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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FORMATION OF THE CAROLINA COMPANY IN SCOTLAND, 1682

LINDA G. FRYER*

MUCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA HAS BEEN extensively documented; in particular, Stuarts Town (often spelled Stuart Town), the venue for the Carolina Company's settlement in the 1680s, has been comprehensively updated by a new publication on the history of Beaufort County.¹ However, recent archival work in the Bute Archives, Scotland, has unearthed interesting new material which adds considerably to our knowledge of early Scottish efforts at colonization in America. The information makes necessary a re-evaluation of Scottish attempts to establish legitimate trade with the American colonies, in particular the significance

*Research Fellow, King's College, Old Aberdeen, Scotland. The author would like to thank the British Academy for its support through the funding of a major award on the Argyll Project. She also thanks the Marquis of Bute for allowing such generous access to his family archives and for permission to publish transcriptions from the A20 bundle, and Professor A.I. Macinnes, King's College, Old Aberdeen, for his useful discussion and comments. The author's short visit to South Carolina was greatly enhanced by the enthusiastic help of Professor Michael Montgomery of the University of South Carolina and Dr. Charles Lesser of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Where a transcription of a document has been given, the author has retained the original spelling and punctuation. However, in the text she has used the most common or modern spelling in an attempt to avoid confusion. For example, Sir John Cochrane's surname is spelled many different ways in the A20 bundle, but here it is presented in the most common form, i.e., "Cochrane."

¹Ian H. Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America 1603-1803* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), pp. 12-15; David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 38-44; David Hawke, *The Colonial Experience* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), pp. 207-216; George Pratt Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1922), Chapter 6; South Carolina Writers' Project, *South Carolina, A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), passim; Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1983), passim; Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995), passim; Lawrence S. Rowland, George C. Rogers, Jr., and Alexander Moore, *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina: Volume 1, 1514-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 67-75. Stuarts Town, which was established 1.5 miles south of present-day Beaufort, existed from 1684 until 1686, when it was destroyed by the Spanish.

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of the Covenanters' lost colony at Stuarts Town. The aim of this paper is to give an account of the Carolina Company from the twenty-five documents in the A20 bundle in the Bute Archives at Dumfries House — augmenting this material where possible from other sources. These documents prove that the Scots' settlement at Stuarts Town was not a mere retreat from religious persecution but was planned as a serious economic enterprise.

However, before embarking on a description of the Bute Papers, it is necessary to fill in briefly a little of the political and economic conditions in Scotland during the turbulent decades of the seventeenth century. On the death of Elizabeth Tudor of England in 1603, Scotland's Stuart king — James VI — became king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. This so-called "Union of the Crowns" did little to unite the three kingdoms. The old hatred and distrust between the English and Scots was further aggravated when James (now James VI of Scotland and James I of England) moved his court from Edinburgh to London, 380 miles away, weakening the Scottish nobility's influence on their monarch. However, James was an astute ruler and staunch Protestant, and under his rule the three kingdoms enjoyed a relatively peaceful interlude. When he died in 1625 he was succeeded by his son Charles I. Unlike his father, Charles exhibited strong popish tendencies which led to such unease in Protestant Scotland that many of her country's noblemen and lairds signed the National Covenant in 1638. This lengthy document basically ensured the continuance of the Protestant religion in Scotland. Five years later, a Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up binding the English to adopt the Scots' own form of Protestant faith. From these covenants the term Covenanter, simply meaning a staunch Protestant opposed to Episcopacy or Catholicism, is derived.

Charles I's poor management of the kingdom, religious policy, and disregard for Parliament led to the three kingdoms becoming involved in the bitter and destructive Civil Wars of the 1640s, and ultimately to Charles's execution in 1649 by Oliver Cromwell and his fellow regicides. There followed an interregnum, called the Cromwellian Occupation or Commonwealth of Britain, which lasted until 1660 when Charles I's son, Charles II, was restored to the throne. In British history, this period is known as the Restoration. Although one king had sat on both the English and Scottish thrones since 1603, both countries had retained their own parliaments (and thus their own laws, control over finances, etc.) until the Treaty of Union in 1707. During this period, from the Restoration until the Union of the Parliaments, the Scottish nation was banned by England's Navigation Acts from participating in trade with the American colonies. In addition, hostility was growing towards the religious policy of both Charles and his brother and heir-presumptive, James, Duke of York, culminating in the Exclusion Crisis — an attempt to block James's accession to the throne in favor of Protestant William of Orange and his wife, Mary Stuart. When the Exclusion Bill, brought by the English Parliament, failed to be made law,

an abortive attempt on the lives of both Charles and James, known as the Rye House Plot, was made in 1683.² In Scotland, the general uneasiness with the Stuart monarchy and its harsh policy of religious persecution, culminating in the "Killing Time" of the 1680s, meant that the Restoration proved to be an equally troubled time for Scottish Protestants. Many fled to Holland, while others voiced a desire to settle in the New World. It was against this background of fear, discontent, and mercantile frustration that a plan for a Scottish-American colonial trading company — the Carolina Company — was conceived.³

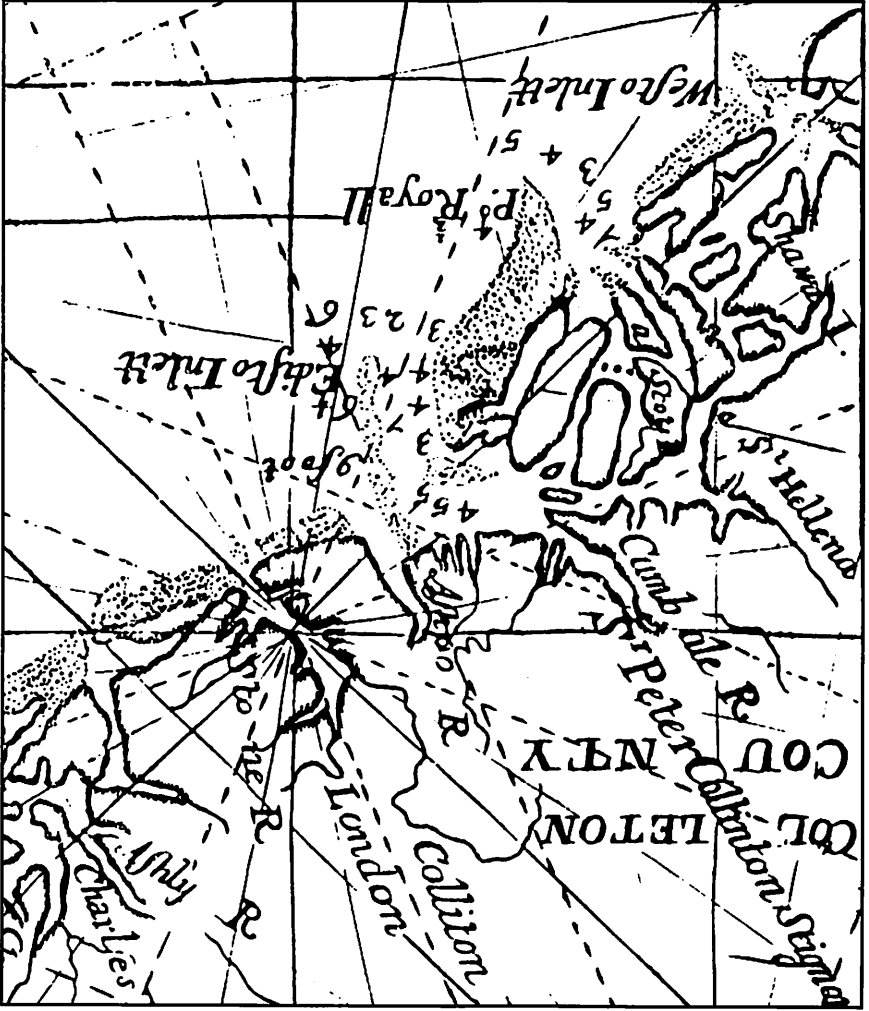
The brief but interesting life of this little-known company can be followed in documents recently found in the Bute Archives in Scotland. These archives are privately owned by the Marquis of Bute and are housed at the Bute family seat at Mountstewart, Isle of Bute, and at the family's Ayrshire home, Dumfries House. These documents are to be found at Dumfries House because James (Campbell), second Earl of Loudoun and an ancestor of the present Marquis of Bute, was a Covenanter and undertaker of the Carolina Company. In the 1970s the many different collections in the two archives were examined, collated, and catalogued for the National Register of Archives (Scotland) and can be located under the call number NRA(S) 631; the A20 bundle belongs to the Rowallan and Loudoun Deeds. Despite its entry in the NRA(S), the listing of this bundle gives no more than a hint of the wealth of material within. The incomplete nature of the listing is hardly surprising as the majority of the A20 documents are in a very faded condition, making their transcription difficult; omitted from the NRA(S)

²The Exclusion Bill was introduced into the English Parliament in 1679 for the purpose of excluding Catholic James, Duke of York, from the throne. James's daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, were named to succeed Charles II. To save his brother, Charles dissolved Parliament, but the bill again was brought forward in 1680 and passed by a large majority in the House of Commons. The Lords rejected it, and a proposal to substitute the Duke of Monmouth (Charles II's illegitimate son) for James led to its abandonment.

The Rye House Plot was an abortive attempt to murder Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York, in 1683. The name is derived from Rye House, a lonely residence near Hoddeston in Hertfordshire. The plan was to murder the royal brothers as they returned from Newmarket to London. Its leader appears to have been an old soldier named Rumbold, but several eminent statesmen were involved. Informers gave warning to the authorities, and a number of arrests were made, including some Scottish undertakers of the Carolina Company.

³Walter Macleod, ed., *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock 1683-1687*, (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society [hereafter SHS], 1893), pp. 113-115; George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Duffie & Chapman, 1870), Vol. 1, p. 78.

Stuart Town is identified on A New Mapp of Carolina by John Thornton (1698) even though the town had been abandoned more than a decade earlier. It is identified near Port Royal as "Scot." Lord Cardross and William Dunlop once wrote of it, "we have so framed the modell of the town that everie town lot hath a garden adjasent to it, and two ackers of town land lying near the town. We have devyded it into two hundreth and twentie lotts; the town itselfe, the streets and ackers of town land, will in all consist of six hundred ackers of land...." Map from the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.



citation is any mention of the Carolina Company.⁴ To date, no mention of the Carolina Company has been found in any other extant documents.

THE CAROLINA COMPANY WAS FORMED IN 1682 BY A GROUP of Scottish noblemen, lairds, and merchants. These men were predominantly Covenanters who resided in south-west Scotland. This was not the first time during the Restoration that the Scots had shown an interest in forming their own plantation in America; two previous attempts had failed to come to fruition.⁵ Interest in forming a Scottish-American colonizing company was mooted some time in the late 1670s, although it was New York rather than South Carolina which had been the Covenanters' first choice for a plantation. However, despite this initial setback, the Covenanters were eventually "weill pleased with the bargon" for a county in South Carolina which they had made with the Lords Proprietors, the English lords to whom Charles II had given the land grant of South Carolina.⁶ Considerable negotiations had taken place between the Lords Proprietors and the Scots in the choice of a suitable county. The first place offered the Scots in Carolina was rejected because of its distance from the sea and a navigable river, the poor quality of the land, and the lack of available fuel and fresh water. Instead, the Scots were to be given a relatively free hand to make their own choice:

And therfor the Scots propose that seing quit rent, purchass
and other termes are agried, they may be allowed to choise

⁴National Register of Archives (Scotland) [hereafter NRA(S)] 631, Vol. 3, p. 600. The Bundle A20 description reads as follows: "Legal, estate and business letters and papers, 1672-83. Including: Papers relating to the proposed Scottish settlement in Carolina, 1680-2, in particular a report on the town of Charles Town, 18 May 1680; order to the governor and council at Ashley river, Carolina, to assist Sir John Cochrane and Sir George Campbell, trustees for the Scottish settlers, signed 'Shaftesbury', 27 Sept. 1682; charter party between Lord Rosse, Lord Blantyre and others and Walter Gibsone, merchant, Glasgow, for hire of the James of Irving for the voyage to Carolina, 27 Sept. 1682; instructions for the pilots and gentlemen who are going to Carolina, 29 Sept. 1682." The documents in the A20 bundle were not numbered separately. The author has numbered them in the order in which they were placed inside their folder.

⁵Peter Goulesbrough, "An Attempted Scottish Voyage to New York in 1669," *Scottish Historical Review* (hereafter *SHR*) 11 (1961), pp. 56-62; "As early as 1672 a proposal of carrying over a plantation to Carolina had been put before the Covenanters by Lockhart," Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, folio 526, taken from Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p. 188.

⁶Unsigned letter to Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, July 22, 1682, in the Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/846), Scottish Records Office (hereafter SRO), Edinburgh. In this letter the Edinburgh-based author says: "... wee once expected that ye should have made a bargon and gott Interest in N.Y. wherewith we was all weill pleased however wee belieue that is giuen up..."

any free place in Carolina upon ane or either sides of a river or along the sea coast they goeing at lest 5 miles backwards. And that after they have taken up their land it may be measured and according to the measures their agriement to take place.⁷

It is likely that this desire for a county in Carolina had been revived by the 1681 Encouragement for Trade put forth by the Privy Council and by the Duke of York's (later James VII and II) zeal to win friends in Scotland during his time as the king's commissioner in Scotland. As one historian has written, "The Duke encouraged the motion as he was glad to have so many untoward people sent so far away, who he reckoned, would be ready upon the first favourable conjecture to break out into new rebellion."⁸

This Scottish settlement in South Carolina has been dismissed as merely a refuge for persecuted Covenanters, and by Charles II as a covert for political intrigue.⁹ However, material in the A20 bundle and other archival sources shows that it was a carefully planned business venture. There is nothing in the Bute Archive papers to indicate that the undertakers were merely using Carolina as a short-term refuge. In no document is there any reference, however oblique, to religion; in fact, all evidence points to the assiduous planning of what was hoped to be a permanent and profitable settlement. Intent on resuscitating their own and the country's ailing fortunes and prestige in the aftermath of the Civil Wars, frustrated by the tightening grip of the English Navigation Laws and by England's wars with Scotland's traditional allies, the Dutch and French, many of the Scottish nobility and gentry were determined to redress this balance. To many of the Scots living in this Age of Mercantalism, the obvious answer to the country's alarming drain of species and high level of imports was to break into the much-coveted Anglo-American trade by establishing a legitimate Scottish

⁷Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/848), SRO.

⁸Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p. 188.

⁹Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. 1, p. 78 (refuge for covenanters). Charles II wrote: "And, because correspondency by letters was thought dangerous, it was held necessary that some person should be sent into Scotland to invite the heads of the disaffected party that in our kingdom to come hither under pretence of purchasing lands in Carolina, but, in truth, to concert with them the best means for carrying on the design joyntly in both kingdoms; and a treaty was thereby had with Archibald Campbell, late Earle of Argyle, already attended by treason..." Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (Third Series) (hereafter RPCS), Vol. 8, 1683-1684, p. 214.



The Bute Archives are located at Dumfries House in Ayrshire, Scotland. This house was built in the 1750s to replace the home of James, second Earl of Loudoun, who in 1682 was one of the undertakers of the Carolina Company. James was an ancestor of the present Marquis of Bute. Photo courtesy of the author.

plantation in America.¹⁰ Thus Articles of Agreement were drawn up between the Lords Proprietors of Carolina and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, trustees for the Scottish undertakers of Carolina. Although it has been suggested that the Lords Proprietors allotted the Scots land in the colony's south to act as a buffer between the English counties and the hostile Spaniards, there is evidence to suggest that the Scots settled there by choice. A letter in the Hume of Marchmont Muniments from Sir John Cochrane to Governor Joseph Morton states:

Wee Intend to bring over such ane strenth of people that according to the advice wee have had at London it will be [to] our great advantage and greatly for the securitie of all that is there already planted, that wee sealt [settle] upon a river Southward of all that have yet planted that wee may be as near the Spaniards as possibly wee can be that we may have a present trade with them...¹¹

¹⁰The implications of the Navigation Acts for the Scots are very clearly explained by Theodora Keith in "Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707," *SHR* 6 (1908-1909), pp. 33-34; see Charles Wilson, *Mercantalism*, Scottish Historical Association pamphlet, 1958.

¹¹Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. 1, p. 116; Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/847), SRO (quotation).

Undoubtedly the additional lure of precious metals from the Spanish South American mines appealed to the Scottish mercantalist outlook.

Chronologically, the A20 bundle (fully listed in Appendix 2) starts with a description of South Carolina by Maurice Mathews, one of the colony's first British settlers, an Englishman whose uncle was a friend of Anthony Ashley Cooper, later Lord Shaftesbury. Mathews had sailed from England for South Carolina in 1669 with a group of servants, stopping in Barbados and arriving at Port Royal in April 1670. He settled in South Carolina and played a prominent part in public life, becoming surveyor general of the province, a member of the Grand Council, and a Lords Proprietors' deputy. His description of Charles Town and the surrounding countryside is particularly interesting. As it was written in haste, he did not have time to exaggerate the virtues of the local country, a common and dangerously misleading fault with promotional pamphlets in those days. Writing from Charles Town in May 1680 he described the pleasant climate, good harbors, friendly relations with the local Indians, the abundance of pure water and indigenous vegetation, fish, fowl, and beasts, ease of navigation, advantageous trading position of Charles Town on the Ashley and Cooper rivers, the use of Negro slaves, and much more. He does not mention the sickly nature of the summer climate with its plethora of mosquitoes and hot humid conditions, to say nothing of the snake- and alligator-infested swampy ground to be cleared. It would appear that Mathews's account was copied by scribes and circulated among interested persons in Scotland, as the Bute copy and that found by W.L. Sharp in Edinburgh in the 1950s have the same error with Mathews's initial — both are signed "N" rather than "M" Mathews. It is also clear that Mathews had been requested to send this description back home; he wrote, "I hope you will pardon the shortness of those following hints w^{ch}: you desired from me concerning this Collony."¹² It is likely that this description was requested by the Lords Proprietors to be circulated among interested parties.

Chronologically, the next entry in the A20 bundle is headed: "Double Articles of Agreement Between The Right Honourables the Lords proprietors of Carolina and Sir Jo: cockran & S: Geo: Campbell Date 31 July 1682." In addition to giving precise instructions as to how the Scots were to lay out their county, the amount of quit rent to be charged (one penny per acre) and when it was to be collected, and how to deal with the local Indians, among other things, the Scots were to have the opportunity to take up another

¹²Mathews's description in Bundle A20/2, Bute Archives (hereafter BA). A copy of Mathews's description — identical to that in the A20 bundle in the Bute Archives — was published as "A Contemporary View of Carolina in 1680," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 55 (July 1954), pp. 153-159. (Thanks to Dr. Charles H. Lesser, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, for drawing my attention to this paper.) Bundle A20/2, BA ("I hope....").

county if the settling of their first county was successful.¹³

It was then necessary for a Bond of Contract to be drawn up between Sir John Cochrane and Sir George Campbell and, on the other side, the company's proposed undertakers, setting out the terms and conditions for company shareholders. In essence this lengthy legal document gave Sir Robert Baird, an Edinburgh advocate and merchant who had been nominated to serve as the company's cash-keeper, the power to collect £10 sterling from each shareholder to cover the cost of an exploratory voyage to South Carolina. It was also stated that if a two-thirds majority of the undertakers felt it necessary, each shareholder would be obliged to contribute a further £10.¹⁴

The Articles of Agreement and the Bond of Contract having been drawn up, undertakers — that is, subscribers in this colonizing venture — were enlisted. Four separate lists of proposed undertakers of Carolina make clear that the company planned to have seventy-two subscribers (see Appendix I). However, no single list contains seventy-two names. Thirty names appear on all four lists, while there are eighty-five different names in total. Only one of the lists (A20/21) is dated — October 27, 1682 — and is likely the final list. However, we know from the Hume of Marchmont Muniments that the subscription list was underway by July 22, 1682. Even a casual glance at these lists confirms that bonds of friendship and kinship were of paramount importance in forming the Carolina Company; many of these friendships had been cemented over decades by intermarriage and by bonds of friendship. Key roles were played by members of Clan Campbell, the prolific Dunlop family, and the Cochranes of Ochiltree.¹⁵

¹³Bundle A20/6, BA. This detailed and comprehensive document is similar to the one copied by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, renowned for his voluminous works on the Covenanters, and can be found among his papers at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is referred to in his *The History of Sufferings of the Church of Scotland From the Revolution to the Restoration* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton, 1829). Agreement between the Lords Proprietors and Sir John Cochrane and Sir George Campbell, Sept. 15, 1682, Wodrow quarto XXXIV/35, National Library of Scotland (NLS). A logo of a saltire with three besants first appears and is very similar to the logo adopted by the Bank of Scotland set up thirteen years later. Several of the undertakers of Carolina were also adventurers of the Bank of Scotland (see Appendix 1).

¹⁴Bundle A20/11, BA. £12 Scots was worth £1 sterling.

¹⁵The lists are contained in Bundles A20/13, A20/21, A20/22, and A20/23, BA. The term undertaker was commonly used in the seventeenth century to describe a person who had given an undertaking or pledge to put a specified sum of money into a business enterprise. Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/846), SRO. On friendships, see Bond of Friendship, May 1, 1630, Bundle 7/173, Inveraray Castle Archives, Inveraray, Scotland. Bonds, or bands as they also were called, were common in Scotland in the days of clan feuds and lawlessness. They were agreements between individuals, usually the clan elite, to pay or perform services. Bonds could

Written into this bond and contract was an escape clause to the effect that if the subsequent report from South Carolina proved unfavorable, subscribers could withdraw without obligation. Notwithstanding that the bulk of the undertakers came from south-west Scotland, the country had been divided into at least five areas for collection of subscriptions: Paisley in Renfrewshire and Rutherglen in Lanarkshire, with Sir John Cochrane as their representative; Ayrshire, presided over by Sir Alexander Cunninghame of Corsehill; the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Berwick, by Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth; and an east country contingent about which little is known.¹⁶

THE UNDERTAKERS OF CAROLINA PROPOSED TO CHARTER A ship to make the necessary exploratory voyage to Carolina. Much thought and careful planning was given to this before the charter contract was formally drawn up. On September 14, 1682, at Edinburgh, "Instructions for those pilots and gentlemen who are to be sent to Carolina to try for navigable rivers and to Consider the ground y^rwpon [thereupon]" were issued:

Imprimis that they goe to ashly river to charles towne & delyver the letters of Credit to the governour and [their] letters to mr Axdaill and mr Miller & by [their] joynt advyce byie sloops & men that are best acquaint with the rivers & Countrey and goe with them to search the rivers to the southward of ashlie river untill they come to port royall and the rivers more southward of port royall if they be not satisfied with those to the northwards of it, and having found ane good navigable river wher ane veshell of ane hundreth & fyfty tunds [150 tons] or yrby [thereby] or of that burthenne may saflie enter at low water to goe into that river as far up as conveniently they may to make Inspectione of the entries yrof [thereof]....

All rivers and springs were to be examined, samples of the soil taken, the quality and quantity of timber assessed, and, when a suitable river area had

be for protection, surety, marriage, manrent, etc., and were binding on both parties' allegiance to the other. In this case, the town of Irvine in south-west Scotland and the eighth Earl of Argyll drew up a bond of friendship. It contains many of the same family names as are given in the A20 file, including Cunningham, Montgomerie, Cessnock, Loudoun, and Kerse.

On the families which played major roles, see Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/846), SRO. This issue is more fully dealt with in Linda G. Fryer, "The Covenanters' Lost Colony in South Carolina," *Scottish Archives* 2 (1996), pp. 98-106.

¹⁶Bundles A20/11 and A20/18a, BA.

been located, the governor was to be informed that it be reserved for a Scots' settlement. The reconnaissance party was to note the number of Spaniards, the type of trade in which they were involved, the livestock and commodities which could be brought out from Scotland, and what purchases could be made from the Spaniards or established planters. Most important, they were to write home regularly.¹⁷

The undertakers, represented by Lord Ross, drew up a charter contract with Walter Gibson, a Glasgow merchant in the forefront of the city's burgeoning expansion (he was later to become the city's provost) and owner of the ship, *The James of Irvine*. Meeting in Glasgow in the latter part of September 1682, the company's undertakers put much careful planning into provisioning of this ship, selecting the goods to be exported, and choosing those who were to sail to America.¹⁸

Having chosen an executive committee, the undertakers set about appointing a clerk. Heugh Archibald of Dankeith was elected for a period of one year and given the power to chose his own deputies. His chief tasks were:

... formeing and drawing of such pape[r]s or wrietts as shall be found necesarie And for keeping of the Records and minutts of their proceeedour And to the effect to attend to se[ve]rall dyett and places that shall be Appointed be [by] the said Committie or their undertackers themselves And to bring allongst with him to the place so appointed what Minutts hau [have] formerlie been past at any other meeting of before....

This agreement was signed by thirty-five of the undertakers.¹⁹

Despite this flurry of activity and interest in establishing the company on a strong footing, a letter dated September 22, 1682, and addressed to the trustees hints at the first suspicion of a lack of unanimous commitment on the part of the undertakers. Nathan Somers, a London merchant, who had been contracted to provide "engines" for the company in Carolina gave Sir John and Sir George the opportunity to withdraw from their bargain as he had not heard from them, and intended to be in America by the following May. It is well documented that several of the undertakers of Carolina abandoned the colony for East New Jersey, while others settled in Holland. As Sarah Carstares, William Dunlop's wife, stated in September 1686, "... the English are very much off that plantation of Carolina this year." In

¹⁷Bundle A20/17, BA.

¹⁸On Walter Gibson, see John McUre, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: McVean, Wylie & Co., 1830), p. 169; Bundle A20/1, BA.

¹⁹Bundle A20/15, BA.

reality, the London Scots community had, almost from its earliest inception, been "off" Carolina. Writing from London to his father in February 1682, John Dunlop of Garnkirk, a younger son and trainee merchant, stated:

S'r I have vri[te]n se[ver]all tymes concerning Carolina bot newer knew anie thing of yor intention It is for present heir and y' generallie by all men wors spoken of yn ewer before q' I doe think my self oblided in dewtie to desyer yt by noe perswaion, nor fair pretence qtso[ve]r yea may wpon anie acct be Concerned y^r=in.²⁰

This information, to which the undertakers must have been privy, did little to deter their initial enthusiasm for the Carolina scheme. On September 27 the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir Peter Colleton signed a letter for the governor and Council at Ashley River, Carolina, requesting that all the encouragement that lay in their power be given to the Scots in the establishment of their county in Carolina:

Gentlemen

Wheras Sir John Cochran and Sr George Campbell, Trustees for the Scots have made ane agreement wt [with] us, for a Countie in Carolina with intention to transport themselves, and divers familys thither in order to which they are now sending a veshell from Scotland with diverse pilots and Gentlemen to seek out a place to their mind: We dae [do] theirfore yow will be assisting to them all yow can (as by our letters — P[e]r Captain Adams we have anesired [answered]) in procureing them sloops, seamen, and all other things needfull for their busines at their charge we being very desireous to give them all the encouradgement lyes in our power, but yow are to take notice yt [that] we have designed Cambalie to sitt the Chiefe Town of Carolina on, soe yt they are not to have that River but that is to be free to all Nations: We shall by Capt Kennyday, who may sail

²⁰Bundle A20/20, BA. Linda G. Fryer, "Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey," *Northern Scotland* 15 (1995), pp. 1-17; Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. 4, p. 519 (Carstares and Dunlop quotations). Bundle D12/4, Dunlop of Garnkirk Papers, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. A more digestible version of the transcript in the text is as follows:

"Sir, I have written several time concerning Carolina but never knew any thing of your intention. It is for present here, and that generally by all men, worse spoken of than ever before, which I do think my self obliged in duty to desire that by no persuasion, nor fair pretence whatsoever, you may upon any account be concerned therein."

in three weeks from hence, send yow a Coppy of their Articles and more large Instructions for yor better Government in this affair. in the mean tyme Rest

Your Loving friends
 Sic subscrivitur Shaftsbury
 Sic subscrivitur P Colleton²¹

NORTH OF THE BORDER IN GLASGOW, SEPTEMBER 27 MARKED the beginning of an intense three days of meetings and planning. Lords Ross and Blantyre, Sir John Cochrane, Sir George Campbell, Sir James Montgomery, Sir George Maxwell, Waterside (Sir John Cochrane's son), and John Anderson (Douhill, younger) met to finalize the charter of *The James of Irvine*:

... god willing wind and weather serving out of the River of Clyd [Clyde] or irving [Irvine] Betuixt and the seventein day october nixt to come for ashlie river in the provence of Carolina with the number of six persones whom the above persones sall be pleased to put aboard the said shipe with the vallow [value] of Ane hundreth and ffyftie or tuo hundreth pundis sterling worth of s[ai]d guidis...and sall at the s[ai]d ashlie river remayne for the space of twentie days, or feuer if possible, for livering or selling of the saids guidis And imediately thereafter s[h]all sett sail with the fors[ai]d personnes along the whole coast of Carolina for founding and rearing of the rivers posts and harbors theirol²²

The following day the committee met to elect Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree their president, and to select the people to sail with *The James of Irvine*. Those chosen were George Dreddan, Patrick Crawford, Robert Verner, William Anderson, and James Gibson (Walter's brother). Committee members agreed to send a present to the value of £30 sterling to the governor. They decided that Johne Forrest, a surgeon who had to furnish his own medical chest, was to have free passage. He would receive payment of £15 sterling, half before departure and the other half on his return. A cargo to the value of £200 sterling was to be taken aboard. The management of the cargo was remitted to the company's supercargo, John Crawford younger, an Ayrshire merchant, while Sir George Campbell, Douhill younger, and Walter Gibsone were responsible for purchasing the cargo. Finally, the

²¹Bundle A20/3, BA.

²²Bundle A20/1, BA.

undertakers were to reassemble at eight o'clock the following day and have their money ready to pay to James Moorehead of Breadisholme, the company's cash-collector. Detailed sederunts and minutes of this meeting were kept.²³

On September 29, 1682, the company's executive committee instructed Hugh Archibald to write to all the proposed undertakers who had not confirmed their commitment, and each subscriber who had not paid his money was to be given instructions as to where and when it was to be paid. Meantime, Sir Robert Baird was to be kept fully informed of all financial transactions and, from time to time, to relay this information to Douhill younger. The committee appointed Sir John Cochrane, Sir George Maxwell, Douhill younger, and two Glasgow merchants, Robert Campbell and John Corse, to give instructions to the supercargo for the management of the cargo. On the same day, a warrant was issued to Breadisholme to pay £155 sterling to Walter Gibson, John Crawford, James Gibson, and William Anderson, a Glasgow merchant. As John Crawford, James Gibson, and William Anderson were to accompany *The James of Irvine*, they were to be given three months pay in advance by Walter Gibson. "Duble the Instructions to the Gentlemen going to Carolina" (similar to those referred to above) were issued, and the necessary letters of credit were drawn up for Sir Robert Baird and Douhill.²⁴

Enclosed among the minutes and sederunts of September 29 is a small piece of paper docketed "proposals anent the servants 1682":

Overtures for Incouragement of Servants

That servants be hyred for 3 years, and they being to serve the sd 3 yeirs ar to be transported and mantained in meat & clothes for the sd tyme by yr [their] masters and at ye [the] expyryng of the sds yeirs each man is to have ffyfty acres of uncleared land in Inheritance for the pay't of two pence sterling per acre of quitt rent yearly [] [] also with the afu [aforesaid] dweling imposed wpon every acre of land for maintenance of m[off page...]tere and oyr [their] prouduces. And because when they goe away out of ther service they will be empty handed It is fitt that they have seed corn furnished them freely so the souing of [blank] acres and also the quantity of [blank] bolles of corn for to maintaine them the space of ane yeir untill the cropt come off the ground and tools to work the land with²⁵

²³Bundles A20/18a and A20/10, BA.

²⁴Bundles A20/18a, A20/14, and A20/4, BA.

²⁵Bundle A20/18b, BA.

The plan to bring to Carolina many servants is explained in an undated letter in the Hume of Marchmont Muniments from Sir John Cochrane. Some would be deported prisoners, but in order to encourage suitable immigrants it was important to have the length and terms of their indenture clearly outlined at this stage. Moreover, as servants were to be given land grants at the end of their period of indenture, it was thought right that they should be properly equipped to establish themselves as planters. The undertakers did not skimp on their responsibilities in this respect, although they charged freed servants one penny more quit rent than in the original Articles of Agreement drawn up on July 31, 1682.²⁶

No more activity by the Carolina Company is recorded until October 18 when a committee of the undertakers met at Greenock to issue a precept to Douhill younger giving him permission to borrow £100 sterling "forseeing y' y^e [that the] money for y^e: payment of y^e: said Cargoe Could not be sudenly raised." A warrant to Walter Gibson tells us that he was to receive £120 Scots for each man's passage. Like many other early colonial ventures, such financial difficulties as a lack of ready money to purchase goods and to pay the crew were never far from the fore. The committee met again at Glasgow the following week on October 27. With a sederunt of seventeen people,

... the Committee did approve ane accompt given in by douhill for ane Cargoe advanced to him and putt aboard the veshell called the James of Irving bound for Carolina extending to the summe of two thousand eight hundreth threttie four punds sex shillings seven pennyes Scotts...²⁷

The bulk of the cargo comprised textiles. This emphasis was very much in keeping with the many new cloth factories being set up in Scotland in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the best known of which was the Newmills Cloth Manufactory. A paucity of information makes it difficult to be exact, but it would seem likely that much of the textile cargo would have been supplied from the manufactories of some of the undertakers. For example, Lord Neil Campbell's business partner was Robert Blackwood, an east-coast merchant involved in the Newmills factory, while James Armour

²⁶Sir John Cochrane to Governor Morton, Hume of Marchmont (GD158/847), SRO; bundles A20/18b and A20/6, BA.

²⁷Bundles A20/5 (first quotation), A20/19, A20/8 (second quotation), BA. From this last document we learn that two of the lairds, James Campbell of Treesbank and John Shaw of Sanlegg, were allowed to subscribe as one undertaker, indicating yet again the scarcity of the undertakers' funds. We also find that like the party's surgeon, their minister, James Brown, was to be given free passage to Carolina. On finances, see W.R. Scott, "Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union, Part III, The Textile Group," *SHR* 2 (1904-1905), pp. 287-297.

was a Glasgow textile manufacturer. Several new textile factories were springing up in Ayrshire about this time. The textiles being produced in Scotland in the latter part of the seventeenth century were coarse, hard-wearing, and cheap, making them ideal export commodities for infant colonies where durability, rather than refinement, was the order of the day. An interesting addition to the cargo was one and a half pounds of silk. Many Scots were anxious to develop sericulture and they ardently hoped that the Carolina climate and vegetation would prove suitable for this. The importation of silks was of course regarded by mercantalists as an unwonted extravagance and drain of specie.²⁸

Some idea of the provisions, armaments, and basic iron wear necessary for a trans-Atlantic voyage in the 1680s can be gained from an invoice dated October 27, 1682. For this voyage, four barrels of brandy, 253 pounds of white bread, nineteen gallons of strong ale, live sheep and hens, ten casks of nails for making and mending gun carriages, two priming irons, and much more were put on board. Excluding the cost of the cargo and other expenses listed above, the total cost of provisioning the ship, paying her crew, etc., came to £1702, 18 shillings Scots. Thus we know that by October 27, 1682, the undertakers had expended at least £4586, 15 shillings, 7 pence Scots (equivalent to approximately £382, 4 shillings, 8 pence sterling) in this colonial venture.²⁹

With the exception of one undated document signed "A of Corshill" (Sir Alexander Cunningham of Corsehill), no documents in the A20 bundle indicate the outcome of this exploratory voyage. The Corshill document is in the form of an agreement to purchase land in Carolina for £50 involving James Campbell of Treesbank, John Crawford (senior and younger) of Crawfordland, William Fairlie of Brunfield, and Sir Alexander Cunningham. However, the fate of the Carolina Company can to some extent be pieced together from other archival sources. We know from the Register of Province Conveyances housed at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History that John Crawford selected land in Carolina. According to a

²⁸Bundles A20/24, BA; W.R. Scott, ed., *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire 1681-1703* (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1905), passim; RPCS (Third Series), pp. vii, p. 45.

²⁹Bundles A20/19; 51 BA, A20/12, BA; Eglinton Muniments (GD3/5/773-8), SRO; Hume of Marchmont Muniments (GD158/846-8), SRO. It is impossible to tell the extent to which the A20 bundle of papers at Dumfries House is incomplete. With the exception of a very small account headed "The undertakers of Rowallan" — probably involving William Muir of Rowallan — there are no other accounts in this bundle. Although both the Hume of Marchmont and Eglinton Muniments in the SRO give valuable additional information to Scottish Carolina undertakings in the 1680s, there is no specific mention of the Carolina Company, nor is there any mention of it in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.

pamphlet by John Crawford, *The James of Irvine* sailed for Carolina, via Bermuda, in October 1682, and arrived in Charles Town in March 1683. *The James of Irvine* spent a month taking soundings and exploring the region. From the Baird of Saughtonhall Papers in the SRO we learn that the Carolina Company had outstanding debts in 1686, as two of *The James of Irvine's* crew sued Sir Robert Baird, the company's cash-keeper, for unpaid wages. Beyond that, little else of the company's short history is known. Two merchants, Robert Malloch from Edinburgh and Alexander Spittell from Dundee, sent ships to South Carolina in the early 1680s. Robert Malloch's headright warrant, dated November 13, 1684, states: "... Robert Mallock Three Thousand seven hundred Acres of Land being soe much due to him for the Arrivall of saventy ffower servants...." In addition, he purchased 1,000 acres of land in South Carolina from an Edward Middleton in January 1685. Although Malloch's warrant was issued when the Cardross-Dunlop party was traveling through Charles Town to establish Stuarts Town, there is no documentation to tie the two parties together.³⁰

MUCH RESEARCH IN THIS AREA STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE TO follow up on the fate of the Carolina Company and to fill in the many missing links between the autumn of 1682 and July 1684, when Lord Cardross, William Dunlop, and possibly some of the other undertakers sailed for South Carolina and established Stuarts Town. It is almost certain that the gap between the return of *The James of Irvine* and the departure of Lord Cardross's party for South Carolina, was occasioned by the disarray following the Rye House Plot in 1683. Probably Sir John Cochrane used his role as one of the company's trustees to dual advantage; as a cover for political intrigue and to further his entrepreneurial aspirations. Sir John Cochrane did travel to London in 1682 to meet with the Earl of Shaftesbury, and both were allegedly implicated in the Rye House Plot. Both Sir John and the Earl of Shaftesbury fled the country and sought refuge in the Low Countries following the exposure of the Rye House Plot. Several of the Scottish undertakers also were accused of being involved in the plot, thus

³⁰Bundles A20/25, BA; John Crawford land selection in Register of Province conveyances, Book A, 1682-1690, p. 36, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia (hereafter SCDAH); John Crafford, *A New and Most Exact Account of the Fertiles [sic] and Famous Colony of Carolina ...* (Dublin: N. Tarrant, 1683); Baird of Saughtonhall Papers (GD238/3/4/1-3), SRO; Henderson of Fordell Muniments (GD172/1585), SRO; A.S. Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina 1672-1711* (rev. ed., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 377-378; Register of the Province, Conveyances, Vol. A, 1682-1690, pp. 163-164, SCDAH.

undoubtedly tainting the company's reputation.³¹

As stated earlier, it has also been suggested that the Scots' interest in South Carolina was merely as a refuge for persecuted Covenanters. In the heat of the moment many may have voiced this desire, but as the Ormonde Papers illustrate, few Covenanters availed themselves of the opportunity to use this escape route: "... their keeping a great ship at Derry to transport them, yet now the time come, not one man goes...."³²

Lord Cardross was the only Covenanter of any standing who used Carolina to escape persecution, and even he had mixed reasons for flight. Both Lord Cardross and his wife had been constantly under suspicion for holding house conventicles (illegal Protestant church meetings). Lord Cardross had been fined £5,000 Scots for attending these conventicles, and later for allowing his son to be baptized irregularly. He had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle and his own castle was broken into and looted by English soldiers. Lord Cardross sailed for and settled in Carolina in 1684, where he awaited the arrival of his family. However, he left after two years, following the attack by the Spanish on the Scots' settlement at Stuarts Town and because of administrative difficulties and misunderstandings with the governor at Charles Town. William Dunlop, who sailed from the River Clyde with Lord Cardross, made a modest success of his time as a planter. He fully intended that his family should follow and settle permanently in the New World. According to one source, Dunlop's name was "distinguished by the rarely united excellencies of an eminent scholar, an accomplished antiquary, a shrewd merchant, a brave soldier, an able politician, a zealous divine, and an amiable man."³³

Beyond doubt, the main motive for setting up the Carolina Company was to establish a legitimate trade with the Anglo-American colonies.

³¹Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. 4, p. 71. Those Scots implicated in the Rye House Plot were as follows: "August 16th 1683, council appoint King's advocate to raise a process of treason against earl of Loudoun, lord Melville, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, John Cochran his son, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock elder, [blank] Campbell of Cessnock younger, Montgomery of Langshaw, laird of Rowallan elder and younger, Fairly of Brunnsfield, Bailie of Jerviswood, Crawford younger of Crawfordland,"

³²Viscount Mountjoy to the Marquis of Ormonde, Aug. 17, 1683, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde*, K.P. (London: H.M.S.O., 1912), Cd. 6255, pp. vii, p. 107.

³³G. Dunlop, ed., *The Dunlop Papers: Volume III, Letters and Journals 1663-1889*, (London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1953), "Carolina Letters," pp. 24-25. Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, pp. 65-67, 73; Maxwell of Eglinton Muniments (GD3/5/773-8), SRO. William Dunlop's business partners, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie and James Dunlop of Dunlop, failed to honor his bills and send out supplies as promised. A. Dunlop, *Dunlops of that ilk* (Glasgow: Kerr & Richardson Ltd., 1898), p. 15 (quotation).



William Dunlop, one of the original undertakers of the Carolina Company, sailed with Lord Cardross from the River Clyde, Scotland, to South Carolina in 1684. During his time at Stuarts Town, Dunlop made a modest success as a planter, and intended that his family should follow him to the New World. Dunlop's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* quotes a contemporary describing him as "distinguished by the rarely united excellencies of an eminent scholar, an accomplished antiquary, a shrewd merchant, a brave soldier, an able politician, a zealous divine, and an amiable man." Photo courtesy of the University of Glasgow.

Having enjoyed equal trading rights with the English since the union of 1603 — which were unaffected by Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651 — Charles II's Navigation Acts were a source of frustration, annoyance, and irritation to Scottish traders. Since the passage of Charles II's first Navigation Act in 1660, illicit Scottish trade with the Anglo-American colonies had flourished. Furthermore, strictures on the importation of Scottish goods into England, particularly black cattle and woolen goods, had left many Scottish merchants — especially those in the west and south-west of Scotland — struggling to find outlets for their manufactures. The cargo of coarse cloth, hats, and serviceable clothes purchased by the Carolina Company for sale in the colonies was typical of the kinds of goods which Scotland was increasingly producing during the Restoration, goods which were ideally suited to colonial markets because of their mundane nature and cheapness. Only three years later in 1685, George Muschamp, collector of duties in Carolina, stated that the Scots

are evidently able to undersell ye [the] English, their Goods being much coarser or slighter, which will serve for servants weare and will be sure to go off [sell easily], they being cheap so that an Englishman must go away unfreighted or sell to vast Disadvantage³⁴

³⁴Theodora Keith, "Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707," *SHR* 6 (1908-1909), pp. 32-48 (quotation, p. 37).

Moreover, Scots were highly valued as excellent planters and soldiers, the latter occupation being an important advantage in the early days of settling colonies, particularly those which placed a heavy reliance on the use of black slaves where possible insurrections were an ever-present threat.

INCOMPLETE AS THE A20 BUNDLE IN THE BUTE ARCHIVES is, there is sufficient information to give a tantalizing glimpse of one of the many attempts being made by the Scots to establish themselves as a prosperous nation independent of England and as a burgeoning manufacturing and trading entity in the international arena. The failure of the Carolina Company did not quell the enthusiasm of her subscribers for other entrepreneurial ventures; many of the undertakers listed in Appendix 1 went on to become subscribers in both the Bank of Scotland — established by Act of Parliament in 1695 — and in the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, the ill-fated Darien scheme. Many, like James Armour, John Corse, Mungo Cochrane, the Dunlops, and the Bogles, were successful manufacturers and merchants from the west of Scotland, who played a major role in ousting Edinburgh as Scotland's foremost trading center, establishing Glasgow as an imperial entrepot. They were a restive, innovative, and resourceful group of men who helped lay the foundations for Glasgow's future fame as the "Second City" in the Empire (after Calcutta).³⁵

With their resources never equal to their ambition, the Scots were determined at all cost to establish their own legitimate American colonial trade and break England's imperialistic hegemony. The formation of the Carolina Company and subsequent settlement at Stuarts Town cannot be dismissed simply as a covert for the Rye House Plot, or for the Covenanters' retreat from religious persecution, but has to be recognized as an entrepreneurial endeavour which failed through association with political intrigue, lack of funds, and back-up support. The Carolina Company represents one of Scotland's attempts during the pre-Union period to transform the country from an economic backwater to a mercantile nation. Such companies as the Carolina Company and the Company of Scotland

³⁵"List of adventurers of Bank of Scotland, 1696-100, in the order in which they appear in the ledger," Bank of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh; "A perfect List of the several persons Residenters in Scotland who have subscribed as Adventurers in the Joynt=Stock of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies," Adv. Ms. 83.1.8, NLS; T.C. Smout, "The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century," *SHR XLVII* (1968), pp. 53-71; T.C. Smout, "The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy VII* (1960), pp. 194-212; McUre, *History of Glasgow*, pp. 169, 227, 247, 249. Many of the undertakers (and/or their fathers or sons) of Carolina were merchants and one-time provosts of Glasgow. Provosts rose from the ranks of the merchant burghesses.

Trading to Africa and the Indies brought Scotland into direct conflict with England's trading ambitions and those of her all-powerful East India Company. Nonetheless, these commercial rivalries were ultimately resolved by the political fusion of two unequal partners by the implementation of the Treaty of Union in 1707.

**APPENDIX 1
PROPOSED UNDERTAKERS OF CAROLINA**

| <u>Undertaker</u> | <u>List</u> | 1 A20/23 | 2 A20/22 | 3 A20/13 | 4 A20/21 |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Cassillis, John Earl of | | x | | | |
| Barganie, Lord John | | x | x | | |
| Ochiltree, Sir John | | | | | |
| Cochrane of | | x | x | x | x |
| Cessnock, Sir George | | | | | |
| Campbell of | | x | x | x | x |
| Crawfordland, John | | | | | |
| Crawford of | | x | x | x | x |
| Corsehill, Sir Alexander | | | | | |
| Cunningham of | | x | x | | |
| Skelmorlie, Sir James | | | | | |
| Montgomery of | | x | x | x | x |
| Treesbank, James | | | | | |
| Campbell | | x | x | x | |
| Corsbie | | x | x | | |
| James Blair | | x | x | x | x |
| Kerse | | x | x | x | x |
| *Archibald Hamilton | | x | x | | x |
| *Hugh Brown | | x | x | x | x |
| Glenie | | x | x | x | x |
| John Hutcheson | | x | x | | |
| William Dunlop | | x | x | x | x |
| Archibald Muir | | x | x | x | |
| Auchenharvie, Robert | | | | | |
| Cunningham of | | x | x | x | x |
| Hugh Archibald of | | | | | |
| Dankeith | | x | x | x | x |
| Waterside, John | | | | | |
| Cochrane of | | x | x | x | x |
| Lainshaw | | x | x | | |
| Loudoun, Earl of | | x | x | x | x |
| Lord Ross | | x | x | x | x |
| Lord Blantyre | | x | x | x | x |
| Houston | | x | x | x | |
| Craigends | | x | x | | |
| Newark, Sir George | | | | | |
| Maxwell of | | x | x | x | x |
| Greenock, Sir John | | | | | |
| Shaw of | | x | x | x | x |
| Howshell | | x | x | | |
| Glanderstoun | | x | x | x | x |
| Caldwell | | x | x | | |
| Archibald Montgomerie | | x | x | | |
| Dowhill, John Anderson | | | | | |
| younger of | | x | x | | x |
| Walter Gibson | | x | x | x | x |
| Robert Campbell of | | | | | |
| North Woodside | | x | x | x | x |
| Thomas Wilson | | x | x | x | x |
| Halbert Gladstones | | x | x | | |
| John Inglis | | x | x | x | x |
| Patrick Johnston | | x | x | x | |
| *George Clerk | | x | x | x | x |
| Sir Robert Baird | | x | x | x | x |
| Baillie Charles Charters | | x | x | x | x |

| Undertaker | List | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | | A20/23 | A20/22 | A20/13 | A20/21 |
| George Mossman | | x | x | x | x |
| Wishaw | | x | x | | |
| Hallcraig | | x | x | x | x |
| Lee, Sir William | | | | | |
| Lockheart of | | x | x | x | x |
| *Lord Cardross | | x | x | | |
| Lord Neill Campbell | | x | x | | x |
| Craigmillar | | x | x | x | x |
| Piltown | | x | x | | |
| Cockburn of Lanton | | x | x | | |
| Sir Patrick Home of | | | | | |
| Polwarth | | x | x | | |
| Stevenston | | x | x | | |
| Earl of Haddington | | x | x | | |
| Barclay | | x | x | | |
| *Alexander Monro | | x | x | | |
| Carshore | | x | x | | |
| Pitlochie, George | | | | | |
| Scott of | | x | x | x | x |
| *Sir George Lockheart | | | | x | x |
| Sir Hugh Campbell | | | | | |
| of Cessnock, senior | | | | x | |
| Fullarton of that ilk | | | | x | x |
| John Caldwell | | | | x | x |
| John Corse | | | | x | x |
| Lennox of Woodhead | | | | x | |
| John Robertson | | | | x | x |
| Thornton | | | | | x |
| John Gibson | | | | | x |
| William Bogle | | | | | x |
| Matthew Cumming | | | | | x |
| Hugh Galbraith | | | | | x |
| John McCuir | | | | | x |
| Cashree | | | | | x |
| Mr John Campbell | | | | | |
| (and his father) | | | | | x |
| Sornbegg, John Shaw of | | | | | x |
| Ardkinglass, Sir Colin | | | | | |
| Campbell of | | | | | x |
| James Armour | | | | | x |
| Mungo Cochran | | | | | x |
| James Bogle elder | | | | | x |
| John Mccuir | | | | | x |
| James Bell | | | | | x |
| Patrick Bell | | | | | x |
| Patrick Johnston | | | | | x |
| Alexander Reid | | | | | x |
| Hugh Blair | | | | | x |
| John Montgomerie | | | | | x |
| Notes | | | | | |
| *Also adventurers of the Bank of Scotland. | | | | | |
| Lists are from the identified bundles in the Bute Archives, Dumfries House, Ayrshire, Scotland. Only one of the lists (A20/21) was dated—October 27, 1682—and it seems likely that it was the last list to be drawn up. As seventeenth-century spelling lacked standardization and could vary even within the one document, the most common form of spelling has been used. | | | | | |

APPENDIX 2
LIST OF DOCUMENTS IN THE A20 BUNDLE

| <u>Bundle</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Docket or description</u> |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|--|
| *A20/1 | Sept. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "Charter Betwixt Lord Rosse & oysr and walter gibsone 1682" |
| A20/2 | May 18, 1680 | Charles Town | Description of early Carolina by Maurice Mathews |
| A20/3 | Sept. 27, 1682 | London | "For the Governour and Council at Ashley River Carolina" (from Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir Peter Colleton) |
| A20/4 | Sept. 29, 1682 | Glasgow | "duble the Instructions to the Gentlemen going to Carolina" |
| A20/5 | Oct. 18, 1682 | Greenock | "Precept of the undertakers of Carolina upon Bredisholme to pay 100 lib st: to Dowhill 82" |
| *A20/6 | July 31, 1682 | — | "Double Articles of agreement Between the Right Honourables the Lord proprietors of Carolina and Sir Jo: Cockran & S: Geo: Campbell Date July 31 1682" |
| A20/7 | n.d. | — | "Memorandum What is necessar for ye voyage" |
| A20/8 | Oct. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "Sederunt Glasgow 27th Oct. 1682" |
| A20/9 | Sept. 29, 1682 | Glasgow | "Carolina Warrant Bredies holme 1682 to pay Walter Gibson ca. John Crawford James Gibsone William Anderson 155 lib. sterl." |
| A20/10 | Sept. 28, 1682 | Glasgow | "Sederunt" |
| A20/11 | n.d. | — | Draft contract between Sir John Cochrane, Sir George Campbell & others for an agreement with the Lords Proprietors... |
| A20/12 | Oct. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "accompt Johne Corse" |
| A20/13 | n.d. | — | "Ane list the present subscribing undertakers" |

| <u>Bundle</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Docket or description</u> |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|--|
| A20/14 | Sept. 29, 1682 | Glasgow | "double of the warrand for Bredisholme to r'live out money 1682" |
| *A20/15 | Sept. 15, 1682 | — | "Commission to Heugh Archbald 1682" |
| A20/16 | Sept. 29, 1682 | Glasgow | "double the le[t]res to S'r Ro't baird and houhill 1682" |
| *A20/17 | Sept. 14, 1682 | Edinburgh | "Instructions [for those pilots and gentlemen who are to be sent to Carolina to try for navigable rivers and to Consider the ground yrwpon]" |
| *A20/18a | Sept. 28, 1682 | Glasgow | "Minuts of the Committies of glasgow the 28th Sept'r 1682" |
| A20/18b | Sept. 29, 1682 | Glasgow | "Sederunt" + "proposals anent the servants 1682" |
| A20/19 | Oct. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "Warrand for apy't of mo'y to Walter gibsoune" |
| *A20/20 | Sept. 22, 1682 | — | "Letter from Nathan Somers to S'r Jo: Cochran and S'r Geo Campbell 1682" |
| *A20/21 | Oct. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "A list of ye names of ye undertackers in Carolina Octer. 27th 1682" |
| *A20/22 | n.d. | — | "A List of the 72 Undertakers for Carolina" |
| *A20/23 | 1682 | — | "A List of the 72 undertakers for Carolina 1682" |
| *A20/24 | Oct. 27, 1682 | Glasgow | "accompt Carolina Companie" |
| A20/25 | n.d. | — | Agreement signed by A of Corshill |

* These documents bear the Carolina Company's logo.
Note: The documents in the A20 bundle were not numbered separately. The author has numbered them in the order in which they were placed inside their folder.