45% of the adult male emigrants: 72% of the free emigrants; 23% of the indentured servants; and 65% of the transported prisoners. Little is recorded for the wives and daughters who brought essential domestic skills. Some will have been part of a family enterprise alongside their husbands and fathers.[169] Mothers managed the household, educated the children, cooked, baked and sewed, and in many cases produced goods for sale or exchange such as cheese, cider, soap and candles. Single women on indentures are likely to have worked predominantly as servants on the land and/or in households.

Figure 3-3 provides a breakdown of the male emigrants by broad occupational group. The largest single group (30%) was that with a farming background, though this is skewed by the numbers within it who were tenant farmers, cottars (sub-tenants) or farm servants amongst the transportees (34 out of 52). Free emigrant farmers included Quaker William Ridford from Friershaw in Teviotdale who brought his wife Margaret and seven children and was accompanied by his brother Thomas on a four-year indenture.[170]

[168] Anon., 'A List of Persons Who Died on Pitlochie's Ship', NLS Wod.Qu.XXXVI, lxv, f.221
[169] See, e.g., Cathryn Spence, *Women, Credit, and Debt In Early Modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Jarna Heinonen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, *Women in Business Families: From Past to Present* (London: Routledge, 2018)
[170] NJSA O(EJ): Folio 85; A(EJ): Folio 155

Figure 3-3 Occupational breakdown of male emigrants, 1683-85, numbers and percentages, by broad group



With a combined total of 44, building and other skilled trades accounted for 29%, found mainly amongst the indentured servants and transportees. There was a similar number of merchants, 43, when five younger sons of landowners who are known to have engaged in commercial activity are included. They constituted just over half of the free male emigrants whose occupation is known.

Most of the free male emigrants were aged around 30, with experience behind them. Twenty-two were born between 1651 and 1660. About a third of these emigrants were younger sons, the majority coming from families who held land. Older emigrants tended to be those who played leadership roles in the colonial venture, such as Lord Neill Campbell (aged about 55 in 1685), George Scot (42), David Toschach (about 40) and David Mudie (about 48). Birth dates of indentured servants and of transported prisoners are scant, but suggest a slightly younger average age.

Of the free emigrants, 22 brought servants on indentures, mainly in small numbers. The Scots Proprietors as a group financed 28 on the *Exchange* in 1683, Thomas Pearson, skipper of the *Thomas and Benjamin* carried 12 in 1684, and Lord Neill Campbell, 22 men and three boys in 1685.

The occupational data suggest that some key skills were in short supply. There were only 13 men possessing construction skills (eight carpenters, four masons and one bricklayer),

three coopers, three wrights and two blacksmiths. In contrast, 12 were tailors. The newcomers could seek skills they needed from other residents of East Jersey but might encounter difficulty in doing so if these were in high demand.

It is worth noting that some of those who obtained land in East Jersey between 1682 and 1685 did not emigrate. Only two of the original Scots Proprietors voyaged: Gawen Lawrie as Deputy Governor in 1684 and Robert Burnet of Lethintie much later, in 1700. Three in five of the fractioners (21) left Scotland, though three returned before 1689. Notably, four in five merchants emigrated. The 14 fractioners who remained in Scotland included all the advocates and three of the four doctors. It seems likely that their primary interest was in investment returns rather than emigration.

3.3 Origins

A very large proportion of the free and the indentured emigrants originated in Eastern Scotland, from Aberdeenshire south through Kincardineshire, Angus, Fife, Lothian, Roxburghshire and Berwickshire. This reflects the locations of the leading emigrants, their kinship, faith and commercial networks, and the ports of departure. As noted in Chapter 2, the Carolina Company competed for interest from landed and commercial interests in Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Galloway. The involvement of local merchants as agents for East Jersey in these areas seems to have brought little success.

Aberdeenshire was the origin of 15 free adult emigrants, some accompanied by their children. They accounted for nearly one third of the free emigrants where records of origin exist. The wider North East provided another 13, the Lothians and Fife, 13, West Scotland, six, and the Eastern Borders, five. It is likely that, given the known origins of survivors aboard the *Henry and Francis*, most of the 34 free emigrants who died came from Fife, Lothian and the eastern Borders. Edinburgh was significant as the residence of many of the Scots Proprietors and the fractioners, absentee owners as well as emigrants, accounting in all for 20 of these 52 landowners.

The specific origins of the indentured servants are identifiable for only about one in eight, but it is very likely that the others came from the local areas of the merchants and landowners who recruited them. Origins for the prisoners are better known, thanks in particular to the records of the Privy Council. Just under half (64) can be identified, of whom about a third came from Lanarkshire and a third from Dumfriesshire and

Kirkcudbrightshire. Others came from Ayrshire, West Lothian and the eastern Borders. Two were from Kildalvan in Argyll, captured during the Argyll rebellion.[171]

3.4 Religious mix

Spread of religious affiliations

The vast majority of adult emigrants were members of the Church of Scotland, with varying degrees of commitment or opposition to the ruling Episcopalian order. Some came from strongly episcopalian families such as George Willocks whose father was minister of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire[172]. Others were moderates who accepted the religious structure of the time. Reflecting the fundamental split within the Church following the episcopalian settlement of 1661-62, they may have constituted two thirds of the emigrants who were neither prisoner nor Quaker, around 200 in total.[173] On this basis, there may have been slightly more Presbyterians in total, given the numbers of prisoners in their ranks.

Quakers

The relative number of Quaker emigrants understates their significance to the East Jersey venture given the Quaker input to its planning and the involvement of 15 as investors and agents who did not themselves travel. My analysis of birth and marriage records show that there were at least 34 adult Quakers who travelled between 1683 and 1685, either as free emigrants or servants. They brought 18 or more children with them and constituted 10% of all emigrants and 13% of those who were free or indentured. Free Quaker emigrants included two brothers of Robert Barclay (John and David); a laird, John Laing of Craigforthie with his family; John Molleson, son of Aberdeen merchant burgess, Gilbert Molleson; and William Robertson, a doctor from Burntisland and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Leith skipper Hector Allen.

Quakers under indenture included John Reid and John Hamton, recruited as ‘overseers’ for the initial emigration in 1683, responsible for supervising the initial, practical colonial settlement. Both were gardeners, an occupation which appealed to Quakers given that it allowed them to find spiritual meaning through the natural world and to make a constructive contribution to their community and society. Gardening was a sophisticated

[171] RPCS XI, 159
[172] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, vi-Synods of Aberdeen and Moray (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926), 166
[173] Alasdair Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 33

occupation in this period, including horticulture as well as pleasure gardens. It required knowledge not only of botany but also of meteorology, physics and mathematics, extremely useful skills for colonisers.[174]

Quaker gardeners were renowned as reliable and hard-working, and were sought after by leading landowners. Reid, son of the gardener at Niddrie Castle near Winchburgh, trained as an under-gardener to Quaker Hew Wood at Hamilton Palace. He proceeded to work for the Earl of Perth at Drummond Castle in 1675 and for Mackenzie of Rosehaugh in 1680 at his Midlothian estate, The Shank. He was thus not only well-known amongst Quakers circles but also to political supporters of the East Jersey venture. Not long after he left for East Jersey, his book, *The Scots Gard'ner* was published, the first on gardening in Scotland. The initial part deals with the design and planting of gardens and offers "new and profitable ways of levelling and measuring land". The second part focuses on propagating and improving forest and fruit trees, kitchen herbs, roots and fruits.[175]

Covenanters

As explained in Chapter 2, the Covenanters constituted a hard core of religious dissidents who were considered a thorn in the flesh of the Crown and Privy Council. A few were transported in 1684 "for public disorders and irregularities", including three of the notorious Sweet Singers sect, John Gibb, David Jamieson and Alexander Montieth.[176] The Sweet Singers were regarded as extreme and deluded by other Covenanters such as Donald Cargill who failed to turn them away from their renunciation of the catechisms, chapters and verses of the Bible, and the 1560 Confession of Faith on which Covenanting had been founded.[177]

In 1685, over 120 Covenanter prisoners were transported aboard the *Henry and Francis* to East Jersey, all having refused to abjure their dissident views. Of these, 73 (61%) had been imprisoned in Dunnottar and several had been tortured following an escape attempt.[178] Their number included laird, Robert McClellan of Barmagachan in Kirkcudbrightshire, his daughter Mary and son Andrew; heritor John Hutchison of Hairlaw near Carstairs, Lanarkshire; John Corsan, a farm servant from Nithsdale; John Hodge, an armourer from Glasgow; and William Niven, a blacksmith from Pollokshaws, Renfrewshire. Amongst the

[174] Diana Wells, 'Quakers and Gardening', *Friends Journal*, October 1994, 8–10
[175] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683)
[176] RPCS VIII, 710
[177] Walter Ker et al, *A Blasphemous & Treasonable Paper, Emitted by the Phanatical Under-Subscribers on May 1, 1681* (Edinburgh: William Paterson); Douglas W. B. Somerset, 'Walter Ker and the "Sweet Singers"', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal*, 2 (2012), 85–108
[178] RPCS XI, 70

women prisoners was Jean Moffat from Netherbarns near Galashiels, whose farmer father had been fined 1,000 merks for her absences from church and her attendance at conventicles[179].

Available records relating to transportees point to many in being in their twenties. There were some older people such as Robert Young, wright in Edinburgh and John Campbell from Barr in Ayrshire, both in their forties. The oldest known prisoner was Mr David Simson, minister of Killean and Kilchenzie in Argyll, aged about 63. He was amongst the prisoners considered for transportation with George Scot but was carried aboard the *America Merchant*.[180]

Of the younger men, at least 16 had been taken at or after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, including Walter Ker from Torphichen in West Lothian, another Sweet Singer, and Robert McEwen from Dumfriesshire. They avoided the extreme fates of many of their colleagues such as those who were executed, or drowned aboard the *Croun*.

It is possible that some of the transported prisoners were common criminals rather than dissident Covenanters, given that the Privy Council did not care whom George Scot recruited during his prison tour. There are no obvious references in the sources to such individuals, other than three granted to Monzievaird in 1684.[181] Any who left a footprint in East Jersey may have sought to reinvent themselves, shedding past reputations.

There were also Covenanters amongst the free emigrants aboard the *Henry and Francis*, some of whom had had previous encounters with the authorities. These included Glasgow merchant James Armour, Linlithgow currier George Higgins, and preacher, Mr Archibald Riddell. Riddell was technically free at the point of departure though he had agreed "never to return without special licence" as a condition of his release on 24 December 1684 after three years imprisoned on the Bass Rock.[182] Riddell had been a big draw as a field preacher and frequently pursued by the authorities. His appeal to Covenanters was recognised by the Scots Proprietors who granted him 200 acres on grounds that he was "greatly esteemed by persons of their persuasion in matters of religion".[183] Others on this voyage included several members of the prominent Covenanter Rigg family of George

[179] Duncan Stewart and John Smith, *The Covenanters of Teviotdale* (Galashiels: A. Walker & Son, 1908), 199
[180] NJSA A(EJ): Folio 225; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, iv, 66
[181] RPCS VIII, 514-515
[182] RPCS X, 79
[183] NJSA A(EJ): Folio 384-385

Scot's wife, Margaret, including her stepmother, Bethia Carstairs.[184] Riddell's mother, Janet Rigg was a sister of Margaret's father, Thomas Rigg of Aithernie.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the demographics, origins, and occupations of the emigrants arriving between 1683 and 1685. A third of the 562 passengers identified were free emigrants and their children, two fifths were indentured servants and their children, and the remainder transported prisoners. Three quarters were male and one quarter females across all emigrant categories. This was similar in proportion to the contemporary import of indentured servants to the English colonies in North America, though different to the earlier Great Migration which was much more a movement of families for religious reasons.

There were at least 36 family groups comprising over 130 people, in various combinations including siblings brought in on indentures to other people. Children were often very young and not always recorded as passengers. The emigrants had a youthful profile, crucial given the necessity of hard work in creating new settlements, estates, farms and businesses.

Occupational data can mainly be found for men amongst the free emigrants and underplays the contribution of women before, during and after their voyage. Of the free migrants who arrived safely, merchants comprised over half, followed by a landowning/ farming group, a small number of tradespeople and a few from the professions. Over 20 merchants and landowners brought servants on indentures supplying skills they did not have themselves. Relatively few of the emigrants appear to have been trained as masons and carpenters, which was likely to slow the physical development of new settlements.

A significant number of emigrants, particularly free and indentured ones, came from Eastern Scotland reflecting both the networks of those buying land in East Jersey and the ports of departure.

A substantial proportion of the adult emigrants were Covenanters, whether sentenced to transportation or leaving of their own free will. In total they were probably more than those who accepted episcopacy. The remaining 10% were Quakers, though their

[184] Bethia was widow of Edinburgh lawyer, Thomas Rigg of Aithernie, whose family opposed Charles I's religious reforms. John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland: From the Year 1558 to August 1637* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 325-7, 476

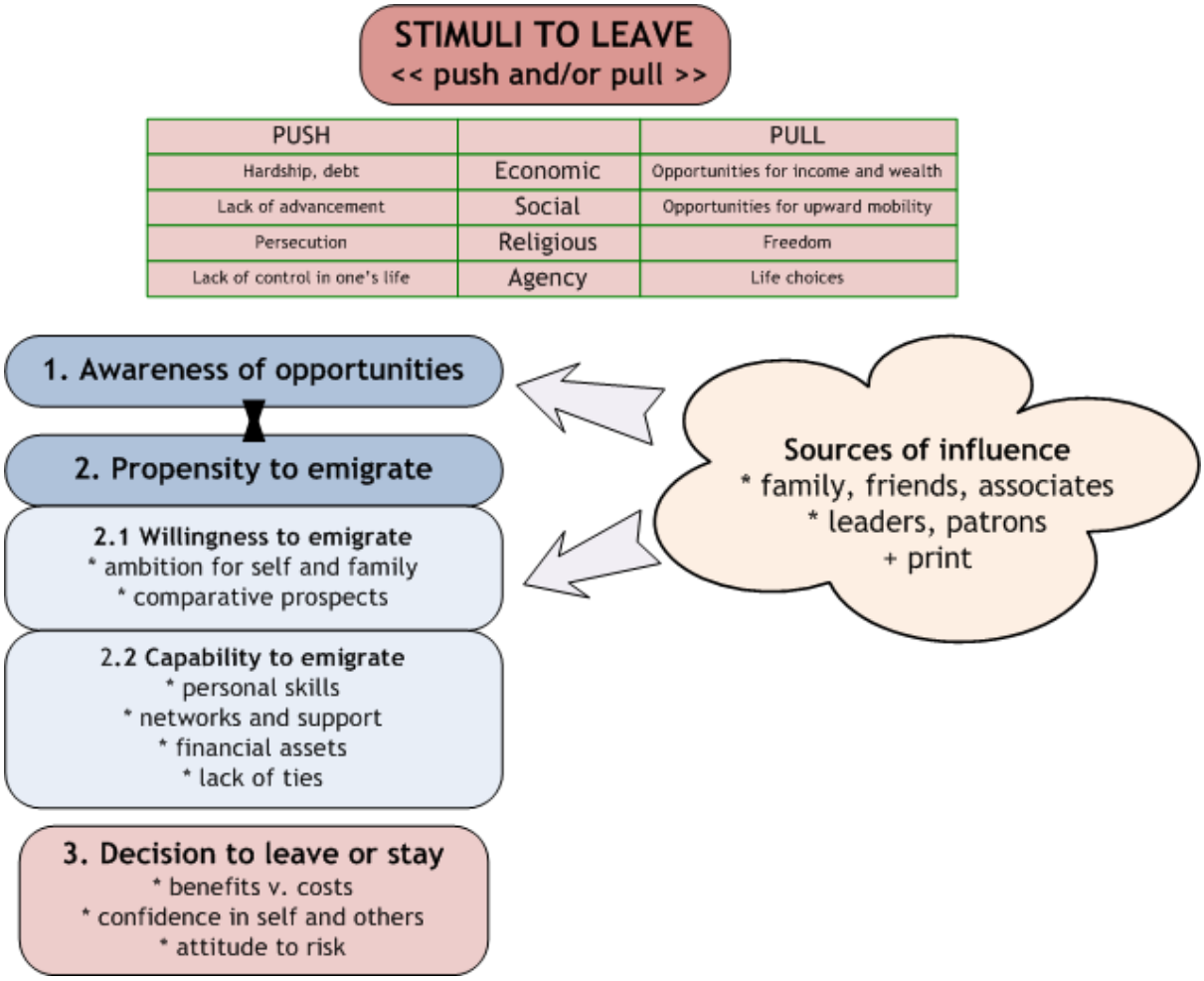
community proved significantly more influential in orchestrating the East Jersey venture than suggested by this percentage of emigrants.

Chapter 4: Emigrant Motivations

4.1 Motivations for emigration

Chapter 4 reviews the circumstances and motivations of the emigrants, drawing on the model introduced in Chapter 1 (Figure 4-1 below). It primarily concerns those who travelled of their own free will, while touching on the attitudes of the Covenanters banished or encouraged to leave. It reflects on the case made by the promotional literature of the time to attract settlers, and illustrates the wider range of factors encouraging and facilitating emigration. The chapter concludes with reflections on the relative strengths and combinations of these various elements.

Figure 4-1 Influences on decisions to emigrate



4.2 Awareness of opportunities and sources of influence

The free and indentured emigrants became aware of opportunities presented by East Jersey through family and wider kin; friends and contacts in broader social and business networks and faith communities; leading individuals within these; and the promotional efforts of emigration leaders and their agents. Their ultimate decision to leave their native land depended on a mix of factors, including their ambition and enterprise, financial circumstances, and the capabilities, skills and networks on which they could draw.

Family milieu: inspiration and connections

Several of the leading protagonists gained inspiration from within their families. Some were exposed to the idea at a young age, potentially sparking interest in colonial adventure. Wagner observed that three of the five original Scottish Proprietors of East Jersey, Robert Barclay, his brother David, and their maternal uncle, Robert Gordon of Cluny were direct descendants of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, who, with Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, led the project to establish Scotland's first Atlantic colony in the 1620s.[185] Also from this line were three sons of Sir Ludovick Gordon, 2nd Baronet, first cousins of the Barclays: Robert, later 3rd Baronet, who held land in East Jersey in absentia in 1690; Sir John Gordon of Durno, the absentee fractioner who played a significant role in attracting further Scots investors; and George, who emigrated to East Jersey in 1685.

Other families involved in East Jersey had baronets of Nova Scotia as forebears including Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat, son of Sir John Mackenzie, and Archibald Riddell, grandson of Sir John Riddell of Riddel. Two emigrant Gordon of Pitlurg brothers were grandsons of Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys on their mother's side and may also have been inspired by their paternal grandfather, the pioneer mapmaker Robert Gordon of Straloch. Burnett's niece, Katherine Allardyce, married John Fullarton of Kinnaber, and three of their sons emigrated to East Jersey in 1684. A Fullarton daughter, Helen, left earlier for West Jersey with her husband John Skene.[186] Furthermore, Robert Burnet of Lethintie, who attracted several investors in East Jersey in 1683-84, belonged to a cadet family of Burnetts of Leys.

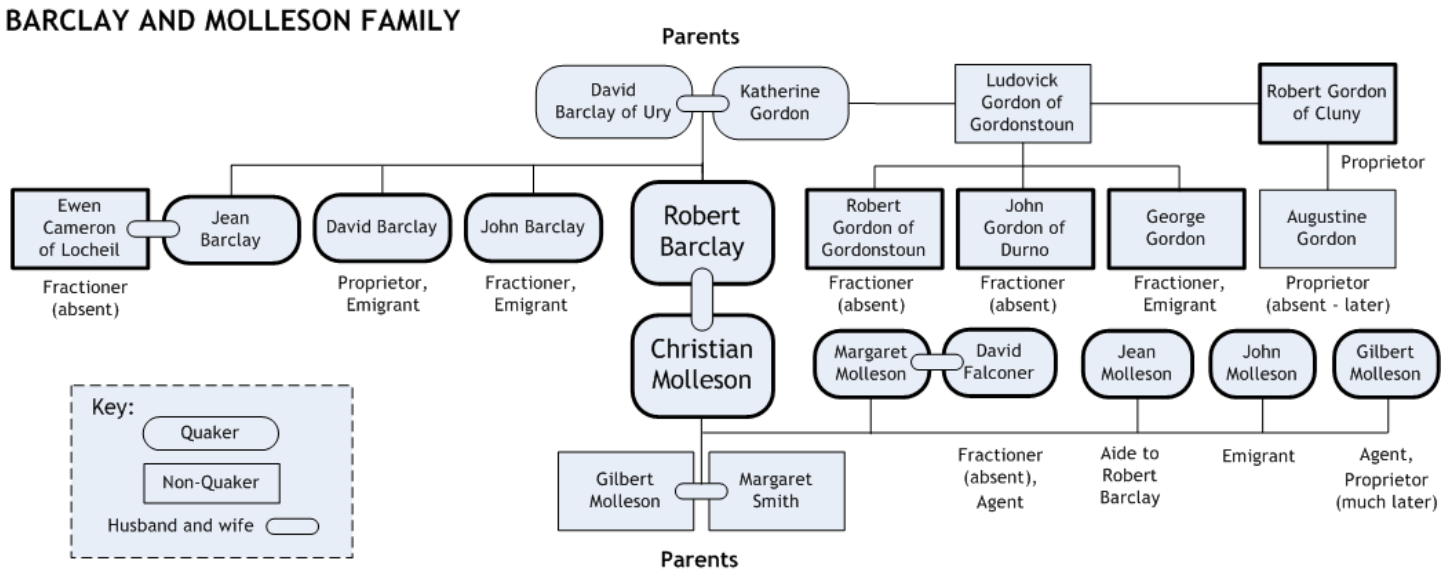
[185] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien', 187
[186] Skene was the son of Alexander Skene of Newtyle and Quaker preacher Lilias Gillespie. He became Deputy Governor of West Jersey in 1684.

Family milieu could be important too. George Scot's father, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, was a close associate of both Straloch and Menstrie.[187] In 1620, when Director of Chancery, Scotstarvet published a tract on Newfoundland by Captain John Mason, promised by the author as an honest account of the region's colonial potential.[188]

Close kin connections were also part of the phenomenon of Quaker support for East Jersey, helping to spread awareness and influence decisions to invest and emigrate. As explained in Chapter 2, Quakers in Scotland bonded through their beliefs and experience of persecution and relied on each other for many personal and business matters. As elsewhere, their cohesiveness was reinforced by expecting their children to marry other Quakers.

This tightness is particularly evident in the network of Robert Barclay, depicted in Figure 4-2, akin to a family enterprise, albeit not exclusively Quaker. This presents a simplified family tree for Barclay and his wife, Christian Molleson, identifying relevant members and their roles.[189] It is notable that, of these contemporaries, the four men who emigrated were the youngest, aged between 22 and 32, and all were single.

Figure 4-2 Barclay and Molleson family connections



Kinship featured strongly in the close family connections reported in Chapter 3 such as the Gordon and Fullarton cousins, and also amongst the Covenanters who travelled as free

[187] Thomas G. Snoddy, *Sir John Scot, Lord Scotstarvit* (University of St Andrews, 1968), 50-55,160
[188] Charles Wesley Tuttle, ed., *Capt. John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire* (Boston: Prince Society, 1887), 133,145
[189] The diagram concentrates on those involved in 1683-85. Augustine Gordon inherited his father's share in 1690.

emigrants such as George Scot's Rigg in-laws. The opportunity to emigrate was evidently discussed amongst many less well-off families from whom indentured servants came, given the numbers of family groups or siblings who chose to leave.

Networks and culture

Many Quakers saw their survival as a community as dependent on success in business. As reviewed by Block, their philosophy was one of cultivating both the 'inner plantation' (nurturing a godly self and a godly community) and the 'outer plantation' (investing in property and commerce).[190] Landes in her study of Quaker merchants in London observes how much more oriented to transatlantic commerce they were than the norm.[191] Quakers were very effective in keeping in touch with one another through correspondence and personal contact at Quaker meetings while travelling. Quaker religious tracts were circulated extensively and were accompanied by other publications likely to have fuelled interest in emigration, such as Loddington's *Plantation Work: the work of this generation*.[192]

Kinship and business networks were overlapping sources of inspiration and influence, clearly illustrated in the Quaker origins of the East Jersey venture. It was apparent also amongst Scots merchants who were used to collaborating (e.g., in financing voyages and in lobbying for commercial advantage) and open to new forms of economic opportunity, including manufacture and colonial projects. Such proposals were at the heart of the Committee on Trade discussions in 1681. Various new ventures were launched during the following decade, most notably New Mills outside Haddington which produced textiles.[193] One of its main promoters was Edinburgh merchant Robert Blackwood who lent money to Robert Barclay in February 1684 and partnered Lord Neill Campbell in financing land purchase and the voyage of the *America Merchant* in 1685.[194] Another was John Drummond of Newton whose brother Gawen left for East Jersey, while emigrant Thomas Gordon is mentioned in passing in the New Mills records. Gordon already had links with London

[190] Kristen Block, 'Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations: Property, Industry, and Slavery in Early Quaker Migration to the New World', *Early American Studies*, 8.3 (2010), 515–48
[191] Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World*, 94-95
[192] Brooke Sylvia Palmieri, 'Compelling Reading: The Circulation of Quaker Texts, 1650-1700' (unpublished Ph.D., University College London, 2017), 5,218-222; William Loddington, *Plantation Work: The Work of This Generation* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1682)
[193] These are catalogued in Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), Appendix; and William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge University Press, 1910), iii, 123-19
[194] Joseph Wagner, 'Extracts from the Journal of Robert Barclay of Ury'; NJSA B(EJ): Folio 23

merchants, as evident in a bond to Thomas Phipps, merchant, for £31 15s sterling in receipt of "good and sufficient merchant weare", in 1680.[195]

Some of the Quakers were involved with New Mills: Gawen Lawrie contributed finance and sourced sumac for dyeing, Charles Ormston in Kelso supplied wool, David Falconer purchased cloth, and Hector Allen carried cargo.[196] Lawrie also collaborated with another London Scots merchant, James Foulis — not a Quaker — who was still taking an interest in New Mills affairs in 1702. Foulis was a mover behind the Company of Scotland and the Bank of Scotland, as was Blackwood.

Blackwood also features in the East Jersey story as master of two merchant apprentices, sons of Sir Ludovick Gordon, Charles and George.[197] George was sufficiently well established as a merchant by March 1684 that his cousin, Robert Barclay, encouraged him to "bring down his veshell here to carry passengers to East Jersey".[198] Also in Edinburgh was Captain Andrew Hamilton, one of the emigration agents during 1683 to 1685 and later resident Deputy Governor of East Jersey. He was close to two merchants, Alexander Simpson and George Wedderburn, who were instrumental in publishing the first Scottish book on accounting, Robert Colinson's *Idea rationaria*.[199]

The East Jersey venture features in the early history of freemasons in Scotland, involving members of several lodges. In Aberdeen, one was an emigrant (merchant John Forbes), two were absentee fractioners (manufacturer Robert Gordon and advocate George Alexander), while a fourth was an agent for Pitlochie, Harry Elphinstone of Melgum, Collector of Customs and Master of the Aberdeen Lodge. John Skene who went to West Jersey was also a freemason and, like Forbes and Gordon, a Quaker.[200]

The culture around the ducal court in Edinburgh was favourable to the development of freemasonry.[201] Perth and Lundin were freemasons and the writings of Rosehaugh on Scottish genealogy and heraldry were influential in the distinctive evolution of Scots freemasonry. Robert Milne, the royal master mason, was Master of the Lodge of Edinburgh

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[195] NRS RD2/59/33. Thomas Phipps was from an established clothier family who was involved in trade to the East Indies, West Africa and New England.
[196] William Robert Scott, ed., *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire, 1681-1703* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1905), 5,11,30,56,89
[197] Charles B. Boog Watson, *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1666-1700* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1929), 38
[198] Letter to Sir John Gordon of Durno, brother of George, 4 March 1684, in Barclay, *History of the Barclay Family*, III, 169. There are no further references to this vessel or to George Gordon's ownership of one.
[199] NRS RH15/14/38. Simpson and Wedderburn were witnesses to baptisms of Hamilton's children: NRS OPR 685/1: 90/236,100/65,100/192
[200] David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 138-141
[201] Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 735-751

(Mary's Chapel) No.1.[202] His daughter Elizabeth married John Dobie who bought a fraction in East Jersey and sent several servants before emigrating permanently.[203] Another mason, advocate Sir John Harper of Cambusnethan, was the first witness at the baptism of Andrew Hamiton's son John in 1685.[204] Harper had been a notable member of the Edinburgh Lodge since 1670.[205]

These freemasons were 'speculative' rather than 'operative', i.e. not those whose craft was masonry. Only one operative mason emigrated, John Cockburn from the Melrose Lodge. He and Skene are regarded as fathers of American freemasonry, though little is known about their actual role in fostering the movement after they emigrated.

Leaders

Leaders within communities exercised significant influence in promoting emigration, stemming from their reputation, formal position of authority or personal attributes. This extended to close family members, peers, friends, acquaintances and business contacts, and to others at second or third hand. That these leaders came from different social and geographical milieux was a strength of the East Jersey venture in attracting a diversity of emigrants.

Many historians agree that Robert Barclay played a significant personal role, and without him, it seems likely that the venture would not have happened. In encomia after Barclay's death, William Penn, Patrick Livingstone and Andrew Jaffray painted a picture of someone highly influential in the development of Quaker theology, possessing a keen mind and strong powers of reason, and leading by example. Sewel in his 1722 history of the Quakers pointed to a quiet charisma which drew people to listen and be open to persuasion.[206]

Barclay showed consummate ability in straddling different worlds.[207] He could converse with people of widely different status and was well-liked by the Duke of York. He built a strong relationship with the Drummond brothers and Tarbat, and prevailed upon the Duke to instruct the authorities in Aberdeen to cease their persecution of Quakers.

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[202] David Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No.1* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1873), 93-94. East Jersey records also indicate the presence of another daughter of Milne, Anna. She was an indentured servant who sold her headland in 1687. NJSA D(EJ): Folio 139-140

[203] Milne was first witness at the baptism of their son Robert in 1686. NRS OPR 685/1 100/160

[204] NRS OPR 685/1 100/65

[205] Lyon, op.cit., 91

[206] William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Quakers* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1832), i, 75

[207] Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, 95-128

The other principal leaders of the emigration voyages, Lord Neill Campbell and George Scot of Pitlochie, were very different from Barclay in the type of influence they could exert. Lord Neill held high status as second son of the 8th Earl of Argyll and owned extensive properties. By custom, he could hope to draw on traditional allegiance within Clan Campbell, but his prospects for doing so were complicated by the involvement of many Campbells in his brother's uprising. Little is known about his recruitment of passengers for his voyage in 1685, though it seems likely that his partner, Robert Blackwood played a significant role in and around Edinburgh.

George Scot was a minor landowner held in some esteem as the learned son of Scotstarvet. George was steadfast and stubborn in his Covenanter principles, and prosecuted several times. His behaviour does not appear leader-like but rather, otherworldly. Scot was described later by Thomson as a "needy and bustling projector", and by Anderson as an eccentric lacking in "wisdom in the management of worldly affairs".[208] Evidence from deeds suggests that Scot was more inclined to help out fellow Covenanters, such as in lending 1,100 merks to John Hay of Lochloy in 1682, than to maximise returns on his assets.[209] Hay was a credit risk: he had been in financial difficulties since his minority and was suspected of involvement in the Rye House Plot in March 1683.[210] Scot also acted as cautioner for fellow Covenanters, putting his own funds on the line.[211]

Nevertheless, Scot believed he could provide leadership. He devoted himself to writing his *Model of Government* and promised to recruit Presbyterians. While his personal commitment is likely to have helped win some people over, he struggled in this task. Despite deploying a wide geographical spread of agents, he drew most of his free passengers from his home patch of Fife and Edinburgh. These included close relatives of his wife, Margaret Rigg and her cousin, Archibald Riddell. Fife neighbours included another preacher, Mr William Aisdale from Kinghorn and Burntisland merchant William Ged.

There were others who played a leadership role, locally influential but secondary to these three movers, in particular the Fullarton and Gordon brothers, Montrose merchant David Mudie and David Toschach of Monzievaird. Toschach seems to have relied on his

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[208] James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill*, ed. George Scott and Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), xvii; James Anderson, 'The Martyrs of the Bass', in Thomas McCrie et al, *The Bass Rock: Its Civil and Ecclesiastic History* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son, 1847), 157,161

[209] NRS RD4/54/272

[210] Derek J. Patrick, 'People and Parliament in Scotland, 1689-1702' (unpublished Ph.D., University of St Andrews, 2002), 181

[211] E.g., for a bond by Henry and Patrick Pitcairne in 1684. NRS RD2/63/1034

hierarchical authority. This attitude was evident in Perth Amboy in late 1684 when he required John Campbell, a son of the laird of Duncrosk, to provide a "footman in velvett" to wait on him and to "hold his stirrup" when attending meetings of the resident Board of Proprietors.[212]

Promotional activities

The Scots Proprietors and George Scot made full use of promotional tracts, setting out the attractions of East Jersey, terms of emigration and names of their agents. Six were printed in Edinburgh between 1683 and 1685.[213] The first, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey* had a circulation of 500 copies.[214] Another, notable for containing the names of the most agents (29), was aimed specifically at tradesmen, husbandmen and servants.[215] Most were short, up to 13 pages, although George Scot's *Model* must have been an expensive production, at 272 pages in large print.

Several of these are similar to modern sales prospectuses in setting out the main arguments for the proposition (emigration) and dealing with associated objections. They make use of 'satisfied customers', deploying letters written by emigrants to correspondents back home. Scot's *Model* is an exhaustive example which contains over 100 epistolatory pages. Scot was well aware of the need for counter-arguments, referring in his opening dedication to Earl of Perth to "a parcel of people, who whether out of Ignorance or Malice I cannot well determine, decry the design".[216] He devoted 30 pages, over half of his core argument, to rebuttals.

Scot's *Model* and the other tracts presented a mix of arguments for emigration, stressing economic opportunities, with trade facilitated by a colony under the control of Scots; a route to land and prosperity for the younger sons of the landed classes; a good livelihood and heritable property for tradespeople and servants; and a more tolerant society, offering an escape from religious persecution or hostility.

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[212] NJSA record quoted by Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, 23

[213] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683); George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey by a Letter Write to One of the Proprietors Thereof* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683); Anon., *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East New Jersey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1684); Scots Proprietors, *Advertisement to All Trades-Men, Husbandmen, Servants and Others Who Are Willing to Transport Themselves unto the Province of New-East-Jersy in America* (Scots Proprietors, 1684); George Scot, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey, in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685); Scot, *Model*

[214] Wagner, 'Extracts from the Journal of Robert Barclay of Ury', 15

[215] Scots Proprietors, *Advertisement to All Trades-Men*

[216] Scot, *Model*, ii

4.3 Willingness to leave: extrinsic factors

As Chapter 1 explained, willingness to consider emigration depends on a mix of extrinsic and intrinsic factors. In contrast to the latter, inner dimensions, the former primarily concern prospects for economic and social advancement, particularly for merchants in pursuit of easier trade and landownership. The East Jersey case illustrates how family context could be crucial, for instance, in the strength or otherwise of finances or in likelihood of inheriting property.[217] Indebtedness, a common state for many property owners and merchants, could be a spur *or* a hindrance to considering emigration.

Personal/ family economic circumstances

Brown has highlighted the growing prevalence of debt in Scotland's noble society in the 17th century, manifest not in a universal financial crisis but rather in fluctuating fortunes: some families did well and others faded into obscurity.[218] Watt found in the Highlands, while there were forward-looking responses including droving, extractive industries and trade, there was also melancholic inertia.[219] McFaulds concluded that by 1690 the aristocracy and gentry in Forfarshire could not meet their financial needs and were increasingly seeking credit, mainly from clergy, merchants, lawyers and doctors.[220] In his *Model*, George Scot observed a common effect of primogeniture, in painting an unhappy picture of the eldest brother, "intangled in the ordinary debts of the Family" with "a most slavish life, where he is every morning in reverence of his Creditors".[221]

Many landed families had built debt over generations, often associated with their dealings in property and maintaining a 'lairdly' lifestyle. Being on the 'wrong' side in political and religious controversies could result in financial penalties and dramatic changes in circumstances. The desire to restore family fortunes could be a potent motivator for emigration. 'Rolling the dice' for financial reward might be more attractive than staying put. Lord Neill Campbell was reported by Lauder of Fountainhall as having "mortgaged his

[217] Leonard Kasdan, 'Family Structure, Migration and the Entrepreneur', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7.4 (1965), 345–57.
[218] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 92
[219] Douglas Watt, '"The Laberinth of Thir Difficulties": The Influence of Debt on the Highland Elite c.1550-1700', *Scottish Historical Review*, 85.219 (2006), 28–51
[220] John McFaulds, 'Forfarshire Landowners and Their Estates, 1660-1690' (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Glasgow, 1980), xi
[221] Scot, *Model*, 46

oune fortune".[222] It was also said that George Scot attracted "dyvours [bankrupts] and broken men" but the sources provide no names.[223]

Fractioner David Toschach had struggled to pay off debts incurred by his grandfather. He was subject to letters of inhibition by the Grahames of Gorthie in 1674, preventing him from any further borrowing, and he was forced give up his lands of 'the Vaird' in Methven parish five years later.[224] His relation, John Campbell also came from a Perthshire family experiencing difficulties. John's father, Colin Campbell of Dundrun and Easter Duncrosk, had acted as cautioner to bonds granted by his brother-in-law, lawyer William Ramsay. Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully took action for payment of £4,634 Scots following Ramsay's death, resulting in Campbell being put to the horn (outlawed for non-payment of debt) and ruined. Later, in 1687, his wife was forced to give up her liferent of Easter Duncrosk.[225] John was able to afford to buy land in East Jersey only by selling his lands of Glentoun, Argyll to the Earl of Perth in January 1683. Perth may thus have been instrumental in Campbell's emigration.[226]

Robert Barclay himself was not immune from financial difficulties. The Ury estate had been devastated by Montrose's troops in 1645 and the family lost their charter rights when Ury was part of a forfeiture imposed on their feudal superior, the Earl Marischal. Robert's father, David, was able to invest in restoring the estate but was short of funds to pay a penalty in 1676 for attending Quaker conventicles, resulting in his imprisonment.[227] Robert's friendship with the Duke of York led to the restoration of the Ury charter, and by March 1685 he had managed to clear the estate of debts of 20,000 merks.[228] This was one reason why he did *not* emigrate himself. In the same year he wrote to William Penn explaining that the success of the estate mattered: "Being the subsistence of so numerous a family and six children depends upon it".[229]

Robert's father David was but one of several propertied Quakers and Covenanters severely hit by fines. Others included Robert Burnet of Lethintie and Andrew Jaffray, each fined ¼ of their annual rents for attending a conventicle and ⅛ for absenting themselves from public worship.[230] George Scot and his wife Margaret were fined in 1674 and 1677 and had

[222] Lauder, *Historical Notices*, ii, 550
[223] Chambers, Robert, *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W.&R. Chambers, 1858), ii, 480
[224] NRS GD155/201, RH14/44/158/2
[225] MacGregor, *The Red Book of Scotland*, II, 594
[226] NRS RD3/64/508-515
[227] Barclay, *A History of the Barclay Family*, III, 14,34,38,46,83
[228] Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, 96. Barclay had assumed responsibility for the estate in 1679.
[229] Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, 120
[230] Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London: Luke Hinde, 1753), 509

their goods escheated, while William Ged faced a penalty of 2,000 merks in 1682. This was for his part in the "tumult at the kirk of Dron" that May, when a group of Covenanters tried to prevent the installation of a new minister.[231]

Prospects for younger sons

Providing opportunities for the younger sons of landowners was a prominent argument in the first pamphlet of 1683.[232] In June 1684, Robert Gordon of Cluny, writing to Gawen Lawrie, expressed his "first desire of becoming a Proprietor" was to provide land for his son Augustine "since I had not estate whereby to make him a Scotch laird".[233] Augustine, who was in his early 20s, was an apothecary in London. He inherited his father's land in East Jersey in 1690 but never emigrated. Other notable cases where primogeniture drove commitment to emigrate were two brothers of Robert Gordon of Pitlurg (Charles and Thomas), three brothers of John Fullarton of Kinnaber (Thomas, Robert and James), and James Dundas, younger brother of Robert, 2nd Lord Arniston.

There could be similar thinking within merchant families. Robert Hardie emigrated to East Jersey with two middle sons, Alexander and William. In December 1684 he wrote to his eldest, John, encouraging the two youngest sons, Andrew and David, daughter Elspeth and their Aberdeen neighbours to join them, saying, "I shall make them live in better condition than ever formerly".[234] Other examples of younger sons included Gawen and Robert, son and grandson of Prestonpans merchant Robert Drummond; John, son of Gilbert Molleson, merchant burgess of Aberdeen; and Daniel, son of Robert Gordon, card maker in Aberdeen and absentee fractioner. For merchants, the potential of growing the family business through new markets was also likely to have been an attractive factor.

Prospects for social advancement

It was an established practice in Scotland for merchants to buy land which would give them a lairdly title, such that they could add 'of' such-and-such estate to their names, enhancing their social status. This was a prospect for those purchasing land in East Jersey.

More generally, some emigrants were likely to conclude that they had little or no prospects at home of social advancement, in what was a very hierarchical society. Offices in church, state, law and armed forces could be closed or very difficult to access, widely

[231] RPCS, VII, 449, 461
[232] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 4
[233] Anon., 'Some Unpublished Scots East Jersey Proprietors' Letters 1683-84', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 7.1 (1922), 10
[234] Scot, *Model*, 205. Hardie was unsuccessful in his entreaties.

dependent on patronage, often kinship-related. Houston in his study of social change in contemporary Edinburgh remarked on the high degree of occupational continuity between fathers and sons, constraining opportunities for others.[235]

Religious principles could limit prospects, e.g., leading individuals into conflict with the government or preventing them from taking up public appointments where they had to swear oaths, such as the Test Act in 1681.[236] It was not just ardent Covenanters who refused to pledge themselves to a monarch placing himself between themselves and God, but also many moderates felt a deep personal conflict over this. Opportunities were also precluded to Quakers who were not willing to swear oaths of any kind, including for public office.

Prospects for those without property

Many tenant farmers, husbandmen, cottars and landless workers experienced a precarious existence living in a stratified rural society with limited social and geographic mobility. Whyte concluded that many tenants "had little or no regular surplus beyond the three basic necessities of seed, rent and subsistence" and lacked capital and incentive to invest in agricultural improvements.[237] His research on the Panmure estates in Forfarshire in the late 17th century established that Commissary Court inventories pointed to very slim reserves, and that three-quarters of tenants had debts such as would require the sale of stock if called in immediately.[238]

Barron's introduction to the Court Book of the Barony of Urie provides a detailed description of the position of those who worked the Barclay estate. Cottars (sub-tenants holding a house, garden and an acre or so) paid little rent in money or grain, and were expected to provide a certain number of days' labour a year. Grassmen and herdsmen had no land other than a house and a garden, also provided in return for service. These groups had the right of grazing on common pasture or hill land and were required to pay the laird an amount per animal they owned. [239]

Barron remarked on the "grievous burden of the yearly rent", aggravated by other payments such as teind-silver. In Ury, these included levies to maintain the smithy and

[235] R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660–1760* (Oxford University Press, 1994), 81
[236] *Act anent religion and the Test*, RPS1681/7/29
[237] Ian D. Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), 251
[238] Ian D. Whyte, and K. A. Whyte, 'Continuity and Change in a Seventeenth-Century Scottish Farming Community', *Agricultural History Review*, 32.2 (1984), 159-169
[239] Douglas Gordon Barron, ed., *The Court Book of the Barony of Urie in Kincardineshire 1604-1747* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1892), xli-xlvi

help pay the schoolmaster's stipend and the estate baillie's expenses. There were also multures (shares of produce) to be paid to the estate miller. In parallel with the sons of landowners, younger sons lacked the prospect of taking on their father's lease.

Echoing arguments in the earlier promotional tracts, Scot made a pitch to "Our Common People" emphasising how "after four years' service, they may rationally propose to live more plentifully and more at ease, after a very little moderat pains and labour, than they can do at home" in comparison to their "accustomed slavish toyl".[240] Moreover, there was the compelling prospect of owning land that could be passed to your children.

Other family circumstances

It is conceivable that responsibility for family members could deter a decision to emigrate, for instance where there were elderly relatives to care for or very young families to bring up. The latter concern did not deter some families from leaving, as evidenced by ages of children reported in Chapter 3. Examples of parents emigrating with very young children included free emigrants Thomas Gordon and Helen Riddell and John Laing of Craigforthie and Margaret Chapman, each couple having four children under five years old. Family groups amongst indentured servants tended to be smaller and the children a little older.

It is possible that other family circumstances had an influence on decisions to emigrate. Political pressures, scandal or ill-fame could have been a spur. The most notable example was that of Lord Neill Campbell. In the aftermath of the decision by his brother, the Earl of Argyll, to go into exile in 1681, Campbell became a member of the Carolina Company and attended four of the undertakers' meetings. By late 1684 he was petitioning the Privy Council to carry emigrants to America. After his brother launched his rebellion in May 1685, he bought a proprietary share from Tarbat and partnered with Robert Blackwood to organise the voyage of the *America Merchant*.[241] He had a history of considering emigration when in a difficult family situation: in April 1662 he told Alexander Brodie of Brodie that he "inclined to a plantation in Jamaica" given his "condition of lyf".[242] This was less than a year after the execution of his father, the Marquess of Argyll.

Scandal may have influenced the fractioner James Johnstone and his brother John, the druggist involved in the *Henry and Francis* sailing. Their sister Sophia was the mistress of John, Lord Bargany and had his child. She sued for support and he countersued, taking his case to the Privy Council in December 1684.[243] He accused her of suborning witnesses and

[240] Scot, *Model*, 46
[241] RPCS X, 184-185; NJSA A(EJ): Folio 227
[242] Alexander Brodie, *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1863), 247
[243] NRS GD109/2590; RPCS X, 69

arranging an anonymous letter threatening murder. The case appears to have fizzled out when Bargany returned to his Ayrshire estate on pressing business. James subsequently wrote to his brother hoping that their sister would also emigrate, though she did not do so.[244]

A few emigrants made legal provision for managing responsibilities for family and property remaining in Scotland. My review of deeds registered by emigrants in Books of Council and Session between 1682 and 1686 shows only the occasional instance where the emigrant arranged an agent to look after their affairs, such as George Scot engaging his half-brother, Walter Scot of Letham, just four days before his departure from Leith.[245] There were no examples of deeds of provision made to help secure the financial future for family members left behind. This may be because many free emigrants were not the heads of families and most who were brought their immediate family with them.

4.4 Willingness to leave: intrinsic factors

Amongst the emigrants, there were intrinsic dimensions behind their decisions to leave Scotland, reflecting their attitudes and aspirations, potentially strongly influenced by close family, friends and associates. These included a desire for freedom to pursue their religion, hopes for their children, and their individual spirit and enterprise. Many across different faith affiliations will have asked themselves, "is it God's will to emigrate?".

Religious beliefs

Quaker

Quakers constituted an outward-looking movement and charged themselves with spreading the word about the 'Inner Light'. This was central to their version of Christianity, stressing personal insight of God and seeking to live a model life rather than adhering to formalised religious structures and practices. As Chapter 2 noted, from the 1650s onwards Quakers pursued missions abroad, so emigration was seen as a positive option. Their experience of persecution provided a bond and encouraged commitment that they were following a true path. Emigration to North America provided an opportunity to practise the pursuit of perfection, where deeds, rather than recitation of the Bible, demonstrated faith in Jesus.[246] Quaker philosophy fostered initiative and a constructive attitude to change.

[244] Scot, *Model*, 207
[245] NRS RD3/64/79
[246] Loddington, *Plantation Work*

Presbyterian

For Presbyterians there was not the same compulsion to proselytise and emigrate. Amongst the Covenanter Remnant, there was a stubborn commitment to stay and defend their beliefs, with some fleeing to temporary exile in Holland to fight another day. This limited George Scot's ability to recruit both free emigrants and the prisoners he was offered.

Scot was very aware of arguments amongst Presbyterians against emigration and exhaustively listed what the Bible had to say in favour. It was God's blessing to "multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it" and travel was acceptable to gather knowledge and obtain "merchandise and gainsake" by which God would be much magnified. To Scot, colonisation was a means of "planting and propagating Religion" and would be done better than by the "bloody and cruel Spaniard". He also pointed to Biblical approval for "removal" from home in case of persecution.[247]

Part of Scot's pitch was to suggest that "Presbiterian Principles" would continue to be suppressed in Scotland, making it desirable to take advantage of the tolerance allowed by the King in America. He accepted this policy, as a step away from a situation where "each of the Parties endeavours to blame the other, without any design of Accommodation or yielding to one another".[248] Furthermore, he argued that ruin would await those who stayed if they continued to oppose the Government.

Many Covenanters did not accept the case for tolerating other religious confessions and expressed considerable hostility to Quakers. This was encapsulated in testimonies by banished prisoners before they left. For example, John Muire wrote, "For if we be sent to New Jarsie, we may meat with temptations from Qwakres to twrne owt of the right way of the Lord to their delwsiones".[249]

Individual spirit, enterprise and attitude to risk

The free and indentured emigrants demonstrated resourcefulness and willingness to accept risks beyond the norm in Scotland. Scot observed that for some the colonial venture was a "novelty … appearing to thwart the verity of some of our old Scottish Proverbs, that ill Bairns are best heard at home, Fools are fain of flitting, and a Bird in hand is better than two in the bush".[250] Setting sail for America was a rare activity for

[247] Scot, *Model*, 28,31,33,37. Verses quoted included Acts 16.12, Genesis 1.26, Matthew 13.45 and Psalms 104.24.
[248] Scot, *Model*, 48-49
[249] RPCS VIII, 706-707
[250] Scot, *Model*, 17

Scots, and required an intrepid outlook beyond a more traditional horizon of travel across the North Sea or Bay of Biscay. In seeking to break new ground, physically and metaphorically, emigrants also needed confidence in their own skills and abilities.

Earlier sections have highlighted the extent to which politicians and merchants were seeking new economic opportunities, and some of the constraints under which they operated. Marshall in his 1980 study of the early development of capitalism in Scotland pointed to a favourable ethos in Calvinism, though one that was seriously hampered by a backward agricultural system and a chronic shortage of capital for investment[251]. While Presbyterians and Quakers had their differences, they stressed the importance of glorifying God through how one lived one's life, working diligently and pursuing a sober, ascetic existence. Such values, including their concern for education, provided a foundation for success in commerce.

There is very little surviving evidence of the views of people who were encouraged to emigrate but chose not to do so. A rare example is that of Alexander Brodie of Brodie who was pressed by Sir Ludovick Gordon to do so. Brodie wrote in his diary on 13 October 1682 that while there were "many goeing of to Carolina, Pennsylvania, Gersey. I did not relish it".[252] He did not elaborate. He was, however, aged 65.

Sometimes the correspondence of emigrants shows them resisting the scepticism or scorn of friends and relatives. Charles Gordon referred in a letter to Andrew Irvine, an Edinburgh merchant, to their 'cousins' George Burnet and Richard Maitland: "I hope they will not laugh more at me".[253] In deciding to emigrate, Gordon had turned down the offer of a regency in one of the Aberdeen university colleges. James Johnstone mentioned the efforts of Patrick Fortune, a friend from East Lothian, to dissuade him from leaving.[254].

4.5 Capability to emigrate

Kinship, commercial experience and networks

Kinship played a role not only in encouraging interest in emigration but also in enabling this in practical ways, through access to resources and knowledge. The Scots Quaker merchants could draw on the experience of their counterparts in London engaged in transatlantic trade and the first colonising voyages to Pennsylvania and West Jersey.

[251] Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits*, 274-275
[252] Brodie, *Diary*, 474
[253] Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, 453. Irvine had been an apprentice with the same merchant, Alexander Anderson, at the same time as Charles's brother, Thomas.
[254] Scot, *Model*, 195

Amongst the original English East Jersey Proprietors, for example, Samuel Groome and James Braine pursued the tobacco trade with Maryland while Thomas Rudyard was a mercantile lawyer involved with Penn in drawing up the constitution for Pennsylvania.[255] Merchants in Scotland who were involved could offer experience in planning the East Jersey venture, albeit that this was based on European trading. Examples included Captain Andrew Hamilton, a wine importer, Robert Blackwood, responsible for many cargoes out of Leith, and the Mudie family who were active across the North Sea.[256]

Resources for investment and emigration

As Chapter 2 explained, transatlantic trade could be expensive to finance, and colonial ventures very much more so, given the additional commitments for land purchase and provisioning. Barclay's journal illustrates the complexity inherent in organising such enterprises, with many bills of exchange relating to purchases of land and stock changing hands.[257] This financing required borrowing and thus considerable creditworthiness on the part of those involved. As mentioned earlier, some investors, such as John Campbell from Duncrosk, had to sell property.

There are very few examples in Register House of deeds which involve borrowing closely associated with the East Jersey venture.[258] In general, a small number of individuals used deeds extensively for business purposes, while most agreed by East Jersey protagonists tended to concern family-related property transactions. For instance, Lord Neill Campbell was embroiled in complicated cases involving loans to Lauchlan McIntosh of Torcastle and Alexander Campbell of Lochinell.[259]

Amongst the initial junior participants in East Jersey, fractioner James Johnstone and his brother John were unusual for the number of their deeds. Some related to loans and tacks on inherited land near Lauder, but the others indicated extensive financial activities in Edinburgh in the early 1680s. James and John together secured £4,444 Scots from Patrick Hepburn, apothecary, while James borrowed £2,900 from his sister, Sophia, out of the bond of provision granted her by their late father.[260] John obtained £1,314 Scots from four

[255] Harry Connelly Groome, *The Groome Family and Connections* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1907), 22; Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World*, 91. Rudyard was Deputy Governor of East Jersey, 1682 to 1684
[256] NRS OPR 685/1 100/192; Paul M. Gifford, *Falconer of Halkerton* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1997), 73
[257] Wagner, 'Extracts from the Journal of Robert Barclay'
[258] I reviewed over 130 deeds involving the emigrants and investors, mainly registered between 1681 and 1687.
[259] E.g., NRS RD2/63/459; RD2/65/637; RD3/57/196
[260] NRS RD4/9/831; RD2/68/1200

sources including Francis Montgomerie, brother to the Earl of Eglinton.[261] John also signed a deed with his brother-in-law, William Reid, for 800 lbs gunpowder, valued at £800 Scots, shortly before the *Henry and Francis* set sail.[262] The supplier was William Drummond of Cromlix, Master General of His Majesty's Ordnance for Scotland.[263]

A few tenant farmers and craftspeople were able to afford the £5/adult fare for the voyage, or more if they were taking their family. They also had to bear the loss of income associated with being 10-12 weeks or more at sea, as had indentured servants. Mason John Cockburn wrote to his shoemaker uncle, James Brown in Kelso, observing that "it is dear living here the first year or two", leading him to advocate indenture over free migration.[264] Emigration was simply *not* an option for those with no money or relevant skills to offer.

4.6 Conclusions on motivations

This chapter has illustrated the mixture of factors pushing and pulling decisions to emigrate, and cast light on the decision-making process for free and indentured emigrants. There was considerable interplay of kinship, faith and economics, and some politics — writ large in the example of Robert Barclay, his family and Quaker associates. Economic betterment was paramount for most. Unsurprisingly, as Chapter 3 illustrated, most of the free and indentured emigrants were in their twenties and early thirties with much of their lives ahead in which to make a success of the venture. Younger sons of landed and merchant families also responded to the promotion of East Jersey though not in large numbers overall. For the merchant emigrants there were prospects of new markets and easier trading under the Navigation Acts, and owning an estate.

Amongst the leaders, the inspiration behind the East Jersey venture came from within families and, for the Quakers, from the special attraction of a new world in which to practise and spread their beliefs. Barclay was trusted and held in high regard. The leaders more generally were able to exploit kinship, occupational and other connections to attract largely the mix of emigrants they sought, although ultimately not in the numbers originally envisaged.

The emigrants who purchased land in New Jersey appear to have been able to fund this themselves or from within their families. There is little evidence of heritable bonds used

[261] NRS RD3/61/278
[262] NRS RD3/64/548
[263] Second cousin of the Earl of Perth, made Viscount Strathallan in 1686.
[264] Scot, *Model*, 265

to raise finance, although occasional cases of land being sold are identifiable and lending though bills of exchange was common. Creditworthiness oiled the wheels, while its lack will have prevented some interested parties from joining the venture. Family debt loomed over a number of the emigrants who sought to alleviate this by seeking their fortune overseas.

For those without the funds to emigrate, travelling as indentured servants, there was the attraction of a new life, making the most of their abilities. Those from rural areas would also free themselves from feudal duties on the land. There were prospects of having one's own land, and possibilities for upwards social mobility.

Little is known about those who considered emigration but chose not to leave, though it is easy to conjecture similar factors working in combination in the opposite direction. These would have included lack of assets, lack of a sense of adventure, perception of unwarrantable risks, family commitments and circumstances, the views of kin and friends, and hopes for personal advancement and political change at home. The following chapter proceeds to review how the emigrants fared: how successful were they in achieving their objectives?

Chapter 5: Emigrant Outcomes

5.1 Emigrant outcomes: introduction

Chapter 5 reviews how matters turned out for the emigrants during the period from their arrival to the creation of the single province of New Jersey in 1702, set against their known or likely goals and expectations. It considers matters such as economic betterment, social advancement and religious freedom. The chapter proceeds to review the nature of the Scots colonial settlement, commenting on the place of religion and the political influence exerted by the Scots. It then considers evidence on economic and social outcomes, notably through land ownership and trade, differentiating the experiences of free emigrants, indentured servants and transported prisoners. It identifies what became of emigrants who left East Jersey, either moving elsewhere in the American colonies or returning to Scotland, before touching on the part played by indigenous Americans and enslaved people in this story.

Having 1702 as the end point for this study limits what can be said about the *eventual* outcomes for emigrants. Many were still living well into the 18th century and an important dimension is missing, that of outcomes for their children, given that this must have been for many parents a compelling factor in their decision to emigrate. A longer period also helps in considering the significance of ethnic ties and cultural assimilation, as well as onward colonial migration.[265] However, my focus on the origins, motivations, kinship and business networks of the emigrants sheds fresh light on outcomes in this early period, and suggests some avenues for further study.

Data on the emigrants

This chapter concentrates as before on those who arrived between 1683 and 1685 who comprise the vast majority (93%) of known Scots emigrants before 1702. It has been possible to identify 415 adult emigrants who survived the crossing. Of these, over half (220) were indentured servants, a quarter were prisoners and the remainder, free migrants. Of those where subsequent records exist, just under a quarter are known to have died after 1702. It is possible to trace a further third after their arrival but for whom there is no will, gravestone nor other note of death.

[265] For more on outcomes in 18th century East Jersey, see Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony*, 163 et seq.

This leaves over 40% for whom there is no further trace. It is possible to account for almost all the free emigrants, but only for half of the indentured servants and for 30% of the prisoners. A very large majority of the missing individuals were single or, in the case of some prisoners, had been forced to leave their partners behind. Many of the missing may have died in the first few years of the Scots settlement, while others may have moved elsewhere without leaving evidence.

There are a few accounts of death to disease in the initial years of settlement. Thomas Gordon lost his wife and several young children within a year or so of arrival. Andrew Hamilton remarked that 1687 was a "very sickly year", affecting the productivity of servants.[266] The next year George Keith wrote that he had been "in great Danger by a dangerous Feavour" and that, while few Quakers had died, most had been sick.[267] This may have been during one of the recurrent outbreaks of smallpox in North America between 1688 and 1691.[268]

5.2 Settling in East Jersey

The Scots settlement of East Jersey

Along with the creation of Perth Amboy as the colonial capital, the East Jersey Proprietors intended the creation of townships, each of five to ten thousand acres supporting ten to twenty families. This happened to some extent around Rahway and the Blew Hills (the Watchungs) near Elizabethtown (Essex County), and in Freehold (Monmouth County). In the latter over 30 Scots families owned land, including those who took up lots in a new village site of 100 acres on the Jersey shore which they called New Aberdeen.[269] This was on a creek suitable for light coastal craft where they built a wharf in 1701.[270] Otherwise, the Scots based themselves in the new town of Perth Amboy and in Woodbridge and Piscataway (all in Middlesex County). When Scots moved, they tended to aim for other places inhabited by Scots.

[266] William A. Whitehead, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, II, 1687-1703*, 29 (letter to George Docwra)
[267] George Whitehead, *The Power of Christ Vindicated Against the Magick of Apostacy* (London: J. Sowle, 1708), 231-232 (letter to George Fox)
[268] John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1972), 88-91
[269] Federal Writers' Projects, *Matawan 1686-1936* (State of New Jersey, 1936) 32-36; James Steen, *New Aberdeen*
[270] Nelson, *Calendar of Records*, 324

Figure 5-1 Map of early East Jersey settlements (extract from 'A Map of the country round Philadelphia', 1776) [271]

A few not tied by indenture settled elsewhere in East Jersey such as in Bergen where there were Dutch and English settlers. Peter Russell, one of the recaptured Dunnottar escapees, wrote to his family in Lanarkshire in 1688 when he was living with another Scots emigrant in Newark and aware of five others nearby.

Landsman contrasted the settlement pattern with that of England, replicated in New England. The Scots created townships akin to ferm touns at home, characterised by

[271] Anon., *A Map of the country round Philadelphia*

dispersed habitations rather than concentrated in nuclear villages.[272] He argued persuasively that the patterns of settlement and the maintenance of close communal and familial relationships strengthened the social distinctiveness of the Scots in East Jersey.[273]

The tight-knit nature of the community is further demonstrated by marriages amongst the Scots — just over half being between the emigrants — and names which appear in wills. A high proportion of property transactions were between Scots, reflecting the extent to which they located close to each other. Of 84 emigrant wills in East Jersey, 86% had Scots as executors and 57% as witnesses.[274] Research in colonial Philadelphia has found similarly close relationships amongst Scots engendered trust and underpinned commercial success.[275]

Religious dimensions

There was no one dominant religion in East Jersey. This fostered religious tolerance in the society, even if deep doctrinal differences persisted. The Covenanters in East Jersey seem to have moderated their views about Quakers. This was pragmatic given the exigencies of colonial settlement, and easier given the distance from family, associates and politics in Scotland. The earlier animus would have precluded the collaborative development of New Aberdeen with its mix of Presbyterians and Quakers.[276] Murdoch and Zickerman have observed how emigrant Scots in this period could develop more fluid attitudes to religion than that suggested by dogmas at home.[277] Emigrants had to make choices about where and how to serve God, given a paucity of preachers and places of worship.[278]

Religious observance was largely conducted in people's homes or in buildings which served multiple purposes. Table 5.1 provides a timeline of more formalised religious activities involving Scots, including dates when congregations formed. Archibald Riddell was the only Scots Presbyterian preacher, serving Woodbridge between 1686 and 1689. Two other ministers had left for the colony but both died en route or soon after. The Presbyterian

[272] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 19
[273] Ibid., 139-142
[274] My analysis of the New Jersey Historical Society's *Calendar of New Jersey wills, administrations, etc*, I-IV, edited by Nelson and Honeyman, which cover 1670 to 1770
[275] K. Tawny Paul, 'Credit and Ethnicity in the Urban Atlantic World: Scottish Associational Culture in Colonial Philadelphia', *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 13.3 (2015), 661–91
[276] Steen, *New Aberdeen*, 6
[277] Murdoch, *Network North*, 350; Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchant Families', 109
[278] See, e.g., Edwin F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey* (New York: Carlton & Lanahan, 1868), 280.

Church in Freehold, established in 1692, had to wait until 1706 for its first ordained minister.

Table 5.1 Development of religion in places settled by Scots[279]

Year	Place	Activity
1686	Woodbridge	Archibald Riddell in post for over two years, succeeding a Puritan preacher
1686	Perth Amboy	Quaker Monthly Meeting established, followed by Topanemus and Woodbridge (1689) and Plainfield (1692)
1689	East Jersey	Itinerant Anglican preacher, Alexander Innes from Aberdeen
1692	Freehold	Construction of the first Presbyterian church, log-built
1695	Perth Amboy	Anglican church established on the initiative of the Board of East Jersey Proprietors in London
1697	Topanemus	First burials in the 'Old Scots Burying Ground'
1702	Freehold	New congregation under George Keith on his return as an Anglican missionary

Potential for religious tension was eased in that the East Jersey Quakers' sense of mission was much less strong than that in West Jersey, where at least 25 of the 100 Proprietors were Quaker.[280] Ties of Scots Quakers to their own community weakened, with a notable schism in the mid-1690s led by their leading preacher George Keith. He vociferously criticised what he saw as inadequate attention amongst Quakers in America to doctrine and scripture. He failed to obtain support on a visit to London Quakers and decided to join the Church of England. He gained the backing of almost all the Scots Quakers in East Jersey and many became Anglican, including John Hamton and John Reid, the overseers in 1683.[281] A few chose to join the Presbyterian church. One, Janet Rhea, later, in her old age, determined the hilltop location of the new church in Freehold.[282]

The Anglican church naturally fitted those whose religious upbringing was Episcopalian, such as George Willocks, son of a minister who led prayers for King James at the time of

[279] Nelson R. Burr, 'The Religious History of New Jersey before 1702', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 56 (1938), Nos. 3&4, 169–90 and 243–66. A Quaker Monthly Meeting had been established in Shrewsbury in Monmouth County in 1672 and a meeting house built in 1689.
[280] Pomfret, John E., 'The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1702', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 77.3 (1953), 293
[281] Madeleine Ward, 'The Christian Quaker: George Keith and the Keithian Controversy', *Quaker Studies*, 2.1 (2019), 1-101
[282] Frank Rosebrook Symmes, *History of the Old Tennent Church* (Cranbury: G.W. Burroughs, 1904), 41

his overthrow.[283] Others saw advantage in transferring their affiliation for other reasons: for merchants, Anglicanism was a way into a wider business community, especially in New York, and for anyone ambitious to hold public office it was likely to smooth the way.

Political dimensions

As Landsman observed, Scots played a disproportionately large role in the governance of East Jersey.[284] Real authority shifted from the Proprietors in Scotland and London to the resident Board of Proprietors in East Jersey formed in 1684, and within this body, to the Scots fractioners and their proxies. This Board served as the de facto government of the province to 1688, and the Scots played prominent roles in subsequent governance arrangements, including Governors' Councils.[285]

During the period to 1702, 15 out of 25 men who served on the resident Board were Scots. Three served for the whole period: John Barclay, Thomas Gordon and George Willocks, while John Johnstone participated for 15 years and John Reid for 13.[286] Several of these men held other official posts. For example, Thomas Gordon acted variously as probate judge, Chief Justice, Attorney-General, Receiver-General, and Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly amongst other roles.[287]

The resident Board members had many opportunities to build their own estates as properties became available, and they were prepared to advance themselves land earmarked for future dividends, as in November 1692.[288] Several Surveyors-General of the province were Scots, of whom George Keith and John Reid played significant roles in the survey and allocation of lands. The Board left itself open to accusations of Scots cronyism, from both within the province and from neighbouring New York, whose governors wished to annex East Jersey and accused Scots merchants of contravening the Navigation Acts.[289]

Few cases were brought against ships from Scotland for importing goods not belonging to English merchants, other than against the *Thomas and Benjamin* in 1685 and the *Unity* in 1688. The first was dropped by the royal customs agent, William Dyre, who suspected that the court would favour the Scots emigrants, while the second was successfully pursued by

[283] John Davidson, *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1878), 380
[284] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 122
[285] While the Scots influence in East Jersey waxed, it waned in the proceedings of the principal Board of Proprietors in London. By 1690, four of its original Scots members including Robert Barclay had died and the two Jacobites, the Drummond brothers, were in exile.
[286] George J. Miller, ed., *The Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705* (Perth Amboy: Board of Proprietors, 1949), 2
[287] Pomfret, 'The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey', 286-287
[288] Ibid., 196
[289] Pomfret, *Province of East Jersey*, 311-322

Thomas Gordon when Attorney-General, acting at a time when the Proprietors were having to lobby to retain their rights.[290] It was another 10 years before two more cases were instigated, neither involving Scots, though concerns persisted — in New Jersey, New York and London — about Scottish evasion of the Acts.[291] There were continuing tensions over trade between England and Scotland, notably reflecting English merchant concerns that they were losing out to Scots on the Chesapeake and Delaware.

5.3 Who prospered and who did not?

Economic context

The economy of East New Jersey remained agrarian, with some growth in inter-colonial trade especially across the Hudson to New York, providing foodstuffs and wood for fuel. Over 90% of the settler population engaged in agriculture, comparable to other North American colonies.[292]

There was little currency in circulation. Many settlers had no means to make payments, whether rents or quit rents, other than in kind through their labour, goods or produce.[293] Only gradually in pre-Revolution times did the economy move from subsistence to commercial farming.

Emigrant proprietors and fractioners

As explained in Chapter 2, Proprietors purchased rights to an initial 10,000 acres per share and were entitled to dividends of land in proportion to their holdings. They could expect to generate revenue from rents, quitrents and from the sale of produce from their own lands. The fractioners had the same expectations, other than income from quitrents. All could hope for capital gains on any property they sold, while the merchants among them sought profit through trade. Several of the fractioners acted as agents for absentee landowners, deriving income and commercial advantage from this.

Success in generating revenue from property depended on the rate at which lands were granted and developed. Such grants were formalised through purchase from the Lenape, followed by survey, registration and patent. The Board of Proprietors placed a bar on how

[290] Edsall, *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery*, 134-137
[291] Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, 179-181; Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien', 143-145
[292] James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972)
[293] Miller, *Minutes of the Board of Proprietors*, x

much new land from within allocations could be released to owners if they were not making progress[294].

Other than the exception the Board members made for themselves in 1692, the Proprietors had to wait a considerable time before they were granted dividends of additional land: 5,000 acres in 1698 and 2,500 acres in 1702, making a total grant of 17,500 acres per proprietary share.[295] In addition, each of the 24 Proprietors was allocated four lots and 25 acres of townland in Perth Amboy, 500 acres at Wickatunk and 1,200 acres at Barnegat. These amounts pale in comparison with the suggestion in the 1682 promotional tract that proprietors could ultimately expect 80,000 acres per share.[296]

Over the period to 1702, proprietary shares and fractions changed hands on quite a few occasions, not least when disappointing returns led absentee owners to seek buyers. Purchases continued over the Proprietary period, sometimes made by new arrivals such as London goldsmith, David Lyell, another merchant of Scots descent. Lyell obtained his initial stake in 1697, purchasing the land of two deceased absentee fractioners. He obtained a patent for 4,700 acres, before adding more land and joining the resident Board of Proprietors.

The development of land was a slower process than the Board and landowners hoped. Landsman concluded that a large part of East Jersey lay idle for a considerable time.[297] New estates were settled slowly, constrained by shortage of labour. The situation changed only after 1717 when a new wave of immigration began, mainly Scots-Irish from Ulster.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine what returns were achieved by the proprietors and fractioners to set against their initial outlays in land purchase, provisioning and infrastructure. Deeds of land sale exist, with boundaries described, but most do not specify acreages. Frequently the price is referred to as "a certain sum of English money" or, in the case of the sale of headland by Charles Gordon "for several good considerations" which could include in-kind payments.[298] The vagueness reflected the lack of a standardised currency in East Jersey, with coins from many countries in circulation.[299]

A small number of fractioners proceeded to establish sizeable estates and became part of an emerging colonial elite in New Jersey, with some well-connected into New York commerce and society. Amongst these were Andrew Hamilton, the Johnstone brothers and

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[294] Leaming, *Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions*, 190-194
[295] Pomfret, *Province of East New Jersey*, 230
[296] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 12
[297] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First Atlantic Colony*, 129
[298] NJSA D(EJ): Folio 136. Gordon was a servant imported by John Barclay.
[299] Ernest W. Mandeville, *The History of Middletown* (Middletown Township Courier, 1927), 33

John Reid. A few more developed smaller estates and were able to give themselves a landed suffix, such as Robert Hardy of South River and Gawen Drummond of Locharbor.

Hamilton was the son of an Edinburgh burgess and a burgess in his own right. He was close to the Scots Proprietors at an early stage and held in high regard. He acted as an agent in 1683 publicising their plans from his lodging 'at the sign of the Ship' in Edinburgh.[300] Hamilton purchased a 1/20 share in East Jersey in February 1684 and emigrated in 1686 with a confidential commission from the Proprietors to check records of lands sold, quitrents paid and the expenditure of the Deputy Governor, Gawen Lawrie.[301] Lawrie was dismissed and Hamilton was given his position in March 1687. Over three spells in office Hamilton exercised considerable political skill in dealing with anti-Scottish sentiment and challenges to the status of the proprietary regime in East Jersey from the Crown and governors of New York, and unrest over quitrents amongst pre-1683 settlers.[302] He was able to assemble substantial property, around 6,000 acres when he died in 1703. His footprint extends beyond East Jersey in that he also served as resident governor in West Jersey and Pennsylvania. He became responsible for the postal service in Colonial America in 1692 and made significant improvements, establishing a chain of post offices from Portsmouth in New Hampshire to Philadelphia.[303]

James and John Johnstone were the sons of outed minister, Mr William Johnstone of Laverocklaw in East Lothian. James was a lawyer who owned a small property near Lauder while John established himself as a 'drogist' (apothecary) in Edinburgh. James emigrated to East Jersey in 1684 and imported nine servants. The following year he was joined by his brother John, an agent for East Jersey associated with George Scot in organising the voyage of the *Henry and Francis*. Following the death at sea of Scot and his wife Margaret Rigg, John married theirdaughter Eupham and gained land in consequence. As Scot's heir, Eupham inherited rights in 1688 and 1690 to lands in East Jersey granted to her father, and in 1701, a further allocation to recognise the losses her father incurred in the voyage of the *Henry and Francis*.[304]

James established his fraction south of Topanemus in Monmouth County, naming his property Spotswood after his land in Berwickshire. He extended his lands through purchase

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[300] Scot, *Model*, 207

[301] Whitehead, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History*, 502-504. Hamilton's assignment led to Lawrie's dismissal.

[302] Pomfret, 'The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey', 290-291

[303] Francis C. Huebner, 'Our Postal System', *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 9 (1906), 126–74. Hamilton was succeeded in 1707 by his son, John, aged 21, on a salary of £200.

[304] NJSA L(EJ) 197; D(EJ) 327-329; Edith Herbert Mather, 'Eupham Scot and Dr John Johnstone', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 14.4 (1929)

of 2,500 acres from Quaker Proprietor, Robert Turner, a Dublin linen draper.[305] James was involved in trade, in 1691 co-owning a sloop, the *Unitie*.[306] He died in 1695 and his property passed to his brother.

John located his own lands nearby at Scotschester, along Hope Creek. He assembled a considerable estate in several counties of East Jersey and New York. One purchase of 3,150 acres in Somerset County in 1701, in collaboration with George Willocks, became known as the Peapack Patent. A later survey found that it was nearer 11,000 acres, indicating how some landowners were able to capitalise on land previously unexploited by settlers.[307]

Johnstone was involved in public affairs not only in East Jersey but also in New York where he was Mayor in 1718 and 1719. In East Jersey, in addition to his membership of the Board of Proprietors, he was a judge in the Court of Common Right and speaker of the East Jersey Assembly. In New York, Johnstone made many influential connections, especially in the merchant community, illustrated by the marriages of several of his sons. For example, in 1720 Andrew married Catherine van Cortlandt, daughter of Stephanus van Cortlandt, the first native-born mayor of New York. In 1697 van Cortlandt had been wealthy enough to obtain a manor of 86,000 acres in northern Westchester. A younger son Lewis married Martha, daughter of Caleb Heathcote, owner of another large estate, Scarsdale Manor.[308]

John Reid, the author of *The Scot's Gard'ner* and overseer on the arrival of the 1683 emigrants, was a special case in that while he was on an indenture, he was salaried (£25/year) and given a house and livestock.[309] He is likely to have been highly influential in advising other settlers on what land to develop, what to grow and techniques to use. Reid's mathematical aptitude led to his appointment as Deputy Surveyor in which capacity he laid out the settlement of Perth Amboy and mapped the province. In consideration of his "good paines, costes, trouble and expense", the Proprietors granted him in 1686 a 200 acre tract he called Hortencie and by 1700 he had built an estate of over 3,700 acres.[310] One of his daughters married John Anderson, captain of the *Unicorn* from the Darien expedition, who went on play a leading role in New Jersey affairs.

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[305] NJSA D(EJ): Folio 153-155
[306] Nelson, *Calendar of Records*, 221
[307] Landsman, *Scotland and its First Atlantic Colony*, 122
[308] A. W. Savary, 'Some Annandale Johnstons in America', *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXXIII (1902), 246–49
[309] Annette Hope, 'Introduction', in Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988), vii-x
[310] NJSA A(EJ): Folio 344. Hortensia (hydrangeas) are well suited to East Jersey soils and climate.

Some proprietors and fractioners found the rewards of land ownership in East Jersey harder to achieve. Early obstacles to generating revenue from their investment were set out in a letter in 1688 by Andrew Hamilton to Proprietor William Dockwra in London. Hamilton advised him that he would have difficulty recovering debts "in any way other than in cattle" and pointed out how cleared land could end up in a worse state than before, worth little if not in cultivation. In replying, Dockwra protested that "all the 950lb is sunk & gone upon the Expectation of improving two profitable Plantations but we have lost all our Capitall & about 25 years Interest which is above two thousand Pounds".[311] This correspondence highlights the challenge for absentee landowners. Hamilton observed that they were at risk from losing out to "the greatest cut-throat in the world" if they were not "upon the spot".[312]

Lord Neill Campbell was one of the Proprietors who experienced difficulties. In August 1684, he purchased 8,000 acres, almost all on the navigable Raritan River, and covered the costs of 22 men and three boys on three-year indentures, their "corn, cattell and all matterialls", and the construction of houses and two mills. He had mortgaged property and engaged with Robert Blackwood, who put up nearly half the outlay of £1,192 sterling.[313] Lord Neill took over the role of resident Deputy Governor of East Jersey in October 1686 but, when no longer considered a political threat in Scotland, he was very glad to be able to return permanently to Scotland the following June to join his young second wife, Susan Menzies.[314]

On his arrival home Lord Neill was remarkably in the dark about the state of his affairs in East Jersey: "Wee know not what of our servants are alive or dead or what of our goods […] are remaining". This was expressed in a commission he and Blackwood gave to their agent James Campbell to find a buyer for three-quarters of their land.[315] They were prepared to accept a considerable loss, selling for as little as £300, less than a quarter of their investment.

While Lord Neill was able to pay off most of what he was due to Blackwood for East Jersey, he ran up other debts and, as of February 1690, he still owed him £10,941 Scots.[316] After his death in 1692, his eldest son Charles was forced to sell the Ardmaddie estate for £20,000 to John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane, including relief of all debts and claims

[311] Whitehead, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History*, 33
[312] Ibid., 28
[313] Lauder, *Historical Notices*, ii, 550; NRS GD50/186/65.6
[314] NRS GD112/16/7/1.55
[315] NRS GD50/186/65.7
[316] NRS GD112/6/35/1. These debts included the costs of maintaining his household and his role as Governor Dumbarton Castle after this return.

against his father. Lord Neill's second son, Archibald, who had accompanied his father to East Jersey and back, faced continuing legal proceedings brought by Robert Blackwood following the death of Charles in 1694.[317]

Montrose merchant David Mudie was another who made a significant investment and fared poorly. He left Scotland in 1684 to set up his base with several of his eldest children, importing 12 servants. As well as buying a 500 acre fraction from David Toschach of Monzievaird on the South River, he took up a three acre plot in Perth Amboy, where he was one of the first to build a stone house. He also set up a horse mill which he anticipated would be worth £100 a year. In a letter in March 1685 to his brother James Mudie of Courthill he described these with pride: "there is none such in this Countrey, nor ever was".[318] In 1686 he set off for Scotland to collect his wife and younger offspring, though was nearly not allowed to sail given an outstanding debt of £140 to George Lockhart.[319] Then in 1688 on his return aboard the *Unity*, his cargo of apparel was forfeited in contravention of the Navigation Acts.[320] While he sat on the Board of Proprietors and was involved in several subsequent land transactions, he did not build a significant personal estate, leaving only £60 when he died in 1696 plus some real estate for his daughters in East Jersey.

Most of the landowners who emigrated remained in East Jersey. Exceptions included David Toschach of Monzievaird and Thomas Fullarton. Toschach was quickly disaffected by his experience in East Jersey, writing in March 1685 to the Earl of Perth that he had lost out by the "chiffs and cheats of Quakers".[321] He asked Perth to repay the £250 sterling for his purchase of land, meanwhile negotiating land on the Hudson with New York Governor Dongan. He set up a trading post there with his partner and brother-in-law Captain Patrick McGregorie, and died in late 1689. McGregorie was made Muster-Master of Militia of New York, in which capacity he was killed during Leisler's Rebellion of 1691.[322] Their widows were subsequently at the mercy of an unscrupulous property owner who refused to accept their title to the land and they were forced to accept leases to remain on their land.[323]

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[317] NRS GD112/6/31. Blackwood and Archibald Campbell continued to hold land in East Jersey and sold their proprietary share to Charles Dunster in 1721 (NJSA S1 (EJ Surveys): Folio 24)
[318] Scott, *Model of Government*, 234
[319] Edsall, *Journal of the Courts*, 55,299-301
[320] Ibid., 136
[321] NRS GD24/1/826.148
[322] Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.: English Manuscripts, 1664-1776* (New York: Weed, Parsons, 1866), 230
[323] Edward Ruttenber, *History of the County of Orange* (Newburgh: E.M. Ruttenber & Son, 1875), 22-23

Fractioner Thomas Fullarton was held in high regard by Thomas Rudyard, the Quaker mercantile lawyer who owned proprietary shares in East and West Jersey. He appointed Fullarton as his executor in Barbados, Jamaica and England which led the latter to leave for the rich colony of Barbados. There Fullarton studied law, becoming a barrister and Solicitor-General for the colony.[324] He inherited a share in the Springhead plantation through marriage, the other part belonging to a member of the Philipse merchant family of New York. Fullarton continued to hold land in East Jersey and received his dividend in 1702. He moved to London, practising law before being made a Commissioner of Excise in Scotland. There he purchased property in Kincardineshire including Gallery on the North Esk and Hallgreen near Inverbervie, the latter in 1726 for the substantial sum of £49,000 Scots[325]. In the trajectory of his life, Fullarton can be compared with many other Scots who followed later, deriving wealth from transatlantic trade and exploitation of enslaved people before returning home and buying estates.[326]

Few of the free emigrants are known to have returned permanently to Scotland. Merchant Arthur Forbes, who had been heavily involved in the preparations in 1683, was back in Edinburgh by April 1686 when he pursued payment against a bill of exchange made in 1685 by John Johnstone and Thomas Fullarton.[327] Two widows brought family back to Edinburgh: one was Euphan Dempster, relict of William Ged, with their son William who became a goldsmith, and the other, Janet Riddell, widow of James Dundas, whose son Robert became a merchant burgess.[328]

Merchants and trade

At the outset, there were expectations that the emigrant merchants and planters would be able to trade with England's colonies in North America and the Caribbean and that East Jersey would provide Scotland with export opportunities. The Scots Proprietors in their 1683 prospectus argued that this would not contravene the Navigation Acts: ships built in East Jersey and other colonies would be treated as English while seamen living there would have the status of denizens of England.[329]

Gawen Lawrie in his 'Propositions' envisaged this potential as transatlantic: "you may load yr ships with beef, pork, meal, bisket and pyp-staves to Jamaica, Barbadoes or other

[324] TNA DR 37/2/Box 98/484
[325] Helen Burnett, 'Memoir of the Irvines of Monboddo', *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 2nd, 5.1 (1903), 4
[326] See e.g., examples in Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 221-249
[327] NRS RD2/66/875
[328] Charles Boog Watson, *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701-1760*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929), 62
[329] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 6

Leaward Islands and load home with sugar, indigo, cotton, wool and such for England or Scotland, or your ships may go with corn to the Straits [of Gibraltar] and load home with fruit, oyl or wyn".[330] The Scots Proprietors invested early in Perth Amboy, building a large public dock and setting aside three acres for wharfage. Trade gradually developed though typically with only two or three ships of any significant size arriving each year.[331]

It is impossible to quantify the extent to which the Scots settlers exploited these opportunities but it seems that little of this trade was developed *directly* beyond the neighbouring American colonies.[332] Rather East Jersey produce was channelled through other ports, notably New York located just 20 nautical miles from Perth Amboy.[333] Merchants such as David Vilant were drawn to New York. Another was Gawen Drummond's son Robert who set up a porterage business and was made a Freeman in 1701. George McKenzie, a merchant from Edinburgh, moved to New York fairly soon after his arrival in East Jersey.[334] By February 1698 he was based in Barbados where he petitioned the Assembly for the costs of importing servants.[335]

Koot's research on Anglo-Dutch trade in this period clearly demonstrates that there was growth in demand in the very commodities identified by Lawrie. There were also markets in neighbouring colonies for cider, applejack, dairy products and cordwood.[336] Trade was not concentrated through Perth Amboy, given that the river system in East Jersey provided several places where coastal craft could load and unload. East Jersey merchants found it easier to operate through the sloop trade which required relatively low amounts of capital and was characterised by small cargoes and rapid port turnarounds. Little produce was suitable for shipping overland for any great distance.

In comparison with East Jersey and its Raritan River system, New York had a larger population and hinterland accessed by the Hudson and its tributaries and was strengthening its position in competition with Boston. New York had merchants operating

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[330] Gawen Lawrie, 'Propositions of Gawen Lawrie for the Settlement of East Jersey, 1682', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 6, October (1921), 232

[331] James H. Levitt, *For Want of Trade: Shipping and the New Jersey Ports 1680-1783*. (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1981), 27

[332] Shepherd and Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade*, 45

[333] Levitt, *For Want of Trade*, 3

[334] George was the son of Edinburgh lawyer, John Mackenzie. George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh was the first-named witness at his baptism. NRS 685/1 60/161. He died in Barbados in 1711.

[335] W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies,* Volume 19 Addenda, 1701 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), 737

[336] Federal Writers' Projects, *Matawan 1686-1936*, 36. Cordwood is cut to uniform lengths for building.

on a substantial scale, with ready access to credit and a substantial local population of sailors, shipwrights, and others engaged in maritime trades.[337]

The War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697) exacerbated the costs and risks of trade between North America and Europe.[338] In response, some New York merchants found new opportunities, e.g., shipping grain to West Africa and dealing with pirates in Madagascar, exchanging guns and ammunition for slaves and East India goods.[339] Prominent amongst these merchants was Frederick Philipse who had property and business dealings with George Lockhart, an earlier emigrant who had imported servants to East Jersey and held land there.[340] Philipse and others financed Captain Kidd's notorious expedition to the Indian Ocean in 1698. These merchants built a tight kinship network through intermarriage, including the van Cortlandt and Heathcote families into which the Johnstones married. The Scots merchants in East Jersey played on their Caledonian connections but were flexible in developing relationships across other ethnic and religious groups, as was typical in North Sea trade.[341] This adaptability helped them as newcomers to shorten their learning curve in determining what could be produced and sold profitably.[342]

Tight margins encouraged smuggling as a means for merchants to avoid port duties or costly stays in harbour.[343] Merchants also served as middlemen for Chesapeake planters, sending tobacco to Dutch colonies along with flour, illegally picking up additional quantities en route. One such location in East Jersey was Sandy Hook, due south of the mouth of the Hudson River, to the east of Raritan Bay.[344] This featured in a court case in 1685 where Walsall Cobby, the master of the *Seaflower*, the ship commissioned by George Lockhart and his partner English Smith, testified that he had unloaded cargo there with this purpose.[345]

There is minimal evidence of East Jersey playing a direct role in the development of Scottish transatlantic trade which by the 1680s had become a regular feature of Clyde Coast ports. In contrast, very few ships left for America from East Coast ports which were

[337] Shepherd and Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade*, 50-51
[338] Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713* (New York University Press, 2011), 202
[339] Ibid., 156-172, 203-209
[340] E.g., NJSA B(EJ): Folio 58-60
[341] Kathrin Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchant Families', 100–118.
[342] Shepherd and Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade*, 9
[343] Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, 204
[344] Ibid., 209
[345] Christoph, ed., *The Dongan Papers*, i, 91

less well-situated and unable to handle larger ships.[346] When they traded with American colonies, as in the case of voyages organised by Maurice and William Trent, they were in the business of shipping indentured servants to Pennsylvania.[347]

In time, some Scots Quaker families were probably inspired by their knowledge of East Jersey and able to draw on East Jersey connections in developing commerce with the American colonies. This largely took place *outside* Scotland and is a subject deserving further research. Gilbert Molleson, younger brother of John and one of the emigration agents in 1683, moved to London, establishing himself as a silk draper. In 1696 he purchased a fraction of East Jersey and joined the Board of Proprietors in London.[348] Meanwhile, Robert Barclay's son, David, had also become a draper in London, trading on behalf of linen producers in Scotland. Price started his review of 'great' Quaker business families with David whose descendants established Barclays Bank.[349] Despite having a first cousin, John Falconer, trading on the Chesapeake, David developed transatlantic business "slowly, cautiously, even nervously", dealing with just a few Quakers in Philadelphia and requiring to be paid in cash or bills of exchange and not commodities. Only later was he persuaded to trade in colonial American produce, ship this to the West Indies and accept rum or sugar in exchange.

Another of Barclay's sons, John, married Anne, daughter of Dublin merchant Amos Strettel who had rights to large acreages in Pennsylvania and West Jersey. Two of Anne's brothers, Amos and Robert, became substantial shippers and landowners, with Robert also entering Philadelphia politics.[350] Two of Robert's daughters, Patience and Katherine, married sons of fellow Aberdeenshire Quaker, Alexander Forbes of Aquhorties. These husbands, Timothy and James Forbes, became prominent in Dublin's transatlantic trade, and Timothy held land in West Jersey which he sold in 1694. The Barclays and Forbes provide an illustration of what Sabean and Teuscher found in their research on the development of transnational families no longer concentrated in their place of origin.[351]

Tenants and yeomen

As observed in Chapter 3, incentives to emigrate proved largely unattractive for tenant farmers. The most notable exception was Quaker William Ridford who, in 1683, took up

[346] Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, 54
[347] Angela Austin, 'Forgotten Children', 26-28,31-35
[348] NJSA F(EJ) 697-700
[349] Jacob M. Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families of Eighteenth-Century London', in *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 366
[350] R. Burnham Moffat, *The Barclays of New York* (New York: Robert Grier Cooke, 1904), 66-85
[351] Sabean and Teuscher, 'Rethinking European Kinship', 1–21

100 acres rent-free for 10 years and subsequently gained 250 acres of headland in the Blew Hills.[352] He granted lands to his son and moved to Perth Amboy, later buying a plot in Wickatunk where he died in 1720.[353] Others who successfully established themselves were William Naughty and James Edward who both arrived after the initial wave of immigration.

What developed in East Jersey was a class of yeoman farmer which was only gradually forming in Scotland. Some of the yeomen had been indentured servants who successfully exploited the heritable headland they received at the end of their contracts and accumulated the wherewithal to afford more land. Examples included William Clark with over 600 acres, and Peter Watson, over 300 acres.[354] For others the step took longer: Robert Webster, for instance, bought his holding 15 years after his arrival.[355]

Yeomen also included transported Covenanters such as tailor George Brown and Gawen Lockhart, the latter granted a small amount of land by Robert McClellan of Barmagachan on his marriage to McClellan's daughter, Mary.[356] All four had all been prisoners in Dunnottar. Lockhart was able to buy further land in the 1690s and when he died in 1717 he left a personal estate of £118 8s, including three slaves.[357] Walter Ker, one the Sweet Singers, was another who fared well, marrying a relation of the Johnstones and buying 100 acres for his son James in 1690.[358] Ker was highly respected for his role in founding the Presbyterian church in Freehold.

Indentured servants

It is striking that half the indentured servants imported to East Jersey disappear from trace, relatively high in comparison what has been found in Pennsylvania and Maryland.[359] Some will have died while others may have accepted cash rather than property at the end of their indenture and thus do not feature in the land records. We know that some married — at least 19 in East Jersey, including six Scots pairings — but many remained single,

[352] NJSA O(EJ): Folio 85
[353] Nelson, *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, 376
[354] NJSA D(EJ): Folios 301-303, F(EJ): Folio 8-10; C(EJ): Folio 58
[355] NJSA G(EJ): Folio 329
[356] NJSA D(EJ): Folios 94-95
[357] Nelson, *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, 295
[358] NJSA Monmouth Deeds C: Folio 152
[359] 'No trace' proportions of 38% for Pennsylvania and 43% for Maryland were found by Salinger and Menard in their respective studies of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Part of the explanation may lie in differences in record keeping rather than the actual experience of the servants. See Farley Grubb's review of '"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800' by Sharon V. Salinger, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987', *The Journal of Economic History*, 48.3 (1988), 772–74. In this he also referred to Russell R. Menard, 'From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30.1 (1973), 37–64

reflecting the gender imbalance amongst the emigrants. The latter lacked descendants to carry their name and family story and once their indentures were over, they were free to leave the region. In 1696, Andrew Hamilton, writing as Governor of New Jersey to Governor Fletcher of New York, commented on difficulties of recruiting young men to the militia: "several of our youth gone to the Southern Colonies to be free of detachments, and several I am told gone aboard Captain Kidd".[360]

Some trades, such as masons and carpenters, were in high demand in New York and Philadelphia, encouraging those with such skills to migrate for better pay. John Cockburn was one such, whose success enabled him to build up a modest property holding back in East Jersey, mainly buying headlands which former servants did not want.[361] Another servant who left East Jersey was Daniel Mackdaniell, who having farmed 150 acres at Piscataway with his brother John, took up a lease on 500 acres in Maidenhead, West Jersey.[362] Others also moved west including Duncan Garnock, who was in Philadelphia when he witnessed the will of Patrick Adie, a Scots merchant, in 1699.[363]

Some 67, just over 30% of the adult servants obtained their headlands or were otherwise able to purchase property. Nearly three quarters sold on their headlands, although up to ten later obtained land. One was Quaker Alexander Napier, who sold his headland of 30 acres in 1690 and four years later bought 200 acres.[364] In all, just over 30 servants owned property for any length of time after their indenture, one in seven of the adult servants. The proportion who obtained land was broadly similar to those found by Salinger for servants arriving in the Pennsylvania in the same period, nearly 35%, and by Menard for Maryland (for an earlier period to 1642) of 29%.[365]

Indentured servants made a rational choice in selling their headlands if they considered they could secure more reliable income through their trade or hiring out their labour. They may have lacked agricultural experience or sufficient resources to stock a farm. They may also have worried about their ability to pay the quitrent. The decision to sell was one shared by a group of 13 servants who had been imported in 1683 by the Scots Proprietors

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[360] John Romeyn Brodhead and Edmund B. O'Callaghan, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France* (State Legislature of New York, 1854), IV, 200. Captain Kidd was commissioned in 1696 to hunt pirates in the Indian Ocean and later returned accused of piracy.
[361] NJSA E(EJ): Folio 330
[362] NJSA E(EJ): Folio 190, B.Pt2(WJ) 711
[363] Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 'Abstract of Wills at Philadelphia', *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, 3.1, 1906), 23
[364] D(EJ): Folio 391
[365] Grubb, review of '"To Serve Well and Faithfully", 773

and granted land in the Blew Hills in 1688[366]. One was John Hebron who obtained a 500 acre farm in 1693 from absentee Aberdeen merchant Andrew Galloway.[367]

Much of the literature about indentured servants in British colonies highlights their exploitation. But as Suranyi has stressed, there were considerable variations in typical experience across the individual colonies and over time.[368] Indentured servants in East Jersey suffered hardships but these were generally those shared with free emigrants as they all toiled to establish their homes, farms and occupations on arrival in East Jersey. During their indentures in East Jersey they had little control over their circumstances, but they could appeal to local courts if they believed they had a case. Only one such case appears in the records of Middlesex County Court, where Joseph Crow (not a Scot) complained that his master, Thomas Grub had failed to train him as a blacksmith and to teach him to write. He claimed that Thomas's wife Jean had given him "harsh and unreasonable Blowes" and had fed him food "more like to starve a dogge".[369] Grub had been an indentured servant himself, arriving with his wife aboard the *Thomas and Benjamin* in 1684. The historiography of 18th century New Jersey (where such servants are often called 'redemptioners') illustrates more cases of abuse, with common complaints of emigration agents over-selling and a tendency for some owners to treat servants like slaves.[370]

Some proprietors took a dim view of servants. In May 1688, Andrew Hamilton wrote to the absent Proprietor, William Dockwra, about the latter's servants: "The painter being a slovenlie idle boy and constantly sicklie… The glasier is a great Rascall a great lyar & wold steal the teeth out of a man's head".[371]

Covenanter prisoners

An even higher percentage of the transported prisoners than the indentured servants, 70%, vanish from the records. Some of the survivors of the *Henry and Francis*, possibly a significant number, having encountered hostility in East Jersey, headed to Long Island and Connecticut in pursuit of places and people sympathetic to their predicament and beliefs.[372] Several returned to East Jersey in 1686/87 in the knowledge that Archibald Riddell had become minister there. Amongst those who did not were Robert McEwan from

[366] NJSA B(EJ): Folio 403-404
[367] E(EJ): Folio 472
[368] Anna Suranyi, *Indentured Servitude: Unfree Labour and Citizenship in the British Colonies* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021)
[369] George J. Miller, *Ye Olde Middlesex Courts* (Perth Amboy: H.E. Pickersgill, 1932), 44-45
[370] Andrew D. Mellick, *The Story of an Old Farm* (Somerville: Unionist-Gazette, 1889), 147-153
[371] Whitehead, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History*, 29
[372] James Fraser, *The Works of the Rev. James Fraser, of Pitcalzian* (Edinburgh: R. Ogle, 1834), viii

Nithsdale and Andrew Paterson from Hamilton, two of the Dunnottar prisoners, who walked over 90 miles to Stratford, Connecticut where they settled. Both married, bought land and had large families. McEwan pursued his trade as a tailor, and Anderson farmed and was later town sergeant.[373]

Most of the transported prisoners who can be traced were still alive in 1702, nine of whom returned to Scotland. There were five marriages between the transportees, while two others married fellow Scots and seven found wives among the other settlers.

The economic position of the Covenanters was eased as a consequence of debt actions at the Court of Common Right pursued by Richard Hutton, master of the *Henry and Francis*, for payment of their £5 fares for transportation. The magistrates dismissed the case, recognising that the Covenanters had neither left Scotland voluntarily nor bargained for money or service. They were able to conclude that as the Covenanters were "not yet settled inhabitants", they lay outside the Court's jurisdiction.[374] In effect, this gave those who arrived in 1685 their freedom, though the ruling did not apply retrospectively to those banished in 1684.

Of the ex-prisoners who obtained land, several joined the yeoman class described earlier. Others obtained smaller amounts of land and many had sizeable families. They and their children had opportunities to become upwardly mobile, marked by their appointment to public office. These included weaver Adam Hude, one of those pressed for payment of their fare, who became a judge on the Court of Common Pleas, and John Muirhead, who became a successful merchant and was made the first High Sheriff of Burlington County in West Jersey.

The most dramatic transformation amongst the ex-prisoners was that of David Jamieson, another of the Sweet Singers transported in 1684. He served part of his indenture with Josias Clarke, Anglican chaplain of the New York Fort, who allowed him to "redeem himself" as a schoolteacher. Jamieson subsequently trained as a lawyer and was appointed Clerk of New York Council and later Chief Justice of both New York and New Jersey.[375] He became Anglican and served as a vestryman in the Trinity Church in Lower Manhattan. He is also respected in the annals of colonial Presbyterian history for his successful defence in 1707 of Presbyterian minister, Francis Makemie, who had been arrested for preaching in a private home. Jamieson took part in the New York Governor's expedition to renew an

[373] Patricia Ann Hoagland, *Robert McEwen: Scottish Exile to America 1685* (Palo Alto, 1991), 13; Elisha G. Patterson, *Andrew Patterson, of Stratford, Conn.* (privately printed, 1892), 15
[374] Edsall, *Journal of the Courts*, 42,211; W.D. Carslaw, *Exiles of the Covenant* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner), 174
[375] Somerset, Douglas W. B., 'Walter Ker and the "Sweet Singers"', 103–105

agreement with the Mohawk nation in 1696. The following year he obtained a share of 1,200 acres in Orange County, New York and was one of the 'Nine Partners' who obtained a very large tract of Native American land further up the Hudson River.[376] In 1692 he married Maria Hardenbroek, niece of Margaret Hardenbroek, a leading merchant in New York in her own right as well as partner to her second husband, Frederick Philipse. Jamieson provides another example of how some Scots assimilated with the New York merchant community. His Sweet Singer past, however, came back to haunt him when in 1698 he was dismissed as Clerk to the New York Council by the Governor, Lord Bellomont, accused of bigamy and blasphemy, though the case was later dropped.[377]

A few Covenanters returned to Scotland for good, glad of the opportunity presented by the overthrow of King James and enactment of the Claim of Right in 1689 which placed Presbyterians in political ascendancy. Amongst them were laird Robert McLellan of Barmagachan and preacher Archibald Riddell, the first accompanied by his young son, and the second by his son, daughter and maid.[378] Unfortunately, they were captured at sea by a French privateer and had to endure a year in French prisons.[379] After a prisoner-swap, Riddell became minister of Wemyss in Fife, while McClellan returned to his estate in Kirkcudbrightshire.[380] Riddell's son Walter later became a Royal Navy Captain and bought an East Jersey fraction.

Several returners came from amongst the Dunnottar prisoners, including John Fraser of Pitcalzean, Jean Moffat, William Campbell and William Niven. Fraser and Moffat had married in Waterbury, Connecticut, and on their return he wrote an account of his imprisonment and banishment and served as minister in Glencorse, Midlothian then Alness in Ross-shire.[381] Campbell, of Wellwood in Muirkirk parish, Ayrshire, came back clandestinely to London in 1686, complaining of the poverty of East Jersey, and was rearrested near Galston in 1687, again for attending a conventicle.[382] For Niven, a smith from Pollokshaws, it was his second return as a transportee, having in 1678 reached no

[376] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, 'David Jamison, Attorney-General of the Province of New York, 1710', *Magazine of American History*, 1 (1877), 21–24.
[377] Brodhead and O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New-York,* 400
[378] RPCS XIV (1689), 337
[379] Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iv, 335-336
[380] McLellan's daughter Mary married fellow Dunnottar prisoner Gawen Lockhart and remained in East Jersey.
[381] Wodrow used his memoir to describe the plight of the prisoners shipped to East Jersey (*Sufferings*, iv, 332)
[382] RPCS XIV, 125,131

further than Gravesend as a consequence of a London merchant's incompetence.[383] Other ex-prisoners might have chosen to return had they been able to afford the £5 fare.

5.4 Significance of indigenous Americans and enslaved Black people to Scots' outcomes

Given the colonising aspect of the settlement by Scots in East Jersey, there are questions about the extent to which the outcomes they achieved involved the exploitation of indigenous Americans and enslaved Black people.

Native Americans

The Scots emigrants were able to benefit from peaceable relations with the Lenape. As explained in Chapter 2, the Proprietors required that land be purchased from the indigenous inhabitants before it could be granted to settlers. This was done, apparently to the mutual satisfaction of the buyers and sellers. They co-existed, with the Lenape exercising their traditional privileges to plant, fish, hunt and maintain villages.[384]

It seems very likely, however, that land purchase by the Scots led to some limited displacement of Lenape bands by 1702. Many purchases related to riparian land which the Scots wanted for ease of transport, water power, access to timber and establishing farms, and which the Lenape valued for fishing, mobility and growing their own crops. There might have been greater tensions had the rate of development of the proprietorial lands been faster. The total area under non-native ownership, if the theoretical maximum per share to 1702 had been taken up, would have been just under 450,000 acres, 40% of the land area of East Jersey.

In time, European colonisation of New Jersey led to much greater displacement with many of the Lenape moving westward. By the mid-18th century, the Lenape still held large amounts of land in New Jersey, especially that in the upper reaches of the main rivers.[385] The settlers developed more of the lands they had been granted, further encroaching on traditional Lenape activities. In disputes, they could call on the law of England over native custom. Lenape numbers also reduced gradually through exposure to imported diseases.

[383] RPCS V (1676-1678), 471; Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ii, 476
[384] Paul D. Boyd, *Atlantic Highlands*; Epstein and Soderlund, 'Lenape-Colonist Land Conveyances', 179–211
[385] Epstein and Soderlund, ibid., 209-210

There were ecological impacts too, such as reduced deer and beaver numbers, loss of crops to settler livestock, and poorer fishing consequent to river damming.[386]

Enslaved Black people

As Chapter 2 noted, there were not large numbers of enslaved people in New Jersey in the 1680s and only six were brought by Scots.[387] Formal records of their importation only begin in 1717 by which time Spain had granted access for English traders to its Caribbean colonies and numbers rapidly increased[388].

The most helpful source on ownership of enslaved people is wills. My analysis found that, of 1,500 testaments in New Jersey to 1730, some 182 mentioned 'slaves' (158 with Black, four Native American and 20 unspecified). Of the total, seven involved Scots emigrants or their children as owners, involving less than 20 enslaved people. None of the latter were Native American. These figures probably under-represent, given that wills do not provide evidence of ownership during people's lives, nor the hire of enslaved labour from others (eg, for ground clearing or domestic service).[389]

It can be suggested that, in other circumstances, levels of ownership might have been higher. The geography of East Jersey did not lend itself to a plantation economy, and few of the emigrants could afford to purchase people as chattels. That said, there was also local opposition, amongst both Quakers and Presbyterians. Quaker John Hebron became an abolitionist, publishing an influential tract in 1715.[390] According to Moore, some Covenanters, following the teaching of Samuel Rutherford, held that slavery is contrary to natural law: "Every man by nature is a freeman born, that is, by nature no man comes out of the womb under any civil subjection to King, Prince or Judge to master, captain, conqueror, teacher".[391]

However, many Scots accepted the presence of enslaved people in the community. This is most evident in dealings that several had with East Jersey and New York politicians and merchants. Welsh Quaker Lewis Morris, who employed George Keith as tutor to his nephew, owned the largest number of enslaved people in East Jersey, over 60 working in a

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[386] Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 54-55
[387] Nelson, *Calendar of Records*, 61
[388] Graham Russell Hodges, *Root & Branch*, 77
[389] Hodges noted that the daily rates for enslaved people in New York were 1/3rd of those for European workers (*Root & Branch*, 41).
[390] John Hepburn, *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or an Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of Making Slaves of Men* (New Jersey, 1715).
[391] Joseph S. Moore, 'Covenanters and Antislavery in the Atlantic World', *Slavery & Abolition*, 34.4 (2013), 540-542

forge and mill.[392] More notorious, however, were merchants in New York who were involved in the enslavement trade such as the Philipses and Van Cortlandts with whom Scots developed close relationships including through marriage.

5.5 Conclusions on emigrant outcomes

The picture that emerges is one where a relatively small proportion of the Scots fared very well while others just got by or left. We do not know what happened to large numbers of the indentured servants and transported prisoners and for the servants, their move to the New World fell far short of what they hoped when they signed their indentures.

Those who prospered most were amongst the landowners, especially those who were also merchants. Several built networks and business with their counterparts in New York and Barbados. Many were younger sons but not all from families where lack of prospects of inheritance was a major factor in the decision to emigrate.

East Jersey did not develop as a trading hub in the way that the original Scots Proprietors hoped. Nearby New York was developing too quickly as a port with many merchants, skilled labour and ancillary trades. Family connections point to Scottish East Coast merchants exploiting new markets through kin located in London and Ireland and only later in colonial America, rather than the East Jersey venture leading directly to increased transatlantic trade.

While many East Jersey landowners appear to have been disappointed by the returns on their investment, those who were able to build larger estates typically gained over the longer term. The political dominance of the Scots in the governance of the province helped to cement their advantages, as did the extent to which the Scots gathered in and around the same settlements. Landsman observed that the Scots were to solidify their political and economic positions and become "one of the most powerful elites in the Middle Colonies", with estates which formed a "lasting feature of New Jersey society".[393]

There are striking examples of upward mobility amongst the servants and transportees, taking advantage of opportunities which were unlikely to have been open to them had they remained in Scotland. For some, this involved moving on from East Jersey to other American colonies. Many of those who stayed became well-established with a number joining the landowning group and playing formal roles in the life of the province.

[392] Hodges, *Root & Branch*, 44
[393] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 124-125

Those who sought freedom to pursue their brand of religion found it, and there was not the degree of friction between the Presbyterians and Quakers that might have been expected given attitudes in Scotland. The majority of transported prisoners survived the disease-ridden crossing of the *Henry and Francis* and gained their freedom, so did not have to endure penal indentures, the fate of their contemporaries sent to Barbados.[394]

The positive outcomes for many would not have been possible without the willingness of the Lenape to sell land to the Scots. This contributed in the longer term, however, to the departure of all but a few from New Jersey. While there was a population of enslaved Black Africans, few were owned by Scots and their number meant that they made only a minor contribution to the Scots settlement in this period.

A few of the emigrants chose to return to Scotland, for personal, political or religious reasons, not least in response to the renewed place of the Presbyterian church in Scottish affairs after 1688.

Broadly, outcomes appear similar to those in other studies of migration to Colonial America in the mid to late 17th century and were considerably better than in other Scots ventures such as those involving the *Hope* and *James* of Leith in 1669 and the Carolina Company in 1683, reported in Chapter 2, and the catastrophic Darien scheme in 1696-99 which left no trace of the proposed colony in Panama and ruined the finances of many Scots landed and merchants families.[395]

[394] E.g., by those granted to merchant Alexander Fearne and carried aboard the *John and Nicholas* in late 1685. RPCS XI, 209,219,243,251,254

[395] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Luath Press, 2007), 145-147

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1 A 'successful' venture?

The East Jersey venture compares favourably with other Scottish colonial schemes of the 17th century. It was unique in being accomplished successfully, to the benefit of many emigrants. Others such as the Carolina project and especially Darien involved considerable loss of life and investment and left nothing behind.

'Success', however, was enjoyed only by a minority of those who left Scotland. Some thrived, some fared moderately well, and many struggled. Some 10% died at sea, and a large proportion, over 40% of the survivors, disappeared from the records after their arrival. Broadly, the social and economic outcomes were most favourable amongst the free emigrants, reasonable for many indentured servants, and even amongst the Covenanter transportees there were conspicuous successes. It was a youthful enterprise, in that many of the emigrants were in their twenties or early thirties. The age profile was younger than that of the Great Migration from England earlier in the 17th century which comprised disproportionately more families motivated by a desire for religious freedom.[396]

Other studies of emigration and early modern America provide context in reviewing the East Jersey experience.[397] What makes the latter distinctive is the particular mix of emigrants drawn across discordant religious-cum-political groups (Quakers, Royalists and religious moderates, and Covenanters) and their varied status as free emigrants, indentured servants or transported prisoners, with the prisoners accounting for nearly 30% of adults. Of other colonial projects to North America in the 1680s, those to West Jersey and Pennsylvania were dominated by English Quakers and Carolina by Scottish Covenanters.

The success of the East Jersey venture was not notably built on the backs of Native Americans nor enslaved Africans. Rather the Lenape accepted the presence of the settlers and were prepared to sell them land, expecting to retain rights to hunt and fish. In this lay the seeds of later tensions which contributed to their gradual displacement westwards. Few Scots owned slaves in East Jersey in this period though most accepted their presence.

[396] Anderson, 'Migrants and Motives', 339–83
[397] See, e.g., Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move*

Some of the merchants were happy to deal with their counterparts in New York who were involved with pirates and dealt in enslaved people.

Those who fared well largely did so through their own industry, enterprise and adaptability, though this was reinforced by the Scots presence on the resident Board of Proprietors. They were part of a close knit Scots community whose members tended to live quite close to and look out for each other. They did not keep themselves to themselves, however, and they developed relationships with Dutch and English settlers, including with New York merchants. By the mid-18th century, through intermarriage, social contact and business partnerships, the Scots became assimilated, with the principal landowning and merchant families becoming well-established as part of the colonial elite in New Jersey.[398]

The prosopographical database for this study has helped to shed new light on a great many of emigrants and draw out the closeness of family ties and strength of association between those involved, both before and after the emigration voyages. It should enable future researchers to look in more detail at the families of the Scots emigrants, reviewing longer-term social and economic outcomes of those of who remained in New Jersey and also those who moved on within the Middle Colonies or migrated westward to Tennessee and beyond during the 18th century.

'Success' viewed from Scotland?

Set against the objectives of its political supporters in Scotland, the East Jersey project was disappointing. It did little to enhance the country's international prestige, trade and revenues to the Scottish Exchequer. By demonstrating that Scotland could mount an venture of this nature, it may, however, have given confidence to leading promoters of the Company of Scotland such as merchants Robert Blackwood and John Drummond of Newton (brother of emigrant Gawen Drummond) and investors such as Mackenzie of Tarbat and Dr John Gordon of Collieston who had been close to the East Jersey venture.[399] Tarbat had reservations about the planning of the Company's Darien expedition, expressing concern in 1697 that the project was undercapitalised. However, this fell largely on deaf ears.[400] The Scots merchants in East Jersey do not appear to have been consulted during the planning of Darien. Rather, the board of the Company of Scotland sought advice from

[398] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First Atlantic Colony*, 101
[399] John Hill Burton (ed.), *The Darien Papers* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1849), 371-417
[400] Ibid., 143

William Dunlop, Principal of the University of Glasgow and a survivor of the Carolina project.[401]

In the eyes of the Privy Councillors of the early 1680s, East Jersey provided an opportunity to remove a substantial number of the Covenanter Remnant whom they wished neither to execute nor keep in jail long-term. However, the policy of transporting religious opponents did not last very long thereafter. Within four years King James had been overthrown and many of these Councillors had lost office. Several, like Perth and Melfort, went into exile in France. While they continued to own land in East Jersey, records indicate they had little interest in it.

Some of the absentee East Jersey landowners were caught up in these political changes and the emergence of Jacobitism. Robert Barclay's uncle, Robert Gordon of Cluny, one of the original Scots Proprietors, considered exile in New Jersey but chose to remain, while Barclay's brother-in-law, Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil took up arms in support of James before swearing allegiance to the new king, William III in 1692.[402]

Political backing for the East Jersey venture was thus not sustained, and the final determining factor in its loss was the death of the galvanising leader, Robert Barclay, in 1690. By then there was no one left to take the reins in Scotland. Of the other leaders, George Scot was dead, and no other Covenanter felt compelled to follow him. Lord Neill Campbell had other priorities on his return to Scotland. The next level of influential actors had already emigrated to East Jersey, with the exception of Robert Burnet of Lethintie who joined them in 1700.

6.2 Motivations and outcomes

Economic and social aspirations and outcomes

Delving deeper into the prosopography and drawing on previously underused sources underscores the desire for economic betterment as the strongest motivation for emigration. This was a time when there was a great deal of interest amongst Scottish merchants and politicians in novel economic schemes, looking to add value to Scottish produce and find new markets. Some took inspiration from earlier Scots' colonial interest,

[401] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Luath Press, 2007), 9
[402] Edward M. Furgol 'Cameron, Sir Ewen, of Lochiel (1629–1719)', *ODNB* (2004)

including from members of their own families. Pragmatically, there was a strong drive to circumvent the Navigation Acts of the English Parliament.

The free emigrants who bought land hoped for regular income and larger holdings, not least as new areas were released. For some the route to property ownership at home had been blocked by having older brothers, while for the sons of merchant families, emigration offered a means of making their fortune. It could also provide a route to establishing the family business in a new location, though several Scots merchants had to develop their presence in New York to capitalise on this.

Family debts could be factor in prompting emigration, as for Ardmaddie, Monzievaird and John Campbell, though they could also preclude a decision to leave, as they did for Robert Barclay. There is no evidence of emigration leading to the fortunes of the families remaining in Scotland being restored.

It proved hard for landowners to achieve much of a return on their land purchases, especially in the early years of the settlement. In disappointment, some of the absentee owners such as Andrew Galloway sold off their holdings. There was little cash in circulation in East Jersey and land could only be developed if there were sufficient labour both to maintain existing cultivation and husbandry and to exploit new land. Labour supply became even tighter with no further arrivals of indentured servants.

A minority of the landowners such as Andrew Hamilton, John Johnstone and John Reid expanded their estates substantially. All rose in social status as well as in wealth. However, even they did not approach the 80,000 acres suggested in East Jersey promotion as the potential for a proprietary share.[403]

Others who travelled, either freely or on indenture, sought a better life, attracted by descriptions of a bountiful country, employment for craftspeople, freedom from residual ties of feudal servitude and the promise of owning land which they could pass on to their children. The last selling point in particular was unlikely to be possible if they remained in Scotland. They were not 'subsistence emigrants', driven to leave home out of economic necessity, the case for many later Scots, especially in the 19th century.[404] The excitement of the new world is also likely to have been a factor especially for those who were young and single, a large proportion of the emigrant cohort.

[403] Scots Proprietors, *A Brief Account*, 12
[404] Adams and Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope*, 200-206; Murdoch, *Scotland and America*, 39-61

For many of these emigrants, life did not turn out as they would have hoped. It is not possible to account for half of the servants, and even where they gained heritable land at the end of their indentures, many did not want to retain it. That said, there were those who prospered and managed to build modest holdings of heritable property. Along with some of the transported prisoners, they joined a yeoman class, the development of which was only in its early stages in Scotland. With some of this group going on to hold public office, upward social mobility accompanied economic.

Religious freedom

While economic motivations were powerful overall, would the East Jersey venture have happened without the desire for religious freedom on the part of the Quakers? The answer is, most likely not. Without the crucial role of the London Scots Quaker merchants in creating the opportunity, the leadership of Robert Barclay and the support of Quaker merchants in Scotland, it is difficult to see how the project would have happened.

Religious freedom was important to the Quakers who emigrated, although the period of most active persecution had passed. Quakerism was still in a proselytising phase and there was a will to create communities where Quakers could more readily pursue the model lives central to their beliefs.

Quakers who emigrated achieved the freedom they sought, although it was not very long before the Quaker community in East Jersey fractured, challenged by Quaker-turned-Anglican George Keith, with many leaving for the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. Quakers in West Jersey and Pennsylvania remained more cohesive: they arrived in much larger numbers and maintained a stronger sense of mission.

Religious freedom did not prove a strong selling point for George Scot in his efforts to recruit Covenanters as free emigrants. Most were stubborn in their opposition to the government and wanted fervently to restore their non-Episcopal version of the Church of Scotland. Scot's efforts in his *Model* to rebut religious arguments against emigration suggest that many were antagonistic to the proposition. Those who crossed the Atlantic, however, whether as free or transported passengers, were in time able to establish their own local churches and play a significant role in the development of Presbyterianism in New Jersey.

Kinship and business networks

The role of kinship is particularly striking when one considers the connections of Robert Barclay and how they were involved in East Jersey, extending beyond those who had

become Quakers. Indeed, the venture in the first year has the feel of a family enterprise, what with the involvement of Barclay's two siblings, five siblings-in-law, one uncle and four cousins, as depicted in Chapter 4. On a lesser scale was the involvement of the Fullarton and Gordon families in 1684 and the Rigg and Riddell in-laws of Scot of Pitlochie in 1685.

The project did not result in the establishment of any significant merchant family dynasties connecting Scotland and East Jersey. However, it may have inspired family members in Scotland to establish themselves in new locations to pursue trade opportunities. This was evident amongst the Barclays who developed a significant presence in the export and import trade of London and Dublin. In moving away from Scotland, they were joined by scions of other Quaker merchant families such as the Forbes and Mollesons. There were many close kin connections thanks to the contemporary practice of Quakers expecting their children to marry within their own community.

This phenomenon warrants further research to map out how such families associated with East Jersey developed their diasporic involvement in the transatlantic economy. This process was already developing during my study period to 1702 and became more significant thereafter. Such research would help address gaps identified by Zickerman and by Sabean and Teuscher in Chapter 1, and would allow comparisons to be drawn with 18th century studies such as those by Hancock and Talbott.[405] While Chapter 5 highlighted Quaker families, there are examples worth pursuing amongst the non-Quakers, e.g., amongst the Falconers, Riddells and others.

More generally, my prosopographical research has highlighted the paucity of studies of merchants in eastern Scotland in the late 17th century, in particular their business and kinship networks, how they financed their businesses and the returns they gained from different types of venture. This would build on studies focusing on particular commercial developments such as the New Mills manufactory, the Company of Scotland and the Bank of Scotland, and trace individuals who feature across several of these including Robert Blackwood and John Drummond of Newton and their families.

Onward movement and return to Scotland

Not all the surviving emigrants were still in East Jersey by 1702. Some had moved to New York and Philadelphia in search of better pay and prospects while some of the transported prisoners left early for Long Island, Connecticut and beyond, seeking communities more

[405] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World*; Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations*

compatible to their beliefs than they first encountered in East Jersey. A small number sought opportunities elsewhere, including Barbados. These included Thomas Fullarton who became Secretary of that colony and co-owned a plantation with the son of a New York merchant and trader in enslaved people. Fullarton returned to Britain, later becoming a Commissioner of Excise and able to buy substantial estates in Kincardineshire. In this way he was similar to many later Scots sojourners who came home having benefitted from the plantation economy.

A few of the emigrants returned permanently to Scotland, some merchants, widows with children, and several Covenanters. By 1689 the latter were free to do so and were attracted by the renewed authority of the Presbyterian church in the changed political environment. They included Archibald Riddell, Robert McClellan of Barmagachan and John Fraser of Pitcalzean, whose accounts strongly influenced how Wodrow described the episode of the *Henry and Francis*, and thereby the place of East Jersey in Covenanter martyrology.[406] What Wodrow did not know was what happened to those who survived the crossing and stayed in East Jersey, especially those who were able to turn their adversity into a prosperous life. These included Walter Ker and David Jamieson, two of the Sweet Singers group on the extreme fringes of the Covenanting Remnant, who became, respectively, pillars of the community in Freehold (New Jersey) and New York.

6.3 Concluding comments

This research provides a case study within Scottish and transatlantic historiography which embodies unique features and echoes earlier and presages later developments. The prosopographical approach has helped draw attention to specific personal circumstances in decisions to emigrate and to kinship and business networks, vividly illustrated in the 'family enterprise' of Robert Barclay and Christian Molleson. It sheds light on the degree and nature of 'success' experienced by the emigrants and reinforces Mackillop's conclusion that the overall impact of emigration on Scotland's prosperity in the 17th century was muted.[407]

[406] Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, iv, 331-333
[407] Andrew Mackillop, '"As Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water"? Scotland as an Emigrant Nation, c.1600 to c.1800', in *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 33

East Jersey can be viewed as a Scots enclave like the earlier trade-initiated phenomena involving Scots in the Low Countries and the Baltic.[408] Emigrants in these places took advantage of being Scots together, retaining aspects of their national identity while building commercial networks and assimilating through social relationships and inter-marriage. East Jersey was different, a concerted initiative to break new ground rather than an organic development centred on established settlements over a longer period. As Devine and Rössner stressed, the Scots were readily able to apply habits and practices from trade and settlement in Europe in taking advantage of opportunities in America.[409] The unusual mix of emigrants to East Jersey also brought deeply held and often conflicting religious beliefs. However, as Landsman showed and Murdoch and Catterall found in other enclaves, ethnic affinity was to prove the stronger factor in how their communities developed.[410]

Based on Landsman's estimates, the emigration to East Jersey was significant in the context of Scots leaving for North America and the West Indies before 1700, up to 10% of the total.[411] The numbers could have been greater had it not been for the accession of William and Mary in 1688 and the scope given thereafter to the Scottish Parliament to approve plans for the country's very own colony, made manifest in the Darien expedition.[412] However, the Scots presence in East Jersey was to create a platform, along with New York and Philadelphia, for greater numbers to arrive in the Middle Colonies later in the 18th century. The composition of emigrants would change, increasingly featuring people displaced by clearances in Lowland and Highland Scotland, some enduring onerous indentures.[413] In contrast, the late 17th century East Jersey experience was not highly exploitative. For those who had the choice to leave, it was not driven by lack of work but rather by the draw of opportunity.

[408] Douglas Catterall, 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c.1600-1800', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 8.3 (2004), 319–57; Mackillop, op.cit., 24

[409] Devine and Rössner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy', 37

[410] Landsman, *Scotland and its First Atlantic Colony*, 173-180; Catterall, op.cit., 319; Murdoch, *Network North*, 350

[411] Based on estimates in T.C. Smout, N.C. Landsman, and T.M. Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration* (Clarendon Press, 1994), 90-91

[412] Wagner, 'Scottish Colonisation before Darien', 184-185

[413] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 94-108; Murdoch, *Scotland and America*, 39-54

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