

THE DARIEN SCHEME AND THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

A Thesis

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by

Jack Cummins Ramsay, Jr.

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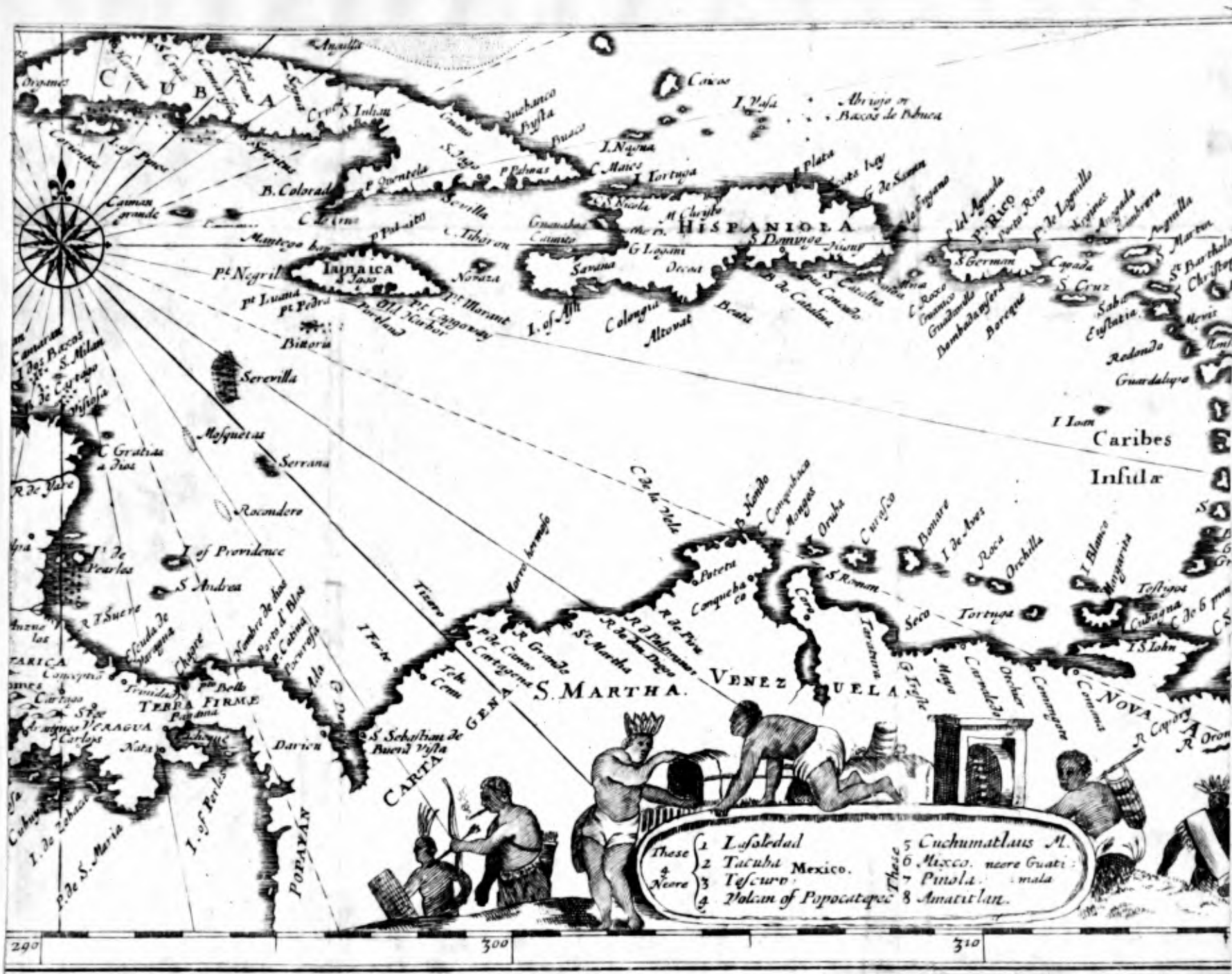
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A MAP OF THE CARIBBEAN SEA



The Caribbean Sea showing the Isthmus of Darien:
 from a map printed in the year 1699
 (Thomas Gage, A New Survey of the West Indies)

PREFACE

The Darien Scheme has attracted the attention of a vast host of Scottish writers: historians have repeatedly recorded this tragic drama, and poet, controversialist, and novelist have all contributed to the existing literature on the Company of Scotland's attempt to colonize the Isthmus of America. However, the political and economic aspects of the Darien Colony have so obscured the part that religion and the Church played in the undertaking, that the phase of this episode which is of interest to the student of ecclesiastical history has been almost completely neglected. It is the purpose of this study to indicate the extent of and the reasons for the Church of Scotland's interest in the Darien Scheme, and to consider both the manifestations and the significance of the attitude of the Church toward this colonial project. The active part that religious leaders took in promoting the scheme, the foreign missionary enterprise connected with it, and the attempt to establish a Presbyterian church in the Colony all add to the importance of this episode for the church historian.

This oversight on the part of the student of the history of the Church was pointed out by Doctor Thomas Clinton Pears in an article entitled "The Design of Darien" that appeared in the Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian

Church in the U. S. A.¹ His study of the Scottish Colony provided a foundation for the initiation of this investigation. Several other modern works have proved to be of inestimable value. Of particular importance are the following: Darien Shipping Papers and The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, two volumes that represent the research of Doctor George Pratt Insh in connection with the Scottish colonial undertaking; and The Disaster of Darien, a work in which Francis Russell Hart included the results of his study of the Spanish papers relating to the Isthmian settlement.

The investigation of contemporary documents and early publications that depict the role of the Church of Scotland in the Darien episode has necessitated extensive reading from a variety of sources. Assistance in this research has been rendered by the following: the Reverend J. E. Primrose, New College Librarian; the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh City Library, the Signet Library, the Historical Room of the Register House in Edinburgh, the Hay Fleming Library in St. Andrews, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the Library of the Church of Scotland in Tolbooth-St. John's Church, and the Library of the University of Glasgow.

Among others who have helped in this investigation are

¹ Thomas Clinton Pears, "The Design of Darien," Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Volume LVII, Numbers 1 and 2, p. 11.

the Reverend D. F. M. Macdonald, minister of Glassford parish, who made available contemporary documents relating to Francis Borland; Mr. Thomas Brown, Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland, who made possible an examination of the Darien papers in the bank archives; Miss Margaret Mosimann, Reference Librarian of the Charleston Free Library, who rendered assistance in securing information on Archibald Stobo; Miss Elizabeth Ramsay, who investigated material available in Spence Library, Richmond, Virginia; and Miss M. Johnston, Secretary to the Duke of Hamilton, who made accessible papers relating to the Darien Scheme among the recently discovered Hamilton family papers. Doctor George Pratt Insh has helpfully suggested several sources of information. The Reverend Principal Hugh Watt and the Reverend Professor J. H. S. Burleigh have given advice and direction in this attempt to portray the ecclesiastical history connected with the Darien Scheme.

Edinburgh, Scotland,

J. C. R.

May, 1949

CHAPTER I

THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN SCOTLAND AND THE DARIEN SCHEME

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

IN EUROPE, 1660 - 1700

The emergence and the establishment of new political, religious, and economic patterns marked the

closing years of the seventeenth century. When Charles II began his reign over the two British nations at the Restoration in 1660, France had already assumed a lead in European affairs, England had established herself in a place of first importance among the nations of Europe, and the decline of Spain was imminent. In 1661 Louis XIV began his personal rule of France and accelerated the ascendancy of his nation. Spain, lacking both energetic leadership and adequate finances, was falling rapidly to a position of second importance. While Spain was maintaining a precarious hold upon her vast colonial possessions, English seamen and colonists were laying the foundations for the British Empire. In 1654 Jamaica was captured by England, and in 1670, Sir Henry Morgan led a band of English buccaneers on a successful raid on the important Spanish city of Panama. In the year of Morgan's raid, Spain, in a treaty signed in Madrid, conceded to England the privilege of sailing the waters of the Caribbean: this was the virtual acknowledgment of the rights of the new colonial power in the West Indies in what

had once been territory claimed by the Spanish Crown.¹ Thus it was that the growth of English strength upon the seas was severely shaking the foundations of Spain's vast colonial empire.

The Revolution in Britain gave William of Orange the united crown of England and Scotland, after his landing at Torbay on November 5th, 1688. The War of the League of Augsburg ended with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 in which Louis at last recognized William III as King of Britain and Anne as his successor. The question of the Spanish Succession now began to absorb the energies of the monarchs and statesmen of Europe. Louis was willing to accept the Treaty of Ryswick in order to devote his energies to the promotion of his candidate for the Spanish throne; William was so deeply concerned with the negotiation of the Partition Treaties that, when it was known that the Scots were settled at Darien, he could not afford to affront the Iberian nation by countenancing colonization by his Scottish subjects in territory claimed by Spain. The diplomacy of the Spanish Succession continued to occupy the attention of European statesmen until the death of Charles II in 1700, when the will of the deceased monarch ceded his twenty-two crowns to Philip of Anjou, of the House of Bourbon. It was thus that the seventeenth century came to a close;

¹ "The Darien Papers," Volume III, MS number 76.

however, amid the changing patterns of the period, the framework of the Europe of the future was emerging.¹

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688
AND THE SETTLEMENT OF
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Perhaps the most significant change for Britain in this period took place when the Revolution swept James II and VII from the throne of the two British nations. In Scotland the Revolution brought widespread rejoicing. William of Orange had announced from the Hague that he was coming to preserve Protestantism and to vindicate the liberties of Scotland.² Mobs burned effigies of archbishops in Glasgow, and in Edinburgh tried to break into Holyrood Palace. There was a general outburst of popular feeling against the Episcopacy that Charles II had established in Scotland and the Roman Catholicism of James VII. The Stewart monarch soon became a refugee on the Continent, and in 1689, William was proclaimed king by a Convention of the Three Estates. A Jacobite reaction to the Revolution ended in the defeat of the Highlanders at Dunkeld by a determined band of Cameronians, and the protestant monarch and presbytery were victorious. The long years of

¹ The Cambridge Modern History, Volume V, pp. 1-63, 137-167; Lord Macaulay, The History of England From the Accession of James the Second, Volume V, pp. 94 et sqq; H. A. L. Fisher, A History of Europe, Volume II, pp. 662-695; Lord Mahon, editor, Spain Under Charles the Second, 1840 edition, pp. 100-138; J. H. Robinson and Charles Beard, The Development of Modern Europe, Volume I, pp. 16 et sqq.

² W. L. Mathieson, Politics and Religion: A Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution, Volume II, p. 345.

religious persecution had come to an end, and the way was now clear for the re-establishment of Presbyterianism.¹

The Convention of the Three Estates met as the Parliament of Scotland in June, 1689, and in July abolished Episcopacy. The second session of Parliament met in April, 1690, and it was during this session that much of importance to the Church took place. The Act of 1669 recognizing the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was rescinded; outed ministers of the Church were restored to their charges; patronage was abolished; and an act was passed that provided for the settlement of church government.²

On October 16th of the same year, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met. Some sixty ministers who had lived through the long years of Episcopacy between the Restoration and the Revolution, and who had survived the flood of prelacy, formed a nucleus for this ecclesiastical body which consisted of 116 ministers and forty-seven elders;³ one of their number, Hew Kennedie, was elected moderator. The three ministers of the Cameronians who had preached in the hills and had defied the Crown until the very eve of the Revolution,

¹ T. B. W. Niven, The Church of Scotland, Volume III, pp. 564 et seq; James Mackinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland, Volume I, pp. 145 et seq.

² E. E. B. Thomson, The Parliament of Scotland 1690-1702, pp. 5 et seq.

³ John Warrick, Moderators of the Church of Scotland, 1690 to 1740, p. 40.

submitted to the General Assembly and were received into the membership of the national Church. One of these men was Alexander Shields who had been the leader of the Cameronians during the last of the Covenanting days, and who had written A Hind Let Loose, a volume that had attracted wide attention. The Church was now established and members of the Kirk looked to the immediate future with high hopes. The Assembly of 1690 passed an "Act anent a solemn National Fast and humiliation" which was to be observed throughout the nation.¹ Thus it was that with a declaration of humiliation and thanksgiving, the ministers of the Church turned to the tremendous task of re-establishing presbytery upon a firm and lasting foundation.

In the meantime the effects of the Revolution settlement were being felt throughout the land. The antagonism to Episcopacy that had accumulated over a long period of years resulted in what was known as the "rabbling of the curates." A large portion of the Episcopal ministers in Scotland were either ejected by their people or saw fit to flee before the wrath of their aroused parishioners. In many a parish this made possible the return of Presbyterian ministers who had refused to accept the indulgences. The biographer of Hog of

¹ The Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, The Acts of the General Assembly of 1690, p. 14.

Kiltearn related that in the year 1691, the former parishioners of Hog, "finding the way cleared for his reception, sent commissioners to accompany him back to his parish of Kiltearn, where he was received with great joy in June or July that year."¹ In many places in Scotland similar scenes took place as ministers who had long before been displaced from their churches returned to take up the work in their old fields of labor.

The unwillingness of the Assembly to receive ministers who were obviously out of sympathy with the Presbyterian system and standards almost immediately brought the Church into conflict with William III, who strongly urged the Scottish Kirk to accept as many Episcopal ministers as possible. The General Assembly, scheduled to meet in November, 1691, was adjourned until January of the following year on no other grounds than that of the Commissioner's absence from the realm. The ecclesiastical body then sat from January 15th until February 13th, 1692, at which time it was dissolved by the Earl of Lothian as the Royal Commissioner, because the highest court of the Church had refused to comply with the King's commands. However, William Crichton, Moderator of the Assembly, while accepting the adjournment, named a date for the next meeting of the Church Court. The King politically set a time in the same year, 1693, close enough to Crichton's date, to be generally

¹ Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thomas Hog, Minister of the Gospel at Kiltearn, in Ross, pp. 58 et seq.

acceptable. Though this Assembly was postponed yet further into the following year, at last it met on March 29th, 1694. It was then that another point of contention arose between the Crown and the Church. The newly passed "Act for settling the quiet and peace of the Church" ratified the ecclesiastical legislation of the previous session of Parliament, but set forth the Oath of Assurance as a requirement for ordination. At first it seemed that William III would insist upon this oath as the test for admission to the General Assembly of 1694; but Carstares, William's chaplain and close consultant, a Presbyterian and a Scotsman, interceded, and the abhorrent oath was not required by the King's Commissioner. This concession to the Scottish Kirk on the part of the Crown did much to influence the Church in its willingness to concede to William's request concerning leniency in regard to the admission of Episcopalians.¹ The following year the General Assembly met without interference or fear of interruption and the Presbyterian Church had at last achieved some degree of real ecclesiastical freedom. Dr. Donald MacLean sees this time--half of a decade after the glorious Revolution--as the time at which the General Assembly regained its lost freedom and former glory. "It was not till 1694 or 5," he wrote, "that Presbyterianism could regard itself as entirely free of

¹ Warrick, op. cit., pp. 67 et seq.

unquestioned obedience to the old divine right vested in kingship, and develop itself under its own divine Head."¹

The Church could now turn to the heavy tasks that lay just ahead of it: plans for the sending of both probationers and men in settled parishes, in turns, to preach and work in the Highlands were set into motion; every effort was made to supply the vacant parishes throughout the land; and almost immediately the Assembly demonstrated its concern over the need for an adequate educational system by urging and supporting the Act of Parliament of 1696 that laid the foundations of Scottish education for years to come.²

The Church, at last firmly established according to the Presbyterian system, vigorously began its task. Parishes were often large requiring a vast amount of effort on the part of clergymen in order to carry out regular pastoral functions; sermons were lengthy, and ministers generally preached from a single text called an "ordinary" for several Sundays; homilies were Biblical, and lectures on Scripture and catechizing in the home re-enforced the formal sermons preached in the kirk. Sabbath observance was rigidly enforced, and prayer and self dedication in the form of personal covenants in connection with the lengthy seasons of communion of

¹ Donald MacLean, The Counter Reformation in Scotland, p. 183.

² Warrick, op. cit., p. 79.

the time played an important part in the religious life of the closing years of the seventeenth century in Scotland.¹

The church courts of the period acted with consistent energy exercising their powers to the fullest. Presbytery visitations were common and church discipline was severe. The kirk session had the responsibility for the morals of the people in the parish. Excommunication, though no longer accompanied by civil disabilities, was often decreed against those who were judged deserving of such a sentence.²

The orthodox Calvinistic doctrines of the Sovereignty of God, Election, Redemption, and a conception of Providence as ruling every aspect of life still held an important place in the preaching of this period. Though there were some who were turning away from the older modes of theological thinking, particularly those who were out of sympathy with the extremes of the Covenanting period, the general theological atmosphere at the turn of the century seems to have been in line with Calvinistic orthodoxy.³

The Church girded itself for the years to come with a strong faith based upon the personal devotion of many of its members, upheld by an energetic system of discipline, and

¹ George Wemyss, Preface to Synaxis Sacra, pp. vii, et seq; Francis Borland, "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland 1661-1722," et passim; H. G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 294.

² James Mackinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland, From the Earliest Times to the Union, pp. 146-156.

³ Francis Borland, "Collections and Observations" MS, pp. 1-16; Graham, op. cit., p. 407.

reinforced by the dogmas of a time tested creed; its influence soon began to penetrate many aspects of the life of post-Revolution Scotland.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDI-
TION OF SCOTLAND AT THE CLOSE
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Life in Scotland at the
close of the seventeenth
century was plain and
tastes were simple. Man-

ners were generally rough and rude, comforts were primitive even in the large and more elaborate houses of the gentry, clothing was usually made of coarse homespun materials, and food was devoid both of variety and taste. Holidays were few and recreations and festivities were limited, but in spite of this frugal existence, there was but little discontent, and life went on with all of the intensity that is typical of the Scottish character.¹

Considerable cultural development was taking place in Scotland during these years. In the year 1684, a librarian had been appointed to the Advocate's Library which began its long history as a home of Scottish letters. Various types of literary productions were appearing from the Scottish press. The writing of pamphlets on a wide variety of subjects was taking place. An atlas of Scotland had been published in the middle of the seventeenth century, and a growing interest in

¹ Graham, op. cit., p. 500.

cartography and in the world beyond the borders of the realm was evident throughout the remainder of the century. In 1699 the Edinburgh Gazette was established, and in the years immediately following, a considerable number of magazines and newspapers came into existence. By this time the Royal College of Physicians had been founded, and shortly after the turn of the century, the Royal College of Surgeons and the Medical College of the University of Edinburgh began to function in such a way that Edinburgh soon achieved an European reputation as a center of medical learning.¹ The four Scottish universities were flourishing, and by this time had attained an admirable standard for higher education in Scotland.

The nation's economic condition, however, was at a very low level during the period between the Revolution of 1688 and the Union of the Parliaments. Poverty was wide spread, there was but little ready currency to finance the rapidly developing trades and industries, and crop failure and famine were taking their toll of the economic virility of the nation. Fletcher of Saltoun, writing in the year 1698, said: "There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church-boxes, with others, who by living upon bad food fall into various diseases) two hundred thousand people begging from door to door."² The records of kirk sessions further indicate that beggars were numerous, and

¹ H. W. Meikle, Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland, pp. 15-34.

² Andrew Fletcher, Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland, p. 24.

though the collection boxes that were to provide for the poor brought but scant financial returns, regular gifts were made by church sessions to the poor in an attempt to alleviate the scarcity. However, in Fletcher's day, the usually large number of beggars had increased, and the situation had become more serious because of several seasons of dearth which occurred during the closing years of the seventeenth century. Poor farming methods and successive years of storm and mist brought about a series of crop shortages that began in the year 1696, became more acute in 1698, and were destined to last until just after the turn of the century. The General Assembly of 1699 in calling for a "Solemn National Fast and Humiliation" made special reference to "the Lamentable Stroak of Dearth and Unseasonable Weather in Seed time and Harvest, which as it hath redacted many Families of the Nation already into great Straits, so if Mercy prevent not, threatens dreadful Famine."¹

The practice of making payment in kind, which was prevalent in Scotland at this time, certainly did nothing to advance the general economic condition of the nation. Very little currency was available in the 1690's, and the rental of farms was generally paid for by a portion of the produce of the land. No banks existed in Scotland before the year 1695,

¹ The Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, The Acts of the General Assembly of 1699, p. 10.

and the raising of even small sums of money was extremely difficult. Both prices and wages were very low. Several years after the turn of the century, many laborers were expected to support families on only £ 7 or £ 8 a year, and a gentleman was considered quite well off with £ 80 to £ 100 a year with which to maintain his position.¹

Scottish commerce was almost at a standstill at the time of the Revolution. The ancient commercial relations with France and the Netherlands had been greatly impeded by English foreign policy, and the uncertainty of the political situation in Scotland had long delayed commercial progress. During the latter part of the seventeenth century, various attempts were being made to encourage trade and commercial development: in 1681 manufacturers were allowed to compel beggars and idle persons to serve in their works; in the same year, cloth looms were set up in East Lothian; and in other parts of Scotland several industries were inaugurated on a small scale. However, it was not until after the Revolution that the nation turned with real determination to the world of trade. In 1693 the Scots Linen Manufacture was incorporated, a draining engine company was established, and in the next three or four years, paper companies, a silk factory, a sugar refining works, gunpowder companies, leather stamping

¹ Graham, op. cit., pp. 4 et seq.

works, sawmills, and various other types of manufactories and commercial plants came into being. This new growth in trade resulted in the demand for a bank, and in the year 1695, the Bank of Scotland was founded.¹ The question of church government that had occupied the thinking of the nation for most of the seventeenth century was settled. Scottish energy now turned from a concern for church polity and theological doctrine to questions of trade and commerce. The immediate consequence of this could at first be seen in the growth of commercial enthusiasm within the borders of the kingdom; but the increase of this new spirit was destined soon to manifest itself in a company and a scheme that were to carry Scotsmen to the far corners of the earth and to broaden vastly the horizon of the Scottish outlook. The company was the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies; the scheme was that of planting a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Darien.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND

The Scottish attempt to
colonize the Isthmus of
Darien was not the first

effort that Scotland had made to acquire an overseas colony. As early as 1621 Sir William Alexander was granted a charter for Nova Scotia, and both he and his son attempted to plant Scottish settlements within the bounds of their grant. Lord

¹ Mackinnon, op. cit., pp. 133 et seq.

Ochiltree settled at Cape Breton in 1629 under the Anglo-Scottish Company only to be forced to withdraw in the face of a French attack. In 1684, Robert Barclay of Urie, a Quaker apologist, called for colonists for the province of West New Jersey, and many Scots were attracted to his Quaker refuge, which, however, was not to be restricted to those holding Barclay's religious convictions. Scots in this colony gave aid to their fellow countrymen on the Darien Expeditions at the close of the century in spite of English government proclamations against such assistance. At the same time another Scottish settlement was being projected among those who felt the need for a Covenanting refuge in the New World. In the year 1684, the Carolina Merchant set sail for America with a small band of colonists among whom was William Dunlop, who later, while a minister of the Church of Scotland and Principal of Glasgow University, was closely associated with the Company that sent forth the Darien Expeditions. The Scots landed at Stuart's Town, South Carolina, but this settlement came to an abrupt end two years later when it was attacked and destroyed by a Spanish force from St. Augustine.¹

Though the idea of a colony overseas had long been present in Scottish thinking, political and economic conditions

¹ G. P. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686, pp. 57-211.

in Scotland throughout most of the seventeenth century had made any attempt at colonization upon a large scale impossible.

However, the rise of the commercial spirit that followed the Revolution of 1688, soon manifested itself in an "Act for Encouraging of Forraigne Trade," which passed the Parliament of Scotland on June 14th, 1693, and provided for the establishment of "Companies for carrying on of Trade . . . to whatsoever Kingdoms & Countries or parts of the World, not being in warr with their Majesties."¹ In the summer of 1695 an act with a much wider scope, promoted by two Edinburgh merchants--James Balfour and Robert Blackwood--came before Parliament. These men had succeeded in bringing the proposal for a colonial company before the Scottish Parliament's Committee of Trade. It is because of this that Dr. George Pratt Insh, whose recent discoveries of manuscripts relating to Balfour's interest in the Act that brought the Company of Scotland into being, calls Robert Blackwood and James Balfour "the founders of the Company of Scotland," rather than attributing the origin of the Company to William Paterson.² On June 26th, the Act was "votted and

¹ The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Vol. IX, p. 315.

² Doctor Insh found the papers of James Balfour in an iron chest in Pilrig House under the care of Miss Balfour-Melville. He printed four of these documents which deal with the development of the Company between 1693 and 1695 in The Scottish Historical Review. One of these papers lists the money that James Balfour spent in getting the Act of 1695 passed in the Scottish Parliament and includes such items as "To Cash for £ 127 12s [Scots] given the Comitioners servants in drinck money" and "To Cash £ 2 18s pyed to ye dore keepers of the Exchakquer hous where the Cometie of tread did mite." G. P. Insh, "The Founders of the Company of Scotland," The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XXV, pp. 241-254; G. P. Insh, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, p. 35.

approven and . . . touched with the Scepter by His Majesties Commissioner in the usual manner."¹ This initiated the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies with privileges that brought high hopes to its promoters and consternation to its enemies.

The interest of merchants in London in the project for the establishment of the Company had much to do with its early activities. The capital was fixed at £ 600,000, half of which was to be subscribed in England and half in Scotland. Foremost among the London backers of the Company was William Paterson, a Scotsman living in England, who had played an important part in the founding of the Bank of England, and whose counsel soon came to be highly regarded among the projectors of the Company. On November 6th, subscription books were formally opened in London, and in sixteen days the entire sum of £ 300,000, allotted to English subscribers, had been taken up. But the apparently hopeful prospects of this auspicious beginning were soon to be destroyed by interference originating from London trading interests. On December 17th an Address against the Scottish undertaking was presented to King William, who, in turn, expressed displeasure over the passage in Scotland of the Act that provided for the Company; almost immediately both houses of the English Parliament

¹ Minutes Of the Proceedings in Parliament, May 9, 1695 to July 17, 1695, p. 22.

began proceedings against all who were engaging in the stock and management of the colonial organization. This brought the Company's career in England to a close: most of the London investors withdrew, and only a few remained with the project to follow the subscription books to Scotland.¹

On February 26th, 1696, the books of the Company were opened in Edinburgh. In April the subscribers at a General Meeting heard the encouraging report "that there is already upwards of 300000 Pound Sterling subscribed for, and that there are still several Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Royal Burghs, who lives at a distance from this Place not yet come in . . . Therefore, a Motion was made for enlarging the Subscriptions to four Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling."² Subscriptions fell off toward summer, but by August 3rd, the total of £400,000 had been subscribed. Dalrymple wrote that "The frenzy of the Scots nation to sign the solemn league and covenant, [sic] never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien Company."³ From all walks of life, subscribers obligated themselves

1 G. P. Insk, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, pp. 47-60.

2 At A General Meeting of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, April 3rd, 1696.

3 Sir John Dalrymple, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 94. Dalrymple is doubtless referring here to the signing of the National Covenant.

to put at the disposal of the Company sums varying from £100 to £3000. It was not from the mercantile classes alone that subscriptions were made; large numbers of the members of the professions--ministers of the Church of Scotland, lawyers, surgeons, teachers, and a considerable number of the nobility and landed gentry--subscribed varying sums to the project.¹ Thus it was that after the Company had been thwarted in its London activities by English interference, native Scots were all the more ready to rally around its banner in what had become a focal point for Scottish national honor.

The Company now turned toward the Continent in its last attempt to secure funds outside of Scotland. In the autumn of 1696 John Erskine and William Paterson set forth for Amsterdam and John Haldane went south to join James Smith in London before proceeding to Holland. In London Haldane met Walter Herries, an ex-naval surgeon, and induced him to accept a position with the Company and accompany them on their mission to the Netherlands. The journey to Amsterdam proved fruitless, and the commissioners moved on to Hamburg where prospects at first appeared quite good. On April 7th, 1697, the English resident in Hamburg, Sir Paul Rycaut, presented a memorial to the Senate of the city that stated that King William would consider

¹ 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.

any dealings with the representatives of the Scottish Company "as an Affront to His Royal Authority."¹ The much needed continental subscriptions were now doomed, and even though the merchants of Hamburg were anxious to partake of the benefits of the Company's privileges, they were unwilling to risk their fortunes in a venture that had not received the approbation of the head of the House of Orange.²

In the meantime the Company had been busy in Scotland. Its original interest seems to have been directed toward commercial activities in the East, but as early as July, 1696, the Committee of Foreign Trade was considering a collection of maps and papers that Paterson had presented to the Company; these, doubtless, intimated his project for a colony on the Isthmus of Darien. Paterson, who now stood high in the councils of the Company, had long sought a sponsor for his dream of establishing a settlement on the American Isthmus. Shortly after he had presented his manuscript material to the Company, preparations were set in motion for a large scale expedition sponsored by the Company.³ These activities were to culminate in the sailing of the First Expedition to Darien from the Port

¹ A Full and Exact Collection of All the Considerable Addresses, Memorials, Petitions, Answers, Proclamations, Declarations, Letters and other Publick Papers, Relating to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, p. 4.

² G. P. Insh, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, pp. 83-105.

³ G. P. Insh, "Some Notes on the Scottish Settlement in Darien," Reprinted from The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 62:3, p. 119.

of Leith on July 14th, 1698.

As soon as the ships of the Scottish fleet were well on their way, the Company turned to the task of supporting the expedition that it had dispatched. On September 5th, 1698, the Council General declared "that the needful Preparations be made for a Supply of Provisions, and other Necessaries to be sent to the Company's intended Colony, upon the first account that shall be had of their Landing and Settlement."¹ In November a call for seven and a half per cent of the Company's stock was made, to be followed by three calls during the year of 1699, and a fifth call early in 1700.² In the meantime events were taking place against which all of the resources of the Company --economic and otherwise--were helpless. King William was deeply concerned with the negotiation of the Partition Treaties, and, like other European statesmen, he was involved in the question of the Spanish Succession. The King's fear of upsetting the delicate balance established by the First Partition Treaty, in addition to the English antagonism toward a Scottish colony in the West Indies, resulted in the dispatch of letters by Secretary Vernon to the colonies in America stating the disavowal by the British Crown of the Scots' settlement in Darien. On April 8th, Sir William Beeston, Governor of Jamaica,

¹ At a Meeting of the Council General of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. (September 5th, 1698)

² W. R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, Volume II, p. 218.

issued his proclamation against the Scots, and a few days later dutifully wrote to the Council of Trade: "I have published a proclamation forbidding any Trade or Correspondency in any kind with the Scotch at Darien."¹ In quick succession from New England to the Barbados, similar declarations against the Scots appeared.²

News of these events brought forth a storm of protest from Scotland, and the Company officially presented an address against the proclamations.³ In the meantime the Directors were making futile efforts to supply the Colony. The Dispatch was sent out in the spring of 1699, only to be wrecked on the West Coast of Scotland. In May the Olive Branch and the Hopeful Binning sailed with three hundred recruits, arriving in Caledonia Bay after the evacuation of the First Expedition. The Olive Branch caught fire and burned to the water's edge; her crew was transferred to the Hopeful Binning which sailed for Jamaica leaving but a handful of men to await the coming of the Second Expedition.⁴ Plans for the sending of a second

¹ State Papers, Colonial Series, 1699, p. 141.

² Correspondence with the Scots was officially forbidden in the Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maryland, Rhode Island, Nevis, East and West New Jersey, Connecticut, Bermuda, and Carolina. State Papers, Colonial Series, 1699, et passim.

³ A Full and Exact Collection, pp. 84-87.

⁴ G. P. Insh, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, pp. 171-173.

major fleet by now were well underway, and on September 24th, four Scottish ships sailed from Rothesay Bay; already, though, the Company had received rumored hints of the disaster that had befallen the members of the First Expedition. Four days before the fleet had sailed, the Directors, in a letter intended for the Colony, expressed their disbelief in what they declared to have been a rumor that had originated with Governor Beeston; up until the hour of sailing, they firmly insisted that this information was "altogether malicious and false."¹ Sixteen days after their ships had departed from Scotland, the Directors received a confirmation of the tragic news, and feverishly wrote to the original colonial Council ordering them and their fellow colonists to return to Darien "to regain some reputation in the world."² Quickly the Speedy Return was dispatched to the Isthmus, the refitting of the Caledonia in New York for a return voyage to Darien was considered, and Captain Campbell of Fonab was instructed to sail for the Colony with whatever vessels he could secure.³ All of Scotland was in a ferment: the final doom of the great national dream was now becoming only too apparent. Fletcher had written in 1698 as the first fleet had sailed: "All our hopes of ever being any other than

¹ The Darien Papers, pp. 162 et seq.

² Ibid., p. 165.

³ Ibid., p. 263.

a poor and inconsiderable people are embarked with them."¹
Now these hopes were vanishing.

The attempts by the Company to gain satisfaction from William III through petitioning the Crown in regard to the proclamations proved fruitless; but the pent up feelings of the nation burst forth in mob violence on June 20th, 1700, after the news of Campbell's victory at Toubacanti had become known in Edinburgh. All who failed to illuminate their windows in honor of the occasion received hard treatment at the hands of the rabblers. Very soon lights gleamed through the streets of the ancient city, and above the sound of the wildly rejoicing mob could be heard the bells of St. Giles pealing out the tune of a popular melody of the time: "Willful Willy Wilt Thou Be Willful Still?"² Joy over the victory was widespread, but the slowness of means of communication of the time made it impossible for the celebrators to know that some weeks before the illumination of Edinburgh, the colonists on the Isthmus had surrendered to the Spaniards. When the tragic news was known, the supporters of Darien turned to the Scottish

¹ Andrew Fletcher, The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher, p. 80.

² William Johnstone in a letter to John Kilpatrick on June 22nd gave a vivid description of the riot that took place in the streets of Edinburgh. "Mr Mob," he wrote, "once being gathered, they proceeded and prospered." The mob's actions were described in some detail and Johnstone said that among the mob's work was the "ringing of bells, forcing peepel to put out illuminations, searching for the provist." (Historical Manuscript Commission, Fifteenth Report, pp. 117 et seq; Carstares State Papers, p. 546.)

Parliament hoping at least to be able to secure a declaration of the legality of the colonial settlement--a meager compensation for the disaster that had befallen the nation.

On October 29th, 1700, William's Parliament met in its ninth session. The King's letter stated: "We are heartily sorrie for the Companies loss in what hath happened"; but no promise of asserting the claim to Darien was forthcoming from the Crown.¹ In November the apprehension of Walter Herries and the burning of a collection of his anti-Darien pamphlets were ordered, and on January 9th, 1701, petitions supporting the Company were read.² Discussion during the next few days became so violent that the Earl of Marchmont described the debate as "the hottest, most contentious, and disorderly that ever I saw."³ Pro-Darien forces in Parliament backed an act declaring the legality of Darien; government sympathizers worked to have this modified to an address. After a long and closely fought battle, on January 14th, the Parliament of Scotland refused an act by a vote of 108 to 84. "The Battle was over," concluded Doctor Insh. "The long debate of next day over the insertion in the Rolls of Parliament of the names of the dissenters was but a rearguard action skilfully conducted by the Caledonians . . .

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Volume X, p. 196.

² Ibid., pp. 211-242.

³ A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont, in the Possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, Illustrative of Events from 1685 to 1750, Volume III, p. 217.

the extending for nine years the privileges of the Company of Scotland was but the ironical magnanimity of a victor."¹

The Scottish attempt to establish a colony on the shores of the Caribbean came to a melancholy end, but the activities of the Company in other waters were to continue for several years. In the summer of 1700, the African Merchant, a Company ship, had returned to Scotland with a rich cargo that included a quantity of gold dust that was coined at the request of the Court of Directors. Early in 1701, the Speedwell had sailed from the Forth, but misfortune was her constant companion on a voyage that ended when the vessel ran aground in the East Indies. In May 1701 the Speedy Return and the Content were made ready for a voyage to the East, and, after setting sail for the coast of Africa, the two Scottish ships were captured by pirates and later burned. On January 31st, 1704, the Annadale, a Scottish vessel intended for eastern trading, was seized in the Thames at the instigation of the East India Company. The following July, the Worcester, an English ship, arrived in the Firth of Forth. Aided by a band of enthusiastic sympathizers, Secretary Roderick Mackenzie seized the English trader in the name of the Company of Scotland. This episode eventually led to the tragic death of Captain Green along with two members of his

¹ Insh, op. cit., pp. 241 et seq.

crew, Mader and Simpson, on the sands of Leith in the spring of the following year.¹ The tension between England and Scotland that had been developing throughout the history of the Company, now reached such a high pitch that tragedy was imminent unless some form of a satisfactory union between the two nations could be worked out. On January 16th, 1707, the Scottish legislative body ratified the Treaty of Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England, and the Company that had played such an important part in effecting the consolidation of the two countries, by the terms of the Treaty, ceased to exist.

THE EXPEDITIONS TO THE
ISTHMUS OF AMERICA: THE
FIRST DARIEN EXPEDITION

On a day in mid-July in
the year 1698, five ships,
belonging to the Company
of Scotland Trading to

Africa and the Indies, set their sails before the summer breeze and turned their bows northward leaving behind them the harbor of Leith. Edinburgh and all of Scotland had long awaited this day. Friends and relatives of the twelve hundred

¹ The details of the events of the last seven years of the Company have been dealt with at considerable length in two excellent works, Dr. Insh's The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, and Sir Richard Carnac Temple's New Light on the Mysterious Tragedy of the Worcester. For the purposes of this study, it will not be necessary to consider this period of the Company's history in detail.

colonists mingled with crowds of well-wishers along the shores as the proud fleet moved slowly across the waters of the Firth of Forth. The Expedition consisted of three well-armed ships, the St. Andrew, the Unicorn, and the Caledonia, accompanied by two small vessels serving as tenders, the Dolphin and the Endeavour. On board of the five ships was the flower of Scotland's manhood; in the holds of the vessels was a large variety of merchandise, provisions, and military supplies. The fleet anchored off Kirkcaldy for several days while Company agents completed bookkeeping formalities, and then, set sail again under sealed orders. Mingling among the adventurers as the vessels put out to sea were two young men, Adam Scott and Thomas James, both ministers of the Church of Scotland, who had been appointed by the General Assembly at the request of the Directors of the Company to represent the Church in Scotland's great colonial undertaking. The fleet sailed north, passed Aberdeen, and then began the treacherous journey around the north of Scotland. Heavy fogs and stormy weather scattered the colonial squadron among the Orkneys and the Shetlands, but by August 26th, the entire fleet had reassembled at Madeira.¹

On September 2nd the five Scottish vessels weighed anchor and were soon out of Madeira harbor. Eight days later they passed the Tropic of Cancer, and soon the heat of the

¹ Darien Shipping Papers, pp. 69-71.

southern climate began to tell upon the health of the colonists. On September 22nd, one of the diarists of the fleet recorded: "We begunn now to wash betwixt decks with vinegear . . . to prevent future sickness."¹ By the end of the month the Lesser Antilles had been reached, and on September 29th, the adventurers were between Antigua and Montserrat. The Council sent the Unicorn and a tender to the Danish Island of St. Thomas for a pilot, and on October 2nd, took possession of a small, uninhabited piece of land known as Crab Island in the name of the Company, only to be informed, two days later, that the Danes had already laid claim to it. Tropical thunderstorms and heavy winds hindered their progress across the Caribbean Sea, but on October 17th, one of the colonists recorded: "About 2 oclock this morning we saw with the lightening black high mountain like land."²

Though the general health of the adventurers was still good, deaths were occurring among the various ships of the fleet with regularity. On Sunday, October 23rd, Thomas James, who had so recently give up his parish at Cleish to accompany the Darien Expedition, lay sick with fever. Thunder added to the sound of wind and wave as the storm brought the mainmast of one of the ships to the board. That night, "about 9," recorded

¹ "Account of the Voyage and Journalls of the Scots African & Indian fleet from the Setting forth from Kirkaldy Bay upon the 16th of Jully 1698 to the arrival at the port or bay of Darien upon the 1 of November thereafter." (MS)

² Loc. cit.

one of the colonists, "Mr. Tho. James our minister, a very good man, dyed of a fever, and is much lamented." The next day four guns were fired as the body of the first Church of Scotland clergyman to lose his life on the Darien Expeditions was dropped into the waters of the Caribbean.¹

By the end of the month, the fleet had reached the coast of Darien; on November 4th, a landing party was sent ashore to make a clearing and begin the erection of huts. The Council met and made plans for the building of a battery to be named Fort St. Andrew that could defend the harbor against hostile attack. The work went forward rapidly and the hope of establishing a Scottish colony on the jungle fringed shores of Darien was never again at such a high peak.²

The settlers now found themselves in a warm, tropical country that was very different from their native Scottish glens and braes. They related that the weather was warm and damp; heavy rains and thunderstorms were frequent; and about them on every side were dense jungles with a great variety of trees and tropical plants, unknown in Europe, growing readily

¹ Loc. cit.

² Darien Papers, (Rose's Journal) pp. 60-65; Darien Shipping Papers, (Pennycook's Journal) pp. 78-97; Miscellanea Curiosa, Volume III, (Wallace's Journal) pp. 413-421; "Account of the Voyage and Journalls of the Scots African & Indian fleet from the Setting forth from Kirkaldy Bay upon the 18th of Jully 1698 to the arrival at the port or bay of Darien upon the 1 of November thereafter." (MS)

in the lush soil of the Isthmus of Darien.¹

But the element in their environment that seems to have most interested the Scots was that of the native inhabitants of the country. When the colonists arrived on the coast of Darien several Indians boarded the vessels of the fleet. Rose recorded in his Journal that the Isthmians "got drunk and lay on board all night. In the morning when they went away wee gave each an old hat, a few 2 penny glasses and knives, with which they seemed extremely pleased."² Several of the native chieftains who had had friendly relations with English buccaneers years before came and went freely among the settlers. The colonists wisely sought to gain the friendship of the Isthmians. On St. Andrew's Day, an Indian known as Captain Andreas was invited to dine on board one of the Scottish ships. He had been awarded his military title by the Spaniards, and a few days later, the Scots politicly granted him a similar commission, signed a formal treaty with the Indian, and made him a gift of a pair of pistols and a basket-hilted sword.³

Before the fleet had sailed from Leith, the Company of Scotland had appointed seven councilors upon whose shoulders

¹ A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots Collony are settled, According to our late News, and Mr. Dampier and Mr. Wafer.

² The Darien Papers, p. 62.

³ A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there, p. 59.

the responsibility for the government of the Colony was to rest: Cunningham, Montgomery, Mackay, Jolly, Pennycook, Veitch, and Pinkerton. However, Veitch, being unable to sail, was replaced at Madeira by the election of William Paterson to the vacancy. Paterson, in spite of his prominent position in the early days of the Company, had left Scotland as an ordinary planter because of doubt cast upon his integrity through his unfortunate handling of Company funds. But even in a position of leadership he was unable to secure the establishment of the unified government that he believed essential to the success of the Colony. He wrote to the Directors of the Company in December decrying the dissension among the councilors who were naturally divided in their outlook to problems that confronted them by the diversity of their background: some were seamen, others were military officers. Fear of too strong a government led to the decision to elect a new president each week in spite of Paterson's protests that the period of office for the executive head of the Council should be longer.¹

One significant step, however, was taken by the Council on December 28th, when a declaration, setting forth lofty conceptions of political, economic, and religious freedom, was drawn up. A government was to be established that should be

1 The Darien Papers, pp. 180 et seq.

"consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture, Right Reason, and the Examples of the wisest and justest Nations."¹ However, the ideal of founding a colony based upon sound governmental and religious principles was becoming more and more difficult. Dissension among the councilors, difficulties of supply, and the threat of a Spanish attack added to their problems. On November 20th, Mr. Adam Scott, the only remaining official representative of organized religion, died. His passing was noted by the firing of guns from one of the ships.²

Work continued on the battery of Fort St. Andrew and on the settlement that was to be known as New Edinburgh. Exploration of the coast was initiated, and the prospect of establishing some sort of a trading center at Darien looked good as ships of three different nationalities--Dutch, French, and English--appeared in the harbor. The last of these three vessels was a ship under Captain Richard Long who later reported the whereabouts of the Darien colonists to English authorities; Vernon's letters and the proclamations against the Colony were the immediate returns for the Scottish hospitality to the visiting seaman and his crew. On December 19th it was proudly recorded

¹ Caledonia. The Declaration of the Council Constituted by the Indian and African Company of Scotland; for the Government and Direction of their Colonies, and Settlements in the Indies.

² "Account of the Voyage and Journalls of the Scots African & Indian fleet from the Setting forth from Kirkaldy Bay upon the 18th of July 1698 to the arrivall at the port or bay of Darien upon the 1 of November thereafter." (MS)

that the battery of the fort had been completed, and the colonists felt themselves secure against Spanish attack.¹ Late in the month of December, the French ship put out to sea, but was wrecked on the rocks of the harbor with considerable loss of life; it was with this disaster that the official journal of the Expedition closed. A Jamaica sloop sailed on December 28th carrying dispatches intended for the Directors of the Company on the first lap of the journey to Scotland.²

By February the precariousness of the position that the Colony occupied in territory claimed by Spain became only too obvious. Pinkerton, commanding the Dolphin, while sailing along the coast, struck a rock near Carthage, and was forced to put into the Spanish harbor. There he and his men were imprisoned; they were later sent to Spain and condemned to death as pirates. Only the intervention of William III in July, 1700, saved the lives of these men who languished for months in the prisons of Seville.³ In the meantime, in Spain, the Council of the Indies was recommending to the Crown immediate action against the Scottish colonists.⁴ A Spanish patrol consisting of a little over two dozen men came in contact with the Scots early in February, and fled after a brief engagement in the

¹ The Darien Papers, (Rose's Journal) p. 76.

² Darien Shipping Papers, (Pennycook's Journal) pp. 78-97; The Darien Papers, (Rose's Journal) pp. 60-78.

³ Seafield Correspondence From 1685 to 1708, p. 309.

⁴ F. R. Hart, The Disaster of Darien: The Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of its Failure, 1699-1701, Appendix, pp. 251-255.

jungle.¹ A few days later the settlers attempted to strengthen their position by dispatching a letter to the Governor of Santa Maria announcing their peaceable intentions, and by concluding a formal treaty with one of the stronger of the Darien Indian chieftains, Chief Diego.² A Company promotional pamphlet later informed colonial enthusiasts in Scotland that the treaty with Diego had been declared to be a league with the Indians that was to continue "while Gold and Floods were in Darien."³

While sickness was taking an increasing toll of the lives of the settlers, a final attempt was made to establish the government of the Colony upon a sound foundation. On April 24th a constitution was adopted by "The Council and Deputies Assembled in Parliament" on the Isthmus.⁴ The document that was to provide for the legal structure of the settlement consisted of thirty-four articles, the first of which declared "The precepts, instructions, examples, commands, and prohibitions exprest and contain'd in the holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, shall . . . have the full force and effect of lawes within the Colony." The remaining articles provided for the establishment of a judicial system, and a penal code for the

¹ The Darien Papers, pp. 84-86.

² Ibid., pp. 86-88.

³ The History of Caledonia: or, the Scots Colony in Darien in the West Indies with an account of the Manners of the Inhabitants and Riches of the Country, p. 34.

⁴ The Darien Papers, p. 113.

Colony.¹ However, this attempt to salvage the governmental structure of the colonial establishment proved fruitless.

Disease was increasing and the supply of food was running low. By this time Governor Beeston's proclamation was known in Caledonia; this knowledge shattered the colonists' hope of supply from nearby Jamaica. In the middle of June the four remaining ships cleared Caledonia Bay in an attempt to escape what seemed to be certain death in Darien. The Endeavour sank at sea; the St. Andrew reached Jamaica; and the two remaining ships made the safety of the Atlantic seaboard of North America after a long and perilous voyage. In New York aid was given to the Scots after an English colonial official had recorded as his reason for disobeying the proclamations against the colonists: "Their miserable condition is enough to raise compassion."²

THE EXPEDITIONS TO THE
ISTHMUS OF AMERICA: THE
SECOND DARIEN EXPEDITION

In the late summer of 1699, four ships, the Rising Sun, the Hope, the Duke of Hamilton and the Hope of Bo'ness, were assembled in the Clyde for the voyage to Darien.

¹ Ibid., pp. 113-118. Several sessions of the Darien Colony's parliament were held. "The Report Presented by William Paterson to the Directors of the Company" speaks of "the first and second meeting of the Parliament" and infers that at least three gatherings of this legislative body took place. J. G. Fyfe, Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, p. 360.

² Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1699, p. 476.

On board of the fleet were thirteen hundred men who had answered the call of the Company for recruits to the Colony of Caledonia on the Isthmus of America. Instructions were drawn up by the Company both to the Second Expedition and to the settlement that was believed to have been established in Darien, four councilors were appointed for the fleet, and orders were given "that every man on board . . . be allotted a quarter where he is to fight if need be."¹ In August the Scottish ships sailed from Greenock to anchor in Rothesay Bay for final preparations and for additional supplies.

All was in readiness for departure when the first rumors of the evacuation of Darien reached the Directors. Daniel Mackay who had returned from the Darien Colony with dispatches for the Company was appointed as an additional councilor to the Expedition that was about to sail. He was immediately dispatched to join the fleet with further instructions from the Company, but before he could reach Rothesay Bay, the councilors on board the ships of the fleet--James Byres, John Lindsay, William Veitch, and James Gibson--gave the order to weigh anchor.² On September 24th, the fleet began the long voyage from the cold waters of the Firth of Clyde to the jungle fringed bays of

¹ Darien Shipping Papers, p. 185.

² Ibid., p. 188.

Darien. One of the recruits for the Colony expressed the confidence of the adventurers in the success of their mission in these words:

But now we lanch forth in the Ocean wide,
The Lord Almighty Pilot us and guide,
For God being with us, what can us withstand.¹

As the fleet set sail, four clergymen of the Church of Scotland were on board making preparations for work on a new continent while serving as chaplains to the prospective colonists. The Commission of the General Assembly had appointed Alexander Shields, Francis Borland, Archibald Stobo, and Alexander Dalgleish as ministers to Darien with instructions to establish a presbytery in the Colony and to begin missionary work among the natives.

By November 9th the Scottish vessels had arrived at the Island of Montserrat. In reporting their progress to the Company Directors, mention was made of the rumors of the desertion of the Colony, which they declared, "are very thick here"; but, they insisted, "Wee shall see ere we believe, and either knitt on the old thrum, or begin a new web."² During the month of November, the ships of the Second Expedition made their way across the waters of the Caribbean: like the voyage of the First Expedition, it was this crossing that cost the life of a

¹ "The Recruits for Caledonia of the Rysing-Sun: their Farewell to Old Scotland," Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry.

² The Darien Papers, pp. 198-200.

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THE DARIEN SCHEME AND THE CHURCH OF SCOT
LAND
JACK C. RAMSAY
EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY
1949 JR. PH.D. THESIS

MR JR KERR (HI)
22 FERRY ROAD
MONIFIETH
ANGUS
DD5 4NT

Church of Scotland minister. On November 15th, Alexander Dalgleish died, leaving behind a young wife who was soon to give birth to a child.¹

On November 30th the fleet anchored in Caledonia Bay. The truth of the rumors that had plagued the settlers all of the way across the Atlantic now became only too apparent. The colonists saw before them the burned huts, the ruined fortifications, and the overgrown clearings that marked the spot where the first Colony had settled. Upon the arrival of the Scots upon the forsaken shores of Darien, Borland wrote these words:

We met with a sorrowful and crushing-like dispensation, for expecting here to meet with our friends and country-men, we found nothing but a waste, howling wilderness . . . we looked for peace, but no good came; for a time of health and comfort, but behold trouble.²

The darkness of the situation was alleviated only by the presence of two small sloops loaded with provisions that Captain Thomas Drummond had brought from New York, and which had arrived at Darien shortly before the coming of the fleet.³

In spite of the bold declarations that had been made from Montserrat, there seemed to be considerable uncertainty about the advisability of attempting to make a settlement. Drummond urged a policy of immediate action to the councilors,

¹ Principal story, "Letters From Darien," Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, New Series, Volume IV, p. 217; MS number 9, "Darien MSS" (University of Glasgow) "A Short Account of our voyage unto Darien."

² Francis Borland, The History of Darien, p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 30.

proposing that a strongly fortified colony be established, and that an attack be made upon the Spaniards who were making preparations against them. In opposition to Drummond, James Byres, who was by this time assuming the leadership of the Council, advocated inaction--a strange policy in such a situation. Byres questioned the wisdom of remaining on the Isthmus, and proposed, in any case, that the majority of the colonists be sent away to Jamaica. On December 4th, the Council met, and, in connection with deciding to attempt the establishment of a settlement, dealt with the problem of the government of the Colony. Byres, in asserting his own authority as a councilor, refused to accept the commission of Drummond as a member of the Council, and even cast doubts upon the validity of William Veitch's commission, who like Drummond, had opposed Byres by urging a policy of vigorous action. He finally acceded to a council composed of the original four councilors who had sailed from Rothesay, realizing that the other members of this body, with the exception of Veitch, would accept his leadership.¹

Through controlling the Council, he was able to assume virtual command of the Colony. His leadership was marked by his unwillingness to support any strong action in the prosecution of the ends of the settlement, and by a refusal to hear

¹ The Darien Papers, pp. 200-202.

opinion that was contrary to his own. Some months later, in Scotland, a Committee of the Company reviewed Byres' actions as self appointed governor of the Colony, and came to the conclusion that he had "not only violated the trust reposed in him by the Company to an extraordinary degree, but also [was] guilty of several unwarrantable, arbitrary, illegal and inhumane actings and practises . . . and that he ought to be prosecuted for the same."¹

But, in the meantime, the colonists were at the mercy of this petty tyrant. On December 19th, several of the settlers who opposed his policy of inaction, including Thomas Drummond and Robert Turnbull, were imprisoned, and a few days later, Byres seized the personal papers of the imprisoned Captain.² Though Byres gave little encouragement to the work of the surviving clergymen, in January, the Council acquiesced to the request that the ministers had repeatedly made, and appointed a "Day for Solemn thanksgiving for our Preservation, for Humiliation for former and present Sins and Miseries, and for Prayer for Mercies."³

Throughout the month of January, the Colonists held on to their peninsular settlement with some degree of uncertainty. Disease was taking its toll in their ranks, rumors of an attack by the Spaniards persisted, and the proposal to send the largest

¹ Ibid., p. 240.

² Ibid., p. 232.

³ Principal Story, "Letters From Darien," Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, New Series, Volume IV, p. 222.

part of the colonists away to an uncertain fate in Jamaica was still before the Council. However, early in February, 1700, the settlers recorded that a large number of huts had been built, two storehouses had been completed, and that work had been begun on the batteries.¹

On February 7th, James Byres sailed from Darien aboard a sloop bound for Jamaica to attempt to secure supplies. Three days later, as the shortage of provisions was becoming serious, a vessel under the command of Captain Campbell of Fonab arrived in Caledonia Harbor. Campbell's ship brought the much needed supplies of food, but even more important, his arrival meant new and vigorous leadership for the Colony. He immediately demanded the release of Drummond, and soon had completely reversed the policy that Byres had insisted upon before his departure for Jamaica. During January, Turnbull had traveled in company with the ministers of the Colony, who were hoping to establish missionary work among the Indians, and had brought back intelligence of Spanish preparations against the settlers. This information, along with news that Campbell had received before arriving in Darien, led the intrepid soldier to make preparations to forestall the Spanish attack by marching against the enemy of the Scots.²

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 241.

² Ibid., pp. 225-248; Francis Borland, The History of of Darien, pp. 56 et sqq.

On February 13th, a small army of two hundred Scots led by Captain Campbell and supplemented by a band of friendly Indians under the command of Lieutenant Turnbull, began the march overland in the direction of the Spanish camp. Two days later the Scottish force came upon the enemy encampment at a place called Toubacanti. Campbell gave the order to attack, and the resolute Scots charged the Spanish barricade. A brief engagement followed and the Spaniards, though superior in number to the Caledonians, withdrew in disorder, leaving the Scottish Captain and his men victors on the field of battle, strewn now with Spanish camp equipment and the bodies of the dead.¹ This was the one glorious hour for the Scots at Darien; the misery of disease and discord that had followed the colonists from the outset was forgotten for the moment in the victory of Toubacanti.

Campbell and his men quickly made their way back through the jungles of the Isthmus to New Edinburgh to relate the news of military success to their fellow colonists; but hardly had they arrived at Caledonia Bay before the tall masts of enemy ships appeared upon the horizon. The Spanish force that the settlers had attacked was but part of a combined land and sea

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 248; Borland, op. cit., pp. 57 et seq; State-Papers and Letters Addressed to William Carstares, Confidential Secretary to K. William during the whole of his Reign; afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 612-615.

operation designed to effect the expulsion of the Scots from Darien. As early as March, 1699, while the first settlement was still well established on the Isthmus, orders had been given by the Spanish Crown to drive the colonists from their peninsular fortress. On February 12th, 1700, Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Carthagena, had sailed with a fleet intended for supplying the sea power necessary to defeat the settlers. Before the end of February, his war ships had been sighted by the Scots who immediately began preparations for a siege. On March 10th, the Spaniards effected a landing at Carret Bay, bringing artillery ashore to use against the colonists.¹

A few days later the defenders of the settlement gave a good account of themselves in a skirmish, but were forced to retire onto the peninsula upon which Fort St. Andrew was situated. A demand for unconditional surrender by the Spaniards received a stout refusal from the Caledonians, and the siege continued. To add to other difficulties, as an enemy fleet stood before them, and a hostile army was poised for attack, fire broke out among the inflammable buildings inhabited by the Scots, destroying several rows of huts. Slowly

¹ Hart, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 353-368.

the Spanish Commander moved his forces in closer to the settlers until a battery had been mounted against the north side of the fort, and the attackers were less than a mile from the colonists. The Spaniards soon succeeded in cutting off the water supply of the defenders of New Edinburgh, making it necessary for the Scots to drink the unwholesome water available within the fort. Disease was causing considerable distress among them, and great numbers of the small band of the besieged were dying every day. Sickness was taking a greater toll of the lives of the colonists than were the bullets of the Spanish soldiers in the jungles nearby. In referring to these days of the siege, Borland later wrote: "Our Fort was like a hospital of sick and dying men."¹ Requests for terms brought forth at first nothing but the uncompromising demand that the settlers surrender unconditionally. This the Scots resolutely refused to do declaring: "We consider it better to die honourably than to live without honour."² At last, Pimienta, realizing the strength of Scottish determination, granted honorable terms of surrender, and the Articles of Capitulation were signed on March 31st, 1700, allowing the Caledonians to depart from Darien with full military honors. With colors

¹ Borland, op. cit., p. 64.

² Hart, op. cit., Appendix, p. 389.

flying and with drums beating, the colonists quit their fort, and on April 11th, boarded their ships to depart from the Isthmus.¹

The Scots put out to sea with seven vessels that were now hardly in condition for a long ocean voyage. The Hope of Bo'ness soon proved so unseaworthy that she had to be sold in Carthagena; another of the original ships of the Expedition, the Hope, and a sloop were wrecked among the Greater Antilles. In May, after the death of over two hundred and fifty men at sea, the survivors of Darien arrived at Jamaica. There many of the seamen deserted their ships fearing another sea voyage, and a number of the colonists left the fleet eventually to settle on the Island. On June 14th, 1700, Alexander Shields, who had survived the rigors of life among the Covenanters in the hills of Scotland, service in a Cameronian regiment on the continent of Europe, and the siege of Fort St. Andrew on the Isthmus of Darien, died in Port Royal of a fever that seized him shortly after he had preached a sermon entitled: "The Ways of the Lord are Right."²

But the story of tragedy was not yet at an end. The Rising Sun sailed from Jamaica in July, and, several weeks later, anchored off of the coast of South Carolina. On September 3rd, a hurricane swept up the Atlantic seaboard, and the flag-

¹ Ibid., Appendix, pp. 353-393; Borland, op. cit., pp. 59-65.

² Ibid., p. 78.

ship of the Darien fleet sank, carrying to a watery grave some one hundred Scottish settlers who had survived the long and dreadful months upon the Isthmus. Archibald Stobo and his wife were two of the handful who narrowly escaped death when their ship was wrecked. Stobo settled in Charleston, and Francis Borland was the only Darien minister who returned to his native land.¹ The same storm that sank the Rising Sun accounted for the destruction of the forth of the original Second Expedition ships, the Duke of Hamilton. Thus it was that amid death and disaster the Darien Scheme came to an end. Francis Borland estimated that nearly two thousand men had lost their lives in the expeditions to the Isthmus of America; he summarized his account of the tragedy of Darien with these words:

Tantae molis erat Dariensem colere terram,
 So costly and so dear was this design,
 To plant a Colony in Darien.²

¹ Ibid., pp. 74-84.

² Ibid., p. 86.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE EXPEDITIONS TO DARIEN

The Company of Scotland's attempt to establish a colony upon the Isthmus of Darien united the energies of the Scottish nation in a project that was of considerable significance, not only to the political and economic history of Scotland, but also to the history of the national Church. Though the colonial attempt was initially motivated by economic interests, religion played a very important part in the undertaking. Throughout the seventeenth century, the people of Scotland had been deeply interested in questions dealing with church government and theology, but Scotsmen, in turning their energies toward colonization, did not abandon their concern for the faith of their fathers. The Company sought and secured the approval of the Church for its undertaking; the Church, as the national ecclesiastical body, in turn, was deeply interested in the Darien project, and supported the colonial attempt in various ways. The interest of the Church of Scotland in the Darien Scheme is evident, both in the record of religious activities during the expeditions to the Isthmus of America, and in the relationship of the Church at home to the Company's project to plant a colony at Darien.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AT HOME AND THE DARIEN SCHEME

THE MINISTERS OF THE
CHURCH AND DARIEN

Many of the ministers of the
Scottish Church were greatly
interested in the Darien

Scheme. Though there is no evidence that Church money was invested in the stock of the Company, as one pamphleteer of the time claimed,¹ it is quite clear from the records of the colonial attempt, that a number of the leading ministers of the Church personally invested substantial sums in the undertaking. One contemporary writer satirized the part that the clergy of Scotland played in the projection of the Company by declaring that they

Sold their Calvin, and Baxter, and Knocks;
Bless'd the Peices, and pray'd for large Stocks.²

Though this satirist wrote with a decided bias, the number of the names of the clergymen on the Company's books indicates that the widespread interest in the project had penetrated the ranks of the ministry of the Church.

Ministers who were among the subscribers to the Company of Scotland. On the first day that the subscription books were open in Scotland, the Reverend Robert Merchistone subscribed for the sum of ~~£~~ 200 sterling. Two days later, David William-

¹ A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there, p. 9.

² Caledonia; or, the Pedlar turn'd Merchant, p. 18.

son, minister of St. Cuthberts, who had once been arrested for his association with Renwick, and who later became the Moderator of the General Assembly,¹ invested in the Company. John Hamilton, minister of Old Greyfriars, subscribed soon afterward for the sum of £ 200 sterling. The books of the Company had been opened in the city of Glasgow in the meantime. On the first day that it was possible to subscribe, Patrick Simson, who had once preached at the conventicles of the Covenanters, and who was Moderator of the 1695 Assembly, signed the books of the Company for the sum of £ 100 sterling.² The next day, James Brown, minister of St. Mungo's north, Glasgow, who had fled from persecution to America before returning to Scotland, subscribed for a similar amount.³ In Edinburgh, subscriptions were continuing: John Langlands, the former minister of Hawick,⁴ and Donald Robertsons, formerly minister of Hutton on Dryfe and Corrie, subscribed to the stock of the Company,⁵ and David Williamson doubled his original subscription to make a total of £ 200 sterling on the Company's books beside his name. On the last day of March, the minister of the parish of South

¹ Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Volume I, p. 96.

² Ibid., Volume III, p. 186.

³ Ibid., Volume III, p. 451.

⁴ Ibid., Volume II, p. 114.

⁵ Ibid., Volume II, p. 206.

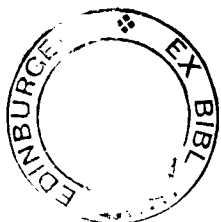
Leith, William Wisheart, who had once been imprisoned as a Covenanter, and who was five times to be honored with the moderatorship of the General Assembly, invested the sum of £ 100 sterling, later to double his subscription.¹

During the month of April, a number of clergymen signed the Company's books: James Douglas, minister at Stow, subscribed for the sum of £ 100 sterling; Thomas Thomson, minister at Forres legally bound himself to pay twice this amount to the Company; John Hamilton and John Langlands both subscribed additional sums; and John Forrest, another former Covenanter and the minister of Prestonkirk, subscribed for the sum of £ 200 sterling.² In Glasgow, Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine, who had traveled as far as India during his flight from persecution, signified his willingness to pay the Company £ 100 sterling,³ and Patrick Liston, a clergyman in Ayr, subscribed for a similar sum. Ministerial subscriptions continued throughout May and June: Andrew Urie, formerly minister of the parish of Muiravonside, subscribed for £ 200 sterling; John Flint, who had been educated at the expense of the United Societies of the Cameronians, and who then was minister at Lasswade, purchased a share worth £ 100

¹ Ibid., Volume I, p. 136; The Darien Papers, Appendix.

² Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Volume I, p. 416.

³ Ibid., Volume III, p. 100.



sterling;¹ and William Rait, minister at Monikie, signed his name in the register as a stockholder of the Company of Scotland. William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow University, subscribed for £ 200 sterling; Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton, invested a similar sum; and James Brown, minister of Lundie and Foulis, ventured £ 100 sterling. Silvester Lyon, minister at Kirriemure, subscribed for £ 200 sterling; David Forrester, minister of Longforgan, set his name beside a similar sum; and the Reverend Professor Alexander Rule, who taught Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, became a subscriber to the stock of the Company.² Several widows and children of clergymen invested sums in the Company: the widow of Robert Lundie, minister of Irving; the son of John Anderson, minister of Leslie; a member of the family of the deceased John Glen, a Glasgow minister; the son of Alexander Gordon, a minister of Inverary; and the daughter of Edward Jamison were among the subscribers.³

Though the amount of the stock purchased by clergymen and their families was small by comparison with the sums invested by the mercantile and trading classes in the undertaking,

¹ Ibid., Volume I, p. 143.

² Ibid., Volume VII, p. 386.

³ The Darien Papers, Appendix; A List of the Subscribers of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies; 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.

the minimum subscription of ~~£~~ 100 sterling represented a considerable sum for a ministry whose stipends were small and who possessed scant financial resources. It is noteworthy, however, that three Moderators of the General Assembly were among the subscribers to the Company's stock: Patrick Simson, the Moderator of the Assembly of 1695; David Williamson, the Moderator of the 1702 Assembly; and William Wisheart, who was named Moderator of the General Assembly on five different occasions.¹ Principal William Dunlop, of the University of Glasgow, and Professor Alexander Rule, of the University of Edinburgh, were subscribers. Along with these leaders of the Church were ministers of parishes located both in city and country districts, many of whom had been ardent upholders of the Covenants, and had suffered persecution for their religious convictions. Undoubtedly, these subscriptions to the stock of the Company by several widely known and respected members of the clergy, gave encouragement to the Company that was of considerably greater importance than the actual value of the sums subscribed.

Ministers who supported the Company and the Darien Colony. The ministry of the Church performed far greater service to the proposed Scottish colony than that of subscribing to the stock of the Company of Scotland. William Dunlop, one

¹ Warrick, op. cit., pp. 185-190.

of the more influential ministers of the Church, played an important part in the organization and projection of the Company, acting on a number of occasions as an adviser to the Court of Directors. In 1684 he had taken part in an attempt to establish a Scottish colony in Carolina that was to be a haven for persecuted Covenanters.¹ In 1690, after his return to Scotland, and his ordination to the ministry, he became Principal of the University of Glasgow; in this position, he soon came to be a recognized leader of the Church.² His interest in colonization, and his experience in America gave him a place of importance in the councils of the Scottish Company. He had invested money in the stock of the Company, and throughout the remainder of his life, which ended in 1700, he played an important part in the projection of the Darien Scheme. Several documents and letters pertaining to the Isthmian Colony have been found among his papers, including a memorandum for means of supplying the colonists with food, letters from Alexander Shields and William Paterson, and a receipt for money that Dunlop personally loaned to a theological student who wished to accompany the Second Expedition to Darien.³ That the Company placed confidence in his advice is evident from the

¹ G. P. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686, pp. 202 et seq.

² Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume VII, p. 396.

³ Principal Story, "Letters From Darien," Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, New Series, IV, pp. 207-225.

fact that he was asked to examine the circumstances of a transaction between William Paterson and James Smith which involved not only a considerable sum of money, but the reputation of the projector of the Darien Scheme.¹ The "Journal of the Court of Directors" bears further testimony to the influence of Dunlop upon the councils of the Company. His name occurs with considerable frequency in this document in connection with such phrases as "Upon a Proposal made by Mr. William Dunlop . . ." or "Upon a Complaint made by Principal Dunlop. . ."² The Court of Directors, on a number of occasions, sought his advice, and he seems to have been in the habit of indicating his opinion to the leading directors of the Company when he felt his counsel was needed.

Although Dunlop was the only minister who can be listed among the leading spirits of Scottish colonial enterprise,³ a number of other clergymen displayed considerable interest in the Company and its American project. Robert Wodrow, the church historian, made frequent references to Darien in his correspondence. Throughout the early days of the colonial attempt, he

¹ J. S. Barbour, A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company, p. 44.

² "Journal of the Court of Directors" Volume II, MS.

³ G. P. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686, p. 146. Doctor Insh, in speaking of Dunlop's connection with the Carolina Colony, lists him as one of "the leading spirits of Scottish colonial enterprise."

expressed considerable optimism over the project, corresponded with various men involved in the undertaking, and on several occasions indicated his concern over the progress of the expeditions.¹ Later, Wodrow, in referring to Darien in his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, indicated his agreement with Alexander Shields, who had believed that if the Scottish Colony had been successful, it "would have been of unspeakable advantage to this nation, as well as to the holy Christian religion."² Robert Wyllie, minister of Hamilton, who was a friend of both William Dunlop and Alexander Shields, was a strong supporter of the Darien Scheme, largely because of the prospect that the new colony offered for missionary endeavor.³ George Turnbull, minister of Tynninghame, indicated a definite interest in the Company of Scotland's colonial undertaking in his writings when referring to action taken by the General Assembly concerning Darien.⁴ Thomas Boston, minister of Simprin, though not an active supporter of Darien, expressed his concern for the Colony on hearing the news of disaster on the Isthmus.⁵

¹ L. W. Sharp, editor, Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709, pp. 17, 18, 20, 36, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 80, 135, 139, 140, 265, 266.

² Robert Wodrow, History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, Volume IV, p. 233.

³ Wodrow MSS, Quarto 30 (145).

⁴ Robert Paul, editor, "The Diary of George Turnbull, Minister of Alloa and Tynninghame 1647-1704," Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Volume I, pp. 393-396.

⁵ George D. Low, editor, A General Account of my Life By Thomas Boston, A. M. Minister at Simprin and at Ettrick, p. 98.

Several of the pamphlets written in Scotland supporting the colonial enterprise have been attributed to ministers of the Church of Scotland. A pamphlet published under the title, A Proper Project for Scotland, to startle fools and frighten knaves, but to make wise men happy; being a safe and easy remedy to cure our fears and ease our minds. With the undoubted causes of God's wrath and of the present National Calamities, has been traditionally attributed to Alexander Shields, who was then a minister at St. Andrews. There is evidence that Shields wrote at least part of this work.¹ This pamphlet, particularly the portion attributed to the Cameronian leader, urged the support of Darien as a means of establishing the Church of Scotland in America.²

¹ The Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (Samuel Halkett and John Laing, Volume IV, p. 443) attributes this work to Shields. Doctor Hector Macpherson, in considering the question of whether or not Shields wrote this pamphlet, stated that on the basis of this tradition, a statement by Patrick Walker, the judgment of Hay Fleming, and a consideration of internal evidence that at least the latter part of this pamphlet entitled the Undoubted Causes of God's Wrath was written by Shields. (Hector Macpherson, The Cameronian Philosopher: Alexander Shields, p. 232.)

² A Proper Project for Scotland, to startle fools and frighten Knaves, but to make wise men happy; being a safe and easy remedy to cure our fears and ease our minds. With the undoubted causes of God's Wrath and of the present National Calamities, p. 80.

Archibald Foyer, the minister of Stonehouse, was another of the Darien pamphleteers. He served as bursar of the University of Glasgow in the years following the Revolution, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1696.¹ Francis Borland, who knew him personally, wrote after Foyer's death: "He has been the occasion of much trouble to the Judicatories of this church . . . but now gone where the weary be at rest."² The qualities that made it difficult for Foyer to get along with his fellow ministers were of use to him as a controversial pamphleteer. Two important pro-Darien pamphlets have been attributed to him. The first of these, A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, was written in 1699 and was answered by Walter Herries in A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien, a bitter attack on the Darien Scheme. Though the authorship of A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien is uncertain, and the evidence that Foyer was its author is not conclu-

1 Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume III, pp. 280-281.

2 "M. S. Memorial Or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland 1661 - 1722." p. 72. (MS) Throughout most of his ministry Foyer was an associate of Francis Borland, and when Borland left his parish to sail for Darien, Foyer accepted the responsibility for the major portion of the supply work of the Glassford Parish. "Session Records, Glassford Parish," MS Number 2.

sive,¹ another important pamphlet of the time can be attributed to him with confidence. This pamphlet, entitled Scotland's Present Duty, was printed in 1700; it was strongly missionary in its outlook, and expressed the view that it was the duty of the Church to do all in its power to assure the success of the Darien Scheme.² These pamphlets received considerable attention at the time, and probably played an important part in uniting the Scottish nation behind the colonial attempt.

¹ Several writers of the period have been named as possible authors of this anonymous pamphlet. Wodrow stated that this work was believed to have been written by S. Johnstoun. (L. W. Sharp, editor, *op. cit.*, p. 54) The Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (Volume II, p. 32) attributes it to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun who was known to be a supporter of the Darien Colony. Evidence that the pamphlet was written by Foyer consists of a MS note in the Librarian's copy of the Catalogue of the New College Library (Edinburgh, 1868, Volume II, p. 608), which attributes this work to the minister of Stonehouse. John Scott, in A Bibliography of Printed Documents and Books Relating to the Darien Company (Volume VI, p. 38), and J. J. Spencer, in an article in Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society ("Walter Herries: A 'Darien' Pamphleteer," New Series, Volume VI, p. 106) accepted this evidence as indicative of Foyer's authorship of the work. However, no contemporary evidence that the minister of Stonehouse was the author of this pamphlet is extant.

² No doubt has been raised of Foyer's authorship of this pamphlet. A MS note in the Librarian's copy of the Catalogue of the New College Library, (Edinburgh, 1868, Volume II, p. 608) the authority of John Scott in A Bibliography of Printed Documents and Books Relating to the Darien Company, (Volume VI, p. 46) and the judgment of the editors of the Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (Volume V, p. 185) agree in attributing this work to Foyer.

There is abundant evidence that the majority of the clergy were supporters of the Company's project. With the exception of William Carstares, whose correspondence indicates that to some extent he shared King William's hostility to Darien while serving as Court Chaplain,¹ and David Blair, minister of the Old Kirk, Edinburgh, whose windows were broken by the mob during the Toubacanti Riot for failing to pray for the Colony while acting as a chaplain in the Scottish Parliament,² there are no records of clergymen who opposed the Darien Scheme. On the other hand there is convincing evidence that the ministry of the Church, as a whole, were enthusiastic in their support of the Company of Scotland's colonial undertaking.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S
SPIRITUAL SUPPORT OF DARIEN

The Church and Prayer for
Darien. Archibald Foyer
declared in the pamphlet,

Scotland's Present Duty, that it was the task of the ministers of the Church of Scotland to "mind their special work of praying and wrestling for Caledonia."³ This was a duty that the ministry responded to readily. While the ships of the First Expedition were still in the Firth of Forth, the Court of Directors of the Company instructed two of its number to request

¹ Carstares State Papers, pp. 315, 322, 390, 391, 392, 421, 558, 559; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, p. 112.

² Carstares State Papers, pp. 539 et seq.

³ Scotland's Present Duty, p. 23.

that the Presbytery "appoint prayers in such Manner as they shall think fit for a fair wind and success in the intended Expedition (as being a National concern)."¹ Apparently, the ministers of the Church, not only in Edinburgh Presbytery, but throughout the land, were united in their response to this request. Lord Seafield wrote these words shortly after the First Expedition had sailed: "The whole ministers of the nation are praying for the success of that company."² Other contemporary letters included similar statements.³ The General Assembly met early in the year 1699 and recommended that "all Ministers . . . pray for the Preservation and Successe of those sent by the saids Directors to remote places."⁴

In March, 1699, news of the arrival of the First Fleet at Darien reached Edinburgh, and the Court of Directors of the Company made the following resolution:

That the Ministers of this City and Suburbs thereof be acquainted with the said Good news to the end that they may in their discretion return publick and hearty thanks to Almighty God upon this occasion.⁵

The response of the clergy in Scotland's capital city to this

¹ Darien Shipping Papers, p. 62.

² Carstares State Papers, p. 418.

³ Ibid., p. 490; "Letters in Colonel Leven's Darien Papers," MSS.

⁴ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, Unprinted Acts of the General Assembly of 1699.

⁵ "Journal of the Court of Directors" Volume II, MS.

request was such that a few days later a contemporary pamphleteer recorded that ministers throughout the Edinburgh area had been praying for Darien on the preceding Sunday.¹ References to prayers of thanksgiving in the churches of Edinburgh occur both in published documents² and in letters³ written during the next few months. The Church of Scotland officially assured the colonists:

We cease not to make mention of you in our Prayers to God for your Preservation, and for the Prosperity of your Souls; nor to offer Him our humblest Adorations, and thankful Praises, for the wonder of His Kindness, and Mercy to you . . . whom we justly consider as a worthy part of our selves, both as we are a Civil and a Religious Body.⁴

When the news of the failure of the First Expedition was known in Scotland, the Commission of the General Assembly declared:

Whereas the said Companie's Colony in America has met with severall cross providences of late, --That the Commission doe recommend to all Ministers within this National Church to be fervent in prayer... that if it may be the good pleasure of God, he may yet countenance and bless the undertaking for the advanceing the trade of the Nation, and for propagating the Gospell.⁵

¹ An Express from the African and Indian Scots Company's Fleet.

² The Present State of Europe, Volume X, p. 153;

³ "Letters in Colonel Leven's Darien Papers," MSS; Wodrow MSS, Quarto 30 (145).

⁴ Letter from the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Honourable Council and Inhabitants of the Scots Colony of Caledonia in America; Infra, pp. 67-69.

⁵ The Darien Papers, p. 254.

Archibald Foyer urged his fellow ministers to join him in prayer for Darien "that we may all joyntly together go into the Throne of Grace, and give our God no rest till he appear for Caledonia."¹ He declared in referring to Darien: "Let us then be stirred up to plead fervently for a Blessing to this great Work from Heaven's King."²

It is evident that the Company of Scotland's colonial project was the theme of intercessions in pulpits in many parts of Scotland. A great number of ministers who were financially unable to invest in the stock of the Company, and who took no active part in the projection of the colonial scheme, did lend the weight of their prayers to the undertaking, making public and private intercessions for the Darien Expeditions from the time that the Scottish fleet rode at anchor in the Firth of Forth until the last hope for the success of the Colony had faded.

The Church of Scotland and National Fasts for Darien. The Church's spiritual support of the Colony during the early days of the enterprise was widespread and indicated the conviction of the clergy that Darien was important both to the Nation and to the Church. After the first news of disaster on the Isthmus had become known in Scotland, the national Church, speaking

¹ Scotland's Present Duty, pp. 26 et seq.

² Ibid., p. 24.

through its General Assembly, indicated its concern for the colonial attempt by setting aside special days of prayer and fasting for the Darien Colony. The General Assembly had appointed a "Solemn National Fast and Humiliation" upon its first meeting after the Revolution in 1690, and during the years 1699, 1700, and 1701, similar fasts were proclaimed with special emphasis being placed upon prayer for the Company's project.¹

As soon as the news of the desertion of the Isthmus by the First Expedition was known in Scotland, the Council-General of the Company requested three of its number to wait upon the Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly that was about to meet, and request that "they may appoint a Fast and Humiliation upon this occasion."² The General Assembly of 1699 had already urged that the Colony be remembered in the intercessions of the ministers of the Church,³ and now the Commission of the General Assembly responded to the Company's request by appointing a specific time for prayer for the Colony. This ecclesiastical body addressed the Privy Council asking that a special day for prayer be set aside: thanksgiving was to be given for one of the best harvests in several years, but

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1690, 1699, 1700, 1701.

² "Acts Orders and Resolutions of Council General" October 18th, 1699, MS.

³ Supra, p. 61.

prayer was urged "that it may please God yet to countenance and Bless" the Company of Scotland's trading project, "and that he may graciously preserve protect and direct these who are employed there in to a happy issue."¹ November 30th, 1699, was the day that the Privy Council agreed to appoint for prayer in behalf of Darien. One pamphleteer, writing soon afterward, declared that the day called for in the Privy Council's proclamation was "a Mungrel Day of Humiliation, and Rejoycing jumbled together," and expressed the view that more emphasis should have been laid upon urging the ministers of the Church to pray for the Darien undertaking.²

Even though the Court Party opposed the proclamation of days for prayer and fasting in behalf of Darien believing that such proceedings would offend King William, the feeling that this day of prayer for the project was insufficient was in evidence in several quarters of the Church. One of Carstares' correspondents had stated that "the nation never suffered a greater loss" than that of Darien, and that many in the Church felt the need for further prayer and fasting.³ Archibald Foyer, writing at this time, declared: "Sure our King will not be

¹ "Registrum Secreti Concilii, Acta Jul. 1699, May 1703" MS.

² Some Scruples, by way of Queries, relating to the Day of Thanksgiving and Public Prayers, appointed to be kept 30th of November 1699.

³ Carstares State Papers, p. 500.

Angry with us for seeking to God,"¹ and he urged the setting aside of "a particular day of pleading with God for his favour to the great National undertaking of settling our American Colony."²

The General Assembly met early in 1700, and appointed March 28th as a day for "a Solemn National Fast," and named the following reason for the fast:

The severall cross providences that the African and Indian Companys Colony in America hath mett with notwithstanding of the many fervent prayers made in their behalf.³

The proclamation for the fast included the petition that Divine blessings rest upon "the great nationall concern of a plantation abroad and that the same may . . . prove a happy and Successful means for propagating the Gospell and Converting the heathens in those pairts."⁴ Mention was made of the ministers sent to the Isthmus by the Church, and prayer was to be made that they "may be supported and strengthened for their work and ever encouraged in the Lord against all difficulties."⁵ George Turnbull, minister of Tynninghame, wrote in his diary: "Being a nationall

¹ Scotland's Present Duty, p. 22.

² Ibid., p. 18.

³ "Registrum Secreti Concilii, Acta Jul. 1699, May 1703" MS.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Loc. cit.

fast day for our pſent ſins and calamitys, pticularly our loſſe at Dærien . . . I preacht on pſa. 107,43."¹ In Glaſſford, Thomas Lining proclaimed the faſt to Borland's congregation and the day was obſerved throughout the nation as Scotland united in prayer for the Dærien Scheme.²

Several months later the Commiſſion of General Aſſembly met, and petitioned the Privy Council that Auguſt 29th, 1700 be ſet aſide for "a ſolemn nationall faſt." Among the cauſes liſted for the ſecond national day of prayer in the year 1700 was that of "the lamentable Diſperſion of the African and Indian Company's Colony in America." This proclamation requeſted that prayer be made in behalf of thoſe in captivity--a reference, doubtleſs, to Pinkerton and his men--and petitions were to be raiſed that "Loſſes both at Home and abroad may be Sanctified and alſo made up unto theſe who Immediately moſt ſuffer by them."³ Printed copies of this proclamation appeared on the ſtreets of Edinburgh;⁴ during the firſt week of Auguſt the Edinburgh Gazette publiſhed the proclamation,⁵ and there is every indication that the faſt was obſerved in many parts of the nation.

1 Robert Paul, op. cit., p. 392.

2 "Session Records, Glaſſford Pariſh," MS Number 2.

3 "Regiſtrum Secreti Concilii, Acta Jul. 1699, May 1703" MS.

4 Proclamation For A Solemn National Faſt.

5 The Edinburgh Gazette, 1700, Number 152.

Though the final tragedy of Darien had been known before the National Fast of August 29th, 1700, mention was again made of the failure to colonize the Isthmus in a proclamation by the General Assembly of 1701. This statement listed the following causes for prayer and fasting:

The amazing and astonishing Rebukes against, and Blasting of the Undertaking of the African and Indian Company of this Nation, for advancing the Wealth and Trade thereof, and Relief of the Poor; and that in a great measure from the visible and immediat Hand of God, though by that Undertaking there was a fair prospect of spreading the Gospel amongst Infidels.¹

The 24th of April, 1701 was the day proclaimed for the fast.

The General Assembly during three successive years had officially expressed its concern for the undertaking, and a National Fast had been proclaimed with special reference to the Isthmian Colony on four different occasions. Thus it was that the ministers of the Church of Scotland supported the Scottish attempt to establish a colony in America, both individually and collectively, until many months after the final failure of the undertaking had become known in Scotland. The failure of the Darien Scheme, many believed, was a special judgment upon the Scottish nation that had come in spite of the fervent prayers of intercession offered in its behalf.

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly 1701, pp. 13-15.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE
CHURCH TOWARD DARIEN

The Interest of the Church in
Darien. The concern of the

Church of Scotland for the Darien Scheme reflected the attitude of the majority of the Church's ministers. With few exceptions, the clergymen of Scotland gave their unhesitating support to the national Colony, and Church courts manifested a similar attitude. "No Minister of the Gospel" should be misled into opposing Darien, declared one pamphleteer, because "The General Assembly, by their Acts, and the Commission, by their Letter to the Colony . . . and their late Recommendation to the Presbyteries, have testified so peculiar a Regard to the Caledonia Undertaking, and so just a Sense of the great Interests of Religion therein."¹ Another writer stated that the Church was obligated to support Darien in order to be truly representative of the people of Scotland, and proposed that Church money that was "not already appropriated to Pious Uses," should be "applied to the use of our American Colony."² Though this suggestion was never carried out, the close relation between the Church and the Company of Scotland is evident in this and other pamphlets of the period.

¹ Certain Propositions Relating to the Plantations of Caledonia and the National Address for supporting them briefly offered to Publick View for removing of Mistakes and Prejudices.

² Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien, &c. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Parliament, 1700.

The Directors of the Company were confident that the ministry of the national Church stood firmly behind them in their undertaking. In August, 1699, the Court of Directors declared that the Commission of the General Assembly had "all along shown a great deal of zeal and affection to the interest of the Company."¹ In February of the following year, the Directors wrote to the ministers of the Colony relating that "your brethren in the ministry . . . are zealously and piously" concerned with the interests of your colony.² Three months later, they wrote: "The Synod mett here this week, and have unanimously voted to address the Commission of the Assembly that they may address the Parliament . . . on behalf of our Company."³ A modern historian has correctly described the Church of Scotland as one of the Company's most ardent supporters.⁴ The influence of the pulpit and the pronouncements of church courts undoubtedly played an important role in the projection of the Darien Scheme.

The Letter From the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The official attitude of the Church of Scotland to the Darien Colony is further indicated in a

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 133.

² Ibid., p. 272.

³ Ibid., pp. 293 et seq.

⁴ E. E. B. Thomson, The Parliament of Scotland, 1690-1702, pp. 169 et seq.

printed pamphlet entitled A Letter From the Commission Of the General Assembly Of the Church of Scotland. The Commission of the Assembly met in Glasgow in July, 1699 as the Company of Scotland was making final preparations for sending forth the ships of the Second Expedition, and prepared a letter to the colonists. This letter was published in two editions, one in Edinburgh, and the other in Glasgow; it is an official declaration of the concern of the Church for the Darien enterprise. In this letter the Commission stated to the colonists that the Isthmus of America was a place "which the Lord had espyed, and reserved for you, and to which he hath born you, as on Eagles wings."¹ The sending of four additional ministers to the Colony was announced, and the hope was expressed that "Christian Discipline, and Order in your Church" will be established by these ministers.² The colonists were assured that "these waters [would] never quench, nor Time, nor Distance wear out our Love to you."³ They were reminded that God was their sovereign Lord, and that, through Divine guidance and diligent labor, Darien may well become "a Land of Promise, and a Pledge of that better Inheritance, reserved in Heaven for

¹ A Letter From the Commission, Of the General Assembly Of the Church of Scotland, p. 34.

² Ibid., p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 3.

you."¹ The colonists were urged "to take Care that Religion and Virtue be planted and thrive."² The importance of the settlement on the Isthmus as a center for missionary endeavor was set forth, and missions was spoken of as Darien's "most glorious end."³ "The Eyes of God, of Angels and of Men are upon you," declared the Commission to the colonists. "The World begins to take notice of you, as a most hopeful Colony."⁴ The letter closed with a final exhortation to the settlers to live righteously in order to be deserving of the mercies of God.⁵ Quotations from the Holy Scriptures are numerous in the document, and forty-four specific Biblical references occur in the margins of the letter.

When the second fleet sailed for the Isthmus, this letter in printed form was in circulation, and a number of copies were prepared for distribution among the officers and men of the Expedition. Several months later, Samuel Sewall of Boston, described this letter as "the Golden Girdle wherewith the Officers and privat Souldiers (of the expedition) are girdled."⁶ It was

¹ Ibid., pp. 6 et seq.

² Ibid., pp. 7-9.

³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 15 et seq.

⁶ Letter dated Boston, April 8th, 1700, "To the surviving Ministers sent by the Church of Scotland to Caledonia," cited by T. C. Pears, Journal of The Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Volume XVII, March-June, 1936, Nos. 1 and 2, p33.

with the declarations contained in this document that the Commission proclaimed its concern and its hopes for Darien; with this letter the Church of Scotland confirmed the interest of many of the religious leaders of the Nation in the colonial project by placing its official blessing upon the Darien Scheme.

The General Assembly of 1700 and Darien. The debate over the Darien Scheme in the Scottish Parliament had an earlier counterpart in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The Assembly met in February of the year 1700 for its first session after the arrival of the news of the tragedy that had befallen the First Expedition. It was obvious to the leaders of both Church and State that the question of the Isthmian Colony would be considered by the Assembly; efforts were made by the government to secure moderation in any action that the church court should take in reference to the colonial project.¹ One observer included among these governmental preparations for the Assembly the Crown's decision "to send down my Lord Seafield to be Commissioner and Mr. Carstairs to be his Governor."² The General Assembly met in Edinburgh on February 2nd under the watchful eye of the Government;³ David Blair, who was known to be a friend of the Court Party, was

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 281.

² Loc. cit.

³ Robert Paul, editor, op. cit., p. 391.

elected Moderator of the Assembly.¹ After the transaction of preliminary business, the ecclesiastical body turned to a consideration of the causes for the National Fast that was to be proclaimed. A heated debate then took place over the question of whether or not the word "Caledonia," with its strong nationalistic significance, should be used in referring to the Scottish Colony in the Assembly's statement that had to be submitted to the Privy Council. After a discussion that George Turnbull described as one of "great heats about Caledonia,"² the Assembly decided to draw up a statement that urged that the church support Darien with its prayers, but that substituted the phrase, "the African and Indian Company's Colony in America," for the word, "Caledonia."³ The writer of Scotland's Grievances spoke of this as a victory for the "crafty ill Men" who had been able to impose upon the honesty of the "poor Country Ministers."⁴ However, Wodrow, who was a Darien supporter himself, did not feel that the Assembly had failed to act in accord with the interests of the Nation and the national Colony. "For my own part I think they carried very reasonably in it," he declared to a correspondent in a letter in March, 1700. "If the said word had been inserted it might have bred ill

¹ Warrick, op. cit., p. 129.

² Robert Paul, editor, op. cit., p. 391.

³ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1700, pp. 9 et. seq.

⁴ Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien, &c. Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the Parliament, 1700.

blood among the Council. Besides, as you see in the Edinburgh Gazet, they have inserted ane equivalent term the Colony in America.¹ He then pointed out that the supporters of the overseass settlement were successful in having the controversial term inserted in a letter addressed to the ministers of the Colony which "was not to passe under the cognizance of the Council as the other."² This letter, Wodrow believed, indicated the continuing interest that the General Assembly had in the Darien Scheme, even in the face of governmental opposition.³

"The Letter From the General Assembly," to which Wodrow referred, was addressed to the four ministers of the Church in the Colony; it was recorded in the minutes of the Assembly, under the date of February 15th, 1700. with the names of the Moderator and Clerk of the Assembly affixed to the document. In this letter, the Darien ministers were encouraged to continue their work, both among the men of the Expedition, and with the heathen. Exhortations were set forth against "prophanity and Irreligion," religious observance and orderly conduct were urged, and declarations were made that were similar to those of the longer and more comprehensive Letter From the Commission of the General Assembly Of the Church of Scotland. The Assembly

¹ Robert Paul, editor, op. cit., p. 55.

² Ibid., p. 56.

³ Loc. cit.

congratulated the colonists on their safe arrival in Darien, and they were assured of the Assembly's interest, and of the Church's continuing prayers.¹

This document left no doubt of the concern of the General Assembly of 1700 for the welfare and future of the Colony. The General Assembly's original actions had been set forth in moderate terms, in accordance with the wishes of the government. However, this letter, written in the name of the Church's highest court, bore the official approval of the General Assembly, and clearly indicated that the Church was still among the supporters of Darien.

The attitude of the Church toward Darien after the failure of the Colony. The eventual failure of the entire project for planting a colony on the Isthmus became a tragic possibility after the desertion of the First Expedition had become known in Scotland; contemporary documents, written after October, 1699, indicate that a change took place at this time in the attitude of the Church toward the Darien Scheme. The minister of Stonehouse wrote in 1700 that at the commencement of the colonial attempt, "the General Assembly had no narrow thought of it, when by their Act they appointed all the Ministers of this Church to pray for its Success."² "Have not

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1700, pp. 11-13.

² Scotland's Present Duty, p. 18.

many Prayers of the Godly been put up for Caledonia?" he asked. "All have seem'd to wish its prospering, and some have been earnest in pleading for it."¹ However, he declared, when there were evidences of the imminence of the disaster of Darien, a change was apparent in the attitude of the Church. He charged some of his fellow ministers with "changing their Note so meanly when they see it in Distress."² At the beginning of the enterprise, the Church had been an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme; but, now that the judgment of God seemed to have been visited upon the members of the First Expedition, there were some churchmen who doubted that Scotland's Colony had been divinely inspired, as the proponents of Darien had once insisted.³ Foyer attributed the failure of the First Expedition to the fact that "We have not to this day made a full and free Confession of our National Sins; amongst which . . . Covenant breaking seems . . . to cry loudest."⁴ Another contemporary writer put the same belief into verse declaring that the failure at Darien had been caused by the fact that

. . . in the Dust your Church's Glories ly;
Your Church which once so fam'd for purity,
Her awful Head did raise above the Sky.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 13.

² Ibid., p. 18.

³ The Darien Papers, p. 4; MSS 1914, Number 9, "Darien Company Committee of Trade; Miscellanea Curiosa, III, p. 419.

⁴ Scotland's Present Duty, p. 14.

⁵ The Causes of Scotland's Miseries.

This same conviction is evident in the proclamation of the General Assembly of 1700 for a National Fast. This document declared that the disaster that had befallen the First Expedition was a manifestation of the Lord's anger, and "The Rebukes from God on the nation."¹ The intense enthusiasm for Darien that had been evident within the Church at the beginning of the colonial enterprise had diminished at the prospect of failure. However, though this enthusiasm began to disappear after the autumn of 1699, the Church did not lose its interest in the colonial project and its concern for those who had taken part in the Expeditions. The Church had hoped to extend its influence by means of the proposed colony; when this hope vanished, ecclesiastical leaders did not reject the Darien Scheme, but their enthusiasm was modified to an acceptance of the disaster as the will of God as they calmly called the Nation to prayer and repentance. The Church of Scotland reaffirmed its support of the colonial undertaking by urging that the Nation pray and fast for Darien on two occasions in the year 1700, and once in the spring of the year 1701--after all hope for the success of the Colony had vanished. The Church of Scotland can well be considered

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1700, pp. 9-10.

as having been among the more steadfast backers of the Darien Scheme.

Conclusion. Two reasons are apparent for the interest of the Church in the Company of Scotland's colonial project. The first of these was the belief that the Darien Colony would bring prosperity to Scotland. The Church, as the national ecclesiastical body, was interested in the proposed colony simply because it appeared to be a means for advancing the welfare of the Scottish Nation. The second reason for the Church's support of the Scheme depended upon the fact that an overseas settlement offered it an opportunity to extend its influence, not only among the colonists who were to take up their residence on the Isthmus, but among the unenlightened natives of Darien. The Company of Scotland's Colony was recognized by many Churchmen as a possible base for missionary operations,¹ and, within the settlement itself, it was hoped that a strong Presbyterian Church would be established.

RELIGION ON THE DARIEN EXPEDITIONS

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND
THE DARIEN SCHEME

Paterson's Ideal for Darien.

The Darien Scheme, from the very beginning, was conceived with a nobility of spirit that was closely akin to religious principle. William Paterson, who was responsible for

¹ The extent and the importance of the missionary motive in the Church's support of Darien will be considered in Chapter IV.

directing the attention of the Company to the Isthmus of Darien as the spot upon which to plant a colony, was himself a sincerely religious man.

Paterson was born in Dumfriesshire, about the year 1658.¹ Little seems to be known about his early life apart from several traditions that agree in attributing a religious atmosphere to his background. He was destined for the ministry of the Church, and though a relation on his father's side was the last Archbishop of Glasgow, Paterson was nurtured on the Presbyterianism of his mother.² These traditions ascribe his departure from Scotland, somewhere before his twentieth year, to his sympathy for the Covenanting cause, and, according to Bannister, Paterson was accused of "conveying provisions and intelligence to the ministers and others hidden in the wild regions surrounding his father's house."³ He took up his residence in England after leaving Scotland.⁴ One often repeated, but very poorly founded tradition, claimed that he went to the West Indies as

¹ William Pagan, The Birthplace and Parentage of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England, and Projector of the Darien Scheme.

² The Edinburgh Review, January, 1862, Volume 115, p. 19; Saxe Bannister, editor, The Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England: With Biographical Notices of the Author, his Contemporaries, and his Race, pp. xix, xx.

³ Saxe Bannister, William Paterson, the Merchant Statesman, And Founder of the Bank of England: His Life and Trials, p. 40.

⁴ Saxe Bannister, editor, The Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England. With Biographical Notices of the Author and his Contemporaries, and his Race, pp. xxi-xxvi.

a missionary.¹ However, though it seems quite certain that he was occupied in mercantile activities during the years between his departure from Scotland and 1694, the year in which he was responsible for the founding of the Bank of England, he never left behind him the religious faith that had been a part of his early Scottish home training. Bannister stated: "He was no indifferent member of the religious community to which he belonged, the Kirk of Scotland. He never forgot her cause."² In 1695 Paterson sold out his stock in the Bank of England, and soon began to take a leading place in the councils of the newly formed Company of Scotland.³

His ideal for Darien was a noble one. He dreamed of establishing a colony on the narrow strip of land that joined the two Americas that he believed would soon become the trading center of the world. The long and dangerous journey around Cape Horn would no longer be necessary. Ships could sail from the Orient to the Isthmus; goods could be transported overland to the Darien coast, and then shipped to Europe. He later described his project as one that would establish a colony that should soon

¹ Pagan, op. cit., Appendix, p. 103; Hill Burton, History of Scotland, Volume I, p. 284; John Dalrymple, Memoirs, of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume III, p. 90.

² Bannister, The Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England: p. cxii.

³ Ibid., p. xxxii.

become the "door of the seas and the key of the universe."

Such an establishment, he believed, if properly managed, would "enable the proprietors to give laws to both oceans and to become arbitrators of the commercial world."¹ Nations would be drawn closer together through this project, he believed, and as legitimate commerce increased the wealth of the nations, trade would replace strife.²

Paterson's insistence upon free trade was an accompaniment of the moral grandeur of his colonial ideal. In contradiction

1 "A Proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien" MS in the British Museum cited by G. P. Insh in The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, p. 73.

2 Even though H. H. Bancroft has spoken of Paterson as "both fool and knave," (H. H. Bancroft, Central America, Volume II, p. 570) and historians like Macaulay have described him as a clever but somewhat foolish deceiver of his fellow countrymen, (Lord Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James the Second, Volume VIII, p. 199) Paterson's intelligence and sincerity of purpose can not seriously be questioned. In contradiction to the adverse judgment upon him by Bancroft and Macaulay, other writers have correctly asserted his integrity. (James Mackinnon, The Union of England and Scotland, p. 22; Hill Burton, Narratives From Criminal Trials in Scotland, Volume I, p. 107; and John Mackintosh, The History of Civilisation in Scotland, Volume III, p. 199) Both the writings of Paterson himself and the judgment of many of his contemporaries support this view. The broadness of his spirit was apparent in a letter that he wrote to Thomas Drummond after the failure of the First Expedition, in which Paterson expressed his high hopes for the Colony, and indicated a nobility of attitude that few of his mercantile contemporaries possessed. (The Darien Papers, pp. 258-260) The Duke of Queensberry, in a letter to King William, declared that he was so certain of Paterson's integrity, that he was afraid to offer Paterson, who then was in dire financial straits, assistance, for fear that the colonial projector would think that the offer was a bribe. (Carstares State Papers, p. 631) George Moffat, in a letter of August 12th, 1699, wrote, after the colonists had arrived in New York: "In all these discourses they give Mr. Paterson his due praise; for truly, by what I could learne, he hath been both diligent and true to the end." (The Darien Papers, pp. 146 et seq.)

to the generally accepted principle of monopoly and restricted privilege then widely accepted in the commercial world of the day, he proposed that the ships of all nations be allowed to come and go freely, to and from the ports of the Colony, contributing only a reasonable amount to the cost of the establishment. The Colony on the Isthmus of Darien was to become a center of world commerce that would benefit not only Scotland, but would bring wealth and peace to all the nations of mankind.¹

Religious Principles in the Government of the Darien Colony. But the presence of religious principles in the projection of the Darien Scheme was far more extensive than the broadly philanthropic and altruistic ideals that were a part of Paterson's proposal. The First Expedition witnessed the definite attempt to establish the government of the Colony upon a legal and religious foundation that was closely related to the Scottish conception of the ethics of the Old Testament. Two documents, both of which made an appeal to Scripture as the basis for law and government, are extant. The first is The Declaration of the Council, written on December 28th, 1698; the second is a document entitled Rules and Ordinances for the

¹ Neil Munro, History of the Royal Bank of Scotland, p. 8; W. Winterbotham, An Historical Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, and of the European Settlements, in America and the West Indies, Volume IV, p. 122; Macaulay, op. cit., VIII, p. 15; Hill Burton, History of Scotland, Volume I, p. 307.

Government of the Colony, which was prepared in April, 1700. Both of these statements were drawn up by members of the First Expedition in New Edinburgh. The Declaration of the Council proposed the establishment of a colonial government based on Scripture, and denounced "the Blaspheming of God's Holy Name, or any of his Divine Attributes; or of the Unhallowing or Prophaning the Sabbath-Day."¹ The second of these documents is even more interesting to the student of Church History. In that this paper demonstrates the influence of Scottish religious thought upon this attempt to establish a Scottish Colony. Rules and Ordinances for the Government of the Colony consists of a preamble and thirty-four articles. The First Article recapitulated the colonists' conviction that Scripture should be the basis for the law of the Colony, and Article Two assessed an imprisonment of three days for blasphemy, taking a form not unlike that of the Third Commandment. The Fourth Commandment had been dealt with in the Council's declaration and was not set forth in Rules and Ordinances for the Government of the Colony. Articles Three to Seven inclusive were concerned with obedience to authority, and seem to be related to the Fifth Commandment.

¹ Caledonia. The Declaration of the Council Constituted by the Indian and African Company of Scotland; for the Government and Direction of their Colonies, and Settlements in the Indies.

Articles Eight and Nine broke the Sinaitic sequence, however, dealing with such problems as violation of safe conduct agreements and libel, but Articles Ten to Thirteen deal with several aspects of the Sixth Commandment, providing death for murder, dueling, or assault with intent to kill. Article Fourteen was simply a restatement of the Seventh Commandment, Articles Fifteen to Twenty dealt with various aspects of the Eighth Commandment, while Articles Twenty-one and Twenty-two set forth the principles of the Ninth Commandment, and proscribed "all willful and apparent breach of trust and designed fraud." The next few articles were concerned with several problems that might naturally have confronted the government of the Darien Colony, but included provisions for the safeguarding of personal liberty, and a statement concerning the return of lost property that might well be interpreted as being based on the Tenth Commandment. The last seven articles made provision for the establishment of a judicial system to enforce the law set forth in the earlier articles.¹ Thus it was that the colonists, probably under the inspiration of William Paterson, attempted to set up a legal code in accord with their Scottish background that closely followed the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament both in precept and in structure.

¹ The Darien Papers, pp. 113-118.

Freedom of religion and Darien. However, this attempt to establish the Scottish Colony in Darien upon the ethics of the Old Testament did not carry with it a demand for the acceptance of Scottish Calvinistic theology. Freedom of religion was proclaimed at the outset in conjunction with the principle of freedom of trade. The Declaration of the Council included the following statement:

We do hereby not only Grant, and Concede, and Declare a general and equal freedom of Government and Trade to those of all Nations, who shall hereafter be of or concerned with us; but also a full and free Liberty of Conscience in matter of Religion.¹

This statement named only two restrictions to the freedom of religion that had been proclaimed: these were prohibitions against the profaning of the Sabbath and blasphemy. It is significant that while a penalty was later assessed for the crime of blasphemy in the Colony's Rules and Regulations, none was named for Sabbath breaking. In this statement religious toleration was declared in much broader terms than it was then practiced among the nations of Europe. The Darien Colony was one of the few colonial establishments founded on such broad terms of religious freedom.²

This question naturally arises: to what extent were these broad principles of religious toleration put into practice?

¹ Caledonia, The Declaration of the Council Constituted by the Indian and African Company of Scotland; for the Government and Direction of their Colonies, and Settlements in the Indies.

² Thomas M'Crie, Memoirs of William Veitch, p. 224.

As early as July, 1695, Paterson wrote from London to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh insisting that neither nationality or religious creed should prohibit the acceptance of a man into the councils of the Company.¹ This attitude is reflected in several of the Darien pamphlets of the period. One pamphleteer invited Episcopalians to join in the undertaking, and declared that no distinction would be made because of Religious belief.² "The Old Popish Maxim" that "no man could have Leave to buy or sell, but he that is of the Public Religion," he stated, could have no place in the Darien Colony.³ Other writers urged that unity be achieved among people of different religious and political convictions in the Scottish colonial undertaking.⁴ One pamphleteer proposed that the Isthmian settlement might well become a Covenanting haven in case persecution should again break out in Scotland.⁵ That religious toleration was actually accepted during the brief establishment of the Darien Colony is indicated by references to persons who were of the Roman Catholic persuasion among the colonists. In October, 1699, R. Wyllie wrote to the former Cameronian leader, Alexander Shields,

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 4.

² An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 49.

³ Ibid., p. 83.

⁴ A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design for the having Established a Colony in Darien, p. 40. "Trades Release, or Courage to the Scotch-Indian Company," p. 3, Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry.

⁵ A Proper Project, p. 80.

endorsing a Captain Hay, who was then enroute to Darien, and stated that "He is a papist, so far his birth & education have misled him . . . but no Bigot; and otherwise he passes for a very honest man and a fine Scotsman." Hay is further recommended to Shields as one who will be "very easie & perhaps useful."¹ A letter written from Boston in 1699, after the failure of the First Expedition, speaks of "Jacobites [and] Papists" as having been among the colonists.² One Jewish person, Benjamin Spencer, was listed among the colonists, but whether or not he had become a convert to Christianity, as he later claimed before a Spanish Court, it is difficult to tell.³ However, apparently no restriction was placed on either Roman Catholics or adherents to other religious creeds during the history of the Darien Colony. Thus the principle of religious toleration, as conceived by Paterson, and set forth by the Council of the Colony, was adhered to at Darien some years before freedom of religious conviction was to become generally accepted among the nations of Europe. Paterson, like his fellow countrymen, had witnessed the persecution of the Presbyterians under the Stewarts; Paterson and his fellow colonists now turned to the New World proposing to establish there a new tolerance along with a new colony.

¹ Wodrow MSS, Quarto 30 (145).

² The Darien Papers, p. 158.

³ Hart, op. cit., Appendix, p. 338; Seafield Correspondence From 1685 to 1708, James Grant, editor, p. 293.

Scottish theology and Darien. Though there was no attempt by the Darien colonial government to restrict the religious convictions of the colonists, nevertheless Scottish theology permeated much of their thought, and is in evidence in many of their extant letters and papers. In a letter written in July, 1695, Paterson expressed the belief that the Company that had recently been organized had been ordained of God "who at this time seemes to have fitted so many able Instruments . . . and given us such opportunitys as perhaps others have not," and, who, he hoped, "will perfect the begun worke; and make some use of Scotland also to visit those dark places of the Earth, whose habitations are full of Cruelty."¹ In other of the letters of the colonial projector, there are similar statements in which he expressed the belief that God's guidance will eventually bring success to Scotland's colonial undertaking.² Even after the arrival of the First Expedition on the Isthmus, this conviction of Divine appointment still persevered. In December, 1698, the Councilors of the Colony, in a letter dispatched to Scotland, declared that Darien was a country "which God Almighty seems to have wonderfully reserv'd for this Occasion, and now to have prepar'd our Way, and disposed the Indies to that purpose."³

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 4.

² "Letters to the Committee of Foreign Trade, Darien Company," 1696-7, MS 1914.

³ An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 102.

Wallace, in his Journal, written about the same time, made a similar declaration.¹ In both the letters of the colonists and of the Company, expressions of trust in providential guidance occurred frequently;² while some of these statements may have been no more than the accepted phraseology of the day, undoubtedly, this traditional expression of a reliance upon the will of God present in the Scottish thought of the time was heightened by the belief that divine guidance would bring the Darien colonial attempt to a successful conclusion.

Several writers of popular pieces of poetry in versifying the undertaking expressed similar views. One poet began with these words:

God the first Mover of ev'ry thing that is,
Mov'd Scottish Hearts to this great Enterprize.³

Another stated in referring to the Darien Scheme:

Consider Scots, how much ye owe
To Heaven's Protecting Pow'r above;
Who by His Divine Pow'r does guide,
The infant weakness of your State,
And shows that He will make ye Great.⁴

One poet expressed a similar conviction in these words:

¹ Miscellanea Curiosa, Volume III, "Wallace's Journal," p. 419.

² The Darien Papers, pp. 123, 124, 128, 130, 138, 139; "Colonel Levin's Darien Papers," MS number 6, MS number 13, MS number 15, and MS number 17.

³ The Recruits for Caledonia of the Rysing-Sun their Farewell to Old Scotland, p. 7.

⁴ An Ode made on the Welcome News of the Safe Arrival and Kind Reception of the Scottish Collony at Darien in America, pp. 10-11.

If Jehovah be for us, tho'but He alone,
Who ist that can annoy us?¹

Still another of these literary attempts identified Scotland with "the Broken Reed"; this poet believed that Scotland's victory over her enemies who opposed the colonial project "is ordained in Holy Write"; he wrote this line in speaking of the voyage of the Company of Scotland's fleet:

Be sure some Angel Stier'd our Helm.²

The failure of the First Expedition seems to have shaken this belief that Darien was the spot provided by the Creator for a Scottish colony. Just after the news of disaster at Darien had become known in Edinburgh, the Company wrote to the Second Expedition declaring: "However we still hope that as our Undertaking is just and honest, So God will bless our and your Endeavours with Success at last."³ In a letter in October, 1699, R. Wyllie suggested that "our sins have deserved this blow."⁴ After this, the belief that Darien's failure was the result of divine judgment upon sinful men occurred with considerable frequency in Darien literature. The failure of

¹ Trade's Release: or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian Company, p. 6.

² The Golden Island or the Darian Song. In Commendation of All Concerned in that Noble Enterprize Of the Valiant Scots, p. 4.

³ "Colonel Leven's Darien Papers," MS number 24.

⁴ Wodrow MSS, Quarto 30 (145).

the Colony was spoken of as "Divine Reproofs," "Cross Providences," and as providential "Rebukes . . . and Blastings."¹ Even the Company stated that the First Expedition had failed because too many "neither feared God nor regarded man."² Borland declared that the reasons for the disaster on the Isthmus were the following:

We did not honour him in our design and way; but many ways dishonoured, contemned, and rebelled against him Therefore . . . He has troubled us in his wrath and vexed us in his sore displeasure; and hath followed us with one stroke after another; and broken us with breach upon breach.³

Many of those concerned felt that the national tragedy was the righteous judgment of God upon them for their sins; it was with this conviction that some were able to accept the disaster in a spirit of resignation. Alexander Shields wrote when tragedy was imminent: "Let him doe with me as seemeth good unto him."⁴

Throughout the projection and execution of the Darien Scheme, religious principle and theological concept played an important part. When the Scots turned from the ecclesiastical controversies of the seventeenth century to attempt the establishment of an overseas colony, they did not leave their religious

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1701, pp. 13-15.

² The Darien Papers, p. 271.

³ Francis Borland, History of Darien, p. 87.

⁴ The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, LVIII, p. 477.

faith behind them.

RELIGIOUS OBSERV-
ANCE AT DARIEN

The two expeditions to Darien witnessed the attempt to establish the Presbyterian system of church government and doctrine on the Continent of North America. Instructions were given to the Darien ministers to erect a Presbytery, and to carry out regular ministerial functions among the men of the Colony.

Prayer and thanksgiving at Darien. Very few references exist to religious observance upon the First Expedition. Before the Colony was a few weeks old, both of the two ministers who had been dispatched with the Expedition had died. However, a Company promotional pamphlet, entitled The History of Caledonia, reported to the people of Scotland that the first act of the colonists was that of giving "hearty Thanks to Almighty God for their safe Arrival."¹ This same pamphlet later declared that a group of the colonists, after returning from a journey of exploration, upon seeing Fort St. Andrew from the jungle's edge, fell down on their knees "to give God most hearty thanks for our Success, and happy Return."² These are the only references to religious activities of this sort in the documents of the First

1 The History of Caledonia, pp. 11 et seq.

2 Ibid., p. 51.

Expedition. Though an attempt was made to organize the government of the Colony at this time along religious lines, apparently the death of Adam Scott brought to an end any attempt to establish regular Christian observances during the history of the First Expedition's attempt at colonization.

The Company of Scotland, with the help and advice of the Church, responded to the requests of the more devout of the colonists who asked that a larger ministerial contingent be dispatched with the second fleet. Four clerics were sent out. Three of these ministers survived the voyage, and worked at their appointed tasks during the several months that the Second Expedition remained on the Isthmus. Immediately after their arrival, the three ministers held a conference on board the Hope of Do'ness, and requested that a day for "thanksgiving, humiliation and prayer" be appointed.¹ A few weeks later, Shields wrote that though the Council had treated this request politely, the governmental body of the Colony insisted on postponing the proposed day of prayer until "the Hutts be all built and all the men go ashore to possess them."² The clergymen seem to have acquiesced with some misgivings to this decision, but finally accepted January 3rd, 1700 as the day for prayer and thanksgiving. The proclamation of the proposed season of prayer included a declaration of the reasons for intercession

¹ Borland, History of Darien, pp. 39-41.

² Principal Story, op. cit., p. 219.

and thanksgiving: the colonists were called upon "to acknowledge with all thankfulness, the mercies of Our Lord, in favouring us with a safe passage to this place"; "To confess . . . our own and the sins of others concerned in this undertaking"; and "To mourn for the evidences and tokens of God's displeasure, in withholding his counsel and countenance from many of our endeavours."¹ Three sermons were preached upon this day set aside for religious observance, each of which consisted of the exposition of an Old Testament passage by one of the three ministers. Francis Borland began by urging his hearers to "Offer unto God thanksgiving," basing his sermon on Psalm 50. Alexander Shields expounded Jeremiah 14:19, injecting a more somber note into the services of the day, and probably included in his homily a call to confession. "The last part of this day's work, being Prayer and Supplication," Borland wrote, "was in the Afternoon managed by Mr. Stobo upon that text, Psal. iv.6 'Lord lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.'"² However, attendance at these services was not compulsory, as some historians have assumed,³ and two accounts both relate

¹ Borland, History of Darien, pp. 39-41.

² Ibid., p. 42.

³ Principal Story, op. cit., p. 210; Winterbotham, op. cit., p. 127; Burton, Narratives From Criminal Trials in Scotland, p. 142; Edwards, op. cit., p. 352; Dalrymple, Sir John, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 99, 100.

that few of the men and officers of the Colony were present.¹

Though this was the only day that was officially set apart by the Colony for prayer, religious devotion played an appropriate part in the lives of the ministers and the more religious of the colonists. Borland says that when the Councilors first denied the request of the ministers for a day for public prayer, that

. . . they made conscience to send up their cries to the Hearer of Prayer, both together, and in their secret recesses, that they might be remembered in their low estate.²

His conviction of the efficacy of prayer was evident when he stated that such prayer brought comfort, and for many, a "door of hope."³ During the siege, Borland wrote that those who were "true fearers of God among us," found encouragement in personal religious devotion.⁴

Sabbath observance at Darien. Some historians have followed Dalrymple who assumed that the somewhat rigid Sabbatarianism that had been prevalent in Scotland during the

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 52; Story, op. cit., p. 222.

² Borland, op. cit., p. 62.

³ Loc cit.,

⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

seventeenth century was strictly enforced during the days of the Darien Colony.¹ The Declaration of the Council indicated the Colony's concern for Sabbath observance, but there is no evidence that this principle was ever enforced by legal measures. On the contrary, there is contemporary evidence that the attempt of the ministers to keep the Sabbath was unsuccessful. Borland said of the men of the First Expedition, that they were required to work on Sunday just as on other days.² A letter from the Darien clergymen to the Commission of General Assembly reported that "very many, both Officers, Seamen and Planters" absent themselves regularly from services of worship and preaching.³ Shields, in a letter to Dunlop, written on December 25th, 1699, related an incident that indicates the unsuccessfulness of the ministers to secure Sabbath observance. He wrote that because the Indians had not observed any difference between the actions of the colonists on the Sabbath and on other days of the week, they came aboard one of the ships on a Sunday with fruits for trading with the settlers. Bargaining was about to begin, when Shields made signs to them to leave and come on another day.

¹ Dalrymple, op. cit., pp. 99 et seq.; T. B. W. Niven, The Church of Scotland, Volume III, p. 586; Eliot Warburton, Darien, Or, The Merchant Prince, Volume III, pp. 145 et seq.; Story, op. cit., p. 210.

² Borland, op. cit., pp. 19 et seq.

³ Ibid., p. 52.

"For this," he wrote, "I was invectively reflected upon by some as offending the Indians and scaring them away from us upon a wild Caprice." However, the Indians were just as ready to trade the following Sunday, and the wily Shields, doubtless not caring to bring forth the wrath of his fellows upon himself again, and remembering the missionary clause of his instructions, invited the Indians to attend the worship service. This invitation the Indians accepted, sitting in reverent but unenlightened silence during the exposition of the Scriptures.¹ Sabbath observance was accepted as a worthy principle by the colonial leaders, but no attempt was made by the government of the Colony to enforce this principle.

Preaching and services of worship on the Darien Expeditions.

The ministers made every attempt to carry out their appointed tasks faithfully. The guard house was prepared for use as a church, and it was probably here that a considerable portion of Darien preaching took place.² All three clergymen preached each Sunday, one conducting services on board ship in the harbor, and two proclaiming the Word of God on land.³

No complete sermons have been preserved from the homiletical work of any of these men except Alexander Shields. Several

¹ Story, op. cit., pp. 219 et seq.

² The Darien Papers, p. 241.

³ Borland, op. cit., p. 53.

of Shields' sermons are extant, and though all of these were preached before he went to Darien, these homilies indicate the type of sermonizing that he must have undertaken while on the colonial Expedition. Shields was a scholarly and serious thinker, and this quality seems to have permeated his preaching. On the basis of his extant sermons, and a statement by Wodrow, his preaching has been characterized as "solid, learned and serious, but not striking."¹ The only reference to the specific homiletical work of the former Cameronian leader while he was a minister of the Colony, other than the record of his sermon preached on January 3rd, 1700, is Borland's statement that while at Darien, Shields preached "mostly upon that text Acts xvii.26,27."² There is no indication of what type of homilies he developed from this ordinary.

Though no complete sermons of the other ministers are extant, the diary of one of these men, Francis Borland, gives interesting information about his preaching. In the opening pages of this document, Borland listed the texts that he had used for homilies during his ministry, both in Scotland and in Darien; in the closing pages of this manuscript, under the heading "Collections and Observations," he recorded what was either a very full outline of a single sermon upon the text Hebrews 13:5, or

¹ Hector Macpherson, The Cameronian Philosopher: Alexander Shields, p. 234. Doctor Macpherson included a discussion of Shields as a preacher in his biography of the Cameronian leader.

² Borland, op. cit., p. 78.

the headings for a series of sermons upon that text. The ten headings recorded by the Darien minister were interspersed with a considerable amount of Biblical material and with several lengthy illustrations. The tone was otherworldly; prayer and personal faith were set forth as the means of overcoming the grief of the present life.¹ Borland's text list gives further insight into his preaching. Apparently he found the Book of Psalms to be the most fruitful portion of the Holy Scriptures as a source for his sermons, drawing texts from the Psalms on 129 occasions throughout his preaching ministry; his next greatest number of texts listed for any one Biblical book is thirty-four, which number he recorded for both the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospel of St. John. The Book of the Prophet Isaiah was a source for thirty-three homiletical themes, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was his textual source on thirty occasions. The remainder of his preaching was widely scattered over all of the remaining portions of the Bible. This preference for the Psalms was particularly evident in Borland's sermons during the Darien Expedition. Of the nineteen texts that he listed as having been sources of homilies during the Expedition, ten were from the Book of Psalms. He recorded that early on the Second Expedition, he proclaimed to his hearers: "For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture." Upon landing, one

¹ Borland, "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Francis Borland," "Collections and Observations," pp. 7-10. MS.

of his homiletical themes was "Thou tellest my wanderings." After the dismal failure of the Colony, and the long voyage to Jamaica, his first sermon on the Island was based on the text: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted in me? hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance."¹ When these texts are considered in the light of the circumstances in which they were preached, it is evident that the colonial clergyman made a consistent attempt to fit his preaching to the needs of his hearers. His preaching was thoroughly Biblical, and, doubtless, followed the expository patterns of his time. He sought to instruct his hearers in a knowledge of the Bible as a whole, taking a typical Scottish delight in the Psalms of the Old Testament.

However, a note of impending judgment was present in Darien preaching, and Borland, after having recorded the tragic loss of the Rising Sun, stated that one of his fellow ministers, probably Archibald Stobo, who sailed on the Rising Sun from Darien to Charleston, had prophetically proclaimed on board the doomed ship: "Behold you have sinned against the Lord, and be sure your sins shall find you out."² Thus it was that Darien preaching included the condemnation of unbelieving

¹ Ibid., pp. i-iii.

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 83.

sinners, and the inevitableness of divine judgment upon the ungodly; but if Borland's text list can be accepted as indicative of preaching in the Colony, this more somber note was accompanied by a preponderance of assurances of hope to those of faith regardless of the hardships and trials that confronted them on every hand.

Church organization in the Darien Colony. The task of organizing a presbytery in the new colony was one of the assignments given to the Darien ministers. Ruling Elders were to be chosen, parishes were to be presided over by the colonial clergymen in a collegiate relationship, and a presbytery was to be constituted in the Colony.¹ This presbytery was to send two representatives to the General Assembly each year, and, under the name of "the Presbytery of Caledonia," was to become an integral part of the Church of Scotland.² The ministers met together frequently during their stay in Darien, meeting on occasion in the jungles near New Edinburgh,³ but the formal organization of a presbytery was never completed. In December, 1699, Shields wrote a letter to Dunlop stating that the decision had been made to delay the organization of a presbytery, and

¹ Ibid., pp. 35 et seq.

² Steuart of Pardovan, Collections, I, Title XV, 18, p. 62.

³ The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, LVIII, p. 478.

added, in speaking of the men of the Colony, "We know not how or where to find among them a Competent number of Elders of any Note or figure."¹ In February, 1700, the ministers wrote to the Commission of the General Assembly that the establishment of a presbytery was still impossible, and that nothing of a formal organizational nature could be attempted "until the colony be better constituted."² Shortly after this letter was written, the battle of Toubacanti occurred, followed quickly by the beginning of the Spanish siege of Fort St. Andrew. These events forced the colonists to direct all of their energies to efforts for defense. Thus it was that this attempt to establish what might have been the first classical presbytery to be organized in America ended in failure.³

The work of the ministers on the Darien Expeditions.

Though the Presbytery of Caledonia never came into being, the ministers found other tasks calling for their attention. Throughout the history of the Colony, they were busy visiting and working among the sick and the dying. Both Shields and Borland recorded that they did a considerable amount of sick visitation as clergymen of the Colony. In a letter to the

¹ Story, op. cit., p. 219.

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 55.

³ T. C. Pears, op. cit., Appendix A.

Commission of General Assembly, the ministers complained that the colonial Council had refused to provide living quarters for all three of them on shore, where they felt they should be in order to minister regularly to the sick.¹ After the settlement had been uprooted by the Spaniards, and the colonists had set sail for Jamaica, Borland tells of conditions on board the Rising Sun that made it necessary for the sick and dying to be crowded together in the hold of the vessel like "so many Hogs in a sty . . . so that their breath and noisome smell infected and poisoned one another." Pastoral visiting among the sick continued on the crowded ship, even though "it was a most uncomfortable and dangerous work for the poor ministers to go down among them."²

Instructing the men under their charge was another task that had been assigned to the Darien clergy. The First Expedition had sailed with a large number of Bibles and Catechisms on board the ships of the fleet. Several writers have taken great delight in ridiculing the fact that these volumes were a part of the cargoes of the ships dispatched to Darien, pointing out that Bibles and Catechisms would hardly prove to be valuable merchandise in the West Indies.³ However, it may be questioned

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 53; Story, op. cit., pp. 221, 222.

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 75.

³ Lord Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James the Second, Volume VIII, p. 216; A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien, p. 34; Caledonia; or, the Pedlar Turn'd Merchant, p. 28.

whether these volumes were intended for use as articles of merchandise. Captain Finkerton, in testifying before a Spanish court in Seville, declared that much of the first fleet's cargo had been intended for the use of the colonists in settling on the Isthmus, rather than for trade.¹ Although the English speaking people of Jamaica may have been considered a possible market for these Bibles, the inclusion of Catechisms that had been printed in Scotland would indicate that this religious literature was intended for the use of Scottish Presbyterians.² Doubtless the Company believed that an adequate supply of Bibles and Catechisms would aid religious instruction in the Colony, and would assist in establishing the settlement upon a sound foundation. The early death of the first two ministers frustrated these plans and apparently no use was ever made of this religious literature.

The clergymen of the Second Expedition carried with them a large quantity of printed copies of The Letter from the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which they used to strengthen the spoken word in their ministerial work, distributing copies of this letter, first to the officers of the Colony, and later, to the men.³ Throughout the Second

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 107.

² Ibid., p. 39. A pamphleteer of the time stated that 1500 Bibles "was no unfit Cargo: Our own Colony might have dispens'd with that number in a little time." An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p.90.

³ Story, op. cit., p. 219.

Expedition, the ministers attempted to curb the growth of loose living, and undertook to instruct their fellow colonists in what they felt were the principles of religious faith.

CHURCH AND STATE IN
THE DARIEN COLONY

The Company of Scotland and the
ministers. The Company of

Scotland was concerned with establishing the Darien Colony upon a sound religious foundation; at the very beginning leaders of the Company declared their intention of securing well qualified ministers to accompany the Expedition.¹ Shortly after the news of the death of the two clergymen who had sailed with the fleet in the summer of 1698 reached Scotland, the Company asked and secured the help of the Church in obtaining additional men for the religious leadership of the Colony.²

The concern of the Company for the clerics whom they had dispatched to Darien did not end with the departure of the colonial expedition. On February 10th, 1700, the Company wrote to the clergymen of the Colony making the following declaration:

We shall not only upon all occasions be ready to perform our engagements to you, but also contribute as much as in us lies to make your present stations easy and agreeable to you.³

In this letter, the Company indicated its conviction that religious

¹ "Journal of the Court of Directors" Volume I, MS.

² Ibid., Volume II, MS.

³ The Darien Papers, pp. 271 et seq.

leadership was indispensable to the welfare of the Colony, and urged the ministers "to discourage vice and encourage piety" among the colonists.¹ At the same time, the Company wrote to the officers of the Colony declaring that "you have the advantage of having good ministers to watch over you," and urging them to regard the ministerial office highly.² On May 10th, 1700, the Directors of the Company wrote again to the clergymen reiterating their assurances of support, and stating that the Colony's Council had been instructed to assist them in their work.³ Three weeks later, before news of the surrender of the Scots to the Spaniards was known in Scotland, the Council General of the Company, feeling the need of further religious counsel in the leadership of the Darien settlement, ordered that the following instructions be sent to the Council:

Mr Alexander Shiels [is to] be admitted to be present with them in all their important deliberations and that an encouraging Letter be written to him and the other ministers.⁴

From this correspondence, it is clear that the Company of Scotland felt that religion had a very important part to play in the establishment of a successful colony. The Company's conviction of the settlers' need of religious guidance and instruction

¹ Loc. cit.

² Ibid., p. 271.

³ Ibid., p. 293.

⁴ "Acts Orders and Resolutions of Council General"
June 3rd, 1700, MS.

was summed up by William Paterson in a letter to Alexander Shields and those in command of the Second Expedition. Paterson declared:

Endeavour to cultivate the reverence and respect for God and his religion; for in this there is great gain, not only in eternity, but even in time.¹

If the Darien Colony had been successful, it is very probable that religion as represented by the Church of Scotland would have played a very prominent part in its history.

Religion and the conflict in the Council. Though the Darien ministers never in any sense controlled the government of the Darien Colony, they, nevertheless, did both advise and criticize the leadership of the settlement on several occasions. The relationship between the Church, as represented by the three Darien clergymen who survived the voyage from Scotland, and the State, as represented by the Council of the Colony, is worthy of consideration. The existence of two hostile factions in the Council became evident very early. One group, led by James Byres, urged a policy of inaction; the other, represented by William Veitch and Thomas Drummond, insisted that definite action be taken. That the ministers sided with the party that urged action is evident from several contemporary documents. Shields, in letters to both Colonel Erskine and Principal Dunlop, expressed his dissatisfaction with Byres' management of the Colony.²

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 261.

² Ibid., pp. 250, 251; Story, op. cit., p. 222.

The rift between the ministers and the colonial government had become evident at the very beginning of the settlement; at that time, the Council had refused the request of the clergymen for the observation of a day of thanksgiving and prayer.¹ Later, all three clerics wrote to the Commission of the General Assembly protesting against the attitude of the Byres-controlled Council to their ministerial work.² However, the major conflict between civil and ecclesiastical leadership took place when Shields, who seems to have acted as spokesman for the Darien ministers, challenged Byres on his policy of inaction. Byres responded by appealing to Scripture as his reason for refusing to make preparations for defense against the Spaniards; he declared that warfare "was unlawful for Christians, under the New Testament Dispensation."³ A bitter debate followed between Shields, who had included a vindication of defensive warfare in his major work, A Hind Let Loose,⁴ and Byres, the petty dictator of the Darien Colony. However, in spite of the opposition from Shields, Byres continued to dominate the Council of the Colony until February, 1700; at this time, he left Darien on board a sloop bound for Jamaica. Little had been done during his leadership of the colonists to strengthen

¹ Wodrow MSS, Quarto 30 (147).

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 52.

³ The Darien Papers, p. 249.

⁴ Alexander Shields, A Hind Let Loose, pp. 575 et sqq.

the Scottish fortifications for the Spanish attack; it was only after his departure for Jamaica that it was possible for the policy that Shields had urged from the beginning to be put into operation. The results of this policy were the expedition across the Isthmus against the Spaniards, and the glory of the victory of Toubacanti.

Religion and the colonists' relationship to the Indians.

Though ministerial action achieved but meager results in the ministers' support of one of the two factions of the Colony's government, the clergy were able to make good use of their influence in safeguarding the relationship between the colonists and the Indians. From the beginning, friendship with the natives had been recognized as essential to the establishment of a colony. The Company had expressed concern over the dealings of the colonists with the Isthmians; in dispatches to the first settlers, the Directors had urged that they deal kindly and justly with the Indians on all occasions.¹ Rules and Ordinances For the Government of the Colony, written under the influence of William Paterson, had expressly forbidden any unjust action by the colonists in their relations with the natives.² Paterson's dealings with the Indians of Darien in this respect have been compared

¹ The Darien Papers, pp. 127, 138.

² Ibid., p. 116.

favorably with William Penn's treatment of the natives of Pennsylvania.¹ However, this happy relationship between Scot and Indian nearly broke down when the Second Expedition established itself in New Endinburgh. James Byres, the dictatorial Councilor of the Second Expedition, had no use for the primitive inhabitants of the Isthmus, and let his contempt for the Colony's native allies be known.² The Indians were even forbidden to enter Fort St. Andrew for a time, and the happy relations between native and colonist seemed to be at an end. Alexander Shields saw the seriousness of this situation, and interceded for the Indians before the leaders of the settlement. It was at his insistence, supported apparently by his fellow ministers, that the Isthmians were restored to their former privileges.³ In preserving this relationship between the Indians and the settlers, the ministers performed a service of considerable importance to the Colony.

THE FAILURE OF RELIGION AT DARIEN

The Darien Scheme was conceived with a nobility of spirit and outlook that was singular among colonial schemes. From the initiation of the project, religious

¹ Saxe Bannister, William Paterson, the Merchant Statesman, And Founder of the Bank of England: His Life and Trials, p. 213.

² The Darien Papers, p. 220.

³ Ibid., p. 237.

principles played an important part in the planning and in the execution of the undertaking. Efforts were made to select men of some ability to represent the Church on the expeditions to Darien, and attempts were made to establish the government and doctrine of the Church of Scotland in the new colony. The ministers were strongly supported by the Directors of the Company, and they exercised their ministerial office with vigor, both in dealing with the leaders of the settlement, and in their work among the men. But in spite of all of this, religion failed in the Darien Colony.

The morals of the colonists. Contemporary documents were unanimous in their conclusion that the moral and religious life of the colonists was of a very low standard. Shields wrote that "the unparalleled wickedness of our Company [makes] the bulk of our Flanders army virtuosoes in comparison."¹ Elsewhere, he spoke of their wickedness as being "insupportable and incorrigible." The other ministers joined him in these opinions. Borland wrote that the greater part of the colonists were "sadly immoral and profane," and that "They were a sad reproach to the nation from which they were sent."³ The clergymen, in a joint letter to the Commission of the General Assembly, described their fellow

¹ The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, XVII, p. 478.

² Story, op. cit., p. 222.

³ Borland, History of Darien, p. 26.

colonists as being those whom "our Land hath spued out," and whose moral behavior was on the lowest possible level.¹

However, the ministers were not alone in their conviction that the colonists were sadly irresponsible and to a large extent immoral. The Council of the Colony, during the months that the Second Expedition was on the Isthmus, wrote to the Company that many of the men had proved to be knaves and rascals, "of which kind there was never a greater collection among so few men."² It was the task of the representatives of the Church to bring these men to an acceptance of the principles of religious faith as the basis for orderly living. In this, the ministers of the Colony failed.

Religious failure at Darien. It will be necessary to consider this question: why did religion fail in the Darien Colony? The early death of the first two ministers was undoubtedly partly responsible for the deterioration of religion during the first part of the Colony's history. On the Second Expedition, the three clergymen who survived the voyage found themselves confronted with an extremely difficult task. There were a number of men on the Expedition from the Highlands of Scotland who knew very little of the language

¹ Ibid., pp. 48 et seq.

² The Darien Papers, p. 217.

that the ministers spoke, and, doubtless were unsympathetic toward the teachings of the Church of Scotland.¹ Lack of support of the ministers' work by the Council of the Colony added to their difficulties. The adventuresome nature of the entire undertaking probably called forth the worst in many of the men, and undoubtedly accounted for the sad state of morals among the settlers. The ministers themselves, though they worked conscientiously at their task, at times lost patience with their fellow colonists. Though the situation in which they found themselves probably justified exasperation on occasion, their extreme discouragement, as manifested in some of their writings,² did not aid their work.

Thus it is evident that several factors contributed to the failure of religion at Darien: the irresponsible character of many of the colonists; the difficulty of establishing a presbyterial organization at such a distance from the home Church; the lack of support for religion by the Councilors of the Second Expedition; and the human frailty of the ministers. However, the final cause of the failure of religion in the Darien Colony was simply that the Darien Scheme failed. There is every reason to believe that if the Colony had survived, a strong Presbyterian church eventually would have been organized in Darien. If the Colony could have been maintained on the

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 53.

² Ibid., p. 50; Story, op. cit., p. 222.

Isthmus, the Presbytery of Caledonia would have been in a position both to minister to the needs of the colonists and to serve as a center for missionary work among the natives.

Conclusion. The Church of Scotland manifested its concern for the Darien Colony in various ways, and throughout the project, religion, as represented by the national Church, held an important place. When the Darien Scheme failed, the Church of Scotland failed, for the failure of the Colony included the failure of the Church in a major attempt to extend its influence beyond the borders of Scotland.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MINISTERS OF THE DARIEN COLONY

THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS TO THE DARIEN COLONY

The selection of the Darien ministers. The national

Church responded readily to the request of the Company of Scotland for spiritual leadership for the Darien Expeditions. When the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in January, 1698, reference was made to "the Desire of the African and Indian Company for Ministers."¹ Two months later, the Court of Directors of the Company asked that three ministers be sent to the projected colony.² On March 29th, Thomas James was interviewed by the Directors, and a letter from William Dunlop was read advising the Company on the best methods for securing "qualified and fitt persons" as clergymen for the proposed colony. The decision was made to send Thomas James and two fellow ministers with the First Expedition.³ In July, 1698, without having appointed a third cleric for the colonial undertaking, the Company dispatched the first fleet with a ministerial contingent of two men: Thomas James and Adam Scott.

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1698.

² "Journal of the Court of Directors of the African and Indian Company," Volume I, p. 396, MS.

³ Ibid., p. 424.

Shortly after the death of the two clergymen, William Paterson wrote to Principal Dunlop declaring that "the loss of our Ministers is no small Griefe." He requested that everything possible be done "to send us others for we are in a Sad Condition for want of some."¹ In March, 1699 the Court of Directors of the Company petitioned the Commission of the General Assembly for additional clergymen for the Darien Colony.² On April 15th, 1699, the Company wrote to the colonists declaring "that you need not doubt but suiteable care will be taken to provide good ministers for you as soon as conveniently possible."³ On June 15th, the Commission of the General Assembly met in Edinburgh: Alexander Shields indicated to the representatives of the Church his willingness to undertake the Darien mission, and four probationers were named by the Commission as potential clerics for the Colony.⁴ Shields' decision to accept the Company's invitation to serve in the Colony was followed by the acceptance of the Company's calls by Archibald Stobo and Alexander Dalgleish, two of the probationers recommended by the Commission.⁵ Shortly afterward, the minister of Glassford Parish, Francis Borland, consented to

¹ Principal Story, op. cit., p. 215.

² "Journal of the Court of Directors of the African and Indian Company," Volume II, MS.

³ The Darien Papers, pp. 124, 125.

⁴ "Miscellaneous Collection, The Darien Papers," Volume I, MS number 128.

⁵ "Journal of the Court of Directors of the African and Indian Company," Volume II, MS.

serve as a chaplain for the colonial Expedition, and joined the fleet for the voyage to America. In the summer of 1699, the four-member ministerial contingent, having been selected by the Church and approved by the Company, sailed for Darien. As the fleet weighed anchor, one of the members of the Expedition wrote:

Ye'a Presb'trie of Min'sters comes all at once,
CHRIST's Gospel in New Scotland to advance;
The famous Sheils being their Moderator,
A Servant faithful to his Lord Creator.¹

The stipends of the ministers. The Company of Scotland conscientiously attempted to secure able men as ministers of the Colony. William Paterson had urged that at least £100 should be provided by the Company as a yearly stipend for the clergymen selected in order to secure a "Godly savoury and profitable Ministry."² The Company had done even better than this: each minister was to receive £120 sterling and a book allowance of £10.³ This sum was larger than the salary provided for any of the officials of the Company in Scotland with the single exception of Secretary Roderick MacKenzie;⁴ at the time an annual income of £100 sterling was considered a very handsome salary,⁵ and estimates of the

¹ "The Recruits for Caledonia of the Rysing-Sun their Farewell to Old Scotland," Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry.

² Principal Story, op. cit., pp. 210 et seq.

³ "Journal of the Court of Directors of the African and Indian Company," Volume I, p. 424. MS.

⁴ Notes on the Scots' Darien Expedition, p. 15.

⁵ Graham, op. cit., p. 4.

average stipend of ministers in Scotland at the time vary from ~~£~~8 sterling to ~~£~~40.¹ Obviously, the Company was determined to make good use of its financial resources in securing adequate spiritual leadership for the Scottish Colony.

Other members of the Darien ministerial contingent. In addition to the six ordained ministers who sailed for the Isthmus in the Company ships, several divinity students are referred to in the records of the Darien undertaking as having accompanied the colonial fleets. One of the members of the First Expedition wrote of a "Journey Man to take up the Psalm," who was an assistant to the first two clergymen.² In August, 1699, Principal Dunlop lent forty shillings to Thomas Cadyon, a theological student, for the "voyage to Caledonia wt the ships that are to sail thither at this time."³ Shortly afterward Dunlop secured a grant of ~~£~~10 sterling from the Company "on behalf of some young men who past their Course at the Colledge, and are desirous to go to Caledonia." These men were to accompany the ministers; doubtless they served as assistants to the ordained men during the Expeditions.⁴ Two of these divinity students, Thomas Gregg and a Mr. Potter, died on the Island of Jamaica after having

¹ Ibid., pp. 281 et seq; Macaulay, op. cit., Volume VIII, p. 206.

² A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien, p. 36.

³ Principal Story, op. cit., p. 224.

⁴ "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume II, MS.

survived the jungles of Darien and the siege of Fort St. Andrew.¹

The Church was prepared to supply the Colony with ministerial recruits as long as there remained any hope for the success of the undertaking. In December, 1699, the Commission of the General Assembly recommended that arrangements be made "for providing the said Company and Colony with more Ministers from time to time, as they shall be applied to for that effect."² In May, 1700 the Directors of the Company wrote to the Darien clergymen announcing that the Reverend John King had been appointed by the Synod of Ayr to sail on board a Company ship for the Isthmus, where, accompanied by "a Probationer or two," he was to take up ministerial duties among the colonists.³ Provision was to be made for supplying King's charge in Dalry.⁴ However, "his unexpected indisposition and the ship's sudden departure" prevented King from joining his colonial colleagues.⁵ The Reverend Robert Gray was another minister whose name appears in

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 79. There are no extant references to the fate of Thomas Cadyon or the ministerial assistant of the First Expedition.

² The Darien Papers, p. 255.

³ Ibid., p. 294.

⁴ "Acts Orders and Resolutions of the Council General," June 3rd, 1700, MS; Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume III, p. 85.

⁵ The Darien Papers, p. 300. Very little is known about John King. Fasti includes this brief reference to him in listing him as a minister of Dalry: "adm. before 19th March 1696; to go to the Colony of Caledonia but was prevented from doing so; died June 1712." Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume III, p. 85.

Darien literature. Wodrow wrote a letter to him in June, 1700 that assumed that Gray was then serving as a clergymen of the Colony.¹ Doubtless Gray had been proposed as a minister for the undertaking, but, like John King, he apparently never reached the Isthmus.² When the Commission of the General Assembly met in the early summer of 1700, just before the news of the surrender of Fort St. Andrew had reached Scotland, the Commission asserted: "We . . . resolve not to be wanting in providing a supply of more ministers and probationers, as we shall have access so to doe."³ Thus it was that the Church declared its readiness to supply the Darien Colony with an adequate number of qualified ministers in the hope that the Christian faith could be advanced through the Scottish colonial scheme.

Six ordained clergymen who had been selected by the Church and called by the Company accompanied the Expeditions to Darien. A consideration of the extant biographical information concerning these men is essential to an understanding of the character and qualifications of the ministers involved in the Church of Scotland's attempt to reproduce itself on the Isthmus of Darien. Three of

1 Wodrow MSS, "R. Wodrow's Queries for Caledonia for Mr. Ro. Gray when going one of the Ministers."

2 It is difficult to identify Robert Gray since several ministers of the period bore this name. The two most likely are the following: a Robert Gray who was licensed by the Presbytery of Lanark in 1700 and called to Wiston and Robertson in the following year; (Hew Scott, op. cit., III, p. 321.) and a Robert Gray that was licensed by the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1700 and called to Nesting and Lumasting in 1703. (Ibid., VII, p. 309)

3 "Miscellaneous Collection, Darien Papers" Volume II, MS number 313.

the Darien clerics, Alexander Shields, Francis Borland, and Archibald Stobo, played important roles in church history; the other men, Thomas James, Adam Scott, and Alexander Dalgleish, are of historical importance only because of their connection with the Darien Scheme.

THE DARIEN MINIS-
TERS: THOMAS JAMES

Thomas James was ordained in the
Parish of Cleish by Dumfermline
Presbytery on September 28th, 1691.¹

For the next few years he carried on the duties of his rural pastorate, ministering to the spiritual needs of his parishioners.² In 1697, he was appointed a member of the Commission of the General Assembly that had as its chief task the "planting of vacant Churches in the North."³ On March 1st, 1698, when the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland decided to send a contingent of ministers with the First Darien Expedition, the Company's Secretary was instructed to write "to Mr. Thomas James to come to town," and the hope was expressed that "other two ministers . . . be got ready in due time."⁴ Evidently the minister of Cleish had already indicated his interest in the colonial project and his willingness to serve as a clergyman of

¹ Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Volume I, p. 348.

² Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume VII, p. 663.

³ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1697, p. 18.

⁴ "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume I, p. 396, MS.

the proposed colony. Early on the day that the first fleet sailed from the Road of Leith, James signed a document in which he named a factor to manage his affairs; he declared that his purpose was "to goe off this kingdome with the Scots fleet . . . where probably I may stay for some considerable space and cannot wait upon nor go about my lawfull business."¹ This would indicate that he possessed other resources than the meager savings that he may have accumulated as minister of Cleish. That same day, July 14th, 1698, he boarded one of the ships of the fleet for the long voyage to the Isthmus of America. The next reference to Thomas James that occurs in the records of the Darien undertaking is that of his sickness and death. On October 23rd, 1698, as the vessels of the Scottish fleet were making their way through a tropical thunderstorm and a "great squall of wind," the colonial clergyman died. The following day a four-gun salute sounded across the Caribbean as he was buried at sea.² The cause of his death was listed in the official account simply as "fever."³ Contemporary references to the decease of the former minister of Cleish were unanimous in asserting that his death was a serious loss to the colonial Expedition. One journalist described him as "a very good man" who "is much lamented";⁴ two pamphlets,

¹ "Register of Deeds &c., Dur. Office," Volume XC, p.111, MS.

² "Account of the Voyage and Journey of the Scots African & Indian Fleet," p. 3, MS.

³ An Exact List of all the Men, Women, and Boys that Died on Board the Indian and African Company's Fleet.

⁴ "Account of the Voyage and Journey of the Scots African & Indian Fleet," p. 3, MS.

published later in Scotland, spoke in similar terms, and one declared that of all the deaths that had taken place on the voyage and in the early weeks of the Colony, "the most sensible to us" was that of the loss of the ministers.¹ In February, 1700, William Paterson stated in a letter to Alexander Shields: "Mr Thomas James I had a great deal of hope in, but it pleased God to take him away."²

THE DARIEN MINIS-
TERS: ADAM SCOTT

Information about the second of the Darien ministers, Adam Scott, is even more scarce than are accounts of his colleague. Scott was a native of Roxburgshire;³ he attended the University of Edinburgh, graduating on June 15th, 1691.⁴ He was licensed by the Presbytery of Jedburgh in 1695,⁵ doubtless having received a theological training in the interim. The General Assembly of 1698 considered sending him as a probationer to the North of Scotland for a term of twelve months, but instead, readily acquiesced in his acceptance of the even more difficult task of serving as a minister of the First Darien Expedition.⁶ He survived the long voyage to Darien, but only three weeks after

¹ An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 102; A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots Colony are settled.

² The Darien Papers, p. 260.

³ Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume VII, p. 665.

⁴ Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates, pp. 140 et seq.

⁵ Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume VII, p. 665.

⁶ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1698, p. 25.

the fleet anchored off of Golden Island, the young minister died. One journalist recorded under the date November 20th, 1698:

"This day Mr. Scott--minister was buried who dyed of a flux and had some dropeing guns fired at his intermt."¹ Several references to his death occur both in the official records of the Colony and in private documents relating to the Expedition.² One declared that now "Both our ministers are dead, and their deaths very much Lamented by us all."³ Borland in commenting upon the colonists of the First Expedition wrote: "They had two ministers sent along with them . . . But . . . it pleased the Lord soon to remove them from among those that despised them and their work."⁴

THE DARIEN MINISTERS:	Alexander Shields, author of the
ALEXANDER SHIELDS	Cameronian polemic, <u>A Hind Let Loose</u> , and an associate of James Renwick,

was the most widely known of the Darien ministers. A number of contemporary references to Shields, as well as his published works and many of his letters are extant; these sources give considerable information on the life and work of the Cameronian

¹ "Account of the Voyage and Journey of the Scots African and Indian Fleet," p. 4, MS.

² "Darien Company, MSS: The Voyage of the Unicorn, July-November, 1698"; An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 102; The Darien Papers, p. 79.

³ A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots Colony are settled.

⁴ Borland, History of Darien, p. 22.

leader.¹ He was born about the year 1660 at Haughhead in the parish of Earlston, and was raised in a family that was sympathetic to the Covenanting cause.² Entering the University of Edinburgh at an early age, he graduated with the degree of Master of Arts in 1675.³ He continued his education in Holland and attended the University of Utrecht for two or three years. In 1684 he was in London serving as an amanuensis to John Owen; it was during his residence in England that he was licensed to preach by Scottish dissenting ministers.⁴ Early in the following year, the young Scotsman was expounding the text, Genesis 49:21, "Naphtali is a hind let loose," when both preacher and congregation were arrested by the City Marshall.⁵ He later wrote that while speaking on the blessings and the extent of Christian liberty, "A Subject that I was very unfit to speak on . . . the Lord saw it good to interrupt me, and send me to School to learn it better."⁶ Shields was imprisoned and finally sent to Scotland

¹ In a recently published work entitled, The Cameronian Philosopher: Alexander Shields, Doctor Hector Macpherson has compiled a complete life of Shields and has dealt at considerable length with his importance as a philosophical writer and as an ecclesiastic.

² Hector Macpherson, The Cameronian Philosopher; Alexander Shields, pp. 4 et seq.

³ Catalogue of the Graduates of Edinburgh University, p. 107.

⁴ Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 10 et seq.

⁵ Shields, A True and Faithful Relation of the Sufferings of the Reverend and Learned, Mr. Alexander Shields, pp. 2 et seq.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 2 et seq.

where he was threatened with death if he refused to take the Oath of Abjuration. He was questioned by both the Privy Council and the High Court of Justiciary, and every effort was made to force the young Covenanter to forsake his convictions. At length he made a partial renunciation of the Apologetical Declaration, and his life was spared, though he was then imprisoned in the ill famed dungeons of the Bass Rock.¹ For over a year the youthful preacher remained in the island prison. In October, 1688, he was brought to Edinburgh and was kept in /6 the Tolbooth while the Privy Council attempted to induce him to adopt a more moderate attitude toward the government. When he refused to compromise, plans were made for returning him to the Bass; but during his brief imprisonment in Edinburgh, friends succeeded in smuggling women's clothing to him which he used as a disguise in effecting his escape from the Tolbooth.²

He now threw in his lot with the United Societies, expressed his sorrow to James Renwick for having wavered in his attitude toward the Covenanting principles set forth in the Apologetical Declaration, and soon became a leader in the Cameronian movement.³ During the next few months he and Renwick collaborated in writing the Informatory Vindication, and Shields

¹ Ibid., pp. 27-140.

² Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Volume IX, p. 66.

³ Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 62 et sqq.

was dispatched to Holland in 1687 to oversee the publication of the apologetical Cameronian work. In Holland, he completed A Hind Let Loose, which he had begun while a prisoner on the Bass, and the volume was printed through the help of Dutch sympathizers in the Netherlands. In February, 1688, James Renwick was executed in the Grassmarket; it was at this time that Shields returned to Scotland to become the virtual leader of the United Societies.¹ Soon afterward, the Revolution took place, and a protestant monarch was established upon the British throne; at this turn of events the Covenanting preacher urged his fellow Cameronians to follow him in joining the Church of Scotland. The first post-Revolution General Assembly met in 1690, and at this meeting, Alexander Shields, Thomas Lining, and William Boyd, the three ministers of the United Societies, applied for admission to the Church. The Committee on Overtures of the Assembly discreetly decided to withhold a paper presented by the Cameronian ministers which they felt tended "rather to kindle Contentions, than to compose Divisions."² A shorter and milder statement was prepared by Shields, and the three men, having offered "their Subjection and Obedience to the Authority of this Church," were, at the recommendation of the Committee, to be "Received into Communion with this Church, according to

¹ Ibid., pp. 58-77.

² Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1690, p. 7.

their several Capacities."¹

In the year 1691, he was ordained as a chaplain to the Cameronian regiment that was then preparing to take part in the campaigns in the Low Countries against the military might of Louis XIV. During the next several years, he served with the army, his regiment seeing service in the battles of Namur and Steenkerk.² However, before the treaty of Ryswick ended the fighting on the continent, he wrote to the General Assembly asking that he be permitted to return to Scotland to take a settled charge; he soon received calls to Avendale, Carnwath, Crawford, Liberton, and St. Andrews. The General Assembly of 1697 declared him transportable, and included in its minutes the "Recommendation to Mr. Alexander Scheilds Minister, to settle at St. Andrews."³ He followed this recommendation, and on September 15th, 1697, became the minister of the second charge of the university city.⁴ Shields later spoke of his ministry in St. Andrews as "the longest and pleasantest time of rest that ever I had since I begun either to profess or preach the Gospel."⁵ But within less than two years, this brief period of peace in his restless life came to an end as he made preparations for leaving the seaside university town to sail to the far

¹ Ibid., pp. 7-9.

² Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 118-128.

³ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1697.

⁴ Macpherson, op. cit., p. 132.

⁵ The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Volume XVIII, p. 478.

distant Isthmus of Darien.

When the representative of the Company came to St. Andrews to present the call to the Presbytery, he found his access to the Church "refused him by the violent force of a multitude and mobb of women" who objected to the departure of the former Cameronian leader from his parish.¹ But Shields went willingly to begin this final drama of his singularly dramatic life, looking forward with great expectations to the missionary opportunity that the colonial undertaking promised. The General Assembly encouraged him in his chosen task, and made provision for supplying the second charge in St. Andrews during his absence.²

As a thinker and writer Shields had exerted an influence on both the religious and the political thought of his day; his major work, A Hind Let Loose, and several of his other publications had been widely read in Scotland.³ In propounding his theory of the relationship between church and state, both in his

1 "Darien MSS, University of Glasgow," MS number 12.

2 Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1700.

3 Doctor Hector Macpherson, in concluding his discussion of A Hind Let Loose, points out that not only did Shields' polemic make a great stir in Scotland, but that it had considerable influence in Holland. He believed that on the basis of the similarity between statements in A Hind Let Loose and William of Orange's Declaration to the people of Scotland in October, 1688, that it is very probable that Shields' magnum opus was known to the Stadtholder, and exerted its influence on Britain's future king. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 215.

magnum opus and in his preaching, he had dealt with the attitude of the minister to the magistrate: it was the duty of the clergyman, who held his commission from Christ, to denounce the civil ruler if the magistrate should become a tyrant by trespassing upon the prerogatives of the Church.¹ Shields was consistent with the principles that he had previously set forth when he challenged the tyrannical actions of James Byres and the attitude that the dictatorial councilor took toward the interests of religion in the Colony.² However, as a minister of the Darien expedition, the Cameronian thinker was not content to deal solely in a negative fashion with magistracy. He proposed a definite program for the needs of the situation and urged a policy of vigorous action to the Council of the Colony. In a letter to Colonel Erskine, he declared:

I proposed the first thing we should have done was to clear the ground to plant and sow in, which would have soon yeilded somewhat to eat, and of that clearing of trees cut down to build our hutts; But this was never regarded . . . I expected also that some Trade should have been essayed, having the ship, the "Little hope," and tuo sloups, that might have carried goods to any European Colonies and brought provisions, etc. Yea we might have found a Trade for Gold with the Indians, especly the Spanish Indians, who covet much our linnen Cloth, and get worth for it by selling it to Spaniards.³

¹ Shields, A Hind Let Loose, (1687 edition) pp. 43, 246, 268-280, 317, 559; Shields, Some Notes or Heads of a Preface, Lecture, and Sermon preached at Lothers in Crafoord Moor by Mr. Alexander Shields, preacher of the Gospel, March 11th, 1688, p. 12; John Howie, A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached on Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of the Late Persecution, p. 557.

² Supra, pp. 108-110.

³ Walter MacLeod, Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687, pp. 243, 244.

He further proposed that the Spanish attack be forestalled by marching against the enemy's encampment.¹ Subsequent events and the later judgment of the officials of the Company of Scotland² indicate that this policy of action was basically sound. It is even possible that the history of the Darien Colony would have been recorded quite differently had these proposals been accepted at the very beginning.

Thus it was that Shields played an important part in the attempt to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien. In February, 1700, William Paterson wrote to Thomas Drummond describing the minister from St. Andrews as "a man of courage and constancy, and that does not want experience in this world." He then added: "I hope much from him and you."³ When Paterson mistakenly understood that the former leader of the Cameronians was in control of the government of the Colony, he expressed his conviction of the hopeful prospects that such a turn of events promised for the undertaking, and wrote to the Darien clergyman: "I am glad a person of your worth, principles, and constancy is now at the head of it."⁴

Shields survived the tragic months on the Isthmus and the horrors of the siege of Fort St. Andrew; by June, 1700, the

¹ Loc. cit.

² The Darien Papers, pp. 230 et seq.

³ Ibid., pp. 258, 259.

⁴ Ibid., p. 260.

remnant of the Second Darien Expedition had reached the comparative security of the Island of Jamaica. On July 16th, Robert Wodrow wrote hopefully: "We begin to talk of Mr. Sheilds whom we expect in this week, there being a sloop already come in from Darien."¹ But when the next vessel from Jamaica arrived in Scotland, the news of the death of the Covenanter reached the ears of churchmen and friends who had hoped to be able soon to welcome him into their midst.² Alexander Shields died in Port-Royal on June 14th, 1700, "of a violent and malignant Fever: much lamented of all that knew his worth and parts."³ "It pleased his master here to call for him," declared his colleague and friend, Francis Borland, "and put an end to his weary and troublesome pilgrimage in this spot of our Lord's earth."⁴

THE DARIEN MINIS-
TERS: FRANCIS BORLAND

Francis Borland, minister of Glassford Parish, was the historian of the Darien Colony; his Memoirs of Darien, published in two editions in the eighteenth century,⁵ have been one of the major sources of information

¹ Sharp, op. cit., p. 94.

² The Edinburgh Gazette, Thursday September 19th to Monday September 23rd, 1700, Number 165.

³ Borland, History of Darien, p. 78.

⁴ Loc. cit.,

⁵ This work was published in 1714 during Borland's lifetime under the title, Memoirs of Darien, giving a short Description of the Countrey, with an Account of the Attempts of the Company of Scotland to Settle a Colonie in that Place. A second edition appeared in 1779 under the title The History of Darien.

on the Scottish settlement for later writers. He was a meticulous diarist, and his personal journal,¹ which has been preserved in the Laing Collection of the University of Edinburgh Library, gives a considerable amount of interesting information on the life of the only one of the Darien ministers who lived to return to Scotland.

Borland was born in Drummilt in the parish of Lochgullie in Ireland on July 10th, 1661. His parents, who had left Scotland a few years before the birth of Francis, decided to return to their native land in 1661 because of "new difficulties arising in Irland after the setting up of Bishops there."² They took up their residence in Moorhouses, in the Parish of Hamilton, where young Borland was raised in the midst of Covenanting enthusiasm. His father, John Borland, took part in "the Rising & Skirmishing at Pentland hills . . . where he escaped narrowly, & was forced for some years to keep abroad from his own family, for fear of the Enemies."³ Francis began his formal education in 1670 at "Litle Ernock under one James Brown." Two years later he was sent to Glasgow to continue his education while living with a relative,

1 "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1661-1722." This document is an unpublished manuscript consisting of 167 pages of autobiographical material supplemented by nineteen pages entitled: "Collections & Observations on Severall Subjects." In all probability it is the original document from which Borland compiled his Memoirs of Darien; he kept this diary until December 16th, 1722, only a few days before his death.

2 "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1661-1722," p. 2.

3 Ibid., p. 5.

but he soon returned to his parents "being tender & childish."¹ The death of his mother in 1674 made a profound impression upon him. He described her as a "goaly . . . praying woman" and attributed to her his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.² Upon finishing his studies in the Grammar School in Glasgow--having resumed his work there after his mother's death--his father considered apprenticing him to an apothecary; but instead, in 1677, he began his course of studies in "the Colledge of Glasgow" where he "made considerable proficiency in the Greek."³ He graduated in the year 1681;⁴ however, the future of this son of the Covenants seemed quite uncertain. He wrote shortly after his graduation that he had considered studying divinity, "but now at this time there was no encouragement for such in this countrey unless they would conform to prelacy."⁵ Francis' older brother, John Borland, had become engaged in trade between England and the American colonies, and on his brother's invitation, he accompanied John across the Atlantic to Boston in the year 1682.⁶

In May, the young university graduate landed in Boston, and through the help of his brother, secured a teaching appointment in Barnstable, seventy miles from Boston.⁷ The following

1 Loc. cit.

2 Ibid., p. 6.

3 Ibid., p. 7.

4 Loc. cit.

5 Loc. cit.

6 Ibid., p. 8.

7 Ibid., p. 9.

year, he accepted a better position in Boston where he seems to have had considerable success; in speaking of his school in the colonial city he wrote : "The Lord gave increase to it, & sent me also a helper, another person to assist me in teaching."¹ In Boston, he related that he heard "much good preaching," and enjoyed the Christian fellowship of a group of Presbyterians and Independents in the city.² This was a time for decision in the life of the young schoolteacher: he "was advised & encouraged by several ministers here . . . to study for the Ministry."³ This he decided to do after being convinced that he was being divinely led to become a minister of the Gospel. He gave up his teaching position, and on November 2nd, 1684, he preached his first sermon. Soon afterward he was called to serve as an unordained chaplain for a group of Dutch and English families settled in Surinam in Dutch Guiana. He took passage southward to the northeastern coast of the continent of South America to begin his ministry in Surinam in 1685. He recorded that here he was "humanely entertained . . . & had some Christian Society."⁴ He preached on Sunday, carried out regular pastoral functions, and spent a considerable time in serious study, having "secured a competent number of books from Holland."⁵

1 Ibid., p. 10.

2 Ibid., p. 8.

3 Ibid., p. 11.

4 Ibid., p. 14.

5 Loc. cit.

In 1689, the young Scottish preacher had a dangerous illness and decided, partly for reasons of health and partly because of the outcome of the Revolution, to return to Scotland. After affectionately bidding farewell to his South American parishioners, he sailed from Guiana in March, 1690 for the Barbados, where he took ship for Boston. While in the Barbados, he met Francis Makemie, who later became an important figure in the early history of American Presbyterianism.¹ After a brief visit with his brother² and his friends in New England, Borland sailed for the British Isles. The threat of a French attack made it necessary for his ship to seek refuge in an Irish harbor, where he took advantage of this opportunity to preach in the land of his birth, before continuing on his way to England. On January 6th, 1692, he arrived in Edinburgh and wrote happily: "So he has brought me through many tossings, & much toil & hardship by sea & land at last to the land of my fathers sepulchers, in peace."³

On January 24th, Borland preached his first sermon on

1 Francis Makemie first came to America in 1683. According to C. A. Briggs, between 1683 and 1690, Makemie "preached as an itinerant, here and there, in Maryland, Virginia, and the Barbadoes." (C. A. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, pp. 116 et seq.)

2 Francis Borland's brother was the John Borland of Boston whose name occurs on several occasions in the records of the Company of Scotland. In 1699 John Borland was appointed to be a correspondent of the Company, and he took considerable interest in the Scottish colonial undertaking both by attempting to reinforce the Colony when on the Isthmus and by assisting the Darien refugees after the failure of each of the two Expeditions. "Colonel Leven's Darien Papers, " MS 13; "Miscellaneous Darien Papers," Volume II, Number 197.

3 "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1661-1722," p. 17.

Scottish soil in Blantyre; in speaking of this occasion, he commented: "Some of the people of Glasford being present that day."¹ The following Sunday he preached in Glassford, and within a short time received a call to become minister of Glassford Parish. He was ordained on July 20th, 1692, and soon afterward began his ministerial duties in the extensive Lanarkshire parish. Six month later he married Rachel Hall,² and he recorded in his journal: "So now the Lord has set me both in a congregation & in a family."³ There is every indication that his pastorate was both happy and successful. He succeeded in having the glebe lands increased, the church property repaired,⁴ and soon won the affection of his people.⁵ But he was not one to record any success as his own; he wrote:

How did the Lord help me through one trial after another, & remarkably performed all things for me... Remarkably did the Lord help & assist me about this work, day after day, upon occasions ordinary & extraordinary.⁶

On April 7th, 1699, tragedy came into the life of the minister of Glassford, when his wife died after a long sickness.

1 Ibid., p. 18.

3 Ibid., p. 18.

2 Ibid., p. 3.

4 "Session Records, Glassford Parish," MS number 7.

5 When Borland's History of Darien was published in 1779, the writer of the preface of the work stated in describing Borland's work in Glassford: "In that parish he was greatly beloved." ("Advertisement" to the 1779 edition of the History of Darien, p. ii.)

6 "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1772," p. 18.

He felt the loss deeply, and found his only comfort in long hours of prayer in the manse beside the churchyard where his beloved Rachel was buried. But events were destined to follow in a strange sequence for the bereaved minister.. Under the date of April 26th, he wrote:

It pleased the Lord to meet me with an unexpected & surprising providence, which I did not think of. . . there was this day brought to my hand a Call from our directors of the African Company, to be minister of their new Colony in Caledonia in America. . . the timing of this was observable, in casting of it in my way so soon after my wifes death, & after that solemn time of prayer & Communion wt God above mentioned. What! does the Lord call me to America again, to take up my staff & unsettle again, & follow him over the great waters to a Land unknown, must I meet with new trialls & tossings of this nature . . . I fancied to myself before this that I should now here settle as in my nest, but my times are in the Lord's hands & not my own.¹

On June 20th, the Presbytery of Hamilton promised to supply his charge until he either returned to his parish, or indicated a desire to stay in Darien longer than the one year term for which he had been appointed to the Colony.² In July, the minister of Glassford met with the Commission of the General Assembly and heard a sermon on the text, Hebrews 11:8, "By faith Abram being called of God & obeyed & went out, not knowing whither he went."³

On August 22nd, 1699, he boarded the Company of Scotland's ship, the Hope, and soon afterward began the long voyage to the Isthmus of Darien.⁴ Throughout the months of disease and

1 Ibid., p. 20.

2 Ibid., p. 20 et seq.

3 Ibid., p. 21.

4 Loc. cit.

disaster at Darien, he felt that his life was being providentially preserved. "I mett wt eminent deliverance here," he later declared, surving "danger by fire," death from tropical sickness, and "the Spaniards . . . firing upon us."¹ After the surrender to the Spaniards, he went with the colonists to Jamaica where he stayed for a short time on the island, preaching as occasion arose, before taking passage for New England.

On September 19th, 1700, the Darien refugee arrived in Boston and joyfully wrote: "I took up my quarters here . . . at my Brothers house, where the Lord gave both ability & good will unto in showing kindness to a weery tossed pilgrim."² During the winter of 1700, Borland remained with his Bostonian relatives. He noted affectionately that his brother and sister-in-law had been "blessed . . . wt a hopefull son" whom they had named Francis.³ He preached on a number of occasions, and seems to have taken great pleasure in his contacts with several Boston churchmen who treated him most hospitably.⁴ During his stay in

¹ Ibid., p. 22

² Ibid., p. 28.

³ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴ During his visit to Boston in 1684, Borland had become a friend of the Reverend Increase Mather, the president of Harvard College at the time, and an important figure in early American church history. (Ibid., p. 8.) After his arrival in New England following the failure of the Darien Colony, Borland accepted an invitation to preach in "Mr. Mather's church," (Ibid., p. 29) the New North Church of Boston. Mather and his fellow ministers in Boston performed other services for the unfortunate Scots, and in 1700, the Provincial Synod of Glasgow wrote to Mather thanking him for his help to the Darien colonists. (Briggs, op. cit., p. 130)

New England, he wrote to his Glassford parishioners giving an account of his experiences since his departure from Scotland. His naturally affectionate nature is evident in this letter as he wrote:

I long to see you again, that if it be the Lord's will, I may yet serve Christ in the work of the gospel among you, and there pay my vows among you; and that we may magnify the Lord, and exalt his name together . . . My dear friends, mind and know the things of your peace in this your day. Make sure your interest in Christ. As you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him. Be exemplary before one another. Walk in love, unity and peace among yourselves.¹

On May 3rd, 1701, Borland recorded: "Taking farewell of all friends here, particularly my kind Brother & Sister wt their son, & kind Mr. Bridgam, I went abroad the Ship Expedition."² He sailed a few days later, and after the usual perils of a trans-Atlantic voyage in an eighteenth century sailing vessel, the Scottish minister arrived in England. He bought a horse in London and began the long journey northward. On July 24th, 1701, he wrote this brief but meaningful sentence in his journal: "I returned in safety & peace to Glasford."³ Three days later he preached on the text,

Deut. 8.2 thou shalt remember all the way, which the Lord thy God, hath led thee these 40 years in the wilderness, to humble thee & prove thee, & to do thee good at t h y latter end.⁴

¹ Borland, History of Darien, pp. 98-100.

² "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," p. 30.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Loc. cit.

A few weeks after his arrival in Glassford, a public thanksgiving was held in the parish for the safe return of the Darien minister to his charge; Archibald Foyer and another neighboring clergyman took part in the religious exercises.¹

During the next year, Borland neglected his habit of writing regularly in his diary; he made only one brief entry in his journal between September 5th, 1701 and September 9th, 1702. Doubtless the pressing duties of his parish that had been long neglected called for much of his time. However, ecclesiastical tasks were not his only concern during this period, for under the date, September 9th, 1702, he wrote:

Wednesday was solemnized my marriage wt Janet Hamilton at Stonehall, by Mr. Robert Wylie. The Lord has been very gracious to me in this matter, has heard prayers, & led me by a right way, & prevented me wt his mercy . . . Laus Deo.²

During the next few years, he commented in his diary upon the condition of the crops, described several of the lengthy series of meetings held in the neighborhood for the administration of the Lord's Supper, and indicated his satisfaction over the ratification of the Articles of Union by the Scottish Parliament in 1707.³ In 1708, he prepared his *Memoirs of Darien* for publication at the insistence of William Veitch, minister

¹ Ibid., p. 31.

² Loc. cit.,

³ Ibid., pp. 32 et seq.

at Dumfries.¹ In the same year the Lanarkshire clergyman was appointed a member of the Commission of the General Assembly,² after having attended the meeting of the General Assembly under the moderatorship of William Carstares. "The Lord guided this Assembly," he wrote, "they went on wt peace & harmony & concluded wt peace."³ He faithfully recorded the texts from which he preached, included references to his attendance at meetings of the various church courts, and referred regularly to his work as minister of the extensive parish in which he served for the remainder of his life.⁴

Throughout the first two decades of the eighteenth century this busy and consecrated minister continued his work. In September, 1722 he mentioned having been unable to preach on one occasion because of being "tender in . . . health"⁵ However, he quickly recovered from this illness to continue both his homiletical and pastoral work through the second week of December. On Sunday, December 16th, he made his final

¹ This work did not appear from the press, however, until 1714. Ibid., p. 44.

² Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1708, p. 12.

³ "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," p. 46.

⁴ After 1707, Borland's diary become more detailed with entries appearing several times each week. This document gives a complete account of the life of Francis Borland; in addition it contains interesting indications of the character of the life and work of the Church of the early eighteenth century.

⁵ "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," p. 165.

entry in his diary: illness prevented him from performing his ministerial duties on that day.¹ On December 24th, 1722, Francis Borland died;² he was buried on the green slope of the Glassford burying ground that looks out across the gently rolling Lanarkshire hills of the parish in which he had ministered for over thirty years. He had served the Church that he loved long and well; he had conscientiously performed the duties of pastor and preacher wherever Providence had led him; and he held the unique distinction of having proclaimed the Word of God in Scotland, Ireland, on both of the American continents, the Island of Jamaica, and the Isthmus of Darien.

Personal religion in the face of crisis. Borland stated on the first page of his diary that he intended to record the "Remarkable providences of the Lord" during his earthly pilgrimage.³ This journal gives evidence of a unique religious faith based in part upon a Calvinistic confidence in providential direction and in part upon the author's unusual and varied experiences.

He was convinced that the hand of Providence was clearly guiding him in all that he did. In writing about his childhood experiences, he declared that on many occasions "did I experience a watchfull providence over me."⁴ When he began his

¹ Ibid., p. 167.

² "Session Records, Glasford Parish," MS number 12.

³ "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

studies in grammar school he believed that the Lord helped him "through many difficulties,"¹ and as he continued his scholastic endeavors, he was certain that the Lord was carrying his "through one change & difficulty after another."² His failure to become an apothecary, he wrote, was because "Divine providence had carved out another work for me."³ After his first voyage across the Atlantic, he declared: "Thus the Lord hath brought me safely . . . over the great Atlantic ocean . . . everywhere the Lord watches over me for good."⁴ When he began his teaching career in New England, he recorded: "Here I find the Lord making my strength to be as my day was."⁵ During his ministry in South America he stated: "Much of the Lords goodness I mett with here, in being remarkably preserved from many dangers, in my Journeyings by water & by Land."⁶ When he finally arrived safely in the British Isles, he expressed his conviction that it was only the hand of the Lord that had brought him "over the great waters hitherto in peace."⁷ His call to Glassford, his settlement in that parish, and his invitation to serve as a minister of the Darien fleet, he believed, were all providentially directed. In making plans for leaving Glassford to go to Darien, he wrote: "I must submitt to Providence, when he

1 Loc. cit.

2 Ibid., p. 7.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

5 Ibid., p. 10.

6 Ibid., p. 14.

7 Ibid., p. 17.

calls & leads, good reason I should follow."¹ Upon the high seas and in the jungles of Darien, he was deeply conscious of providential guidance. After surviving the disease and death of the Isthmus, he declared: "The Lord was gracious to a Remnant," and he believed that he himself had on countless occasions "experienced the Lords gracious providence."² His departure from the ill-fated Rising Sun, his safe voyage to New England, and his eventual return to his home in Scotland were for him all evidences of the hand of Providence.³ This sense of providential direction that was deepened by the experiences in America remained with him until his dying day.⁴

His trust in Providence was coupled with a conviction of the efficacy of prayer. Every important decision that he made was accompanied by a lengthy season of intercession. On these occasions he would write in his journal: "I did seriously & solemnly recommend this matter to the Lord by prayer, seeking light & direction from him."⁵ Later, when the decision had been made, he would make an entry in his journal that would be somewhat similar to the conclusion of the account of his decision to go to Surinam:

1 Ibid., p. 21.

4 Ibid., pp. 28-167.

2 Ibid., p. 28.

5 Ibid., p. 11.

3 Ibid., pp. 27 et seq.

O what of Gods condescending goodnes toward me did I find in this matter, He cleared my mind, let me see this was the way he would have me to go, so that I had no more doubts about this matter. Laus Deo. What a₁ sweet & ravishing sight did the Lord give me in prayer.

Throughout his entire life he found a haven of security in the midst of the uncertainties of his existence in devotional experience. On such occasions he spoke of private prayer as "a little Sanctuary"; this quaint but revealing phrase occurs time and time again in his journal.² During his sojourn on the Isthmus of Darien he wrote:

How often was God as a little Sanctuary to me here, in coming before him in the silent & dark woods, in the vast & howling wilderness & by the sea side and gave me the valley of Achor for a door of hope.³

Borland's escape from death at Darien profoundly influenced his devotional life in years to come. Immediately after his departure from the Isthmus, he wrote in his journal:

Remember particularly O my soul the Lords condescension toward thee, in thy solemn address unto him in the woods, & in thy vow made to him on January 9 1700 Tuesday, & the Lords hearing thy vows.⁴

He later indicated in his diary that the vow made in the jungles of Darien consisted of a promise "to keep a monthly thanksgiving, one day in the month, to the praise of the Lord,"⁵ should he safely return from the death infested shores of Darien to his home in Scotland. He faithfully kept this vow throughout the

1 Ibid., pp. 11 et seq.

2 Ibid., pp. 16, 18, 22, 26, 99, 100, 101, 113, and 155.

3 Ibid., p. 22

4 Loc. cit.

5 Ibid., p. 32.

remaining years of his life. Once each month, until a few days before his death, he set aside a day for prayer in which he remembered his deliverance from death on the Isthmus, and "endeavoured more especially to spend some time in thanksgiving & praise," giving the Lord thanks for his guidance "on the great waters & in the wilderness."¹ He was convinced that his safe return from Darien to Scotland was no accident; he labored prayerfully and conscientiously until the end of his days under the conviction that his life had been providentially spared for reasons known only to his Lord and Creator.

The experiences of the minister of Glassford upon the Expedition to Darien not only deepened his devotional life, but directly influenced his theological outlook. He related in his journal that the "sad and disastorous passages" of events upon the Isthmus of America were clearly "instructions which providence"² had been setting before him. He listed these providential lessons at considerable length, including among them the frailty and weakness of man, man's need of dependence upon God, and God's absolute sovereignty over both the forces of nature and the will of man.³ He believed that the disaster that befell the Darien Colony was the judgment of God upon the sinfulness of the Scottish nation. In his printed history of

1 Ibid., pp. 53-167.

2 Ibid., p. 26.

3 Loc. cit.

Darien he declared: "The Cry of our sins, hath outdone the cry of our prayers; and hath extorted so many awful instances of the holy severity of a jealous God against us."¹ He related in his journal that his observations at Darien had convinced him of the total depravity of man: even God's judgment upon the colonists, he declared, was not sufficient to "reform sinfull men, & make them turn from Sin unto the Lord unless Special grace concurr."² However, in spite of his conviction that the "blasting" of "the Caledonian affair" was divinely engineered,³ his experiences on the expedition only served to convince him all the more of God's providential direction. Among the lessons that "Love had been teaching" him "with a strong hand" was this conviction:

That the Holy & allwise & gracious God can order those providences which at present seem to be contrary & frowning & ruinous to the people of God, in the end & issue to be for their greater benefit, comfort and advantage!⁴

Thus it was that through his experiences at Darien he came to a fresh allegiance to his own theological beliefs.

Francis Borland had been well grounded in the Calvinistic thought of his day. His confidence in the absoluteness of the rulership of an omnipotent Providence gave him the faith necessary to withstand the vicissitudes of his sojourn in the

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 86.

² "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," p. 25.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

presence of death and disaster. There was a twofold relationship between his experiences at Darien and his theological conceptions: his religious convictions gave him the courage to withstand the trials of the evil day; at the same time this faith was strengthened and deepened in the face of crisis.

THE DARIEN MINISTERS:

ALEXANDER DALGLEISH

Alexander Dalgleish was the third of the Darien ministers to lose his life on the expeditions to the Isthmus of America. Very little information concerning Dalgleish is extant; however, a few contemporary references to him give some indication of the character and life of the man.¹ In June, 1699, he was listed in the official records of the Company of Scotland as one of the four probationers who were to be issued calls to become ministers of the Darien Colony.² He accepted the Company's call, and on June 29th, 1699, he married Margaret Brown, the daughter of a St. Andrews merchant.³ On July 17th, he witnessed the marriage

¹ Securing information on Alexander Dalgleish was complicated by the fact that another Church of Scotland clergyman bore the same name and was a contemporary of the Darien minister. Several references to an Alexander Dalgleish in the Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715 and in the Journal of the Hon. J. Erskine of Carnock (pp. 8, 14, 16, 79) apparently refer to a Dalgleish who was minister of Linlithgow at the time of the Darien Expeditions. The Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates, 1856, lists two seventeenth century men with this name, neither of whom seem to be the Alexander Dalgleish who died en route to Darien. (pp. 96, 159.)

² "Journal of the Court of Directors," MS, Volume II.

³ The Register of Marriages, Edinburgh, 1595-1700, p. 171.

contract of his friend and future colleague, Archibald Stobo.¹ Shortly afterward Alexander and Margaret Dalgleish went on board the Company's hired ship, the Duke of Hamilton, in preparation for the long voyage to the Isthmus Colony.² In the middle of November as the ships of the Company of Scotland's fleet were making their way across the waters of the Caribbean Sea on the final stage of their journey to the Isthmus of Darien, the young Scottish minister died of what one chronicler referred to as "ane hectick fever."³ Two weeks later the fleet arrived at Darien and the second attempt to establish a Scottish colony on the Isthmus began. On February 3rd, 1700, the Council of the Colony wrote these words to the Directors of the Company:

We must in a particular manner recommend to you Mrs. Dalgleish relict of Mr. Alexr. Dalgleish, who died att sea, on board Duncan's ship. She is bigg with child, and therefor goes for Jamaica. Wee are not in condition so to treate her as her circumstances and good behaviour require; but if James Byres find credit att Jamaica, he will advance her somewhat for defraying charges till she be in a condition to retorne home; and wee doubt not of your allowing her a year's stipend.⁴

The Edinburgh Marriage Register indicates that Margaret Dalgleish eventually reached Scotland in safety, and later remarried.⁵

There is evidence that the third of the clergymen to die on the Darien Expeditions was well thought of by his contemporaries:

1 "Register of Deeds, Dal. Office," Volume XCII, p. 966, MS.

2 "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume II, MS.

3 "Darien MSS" University of Glasgow, MS number 9.

4 The Darien Papers, pp. 242 et seq.

5 The Register of Marriages, Edinburgh, 1701-1750, p. 134.

Alexander Shields wrote in December, 1699 of the colonists' regret over the death of the minister;¹ and a letter from the three clerics of the Colony to the Commission of General Assembly spoke of him as one of "God's jewels and excellent ones . . . who approved himself even to the consciences of the most debauched, as a faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ."²

THE. DARIEN MINIS-
TERS: ARCHIBALD STOBO

Archibald Stobo was the only one of the Darien ministers who was destined to have a lasting influence upon the New World in which the two Scottish expeditions attempted to establish a colony. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1697.³ In June, 1699 in the official records of the Company of Scotland he was referred to as a probationer of the Church shortly before he accepted a call to become a minister of the Darien Colony.⁴ In July, he married Elizabeth Park, daughter of an Edinburgh writer,⁵ and at the time of the marriage, a deed was drawn up by Stobo providing that his estate would pass to his wife or their children in the event of his death. This document indicates that the young

1 "Darien MSS" University of Glasgow, MS number 17.

2 "Letter to the Commission of the General Assembly," Borland, History of Darien, p. 49.

3 Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates, pp. 155, 156.

4 "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume II, MS.

5 The Register of Marriages, Edinburgh, 1595-1700, p.665.

minister was probably the scion of a family of some means.¹
 When the fleet of the Second Expedition sailed, the Stobos were on board the Hope of Bo'ness, one of the ships hired by the Company for the colonial undertaking.²

During the long months of disease and death upon the Isthmus of Darien, Stobo and his wife found their situation in the Colony gradually becoming more difficult. In February, 1700 Mrs. Stobo persuaded her husband to ask permission to return to Scotland. This permission was granted by the Colony's Council, but the fellow ministers of the young married clergyman refused to give him a testimonial, feeling that they had all committed themselves to stay for at least a year on the Isthmus. Shields, in writing of the affair to Principal Dunlop, hastened to add that his Darien colleague "deserves the best Testimonial, go when he will." However, he concluded his account by saying that Mrs. Stobo now "acquiesces, and we have all very Loving and peaceable Consortship together."³ Shortly after this, Stobo wrote a letter to a friend in Scotland in which he expressed the hope that more clergymen will soon be sent to the Colony and declared: "I cannot stay longer in this place."⁴ The Commission

¹ The deed was filed in the Dalrymple office in Edinburgh under the date July 16th, 1699. It states that Stobo's property "making up in the haill the sum of five thousand mk. money fore-said upon well holden Land" is to be the property of "the Sd. Mr. Archibald Stobo himself and the Sd. Elizabeth Park his future Spouse the longest lives of them two . . . and to the bairns lawfully to be procreated betwixt them in wedlock." ("Register of Deeds, Dal. Office," Volume XCII, p. 966)

² "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume II, MS.

³ Principal Story, op. cit., p. 223.

⁴ "Darien MSS" University of Glasgow, MS number 14.

of General Assembly wrote to the three ministers in June and stated that Stobo was just as much at liberty to return to Scotland as were the other two men, in spite of the fact that he was "wanting a first relation to any charge in this church, and under a more speciall Call and designation to the Colony."¹ However, the Darien clergyman and his young wife remained with the colonists to share their hardships during the entire history of the Expedition.

The broken remnant of the colonists departed from the Isthmus in April, 1700.² The Rising Sun, upon which the Stobos sailed, docked for a time at Blewfields, and then began the voyage northward along the Atlantic coast of North America. While anchored just outside of Charleston harbor, the battered vessel was destroyed by a hurricane that James Byres described as "the saddest storme, I ever saw." "The Rising-Sun was broken to pieces," he reported, and "all our men were lost as well as the ship."³ Only a handful of survivors, who happened to be ashore at the time, escaped death. Stobo and his wife were among this group; they had landed the day before with a delegation from the Independent Congregation in Charleston that had invited the Scottish minister to preach in the city.⁴ Later, in writing to

¹ "Miscellaneous Collection, Darien Papers," Volume II, MS Number 313.

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 74.

³ James Byres, A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Rotterdam, pp. 105 et seq.

⁴ David Duncan Wallace, The History of South Carolina, Volume I, p. 141.

Francis Borland of his remarkable deliverance from the doomed ship, Stobo related: "I and my wife were scarce gone from her when wrath seized upon her and after our departure the storm came so sudden that none could find the way to her."¹ During the preceding year, John Cotton, the minister of the Independent Congregation of Charleston, had died, and the Darien clergyman was invited to become the minister of the church. He accepted this call as being providentially inspired, and settled with his wife in the colonial city.² Thus it was that Stobo began a long and useful ministry in America under very different circumstances from those that the Commission of the General Assembly had proposed.

A few months after his arrival in Charleston, the new minister of the Independent Congregation unsuccessfully attempted to secure a grant of £50 from the government of the Colony as compensation for the loss of his library in the wreck of the Rising Sun.³ By 1705, he had made his decision not to return to Scotland, and to devote his life to preaching the gospel in America; he appointed a factor to attend to his business concerns in Scotland in a document that was filed in Edinburgh the year after it had been written.⁴

¹ George N. Edwards, A History of the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston South Carolina, pp. 15, 16.

² Briggs, op. cit., p. 129.

³ Wallace, op. cit., p. 161.

⁴ "Register of Deeds, Mack Office," Volume ACIA, p. 47 MS.

From the very beginning of his residence in Charleston, he found himself in conflict with Episcopalianism in what was then the English Colony of Carolina. The congregation that he served during the first seven years of his residence in North America consisted of representatives of several types of Protestantism. During these years he sought to knit this group into a single body of Presbyterians. To a large extent, he accomplished this in the year 1706, when he secured the signatures of forty-six of the male members of his congregation--apparently a majority of his masculine parishioners--to a covenant that pledged them to uphold the Presbyterian system of doctrine and government "as the revealed truths of Jesus Christ."¹ The appearance of this document in printed form caused some consternation among the Anglican clergy of the Colony. One of the Episcopalian ministers, in referring to Stobo's covenant, wrote:

I read only the two first and the two last leaves; my patience was sufficiently tryed then; he binds them to [be] a Presbyterian congregation for ever in church discipline, doctrine and government, as set down in the Old Testament. That christnings, marriages and burials shall be among themselves, that their ministers shall come from Scotland.²

The year after the signing of this covenant, Stobo gave up his charge in Charleston under what appear to have been

¹ Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church, Charleston South Carolina, pp. 94 et seq.

² Briggs, op. cit., pp. lxvii, et seq.

unhappy circumstances.¹ After leaving the colonial city, he continued his ministerial and evangelistic work as an itinerant preacher; in this capacity he contributed considerably to the establishment of Presbyterianism in the Carolinas by organizing several churches in the region.² At the time a large number of Scottish Presbyterians were in the English dependencies, and, with the Union of the parliaments of Scotland and England in 1707, the strength and influence of these colonists increased considerably. Two Presbyterian ministers were in Carolina when the Union took place: Stobo and William Livingston, a graduate of Edinburgh University, who had succeeded the Darien minister as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Charleston.³ Shortly after the Union, William Dunn informed the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the majority of the inhabitants of Charleston were Dissenters, most of whom, he related, were Presbyterians.⁴ By 1710, there were five

¹ Le Jau, an Episcopalian and a strong opponent of Stobo and his work, in a letter of 1707, wrote of the termination of the Scottish minister's pastorate in Charleston in terms that would indicate that Stobo was ejected from his charge by his people. (Briggs, op. cit., p. lxviii) George Howe related that the Episcopalian governor of the Colony "found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his [Stobo's] followers, and from maxims of policy to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence." (George Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, Volume I, p. 160.)

² Briggs, op. cit., p. lxvii; Howe, op. cit., p. 229.

³ Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church, Charleston South Carolina, p. 94.

⁴ Briggs, op. cit., pp. lxvii, lxix.

Presbyterian churches in South Carolina,¹ and another Scottish minister named Pollock had joined Stobo in working among the settlers in the area surrounding Charleston.² An Episcopalian contemporary described the Darien clergyman and his colleague as "fierce men in their way," and declared that "the Scotch dissenting ministers here are driving" at subjecting "the Presbyterian interest and cause in this province to the Presbyterian government in Scotland."³

Stobo continued his work among his fellow countrymen in the Colony with considerable energy; in 1722 he listed himself as a resident of Willtown in Colleton County where he had organized a church among the Scots living in the community.⁴ However, though fifteen years had passed since the Union of Parliaments in Britain, no peace had been declared between Anglican and Scottish clergymen in the Carolinas. Early in 1722 the Episcopalian clergy petitioned the colonial government for the restriction of the performance of marriage ceremonies to ministers in good standing with the Established Church of England: Stobo was threatened with legal punishment by the Anglican

1 Edwards, op. cit., p. 15. In 1710, the British Colony of Carolina was divided into North and South Carolina, hence, the Carolinas.

2 Briggs, op. cit., p. lxix.

3 Ibid., p. lxix.

4 Edwards, op. cit., p. 15. In 1728 Stobo signed a document along with four elders and six deacons indicating that by this time the Willtown Church had been fully organized. (George Howe, op. cit., Volume I, p. 186) Apparently he continued to serve as minister of the Willtown Presbyterian Church until his death in 1741. (Ibid., p. 229).

leaders of the Colony if he continued to solemnize marriages.¹ He immediately responded by petitioning the colonial Assembly, pointing out that the Act of Union recognized the Church of Scotland; this, he asserted, should place Scottish Presbyterianism on an equal footing with English Episcopacy in a Colony of Great Britain.² The government, realizing the strength and influence of the adherents to the Scottish system of Christian doctrine in the colony, and confronted by Stobo's petition, saw fit to disregard the demand made by the Anglicans.³ In 1723 the Reverend Varnod, an Episcopal minister, lamented the "want of such laws as those of Barbados, Jamaica and Virginia, to hinder our Dissenters from christening, marrying and burying."⁴ Thus it was that the itinerant preacher had succeeded in gaining recognition for the rights of Presbyterianism in South Carolina by successfully preventing the Episcopal clergy from monopolizing the privilege of performing the duties of ordained ministers.

The climactic event of his career took place shortly after this when he and his fellow preachers organized the Presbytery of James Island. An Anglican clergyman had written in 1721 that Stobo and his colleagues "are endeavouring to settle a

¹ Wallace, op. cit., p. 285.

² Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church, Charleston South Carolina, p. 105.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Wallace, op. cit., p. 285.

Presbytery" in the Colony,¹ and within three years² of this time, the first presbyterial organization in this section of America came into existence.³ This accomplishment was largely a result of the labors of the Darien minister.⁴

Thus it was that Archibald Stobo, who had been appointed to assist in constituting the Presbytery of Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien, played a leading role in organizing a presbytery in another part of the Americas. His ministry in South Carolina, his support of Presbyterianism in the face of powerful opposition, and his organizational and evangelistic work in the British Colony did much to lay the foundations of the Presbyterian Church in the southern United States. He alone of the Darien ministers succeeded in propagating the faith of

¹ Briggs, op. cit., p. 222.

² The exact date of the organization of James Island Presbytery is not known. Briggs points out that contemporary letters indicate that it was in existence in 1724, though it had not been established in 1721, and there is no mention of the American presbytery in the minutes of the Synod of Glasgow in 1723. Briggs believes that these facts would indicate that the Presbytery was founded either late in 1722, or early in 1723. (Ibid., p. 223)

³ Not many years before this, in 1706, the Presbytery of Philadelphia, "the first American classical Presbytery" had been organized. This event took place ten years before the Synod of Philadelphia was established. (Ibid., pp. 140, 174)

⁴ George Howe described Stobo as the "most influential man in forming the first presbytery organized in the province, which was the third in priority of organization of all the presbyteries of the United States." (Howe, op. cit., p. 229)

his fathers in the New World by serving for over four decades as a missionary to the Carolinas. He continued his work until his death in the year 1741.¹

Archibald Stobo was undoubtedly a man of considerable energy and determination. He was an enthusiastic son of the Covenants, and in his zeal for the Presbyterian cause, he made bitter enemies among the Anglican clergymen of the Carolinas. One of his enemies described him as one "who on all occasions foment and stir up the people to faction and sedition."² However, this statement was made by an avowed opponent of Presbyterianism, and proves little about the character of the man Stobo; another account of the activities of the Scottish minister declared that "he possessed those talents that render a minister conspicuous and respected," and concluded: "No minister of the Colony ever engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem."³ A tradition exists that during his ministry in Charleston, he was given to preaching excessively lengthy sermons, a habit that was not entirely pleasing to his Charleston congregation.⁴ Apparently

¹ W. S. Crockett, The Glasgow Herald, December 19th, 1918; Howe, op. cit., p. 229.

² Briggs, op. cit., p. lxix.

³ Dr. Hewatt, a near contemporary of Stobo, cited by Edwards, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ According to G. N. Edwards, one of Stobo's Huguenot parishioners, Solomon Legare, started out of the church in the middle of a particularly long sermon; this caused the pastor to distinctly remark: "Leetle Peetchers are soon filled." Legare replied: "You've said enough to fill all the cisterns of Charleston." Returning after dinner, Legare found the sermon still continuing. Edward, op. cit., pp. 15 et seq.

he was not only a determined upholder of Scottish Presbyterianism, but an energetic and prolix proclaimer of the Calvinistic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. There is no indication that Stobo possessed either the affectionate disposition of Francis Borland, or the acute intellectual qualities of Alexander Shields; however, though he made enemies readily, and lacked the ability to compromise with those who disagreed with him, he was certainly a devoted and conscientious minister of his Lord and Master. Undoubtedly, he did much to further the cause of Christ in the New World in an age that called for men of determination and conviction.¹

In 1729, Stobo's daughter, Jean, married a young Scottish settler named James Bullock. Their only son, Archibald Bullock, played an important role in the American Revolution and in the early history of the State of Georgia. His great-grand daughter, Martha Bullock married Theodore Roosevelt, whose son, Theodore, became president of the United States.² Thus it was that a direct descendant of Archibald Stobo fulfilled Paterson's dream by building the Panama Canal; it was President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States, the great-great-great-great-grandson of

¹ Howe described Stobo as "a man of most decided character, uncompromising in his assertion of what he believed to be right, and in his denunciation of what he knew to be wrong." (Howe, op. cit., p. 160)

² Frank Cundall, The Darien Venture, p. 99; Crocket, op. cit.

the Scottish minister, who, as a modern writer described it, "was destined to cut the Gordian knot of Darien."¹

The New York Times, in commenting editorially upon the American President's Scottish ancestor who had been involved in the Darien Scheme, declared that it was "Theodore Roosevelt, who made Paterson's dream come true," and concluded: "So does the Creator move in a mysterious way His wondersto perform, planting his footsteps on the sea and riding upon the storm."²

CRITICISMS OF THE DARIEN MINISTERS

Many historians, in writing about the Darien expeditions have included in their accounts bitter criticisms of the six clergymen who were appointed to serve as ministers of the Scottish Colony. These animadversions range from a sarcastic account of the work of the clerics of the First Expedition by a contemporary,³ to the more studied denunciations of all six ministers by later historians, one of whom attributed the failure of the entire enterprise to the actions of the Colony's ministerial contingent.⁴ It will be necessary to consider both the sources and the accuracy of these criticisms.

The critics of the Darien ministers. Walter Herries, who

¹ German Arciniegas, Caribbean: Sea of the New World, p. 263.

² The New York Times, October 24th, 1935, (Photostat)

³ Walter Herries, A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien.

⁴ Albert Edwards, Panama: The Canal, the Country and the People, p. 351.

accompanied the First Expedition to Darien, wrote satirically of the first two of the Darien clergymen in a pamphlet entitled, A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien. "Two Ministers, he related, "were commission'd by the General Assembly, with full Instructions, I suppose, to dispose of the Bibles among the Indians."¹ He said of one of the clerics, that though he was a good man, "he ow'd his education to the Army in Flanders where the Kirk Rust was rubb'd off him." The other he described as "Young Headstrong, as infallible as his Holiness, Sawcy and as Impertinent as the Moderator himself."² In describing the work of James and Scott, Herries declared:

They thought to have establisht the Scotch Kirk Discipline in America, but having past the Tropic of Cancer, they could find such a sensible Alteration in our Men . . . by the Influence of that Zone, that they began to despare of it, and their heart-strings being quite broke at the sight of that Dear Land of Fromise, they just lookt upon it and so were gather'd to their Father. They were not much miss't indeed.³

Scottish pamphleteers of the time made spirited replies to Herries' denunciation of the Darien undertaking, and one declared that Scotsmen would "take no notice of his profane and atheistical Banter,"⁴ particularly "His Banter on the death of the Ministers."⁵ Herries' attack on the colonial clergy was forgotten

1 Walter Herries, op. cit., p. 36.

2 Loc. cit.

3 Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

4 An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 64.

5 Ibid., p. 97.

with the final failure of the Darien Scheme, and similar statements were not made until late in the eighteenth century.

In 1788, Sir John Dalrymple published his Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, which included in the historical account of the Expeditions several pages of bitter criticisms of the ministers who were sent to the Colony. Dalrymple described the general characteristics of the Darien clergymen in most uncharitable terms:

Added to the misfortunes of the first colony, the second had a misfortune peculiar to itself:¹ The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent out four ministers with orders "To take charge of the souls of the colony, and to erect a presbytery."²

He declared them to be fanatics who were a depressing and demoralizing influence upon the colonists, and he believed that these ministers were guilty of using their position of influence for selfish ends. He accused them of being so eager to abandon the settlement that they discouraged the colonists from carrying out the tasks essential to the establishment of the Colony.³ He related that the ministers demanded that the Council of the Colony grant them special privileges. He wrote:

When they arrived, the officers and gentlemen were occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands, because there was no help to be got from others; yet the four ministers complained grievously that the council did not order houses to be immediately built for their accommodation.⁴

¹ Apparently Dalrymple was not aware that ministers accompanied the First Darien Expedition.

² Sir John Dalrymple, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume III, p. 99.

³ Ibid., p. 100.

⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

He further criticized the ministers' actions in the discharge of their religious duties:

They damped the courage of the people, by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. . . . They exhausted the spirits of the people, by requiring their attendance at sermon four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercise, which was a Wednesday, they divided into three parts, thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And as the service of the Church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon an average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours; during which space of time the colony was collected, and kept close together in the guard room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate, and in a sickly season.¹

Dalrymple's judgment upon the religious leadership of the Colony was accepted without question by a number of later historians.

W. Winterbotham, in a massive work entitled A Historical and Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies, published only seven years after Dalrymple's work appeared, quoted the Memoirs at some length in referring to the ministers of the Colony.² In the nineteenth century, several

¹ Ibid., pp. 99 et seq.

² W. Winterbotham, A Historical and Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies, Volume IV, p. 127.

authors echoed Dalrymple's statements:¹ Eliot Warburton referred to the lengthy religious services described in the Memoirs, and charged that this was the cause of much of the sickness and death at Darien;² Edward Cullen, in a publication that appeared in 1853, made similar statements citing Warburton as his source.³ J. H. Burton in his History of Scotland, accepted Dalrymple's verdict on the clergymen who were sent to Darien, and suggested that the Church "attempted to get rid of her most troublesome members by this honourable banishment."⁴ In another work, Burton quoted Dalrymple as his source of information on the character and actions of the Darien ministers, but admitted that he had seen no earlier authority for these derogatory statements.⁵ Late in the nineteenth century, T. B. W. Niven, in his history of the Church of Scotland, repeated these same

¹ Lord Macaulay's account of Darien in the History of England, (Volume V, pp. 203-234) seems to be largely dependent upon the writings of Walter Herries; however, references to the ministers of the Second Expedition in this account are similar to the statements made by Dalrymple, and apparently are partly based upon information gained from the eighteenth century historian.

² Eliot Warburton, Darien, Volume III, p. 145.

³ Edward Cullen, Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, p. 175.

⁴ J. H. Burton, History of Scotland from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection, Volume I, p. 324.

⁵ J. H. Burton, Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland, Volume I, p. 142.

criticisms for the first time in a work dealing with ecclesiastical history.¹ After the turn of the century several similar accounts of the Darien Scheme reiterated these animadversions citing Dalrymple as an authority.² In 1912 the most violent attack on the Darien ministers yet to be published appeared in a historical work entitled, Panama: The Canal, the Country, and the People. The author of this volume elaborated on Dalrymple's criticisms of the ministers at considerable length quoting from him in several instances, and concluded "That these ministers were the principal cause of the disorganization and disaster which overwhelmed the Colony."³

The accuracy of the Darien ministers' critics. The seriousness of the charges brought against the Darien ministers, and the widespread acceptance of these criticisms by historians make it necessary to consider carefully the accuracy of these derogatory references to the colonial clergymen. A consideration of the criticisms of the Darien ministers clearly indicates that there are two sources for these strictures: Walter Herries, the

¹ T. B. W. Niven, The Church of Scotland, Volume III, p. 586.

² Graham, op. cit., p. 507; Principal Story, op. cit., p. 210; F. R. Hart, The Disaster of Darien, p. 90; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, (eleventh edition, p. 832, Volume VII) in an article on "Darien," referred to the "harsh fanaticism of the four ministers" of the Scottish Colony. However, it is interesting to note that the most recent edition of The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1947, Volume VII, p. 58) has deleted this derogatory reference to the Darien ministers.

³ Albert Edwards, op. cit., p. 351.

Darien pamphleteer; and Sir John Dalrymple, the late eighteenth century historian.

Since Herries was a contemporary of the Darien ministers, it will be necessary to consider his writings and his background. While serving as a surgeon in the English navy, he quarreled with the commander of his ship; rather than face a court-martial, he deserted and accepted employment with the Company of Scotland.¹ Herries sailed with the first fleet in July, 1698, but he took advantage of the first opportunity to leave Darien, and departed from the Isthmus in December, 1698 on board a sloop bound for Jamaica.² Upon returning to the British Isles, he took up his residence in England and began to write bitterly about the colonial undertaking, using his first hand knowledge of the Colony in what a recent writer called "the war of pamphlets"³--a literary battle between England and Scotland over Darien. In his writings Herries violently attacked the attempt to colonize the Isthmus, and included the ministers of the Colony in his disparaging reflections. However, his statements can not be taken seriously. Two contemporary pamphleteers denied his denunciations of religion in the Darien undertaking,⁴ and the Scottish parliament outlawed his writings as being "Blasphemous, Scandalous and Calumnious

¹ A Short Vindication of Phil. Scot's Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien, p. 9; Supra, p. 19.

² A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien, p. 160.

³ G. F. Insh, Historian's Odyssey, p. 169.

⁴ An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien; and Scotland's Grievances, relating to Darien.

Libels reflecting upon the Religion and the honour of this Nation."¹ The charge was brought against him by his Scottish contemporaries that he was being paid by the English government for using his pen against the Company of Scotland;² though substantial proof of this charge is not extant, there are indications that such was the case.³ Certainly Herries was not an unbiased observer; he wrote as a propagandist and his pamphlets on Darien were obviously studied attempts to discredit the entire colonial project: for this reason his derogatory statements about the ministers can be discounted.

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland is the second source of the criticisms that were directed against the Darien ministers. Since his authority has been so widely accepted, it will be necessary to consider his account of the Darien clergymen in some detail. Dalrymple criticized the colonial ministers along three lines: the qualifications and selection of these clergymen; the ministers' misuse of their position; and the ministers' unwise religious activities.

1 Proclamation for Apprehending Walter Herries.

2 An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, Introduction.

3 Two letters to Carstares in August, 1700 refer to an individual who had definite information about the Darien Colony, and who was willing to write in the defense of the attitude of the Crown in the affair for a substantial financial consideration. (Carstares State Papers, pp. 604 and 605.) Spencer, in speaking of this charge against Herries, wrote: "The persistence and venom of his writings make it difficult to believe that he was actuated by disinterested motives." (J. J. Spencer, Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, New Series, Volume VI, p. 105)

(1) The qualifications and selection of the clergymen.

Dalrymple indicated that the Darien ministers were poorly chosen for their task; later historians who have accepted his authority have suggested that these men were deliberately banished to the Isthmus Colony. However, in contradiction to this, contemporary documents indicate that every effort was made to secure men who were well fitted to serve as ministers of the Expeditions. The Company sought and obtained the assistance of the Church in selecting qualified spiritual leaders;¹ the appointment of the Darien clergymen was carried out with considerable care;² and every possible encouragement was provided for the ministers who accepted the Company's invitation to accompany the Darien fleets.³ The Company's correspondence indicates that the Directors were convinced that they had made wise selections in choosing men to serve as ministers of the Colony.⁴ Alexander Shields' experience as a regimental chaplain in the battles that took place in the Low Countries, and his life as a Cameronian leader certainly fitted him for service on the colonial

¹ "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume I, p. 424, MS; Supra, 116.

² The Darien Papers, pp. 124 et seq; Supra, pp. 117, et seq.

³ "Journal of the Court of Directors, " Volume I, p. 424, MS; Supra, p. 118.

⁴ The Darien Papers, pp. 271, 272, 293; "Acts Orders and Resolutions of the Council General," June 3rd, 1700, MS; Supra, p. 107.

expeditions.¹ Francis Borland had spent several years in the New World, and had performed ministerial functions in a colonial settlement in the same latitudes as that of the Isthmus of Darien; doubtless this was an important factor in his selection as a minister of the Scottish Colony.² The other ministers apparently were chosen because of their youthfulness and their willingness and ability to undertake the overseas mission. However, considerable care was taken in the selection and the appointment of these men, and there is every indication that the Commission of the General Assembly and the Company's Court of Directors, who were jointly responsible for securing ministers for the Expedition, conscientiously sought men who were well-qualified for service in an overseas colony.

(2) The ministers' misuse of their position. Dalrymple's next major criticism of the Darien ministers was his accusation that they misused their positions of influence in the Colony. He accused them of urging inaction in the councils of the Colony

¹ Doctor Insh stated: "If one had searched throughout Scotland, it would have been hard to find a man more fitted by previous experience to face the rigours of life on the Isthmus than . . . Alexander Shields." (G. P. Insh, The Company of Scotland, p. 173) Doctor Hector Macpherson, in dealing with the question of why Shields gave up his parish in St. Andrews to go to Darien, referred to a statement by Howie that would indicate that Shields did not get along well with his colleagues in the Church of Scotland. (Howie, Scots Worthies, p. 616) However, a careful consideration of the evidence led Doctor Macpherson to conclude that Shields left his parish in St. Andrews for no other reason than that he took the Company's invitation "to be the imperative call of God to service overseas." (Macpherson, op. cit., p. 139)

² "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," pp. 14 et seq.

for selfish ends. On the contrary, the colonial records,¹ contemporary letters,² and the report of the Company of Scotland's committee that later investigated James Byres' mismanagement of the Colony³ are unanimous in indicating that the ministers of the Second Darien Expedition to whom Dalrymple referred strongly supported the faction in the Council that urged action. Dalrymple erred here by assuming that the ministers supported the policy of James Byres; instead, the Darien clergymen urged a procedure that was contrary to Byres' policy, and that, when finally adopted, resulted in the victory of Toubacanti.⁴

Dalrymple next accused the Darien clergymen of demanding that huts be specially constructed for their personal convenience and "complained grievously" because this was not done immediately.⁵ This accusation was considered by Thomas M'Crie, in 1825, in the biographical notes attached to the Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch, and George Bryson. He began by challenging the basic accuracy of Dalrymple's account: "How could the ministers find, 'when they arrived, the officers and gentlemen occupied in

¹ The Darien Papers, p. 239.

² Ibid., pp. 249-252.

³ Ibid., pp. 237, 239, and 240.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 218-252; Borland, History of Darien, p. 52; Supra, p. 108.

⁵ Dalrymple, op. cit., p. 99.

building houses for themselves with their own hands,' when they all arrived at the same time?"¹ M'Crie pointed out that this criticism of the Darien ministers rested upon a statement in Borland's History of Darien, which had appeared in a second edition only nine years before Dalrymple published his work, that mentioned the inconvenience to the performance of their ministerial duties caused by being unable to secure living quarters on land.² Certainly, when this statement is considered in its context in Borland's account, there is no justification for the bitterly critical interpretation that Dalrymple placed upon it. M'Crie correctly concluded in referring to this accusation: "There is no evidence whatever that they 'complained greivously' that [huts] were not 'immediately built for their accommodation.'" "Had he looked into the papers of the Company," stated M'Crie in referring to Dalrymple, "he would have found all his statements on this head flatly contradicted."³

(3) The ministers' unwise religious activities. Dalrymple accused the Darien ministers of several unwise actions in the performance of their ministerial functions. He declared that they preached fanatical sermons that were ill fitted to the needs of their hearers; that they regularly held unreasonably lengthy services of worship; and that they enforced a rigid

¹ M'Crie, Thomas, Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch, and George Bryson, p. 246.

² Borland, History of Darien, p. 43.

³ M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 246 et seq.

system of discipline requiring all of the colonists to attend these religious meetings. However, there is no indication that Dalrymple was justified in these accusations. References to sermons preached by Shields and Stobo, and Borland's text list include only one sermon that appears to have contained a note of impending judgment. Borland's text list indicates that a great deal of Darien preaching was based on the book of Psalms, and in many cases there was a marked relationship between the situation in which the sermons were preached and the texts used.¹

Dalrymple's estimate of the length of the services conducted by the Darien ministers, and his statements concerning the unreasonable insistence by the clergymen that the colonists attend these religious observances have been repeated by most of the later historians who secured their information from him. However, once more contemporary accounts contradict the late eighteenth century historian. Several sources agree in indicating that attendance at services of worship was not compulsory, and that only the colonists who chose to do so took part in the religious observances conducted on the Isthmus.² Dalrymple's criticism was based on Borland's account of the day "solemnly set apart for thanksgiving, humiliation and

¹ "M. S. Memorial or Diary of Mr. Francis Borland, 1660-1722," pp. i-iii; Borland, History of Darien, pp. 43, 79; Supra, pp. 98-101.

² Borland, History of Darien, pp. 19 et seq; Principal Story, op. cit., pp. 219 et seq; Supra, pp. 97.

prayer."¹ This was a series of three services that apparently lasted most of the day. However, where the ministers' critics erred was in assuming that this was a regular occurrence. Only one such day was kept, and contemporary accounts² testify that a number of the men of the Colony did not choose to be present on this occasion: there was no attempt whatsoever, either by the Council or the ministers, to force the colonists to attend this series of religious exercises or the other services conducted by the colonial clergymen.³

In spite of the fact that Dalrymple has been widely accepted by many historians, other writers have correctly questioned the accuracy of his account of the Darien Colony. W. L. Mathieson observed that "Dalrymple's whole narrative of the Darien Scheme is indeed honeycombed with error."⁴ George Pratt Insh described this account of the settlement as "merely an elegant paraphrase of Herries' surrilous invective."⁵ Thomas M'Crie categorically declared that these animadversions of the conduct of the ministers sent to the Colony were "pure rodomontade."⁶

1 Borland, History of Darien, p. 42.

2 Ibid., p. 52; Principal Story, op. cit., p. 222.

3 Supra, pp. 95 et seq.

4 W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union: A History of Scotland from 1695 to 1747, p. 52.

5 G. P. Insh, "Some Darien Pamphlets," Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, Volume VIII, p. 141.

6 M'Crie, op. cit., p. 246; T. C. Pears described Dalrymple's statements about the ministers as "several . . . somewhat captious comments" that "have been quite effectively answered in the Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch." (T.C.Pears, op.cit.,

The character and work of the Darien ministers. Though contemporary evidence indicates that the bitter accusations brought against the Darien ministerial contingent by Walter Herries and Sir John Dalrymple are not worthy of acceptance, this does not alter the fact that the colonial clergymen were unsuccessful in their attempt to establish a church on the Isthmus. Several causes can be assigned to the failure of religion in the Scottish Colony,¹ but undoubtedly the personal qualities of the colonial ministers contributed in some measure to the defeat of the cause of religion on the expeditions. There is every indication that Borland, James, Scott, and Dalgleish were well thought of by their contemporaries; however, both Stobo and Shields were men who possessed the ability to make enemies readily. While Shields was apparently justified in challenging the dictatorial policy of James Byres, it is quite possible that on other occasions his Calvinistic convictions tended to seriously injure the relationship between the spiritual leaders of the Colony and the men of the Expedition. It seems likely that the personal qualities that had made the minister of St. Andrews an outstanding leader of the Cameronians, and that later were displayed by Stobo during his career in the Carolinas, did, to some extent, lessen the effectiveness of the work of the Darien ministerial contingent

¹ Supra, pp. 113-115.

among the colonists. Though the colonial clergymen industriously applied themselves to their appointed tasks, they undoubtedly made mistakes in the conduct of their duties: for this reason the ministers of the two Expeditions must to some extent share the blame for the Church of Scotland's failure to establish itself in a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of America.

Three of the six ministers died too soon to contribute substantially to this undertaking. The other three men each had a distinctive contribution to make: Alexander Shields, as a leader and thinker, accepted the position of minister of the Expedition with both a high conception of his task and a practical program of action; Francis Borland came to the Colony with a strong religious faith that was of great value amidst the uncertainties of colonial existence; Archibald Stobo was a man of forceful character and evangelistic fervor who was providentially led to exercise his calling in another portion of the New World than that of the Isthmus of Darien, but who might well have accomplished much in connection with the Church's plans for evangelizing the natives of the Isthmus had events taken some other course. Though these clergymen were not without their faults, they were, nevertheless, men of a high caliber who conscientiously undertook their work as ministers of the Colony with a nobility of purpose that was based upon the conviction that God had called them to endeavor to propagate Christianity upon the Isthmus of Darien.

CHAPTER IV

THE DARIEN SCHEME AS A MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

The Company of Scotland's attempt to establish a colony in Darien presented the Scottish Church with an opportunity to extend its influence to a foreign shore. When the Commission of the General Assembly selected ministers for the colonial attempt, the clergymen dispatched to Darien were instructed to undertake two tasks: the establishment of a Presbyterian church in the colony; and the evangelization of the native inhabitants of the Isthmus. Thus it was that the awakening of the Scottish nation to an interest in colonization had its counterpart within the national Church: the Church awakened to its missionary responsibility for the natives of the land in which the colony was to be established. It will be necessary, therefore, to determine to what extent the Darien Scheme was a missionary enterprise and to consider its importance as an attempt to propagate the gospel.

MISSIONARY UNDERTAKINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Roman Catholic missionaries undertook the evangelization of the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only a few years after the discovery of America,

Spanish colonies came into existence along the shores of the Caribbean as the conquistador laid the foundations for Spain's vast empire in America; with these adventurers came representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, determined to propagate the Christian faith in the newly discovered land.¹ In 1536 the Dominican order began missionary work in Central America,² and a few years later, a group of Franciscan monks arrived in the New World to establish missions among the Indians of Guatemala.³ Bartholomew de las Casas, a Spanish Dominican, was successful in his evangelistic labors throughout a wide area, earning for himself the title, "The Apostle to the Indies."⁴ In 1544 Las Casas became bishop of Chiapas; in this position he aroused the opposition of his fellow-countrymen by demanding that the conquering Spaniards treat the Indians with less cruelty. However, he failed in his attempt to secure a recognition of the rights of the natives. After his departure from America, Roman Catholic missions in the New World suffered severely because of the oppressive methods

¹ Raynal, Abbe, A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, Volume IV, pp. 4 et seq.

² Bancroft, H. H., History of Central America, Volume II, p. 137.

³ Ibid., p. 345.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 137 et sqq.

employed by Spanish rulers who were determined to keep the Indians in subjection.¹ Missionaries of the Church of Rome continued to work in Guatemala, Panama, Mexico, and in several other parts of the Americas with varying degrees of success throughout the entire period of the Spanish domination of the New World.² However, this work was always attended by military support and was subject to the embarrassments that necessarily accompany conquest.³ The Indians' distrust of their conquerors made it very difficult for successful missionary work to be carried on. Though considerable evangelistic zeal was displayed by the Spanish monks who worked among the American Indian tribes, at the end of nearly two centuries of missionary endeavor--when the Scots landed at Darien--the Roman Catholic

¹ As Bishop of Chiapas, Las Casas, on one occasion, decreed that all Indian slaves were to be released, (Ibid., p. 339) and he refused absolution to all who did not liberate their native vassals. However, he failed in his crusade against the oppression of the Central Americans, and soon left Chiapas to return to Spain where he spent his remaining years defending the rights of the Indians against those who insisted that "it was lawful to make war on the natives and enslave them in order to promote their conversion." (Ibid., pp. 333-336)

² Ibid., p. 475.

³ James Burney, A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, Volume III, pp. 278 et seq.

mission in Central America had very little to show for its efforts.¹

Several attempts were made by Protestants to establish missions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Four clergymen were sent from Geneva to Durand de Villegagnon's French colony in Brazil in the year 1556; these ministers had some contact with the natives, but before they were able to begin missionary work, Villegagnon, who had returned to the Roman Catholic faith, banished them from the Colony.² Several other Protestant missionary attempts occurred during this period: in 1559 an unsuccessful Swedish mission was dispatched by King Gustavus Vasa to Lapland;³ the Dutch East Indian Company sponsored the attempt to convert the natives of Ceylon, Java, Formosa, and Amboyna during the seventeenth

¹ Captain Richard Long reported in 1699 that, as a result of the ill treatment that the Indians had received at the hands of their conquerors, Spanish missionaries were put to death by the natives because "the very name of a fryer is odious amongst them, and soe are all Spaniards in generall." (Darien Shipping Papers, p. 101) In the same year a book was printed in London entitled A New Survey of the West-Indies; in this publication Thomas Gage described his experiences as a former missionary priest in Mexico and Central America, and indicated the sad condition of Spanish missions at the time in the New World. Apparently this evangelistic work suffered both from lack of consecration on the part of those sent forth by the Church and too close an alliance between the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish Military government. (Thomas Gage, A New Survey of the West Indies, pp. 6, 7, 18, 19, 433 et sqq)

² William Brown, The History of the Propagation of Christianity Among the Heathen Since the Reformation, Volume I, pp. 1-9; Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time, p. 23.

³ Brown, op. cit., pp. 10-13.

century with but limited success;¹ and several ministers of the Massachusetts Colony in America labored for the conversion of the Indians living in the areas surrounding the English settlements in North America.² Throughout this period, Protestant missionary endeavor was limited by two factors: the meager contact between Protestant lands and heathen peoples; and the struggle of Reformation churches against Roman Catholicism, a contest that was in progress throughout the sixteenth and that in some instances continued during most of the seventeenth century.³

THE MISSIONARY IDEAL
IN CONTEMPORARY
DARIEN LITERATURE

The Darien Scheme provided a contact with a pagan civilization for the National Church of Scotland; the

Church immediately recognized the opportunity for missionary

¹ Ibid., pp. 14-33. Dutch missionary efforts were extensive, but undue dependence upon government support and superficial evangelistic techniques prevented these undertakings from achieving any degree of real permanency.

² The most famous of these seventeenth century American missionaries was John Eliot, a Presbyterian minister who went from England to America in 1631; he worked for some years among the Indians near Roxbury, Massachusetts. A recent article in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, (Volume VIII, Number 4, May, 1947, written by J. T. Gillespie) claimed Eliot as the person to whom the title "the Father of Modern Missions," rightly referred. Other seventeenth century American missionaries were Richard Bourne, Thomas Mayhew, and his grandsons John, Experience, and Zechariah Mayhew. (Brown, op. cit., pp. 34-66)

³ Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time, p. 8.

endeavor that the proposed colonial scheme offered, and proclaimed its determination to propagate the Reformed Christian faith through the means of the Scottish Colony.

The Commission of the General Assembly met in July, 1699 and in an official statement declared that the Darien clergymen had, as a special duty, the task of "propagating the glorious light of the Gospel . . . among the Natives for their instruction and conversion."¹ At the same time a letter was prepared by the Commission to be distributed among the members of the Expedition in printed form: this letter made several references to the responsibility of righteous living that rested upon the colonists as a means of assisting in the evangelization of the Indians, and it referred to the ministers as men who were to communicate the "Gospel to the Gentiles in the Regions beyond . . . that they to whom Christ was not heretofore spoken of, may see; and they that have not heard may consider and understand."² The letter declared to the men of the colonial undertaking, in referring to the Indians of the Isthmus:

'Tis your positive duty, for which the Lord seems in a peculiar manner to have designed your Plantation, as its most glorious End; to propogate the light of his Gospel amongst them, and that Heaven-Riches, and whose Merchandice is better than the Gold of Ophur or Darien: Tis by their consent, that God

1 Borland, History of Darien, pp. 34-36.

2 A Letter from the Commission of the General Assembly, of the Church of Scotland; Met at Glasgow, July 21, 1699 To the Honourable Council, and Inhabitants, of the Scots Colony of Caledonia, in America, p. 5.

confirms your Right, therefore cherish them as your Brethren, of the same Blood and Kindred in Adam And Endeavour, that you may them have also your Brethren in Christ.¹

Thus it was that as the ships of the Darien Expedition set sail for the distant shores of the Isthmus, the Church proclaimed that the Colony had been designed by the will of God for the propagation of the Christian faith among a heathen people.

The General Assembly met early in the year 1700 while the Second Expedition was in the midst of its attempt to establish a colony on the Isthmus and similar declarations were made. In the Assembly's proclamation of February 14th, "Anent a Solemn National Fast, and Humiliation," the people of Scotland were urged to pray for the success of the Darien undertaking in order that it "prove a Happy and Successful Mean, for propagating the Gospel, and Converting the Heathen, in those Parts."² The following day, the General Assembly prepared a letter for the Darien ministers, in which similar references were made to the missionary task that had been assigned to the clergymen of the Colony, who were reminded that they had been "sent to carry His Name among the Heathen."³ The following summer the Commission of the General Assembly was in session in June, and in writing to the Darien ministers, the hope was expressed that they would be "happy Instruments

¹ Ibid., p. 11.

² Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1700, p. 11.

³ Ibid., General Assembly of 1700, p. 12.

of disseminating the Glorious Light of this Gospell among the Gentiles, So as they also may partake of the Common Salvation."¹ However, by this time the Church's hope of establishing a missionary undertaking through the means of the Darien Colony had become a lost cause: the broken remnant of the colonists were making their way with difficulty to Jamaica after having surrendered to Don Fimienta's combined military and naval force. When the General Assembly met in 1701, special reference was made to the disaster at Darien in the proclamation of a "Solemn National Fast and Humiliation," and even on this occasion the missionary aspirations of the colonial scheme were not forgotten. This document spoke of the "Blasting of the Undertaking of the African and Indian Company of this Nation" by the Hand of God "though by that Undertaking there was a fair prospect of spreading the Gospel amongst Infidels."² This was the Church's last official reference to the Darien Scheme: the Church of Scotland had demonstrated its missionary concern throughout the history of the two expeditions; the failure of the Colony meant not only the shattering of the Scottish colonial aspirations, but the destruction of a missionary hope.

The Church of Scotland was not alone in recognizing the Darien Scheme as an evangelistic enterprise. The Company

¹ "Miscellaneous Collection, Darien Papers," Volume II, MS number 313.

² Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1701, p. 13.

realized the pragmatic value of converting the Indians of the Isthmus to the Christian faith, and referred on several occasions to the colonial undertaking in terms that expressed the missionary responsibility that rested upon the Darien Colony. As early as July, 1695, William Paterson made mention of the possibility of propagating the gospel through the settlement that he had proposed.¹ A ministerial call issued by the Company declared that the Darien clergymen were being sent forth in order to spread "the Glorious Light" of the gospel "in those parts of the World."² Late in the year 1699, when the Directors requested that the Church provide additional ministers for the Colony, the appeal was made on the grounds that more clergymen were needed "from time to time for carrying on so important a design for the Honour, Interest and Advantage of the Kingdom, and for propagating the Glorious Light of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Indians of America."³ In May, 1700, a similar statement was included in a letter from the officials of the Company to the colonial clergymen

¹ J. S. Barbour, A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company, pp. 199 et seq.

² Only one copy of an individual call to a minister by the Company is extant; this was the call issued to the Reverend William Smith in June, 1699. Smith declined the call, but undoubtedly similar statements were made in the calls issued by the Company to the Darien ministers who accompanied the Expeditions. "Darien MSS" University of Glasgow, MS number 10.

³ "Miscellaneous Collection, Darien Papers," Volume II, MS number 201.

in which the hope was expressed that the Darien ministers would "prove the happy and successful instruments" of bringing "the heathen Indians of that part of the world" to a knowledge of Christianity.¹ Thus it was that the Company of Scotland joined the Scottish Church in declaring its interest in the evangelistic aspects of the Expeditions to Darien.

There is evidence that the ministers who were dispatched to Darien recognized the missionary nature of their task. Francis Borland wrote that he and his colleagues had been sent to Darien that "the light of the Gospel might shine in those dark regions where it never yet shined," and that the "poor Heathens might in time be brought to see and walk in this light."² Wodrow referred to Alexander Shields' conviction that Darien was of "unspeakable advantage . . . to the holy Christian religion,"³ and Shields himself once wrote that in the colonial attempt it was the Scottish peoples' "Business to propagate the precious Gospel of Christ, and prove the Blessed instruments in sending the Joyful sound and glad Tidings of Salvation to these Blinded Nations, who are daily falling down and Worshiping Graven Images."⁴

1 The Darien Papers, p. 293.

2 Borland, History of Darien, p. 33.

3 Robert Wodrow, The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, Volume IV, p. 233.

4 Shields, A Proper Project for Scotland To Startle Fools, and Frighten Knaves, But to Make Wise Men Happy, pp. 79 et seq; Supra, p. 57.

The attitude toward the Colony by some of the ministers in the Church is exemplified by a letter from Robert Wyllie¹ which was written to Shields during the colonial attempt.

My heart bleeds for the poor Indians that have bin so kind and loving to our country-men. I ever thought it the most valuable prospect in this undertaking, that the Church of Scotland might have bin instrumental in enlightening them & bringing them into the way of Salvation.²

Several contemporary printed documents made reference to the missionary aspects of the Darien Scheme. In 1699 an anonymous pamphlet entitled A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design for the having Established a Colony at Darien urged evangelistic endeavor in connection with the Darien Expeditions; this publication pointed to the example set by Roman Catholic missionaries in America that "should awaken zeal in such as have love for Souls," to seek the enlargement of Christ's Kingdom through the Scottish Colony.³ "It is no small disgrace unto Protestant Kingdoms, States and Churches," the pamphleteer declared, "that while they of the Romish Church have shewed themselves so forward and industrious and have been at such vast expences to send and maintain Missioners in those parts . . . that none of those stiled Reformed have

¹ Robert Wyllie was minister of Hamilton and an ardent Darien supporter; Supra, p. 56.

² "Wodrow MSS," Quarto 30 (145).

³ A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design, for the having Established a Colony at Darien, p. 203.

concerned themselves therein to any purpose."¹

In the same year A Proper Project for Scotland was printed; the appendix of the portion of this pamphlet that has been attributed to Alexander Shields proclaimed the missionary challenge of the Darien Colony.² In this publication Shields urged that additional ministers be sent to the Colony "for the Service of God, our Country, and those poor Natives."³ Clergymen sent to Darien must have their commission from Christ and be "Cloathed with his Authority," for it would be necessary to "Feast our Pagan Friends with Wholsom Food."⁴ If missionary ministers were sent immediately to the Isthmus, Shields believed that "with their Masters presence they may come to work wonders in a few years amongst these poor perishing Natives."⁵

The most important of the missionary documents that were published during the Scottish attempt to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien is a pamphlet that appeared from the press in 1700 entitled Scotland's present duty: or a Call to the Nobility, Gentry, Ministry, and Commonality of this Land, to be duely affected with, and vigorously to act for, our common Concern in Caledonia, as a Mean to Enlarge Christ's Kingdom, to Benefit our Selves, and do Good to all Protestant Churches.⁶

1 Ibid., pp. 203 et seq.

2 Supra, p. 57

3 A Proper Project for Scotland, p. 80.

4 Loc. cit.

5 Loc. cit.

6 T. C. Pears stated in referring to this publication: "There has never been a clearer or more forceful presentation of the foreign missionary obligation than is to be found in [this] pamphlet." (Pears, op. cit., p. 48.)

In this publication, Archibald Foyer,¹ the minister of Stonehouse, declared that the fact that "the poor Pagan Souls cry aloud to us to come over and help them" should be Scotland's chief motive for supporting the Darien Scheme.² Foyer forcibly presented the case for foreign missions in this paper in terms that indicate a high conception of missionary responsibility:

That we should all pray earnestly for the Enlargement of Christs Kingdom, can be doubted by none, who own the Lords Prayer to be part of the Holy Scriptures. Thy Kingdom come, is a Petition repeated by many, but understood by few. To think that the Gospel shall be still confined to a little corner of the world as it is now, is to forget the Promises of Increase and Prosperity that are made to Zion in the Old and New Testament, and which shall doubtless be accomplished in the Latter-days. We cannot mistake, in expecting the down fall of Anti-Christ, the ruine of the Turkish Empire, the National Conversion of the Jewes, and the fulness of the Nations; and what a Glorious time will it be, when all these things shall be fulfilled; then Holiness shall abound, and be the Motto engraven on our smallest Enjoyments; War shall Cease Threw all the Earth, Kings shall no more contend about Clods of Clay, but shall be employed in bringing their Glory to the New Jerusalem, and they shall be indeed nursing Fathers to a Church.³

These are indeed strange words to have been penned in an age that is generally thought to have been devoid of any conception of the missionary task. Foyer's pamphlet indicates the extent to which evangelistic responsibility was realized in connection

¹ Supra, p. 58.

² Scotland's Present Duty: or, a Call to the Nobility, Gentry, Ministry, and Commonality of this Land, to be duely affected with, and vigorously to act for, our common Concern in Caledonia, as a Mean to Enlarge Christ's Kingdom, to Benefit our Selves, and do Good to all Protestant Churches, p. 26.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

with the Darien Scheme; he continued his argument with these words:

There is a Restlessness amongst us, about worldly Concerns, to compass Sea and Land to get some worldly Pelf; but we are not Earnest and Keen to Trade for Religion, and to acquaint poor perishing Souls with their need of Christ. How will the Memory of worthy Mr. Eliot the Apostle of the Western-Indians, be fragrant to all the Godly, who was so Instrumental in bringing the poor Idolaters in America to Know, and to Adore the Supreme Majesty; and what a Stain will the slackness of others, when fair Opportunities have been offered them, be upon their Names . . . The greatest in degree, and the meanest Believer, should cry unto the Lord to pity the dark Places of the Earth; but especially Ministers should be the Lord's Remembrancers, and plead fervently, That the Kingdoms of this World may become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; and that Heralds of Peace may be sent into Satan's Camp, to bring over poor Souls led Captive at his will.¹

Foyer stated that Scotsmen were well suited for the propagation of the Christian faith among a heathen people because, "Our Doctrine is more agreeable to the Scriptures . . . Our worship most Pure . . . Our Government most Adapted to advance the True ends of Government in Christ's house . . . and Our Disciplin . . . the most effectual to bear down Sin, and encourage Piety."² Rightly managed, the Darien Colony would not only serve as a means for converting the Indians of the Isthmus, but, as a center of world trade, would spread the gospel

¹ Ibid., pp. 6 et seq.

² Ibid., p. 7.

throughout the world, "so the Lords Interest daily would gain Ground."¹ "When a People please God," he declared in referring to Scotland's missionary task, "their Cords shall be lengthned, as well as their Stakes strengthned."²

A practical program for the conduct of this attempt to evangelize the natives of the Isthmus of America was propounded by Foyer in this pamphlet; his proposals are not unlike modern missionary procedure in either precept or method. As one means of carrying out successful evangelistic activity on the Isthmus of Darien, he proposed a plan that closely resembles modern industrial missions: he suggested that the colonial leaders, in seeking to bring about the conversion of the Indians, "endeavour to Civilize them, and acquaint them with many useful Trades, to render their Lives more Comfortable."³ He further proposed that educational missionary work be undertaken: the colonists in

¹ Doctor Hamilton, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, in an appendix of Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, stated that had the Scottish Colony on the Isthmus been successful, it would not only have been of great advantage to Scotland, but would "have conferred incalculable advantages . . . upon the distant shores of India and China, and have broken down that iron barrier which has so long excluded the populous empire of Japan from the blessings of Christianity and civilisation." (E. Cullen, Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal; With a Full History of the Scotch Colony of Darien, several Maps, Views of the Country, and Original Documents, Second Edition, pp. 150 et seq.)

² Scotland's Present Duty, pp. 7 et seq. Thus it was that William Carey who preached his famous sermon on May 31st, 1792 from Isaiah 54:2,3 was not the first to use this text in connection with a missionary appeal.

³ Scotland's Present Duty, p. 8.

dealing with the Indians were to "instruct and train their Children in God's way . . . When they see our Care of their Young," he believed, "they will trust us the more, and love us the better."¹ The minister of Stonehouse suggested that native evangelists be used in winning the Darien Indians to the Christian faith: "Some of themselves may in time be in case to instruct their own Friends in the way of God, and teach them to Read, and let them see in their own Language, how it hath been foretold, That the whole Earth shall be filled with the Knowledge of the Lord, as the Waters cover the Sea."² His final proposal in this connection was that Scottish Christians unite in prayer for the success of the Darien missionary enterprise; he declared in referring to the Isthmians: "The many Prayers put up for them will not want their Effect."³ The Darien missionary undertaking, therefore, included both a noble conception of the missionary ideal and a practical program for missionary action.

Several of the authors of popular pieces of verse echoed the missionary aspirations expressed by the Darien pamphleteers. An elegy written when the death of Alexander Shields was known in Scotland, referred to the colonial minister as one who

¹ Loc. cit.

² Loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

All hazards venturd, Religion to premot,
That Heathen Infidels did almost own
The Glorious Gospel (by him) to them shown.¹

Another elegist declared him to be "A Harbinger i' th' Indies"
who had been sent

Our Sovereign Lords great Doctrine and His name.²

The author of "The Golden Island" referred to the Darien undertaking in these words:

This great Attempt is carried on, by Mortals
that has breath,
It seems the Lord does mind to send
Christs Gospel through the Earth.³

Another writer of verse declared as the Second Expedition set sail:

The richest Jew'll God blest to us and you.⁴

"Trade's Release," a poem written in 1699, stated the Darien missionary ideal in these words:

The Gospel in the Indies we'll propagate,
But not by such ways as attempted of late,
By Jesuits guile, nor vain pompous state,
Nor bloody Inquisition:

1 Elegie On the universally Lamented Death of Mr.
Alexander Scheills: An Eminent Minister of the Gospel, who
Departed this Life at Jamaica, in his Return from Caledonia, 1700.

2 Truth's Champion or an Elegie On the much to be Lamented Death of that Pious and Godly Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Alexander Shields.

3 "The Golden Island or the Darian Song in
Commendation of All Concerned in that Noble Enterprise Of the
Valiant Scots," Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry, p.6.

4 "The Recruits for Caledonia of the Rysing-Sun their Farewell to Old Scotland," Ibid., p. 9.

There's one way more yet left for us,
 A way divine and glorious,
 Which can not fail; and that is thus,
 By Peace, Love and Contrition.¹

The missionary conception of the Darien Scheme was not confined to the official declarations of the Church of Scotland: statements made by the Scottish colonial Company, the pamphleteers of the time, and even the writers of popular verse recognized the place of missionary aspirations in the project.

SCOTTISH INTEREST IN THE INDIANS OF DARIEN

From the very beginning of the Darien Colony, Scotsmen displayed considerable interest in the Indians of the Isthmus. Nearly two decades before the Scots landed in Central America, a band of English and French buccaneers had assembled near the spot upon which New Edinburgh later stood to rally the Indians about them for an attack upon the Spanish strongholds of Santa Maria and the City of Panama.² Several of these Brethren of the Coast, tiring of their reckless exploits upon the Caribbean, eventually returned to their homes to take up more sedentary occupations: the penning of their piratical adventures was among the

¹ "Trade's Release: or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian Company," Ibid., p. 4.

² The buccaneering adventure that resulted in the sack of Santa Maria took place in 1680. A Collection of Original Voyages, Containing Captain Sharp's Journey over the Isthmus of Darien, and Expedition into the South Seas, written by himself.

vocations of the declining years of several of these buccaneers. William Dampier published his experiences in 1697,¹ and shortly before the first Darien fleet sailed, his fellow adventurer, Lionel Wafer, gave the Directors of the Company of Scotland information on the Isthmus of Darien that was based on his exploits among the freebooters in America.² Soon after it was known that the Scottish Expedition had landed on the Isthmus, several accounts of the country and of its inhabitants were produced for the press. Lionel Wafer published his journal in 1699;³ at the same time, Isaac Blackwell, who had been with Wafer and Dampier in their buccaneering exploits, wrote A Description of the Province and Bay of Darien;⁴ in the same year

¹ The English Circumnavigators: The Most Remarkable Voyages Round the World by English Sailors, "A New Voyage Round the World, by William Dampier," pp. 115-316.

² Wafer's MS Journal was among the papers that William Paterson presented to the Company in 1696. (Insh, The Company of Scotland, p. 70)

³ Lionel Wafer, A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America, Giving an Account of the Author's Abode there, The Form and Make of the Country, the Coasts, Hills, Rivers, &c. . . . With Remarkable Occurrences in the South Sea, and elsewhere.

⁴ A Description of the Province and Bay of Darien: Giving a full Account of all its Situation, Inhabitants, Way and Manner of Living and Religion, Solemnities, Ceremonies and Product; Being Vastly Rich with Gold and Silver, and various other Commodities.

Captain Sharp's Journey over the Isthmus of Darien, and Expedition into the South Seas appeared in print.¹ The writings of the buccaneers dealt not only with the land in which the Scots were settled, but described at considerable length the native inhabitants of the Isthmus of Darien. Wafer had lived for some months among a band of Indians who had nursed him back to health after a gunpowder wound had prevented him from continuing with his adventurous brethren. In his New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America, Wafer described the Darien natives at great length, recorded their customs, and displayed a strong admiration for his Indian benefactors.²

The information supplied by the buccaneers had aided the Company in making its plans for dispatching expeditions to the Isthmus; these same sources generated interest in the Darien Indians among Scottish churchmen. The various accounts of the natives that reached Scotland in 1699 and 1700 reflected the old buccaneers' admiration for their former allies: one

¹ Captain Sharp's Journey over the Isthmus of Darien, and Expedition into the South Seas, written by himself. Another account of this buccaneering expedition across the Isthmus was written by Basil Ringrose. His record has been preserved in Esquemeling's The Buccaneers of America, a collection of tales of freebooter exploits originally published in Dutch and later translated into both Spanish and English. (Esquemeling, The Buccaneers of America, pp. 277-286)

² Wafer, op. cit., pp. 141-188.

described the native men as "streight, clean lim'd . . . nimble, active . . . well proportion'd Cheeks and Chins, and in general handsome";¹ another declared that they "are generally very Civil and Sagacious, have all of them good Faces . . . very well built."² The qualities of modesty, cleanliness, friendliness, and a natural sense of justice and honor were ascribed by the Scottish writers to the Isthmians.³ This admiration and concern for the American natives manifest in both the writings of buccaneer and Scot, accompanied by the accounts of the good relations that existed between colonist and Indian,⁴ helped to convince churchmen of the hopeful prospects of evangelizing the Darien natives. This interest in the Indians inhabiting the country surrounding the Colony is evident in the "Letter of the Commission of the General Assembly" that instructed the Darien ministers to pay particular attention to the natives of the Isthmus with their prospective conversion to the Christian faith in view. Just relations with the Isthmians were urged and information concerning the Indians

¹ A Defence Of the Scots Settlement at Darien, p. 69.

² "Part of a Journal kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien, with a short Account of that Country, Communicated by Dr. Wallace. F. R. S." Miscellanea Curiosa, Volume III, p. 418.

³ Borland, History of Darien, p. 12 et seq; A Letter Giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darian; The History of Caldeonia, pp. 27-29.

⁴ "Hamilton MS Papers," Section 16, Colonization; "Miscellaneous Collection, Darien Papers," Volume II, MS Number 17; and State Papers, Colonial Series, 1699, p. 88.

was to be secured.¹

The physical characteristics and the social customs of the Darien Indians were not the only features of native life that attracted the interest of Scotsmen. Robert Wodrow, in a letter of 1699, wrote to a friend who was then in Darien asking if the Isthmian inhabitants "have any knowledge of one God," and requesting that a detailed account of "their religious worship" be sent to him.² Most of the descriptions of these Central American Indians, written at the time of the Darien Expeditions, made reference to Indian priests or conjurers who were reputed to have the ability to foresee future events, and who maintained a considerable amount of influence over their fellows because of their alleged superhuman powers.³ A weird religious ceremony accompanied the prophetic declarations of these priests; Wafer described this rite as consisting of "hideous Yellings and Shrieks" which were intended "to raise the Devil."⁴ "The Great Enemy of mankind and lover of discord invited by such jarring Musick," declared another writer, "at

¹ A Letter from the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, p. 11.

² "Queries for Caledonia Nova to Mr. Patrick Smith, " MS letter from R. Wodrow.

³ The Darien Papers, p. 66; Darien Shipping Papers, p. 84; Borland, History of Darien, pp. 13 et seq; A Description of the Province and Bay of Darien, pp. 9 et seq; "Darien MSS, University of Glasgow," MS number 9; A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien, p. 11; The History of Caledonia, pp. 24 et seq; Wafer, op. cit., pp. 37-39.

⁴ Wafer, op. cit., p. 37.

last visibly appears and audibly gives his answer, which for the most part proves exactly true. . . that he may the better delude these poor Creatures, who stand in great awe of him."¹ Along with this satanic conjuring, one of the buccaneers had observed burial customs among the Darien Indians that indicated both a belief in the resurrection of the body and the conviction that there is reward and punishment in a life after death: the bones of the Indian dead were carefully preserved in order that "the brave and strong" might "rise and go behind the great High-hill"; others would "go to a dark Cave, and there neither hear, nor see the brave Singing and Dancing."² However, this writer, like the other observers of the pagan religious cult of the natives of Darien, declared that though they worshiped several natural objects, it is really "the Devil they worship in various Shapes."³ Francis Borland agreed with this observation and recorded that the Indians did homage to the devil "whose vassals and slaves they are."⁴ It was from this bondage that he and his fellow ministers hoped to free the allies of their colonial settlement in their attempt to propagate the Christian faith among the native inhabitants of the Isthmus. The Scottish

1 The History of Caledonia, p. 25.

2 A Description of the Province and Bay of Darien, pp. 15 et seq.

3 Ibid., p. 14.

4 Borland, History of Darien, p. 13.

concern for the Darien Indians was a natural accompaniment of the missionary aspirations of the Church of Scotland; this interest in the primitive inhabitants of the Isthmus was both an incentive to missionary activity and a result of missionary aspiration.

THE ATTEMPT TO EVANGELIZE

THE INDIANS OF DARIEN

While on the Isthmus of Darien the ministers of the Colony wrote to the Commission of the General Assembly expressing their conviction that the natives had never "heard any thing of the Christian religion from Spanish Priests, or others."¹ For this reason the Scottish clergymen had hoped from the very beginning to be able to carry out the missionary clause of their instructions by bringing the light of Christian truth to the darkness of a heathen land.

Accounts of the First Expedition stated that on several occasions a number of the Indians were present and "very attentive at our Form of Worship."² At the same time an educational project was attempted that included inviting "several young Boys of the Chief Nobility" of the Isthmian inhabitants to live among the Caledonians "to be Educated, and to Learn the Scottish Language";³ in spite of the fact that a Company

¹ "Letter to the Commission of the General Assembly," Borland, History of Darien, p. 54.

² A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien p. 11.

³ The History of Caledonia, pp. 43 et seq.

promotional pamphlet¹ states that this was actually done, there are no further references to this educational scheme. Though these activities appear to have been in accord with the missionary aspirations of the colonial undertaking, it was not until the arrival of the Second Expedition that a concerted effort was made to propagate the Christian faith among the jungle-dwellers of Darien.

The three ministers who survived the voyage from Scotland were very conscious of the missionary obligation that rested upon them. Soon after their arrival in America, they noted the interest of the Indians in their services of worship, and lamented that their native allies were unable to understand the meaning of the religious observances that they witnessed.² However, the Darien clergymen were determined to overcome the language barrier that existed between themselves and the Indians. Shields wrote in December that the difficulties to effective evangelization of the natives had been increased by the fact "that Mr Johnson that projected an Indian School died at Sea."³ Nevertheless, Shields and his colleagues were still hopeful that their Central American charges would eventually be able to comprehend the English tongue. He wrote: "We

1 Loc. cit.

2 Principal Story, op. cit., p. 220.

3 Loc. cit.

purpose to put our Young Expectants to try what they can Learn of our Language"¹ in the hope that they would gain a knowledge of the Christian faith through their linguistic attainments.

The colonial ministers soon realized that successful evangelization of the Isthmians necessitated both a closer contact with the Colony's allies and additional information about the Indians. In January the three ministers, in company with Lieutenant Turnbull, who seems to have had some knowledge of the Darien dialect, spent three days in an itineracy that took them to several inland settlements.² Borland recorded this journey in his history of the Colony: the Scottish ministerial contingent traveled southwest from the site of New Edinburgh to the river Acla where they spent a night in the hut of an Indian named Captain Pedro; the second day they made their way to the sea following the banks of the river to a cluster of native dwellings; that night they were again entertained by the Isthmians before returning the next day along the coast to Fort St. Andrew.³ "The Indians . . . were civil enough to us after their manner," wrote Shields in describing their inland travels to Principal Dunlop. "At night before we went to our Hammocks, we performed Public exercise

¹ Ibid., p. 220.

² The Darien Papers, p. 227.

³ Borland, History of Darien, pp. 44-47. Infra, p. 303, Borland's map of Darien.

of worship in their houses, in which they sate silently, devoutly, and reverently."¹ The clergymen gave a careful account of the itineracy among the Indians in their letter to the Commission of the General Assembly: "Our curiosity prompted us to travel two or three days among them. We find them a poor naked people, living, as we use to say, from hand to mouth . . . peaceable and friendly to those that use them kindly."² "There might be some hope of doing good among them," recorded Shields, "if we had the Language . . . and if our peoples Fractise did not scandalize them."³ However, the brief sojourn of the ministers among the Indians did more than awaken the compassion of the clergymen for their native charges: Shields and his colleagues came to realize the necessity of learning the language of the Indians rather than expecting their prospective converts to master the tongue of the ministers. The original proposal for educating the Indian children had assumed that the language for the propagation of Christian knowledge would, as a matter of course, be that in which the Westminster Confession had been written. However, in a letter of February 2nd, 1700, Shields indicated that attempts were being taken by the members of the ministerial contingent to

1 Principal Story, op. cit., p. 222.

2 "Letter to the Commission of the General Assembly," Borland, History of Darien, p. 53.

3 Principal Story, op. cit., p. 222.

learn the dialect of the Darien Indians. Shields declared when he wrote to Dunlop that even if the ordained men should return to Scotland at the end of their appointed term, they did not intend to do so until the probationers were "put in some capacity to Learn the Indian Language."¹

However, the uncertainty and the discouragement that the members of the Second Expedition had shared from the day that they found the Isthmus deserted by their fellow countrymen seem to have sapped the energies of the ministers and to some extent allayed their enthusiasm. Very little was done toward the actual conversion of the Darien natives. Shortly after Shields' letter to Principal Dunlop had been penned, the Spanish fleet appeared off of Golden Island and preparations for the siege of Fort St. Andrew began; this turn of events brought to an end any further hope of missionary endeavor. By the end of March, the colonists had been forced to surrender to their attackers and articles of capitulation were drawn up. But even in the last hours of the Darien Colony, the ministers were not forgetful of their responsibility for the inhabitants of the Isthmus. The representatives of the Church insisted that a clause be inserted in the formal surrender document that called for a promise from the victorious Spaniards not to punish the Indians for their friendly relations with the Scots and their

¹ Ibid., pp. 223 et seq.

assistance to the settlers. Don Pimienta, the Spanish commander, refused to do this, declaring that the natives were subjects of the King of Spain.¹ Borland recorded that Pimienta "was angry with the reverend Mr. Shields, who presented our petition to him."² The haughty Don curtly said to Shields: "Cura tua Negotia"; Shields replied briskly in Latin, which was the language of negotiation: "Curabo," obviously implying that the welfare of the Indians was his business.³ With this the Scottish minister and his colleagues left the conference room having failed in their final attempt to aid the natives of Darien. The departure of the Scottish ships from Caledonia Bay a few days later not only brought the Darien Scheme to a tragic conclusion, but ended unsuccessfully the Reformed Church of Scotland's first attempt to evangelize a foreign people.

DARIEN AS AN EPISODE IN THE
CONFLICT BETWEEN PROTESTANTISM
AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Darien Scheme represented the invasion of the Roman Catholic sphere of influence by a Protestant

people. A recognition of this fact served as a stimulus to the Scottish zeal for propagating the Christian faith upon the

¹ Borland, History of Darien, p. 67.

² Loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

American Isthmus. The prospects of establishing a Reformed church in Darien and evangelizing the natives in accord with Calvinistic belief had a strong appeal to contemporary Scotland; a number of writers urged the support of the colonial undertaking as a means of opposing Roman Catholicism. One pamphleteer declared in referring to the Scottish Colony: "It will be of general advantage to the Protestant Interest," for it would "contribute to the advancement of pure Christianity without any of the Romish Sophistications."¹ Writers of other pamphlets echoed this conviction,² and one, in referring to the anti-papal aspects of the Scottish Colony wrote:

It will bring a very foul Blot and Reproach on the Ministry, if they should be found faint and remiss in contributing so far as is competent to them, to the support of this Christian and profitable Undertaking . . . How Zealous would Popi-Priests be to propagate their Superstition and stir up their Country Men to Erect such a Colony and Plantation as this.³

One writer envisioned the Darien Colony as a religious haven in the heart of Spain's colonial empire where Dutch, French, and English Protestants would join their Scottish co-religionists.⁴ Several contemporary pamphleteers saw the establishment of a

1 A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, p. 22.

2 Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien, &c. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Parliament, 1700, p. 23; A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, p. 50.

3 Scotland's Present Duty, pp. 12 et seq.

4 The Darien Papers, p. 339.

colony on the American Isthmus as a means of destroying the wealth of the Roman Catholic Church, which, they believed, depended upon Spanish gold mines in Central America. One said of the Darien Scheme: "It is certainly the surest Method of destroying Antichrist, for if he once be depriv'd of Judas' Bag, he will quickly drop St. Peter's Keys."¹ William Paterson himself urged the support of the colonial project as a means of defeating the attempt of Roman Catholic nations to control international affairs "by the purse."² "If America were out of the Papists Possession," one pamphleteer stated, "their Pomp and Tyranny would cease," and they could "no more uphold their accursed Dignity, and persecuting Pride."³

Various reports of Spanish cruelty to the Darien Indians were published in Scotland; doubtless these accounts served to heighten the Scottish concern for the Protestant evangelization of the Isthmians. Blackwell, writing in 1699, described the attitude of the Indians toward the Spaniards, "whom they hate with a perfect hatred, as they have good cause to do, considering their horrid and inhumane Murder that they committed upon these poor silly harmless Heathen: It's not many Years ago," he alleged, "since I saw upon the Coast of

¹ The Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph, p. 31.

² William Paterson, Central America, p. 39.

³ Scotland's Present Duty, pp. 9 et seq.

Peru 100 Carcases of murdered Indians turned into Mummy, tho' a long time since."¹ Dampier had referred to the cruelty of the Spanish conqueror to the natives of Central America,² and Scottish writers asserted that the Spaniards had been guilty of "destroying and extirpating" the Indians "and converting their Countries and their Treasures to their own use."³ The Protestant conception of the Spanish colonists in America was expressed by a contemporary poet in these words:

Their Cruelties were Catholick indeed,
Nor Christian, to poor Indians and their Seed,
But those they call Hereticks of our Nation,
we hope will shew a meeker Reformation.⁴

Scotsmen, in proposing to evangelize the Isthmians, not only hoped to be able to save the Darien natives from paganism, but believed that they were rescuing the Indians from both the cruelty of the Spaniards and what they considered to be the errors of Roman Catholicism. "Doubtless the poor Americans will be more inclinable to imbrace Christianity," one writer declared, "when they find the difference of the Morals and Doctrine betwixt Protestants and Papists, and see that the former treat them with Humanity, and seek their welfare both in Body and Soul."⁵

¹ A Description of the Province and Bay of Darien, pp. 11 et seq.

² William Dampier, op. cit., p. 172.

³ A Just and Modest Vindication, p. 79.

⁴ Caledonia Triumphans, A Panegyrick to the King.

⁵ A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, p. 22.

Scottish writers expressed the view that Spanish conduct toward the Indians had invalidated Spain's entire claim on the Americas. The Bull of Partition of Pope Alexander VI that divided the New World between the two Iberian nations in 1493 had specified that in colonizing, "the salvation of souls be obtained and barbarous Nations be subdued and brought to the Faith."¹ Several Darien pamphleteers believed that Spain had failed to do this; for this reason, they declared, the Roman Catholic nation could "pretend no claim of right and title to those countries and Dominions by the Pope's Bulls."² A number of the authors of these Scottish publications quoted from the writings of Bartholomew de las Casas, the Apostle to the Indies,³ who, after having served as the Spanish Bishop of Chiapas, had declared that because of the improper conduct of the Roman Catholic missionary effort in the Americas all conquests by his fellow countrymen "that have been or may hereafter be made in the Indies, are to be accounted Unjust, Tyrannical and Null, being condemned by all the Laws of God and Men."⁴ Several pamphleteers⁵ repeated this statement as an argument for

1 James Burney, op. cit., p. 271.

2 A Just and Modest Vindication, p. 69,

3 Supra, 180.

4 An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 111.

5 Ibid.; A Just and Modest Vindication, p. 69; Certain Propositions Relating to the Scottish Plantations of Caledonia; and A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien, pp. 6 et seq.

supporting the Darien Colony, which they believed would rescue the American natives from Spanish oppression and lead to their conversion to the Reformed faith. Thus it was that Presbyterianism undertook to establish itself in the heart of Spain's American empire. Anti-Roman sentiment in Scotland--increased by the report of Spanish cruelty and vindicated by the writings of Las Casas--served as a stimulant to the missionary conception of the Darien Scheme and had a catalytic action on the Church of Scotland's attempt to evangelize the Isthmian Indians.

Spain, on the other hand, not only recognized the Scottish Colony in Central America as an infringement upon her colonial rights, but considered it a threat to the Roman Catholic faith. From the very beginning Spanish determination to bring about the expulsion of the Scots from the Isthmus took on many of the aspects of a crusade. Early in 1699, not long after news of the Darien Colony had reached Spain, Alexander Stanhope, English Minister at Madrid, wrote to friends at home declaring that the Spanish Court was greatly concerned over the project of the Scots, believing that they "have a design to destroy the Catholic religion there, having carried over several hundred heretic ministers . . . to that purpose."¹ Spanish intelligence soon secured a more accurate account of the number of clergymen involved in the expeditions, and in August, 1699, Stanhope

¹ Lord Mahon, editor, Spain Under Charles the Second; Or Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister at Madrid, 1690-1699, From the Originals at Chevening, (1840 edition,) p. 126.

stated in referring to the Spanish government: "They are sending with all expedition three small vessels with arms, ammunition, &c. to Cartagena, to be employed against the six Scotch heretic ministers at Darien, who stick more in their stomachs here than all the other 1200 fighting laymen put together."¹ In the meantime the Viceroy of Mexico had written asking for help in driving the Scots from the shores of the Caribbean, declaring that he was determined to "exterminate the Scottish pirates" for several reasons, "the greatest one being to destroy the heresies which the Scots may introduce amongst the ignorant people."² Viceroy Joseph Sarmiento later reiterated his plea for military assistance against the Presbyterian Colony, stating that his "greatest desire is to remove from the realms of my Lord, the King, the cancer of heresy."³ In the summer of 1699, a courier was dispatched to Rome from the Spanish Court asking for financial assistance from the Church in removing the Scots, "a cause that so nearly concerned the interests of the Holy See."⁴ In August the

1 Ibid., p. 147.

2 F. R. Hart, The Disaster of Darien: The Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of its Failure, 1699-1701, Appendix, p. 258. The publication of the Spanish documents relating to the Darien Colony by F. R. Hart two decades ago made accessible a new source of information on the Scottish settlement. These papers appear in translation in the appendix of The Disaster of Darien. Spanish Documents Relating to the Scots Settlement of Darien lists the locations of these colonial records in the Spanish archives.

3 Hart, The Disaster of Darien, Appendix, p. 312.

4 Lord Mahon, op. cit., (1844 edition) p. 184.

Vatican informed colonial authorities in Madrid that "a grant of a million pieces of eight yearly, to be raised on the church revenues all over the Indies" was "to be employed to this pious purpose."¹ By the end of October, preparations were well under way for sending a squadron against the Scottish settlers: "As to the expenditures to which this expedition must give rise in the Indies," stated a Royal memorandum, "there is allotted to them the subsidy of a million ducats which his holiness conceded against the ecclesiastical estate in those kingdoms."² Official Spanish documents spoke of the money allotted by the papal see for the expulsion of the Scots as having been appropriated "for the defence of Religion," and described the settlement on Caledonia Bay as of "imminent danger" to the Roman Catholic faith.³ Thus it was that Spain, backed by the financial resources of Rome, moved against the Presbyterian Colony on the Central American Isthmus. The Council of the Indies declared from Madrid its confidence in the success of the expedition because of the "assurance which lies in Divine favour,"⁴ and Viceroy Joseph

¹ Loc. cit.

² Hart, The Disaster of Darien, Appendix, p. 337; Estimates of the value of the Venetian Ducat of the time, the currency that was probably referred to here, vary from 3s to 4s 2d. (Oxford English Dictionary, Volume III, p. 699)

³ Hart, The Disaster of Darien, Appendix, pp. 330 et seq.

⁴ Ibid., Appendix, p. 273.

Sarmiento ordered the fleet to attack after having invoked "the favour of God and of Our Lady, and also of San Bernardo."¹ In the meantime the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of William III protested against the Scots, declaring that Darien had been granted to Ferdinand and Isabella by Pope Alexander VI.² However, in the middle of April, 1700, the Castilian ensign was flying from the ramparts of Fort St. Andrew;³ Spanish colonial leaders not only considered this a triumph for Spain's American empire, but a victory for the Church of Rome. Shortly after the Scots had departed from their fort, General Pimienta recorded that he "entered into it, dedicating as its first temple one of their warehouses, where the first mass was said, consecrating the place to Saint Charles."⁴ The Conde de Canillas reported the capitulation of the Scots to the Crown assuring the Spanish monarch that "the consolation" should be his "of preventing heresy from treading the soil of these lands, to contaminate the purity of our Holy Faith."⁵ As the news of Spanish victory at Darien spread, Roman Catholic church bells were rung throughout Mexico and a "solemn thanksgiving"

1 Ibid., Appendix, p. 311.

2 "Information concernant l' Affaire de Darien," cited in Appendix of Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, p. 162.

3 Hart, The Disaster of Darien, Appendix, p. 391.

4 Loc. cit.

5 Ibid., p. 40.

was observed.¹ Thus it was that both Scot and Spaniard joined in recognizing that the attempt to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien was an episode in the conflict between Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church: Rome and Madrid were determined to retain control of the land in which Franciscans and Dominicans had long labored; Scotland had sought to establish a colony and a Protestant church in Central America with the hope of propagating Reformed Christianity within the bounds of Roman Catholic influence. In this conflict, Spain was triumphant, and the missionary aspirations of the Church of Scotland associated with the Darien Scheme came to an end.²

AN EVALUATION OF THE DARIEN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

If the Scottish Colony had been established upon the Isthmus of America, what prospects of success would there have been for the Church's evangelistic program at Darien? A consideration of this

¹ Robles, Diario, iii, p. 254, cited by Bancroft, Central America, Volume II, p. 579.

² The Scottish Colony had one positive effect upon missionary endeavor. Raynal stated: "The mere apprehension the Spaniards had felt of having such a neighbour, determined them to pay more attention themselves to a country which they had always hitherto disdained. The missionaries succeeded in forming nine or ten villages, each of which contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred savages." Thus the Scots brought about an increase in Roman Catholic evangelistic zeal, though the Church of Scotland's missionary attempt was a failure. (Raynal, op. cit., Volume IV, p. 58)

question is necessary to an evaluation of the Darien missionary enterprise.

Contemporary documents indicate that there was considerable hope for propagating Christianity among the native Central Americans. Dampier had written that the Indians were "ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time,"¹ and apparently the Isthmians adopted this same attitude toward the Scottish colonists. While a member of the First Expedition, William Paterson recorded: "The Natives for fifty Leagues on either side are in intire friendship and correspondence with us."² "They are very curious to see our way of worship," wrote one of the settlers, "and they sitt very composidly all the type coming designedly to hear and see us."³ Other accounts referred to the attendance of the Indians at the Scottish religious observances,⁴ and one related, in speaking of the Indians' interest in the colonists' services of praise and preaching, that the natives had declared that "they did not like Spaniards Religion, for they are as ill as those that worship the Devil, for that Religion cannot be good

1 Dampier, op. cit., p. 129.

2 An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 74.

3 "Darien MSS, University of Glasgow," MS number 9.

4 Edinburgh Christian Instructor, XVIII, pp. 478 et seq; and A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien, p. 11.

which is so cruel";¹ this writer apparently believed that the Isthmians were quite willing to accept the religious rites of the Scots. One pamphleteer of the time declared:

There is such an hopeful appearance of propagating the pure Gospel amongst an Harmless, good Natur'd People in the Neighbourhood of Caledonia, who seem well disposed to receive it, as ought to excite Reformed Protestants to contribute thereto with the greatest Vigor.²

The colonial clergymen, in reporting to the Commission of the General Assembly, stated that two difficulties confronted their attempt to propagate the faith among the Isthmians: one was that of the language barrier; the other was the immorality of the Scottish colonists.³ The first of these problems would undoubtedly have been overcome in time. Lionel wafer had learned much of the native tongue during his stay on the Isthmus, and he had compiled and published a short lexicon of the Central American dialect.⁴ One of the Scots on the First Expedition

1 Loc. cit.

2 Certain Propositions Relating to the Scottish Plantations of Caledonia and the National Address for supporting thereof.

3 "Letter to the Commission of the General Assembly," Borland, History of Darien, p. 54.

4 Wafer, op. cit.; Wafer's lexicon of the Isthmian tongue attracted attention in ecclesiastical circles some years later when the Reverend David Malcolme, minister of Duddingston, referred to it in an attempt to prove an affinity between Gaelic and the language of the Darien Indians as an argument to prove that all men had sprung from Adam. He further insisted, in an Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, that this evidence indicated the importance of Gaelic as a language; here he set forth a proposal for an "Irish-English" dictionary that would aid the work of the SPCK in the highlands. In 1737, the General Assembly reported encouragingly concerning this project.

related that he had been able to learn "somewhat of the language" from those of the Indians who could "speak tolerable good English."¹ Certainly, if the ministers could have set themselves to the task of studying the native tongue for any reasonable length of time, they would eventually have been able to proclaim the gospel in the native dialect.

The conduct of the colonists presented the more serious obstacle to missionary endeavor. Shields lamented that the Indians were "stumbled by seeing the Profanity of our People teaching them to Lie and Curse and Swear."² "It grieved me to hear them parotting the Language of our Countrymen in Cursing and Swearing," he declared,³ and Borland observed that the actions of the men of the Expedition were "more apt to scandalize and corrupt, than to commend religion to our Pagan neighbours."⁴

The second difficulty to which the ministers had referred was indicative of the basic weakness of the Darien missionary enterprise: this was the assumption that evangelistic endeavor among a foreign people could only be undertaken in connection with the military and economic resources of a colonial establish-

¹ A Letter Giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien, p. 10.

² Principal Story, op. cit., p. 219.

³ Ibid., p. 217.

⁴ Borland, History of Darien, p. 40.

ment--a conception that was widely held at the time.¹ The intertwining of the Company's commercial aims and the Church's missionary aspirations certainly would have continued to cause considerable embarrassment to the propagation of the Christian faith had the settlement been established upon the Isthmus. A recognition of this prompted one critic of the Darien Scheme to ask if the "Companies Project was to take the Cure of the American Souls, or Treasure upon them? If the former," this writer satirically commented, "then 1048 Levites and two Soldiers, had been fitter Missioners to Darien, than two Preachers, and 1048 such Lay Elders."²

However, if the Colony had been established, there is no reason to doubt that the projected missionary program eventually would have borne fruit; the degree of the success of such an evangelistic attempt would have depended largely upon whether or not the missionaries sent forth could have operated independently of the civil government of the Colony.

Conclusion. Though commercial interests played the primary part in the formation and projection of the Darien Scheme, the possibility of propagating the Christian faith among

¹ Warneck, op. cit., p. 26.

² A Short Vindication of Phil-Scot's defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien; Being In Answer to the Challenge of the Author of the Defence of that Settlement, to prove the Spanish Title to Darien, by Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender or Conquest, p. 42. The writer of this anti-Darien pamphlet was Walter Herries.

a foreign people was an important incentive to the Church of Scotland's support of the project. In spite of the fact that the Darien missionary enterprise bore more similarities to Villegagnon's Brazilian colony and the various Dutch colonial evangelistic projects than it does to the modern missionary movement, it represented a conscious effort by the Scottish Church to bring about the conversion of a pagan people: because of this, the Darien Scheme should be awarded a place in the history of Protestant missions.

Several authors have referred to the missionary aspects of the Scottish colonial attempt. Thomas M'Crie, writing early in the nineteenth century, declared that "extending the gospel" was one of the motives that led many to support the Darien Scheme;¹ later in the same century, Warburton described the colonial clergymen as missionaries who were setting forth with the Darien fleets to seek the conversion of the Isthmian Indians.² After the turn of the century, several writers recognized Darien as a missionary enterprise: R. W. Weir included the colonial attempt in A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland,³ and George Smith referred to the Scottish Colony in his Short History of Christian Missions;⁴ D. Mackichan

1 M'Crie, op. cit., p. 223.

2 Warburton, op. cit., Volume III, p. 115.

3 R. W. Weir, A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, pp. 6 et seq.

4 George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions, p. 133.

considered the declarations of the General Assembly of 1700 in his work entitled The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches;¹ Doctor Hector Macpherson stated that Alexander Shields was "the first foreign missionary of the Church of Scotland";² and T. C. Pears made similar statements in his study of the Darien Scheme in the Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.³ W. S. Crockett described the Scottish Colony as "the first real call to the Church from the 'regions beyond,' and its first real response to send labourers into the great world-harvest." Because of this, he concluded: "The Darien expedition has at least one bit of brightness in its otherwise sombre sky."⁴

However, accounts of the Darien Scheme generally overlook this aspect of the colonial undertaking. Certainly the ecclesiastical historian should not neglect the fact that the six clergymen who sailed with the Darien Expeditions were the forerunners of the vast host of Scottish missionaries of a later day. Indeed, the attempt to evangelize the Indians of the American Isthmus was the Church of Scotland's first missionary enterprise--an evangelistic undertaking that took place nearly a century before William Carey began his work in India.

1 D. Mackichan, The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches, pp. 68 et seq.

2 Macpherson, op. cit., p. iii.

3 Pears, op. cit., p. 11.

4 W. S. Crockett, "Alexander Shields: First Missionary of the Church of Scotland," Life and Work, Volume XXVII, 1905, p. 203.

CHAPTER V

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DARLEN SCHEME FOR THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH'S CONCERN FOR DARLEN

The Church of Scotland was intensely interested in the Darlen Scheme. The drama that began in Parliament Hall just off of Edinburgh's High Street in the year 1695 and that came to a tragic conclusion amid shipwreck upon storm tossed seas five years later was not devoid of religious significance. A number of ministers of the Church had subscribed for stock in the Company of Scotland; others, in various ways, had proved themselves to be ardent supporters of the Scottish colonial scheme. Not only had Darlen captivated the imagination of individual members of Scotland's clergy, but the undertaking had warranted the official approval of the Church: both the proclamations and the proceedings of church courts demonstrated a willingness to give spiritual support and active assistance to the colonial expeditions. Two reasons for this are apparent: the Church's hope of reproducing itself on the Isthmus; and its concern for the economic and social welfare of the nation. The second of these reasons should not be overlooked. It is apparent that in this undertaking the Church saw an opportunity of extending its influence

beyond the borders of Scotland; however the Church was also concerned with the project simply because it gave promise of prosperity and well-being for the Scottish nation.

The Church's proclamations calling for national days of fasting referred to the evangelistic and the economic possibilities of the Darien Scheme simultaneously. One of these official statements made mention of the "fair prospect of spreading the Gospel amongst Infidels" in the colonial undertaking which it described as a project that had hopes of "advanceing the Wealth and Trade" of Scotland, and bringing about the "Relief of the Poor."¹ Similar phrases occurred in other of the proclamations of the Church: the hope was expressed that the blessings of Providence would rest upon the "designs and endeavours for advanceing the Trade of the nation," and that the leaders of the Company would manifest "wisdom, Integrity, faithfulness and publickness of Spirit."²

The rise of the age of secular interests. During the latter part of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century, the conflict between a concern for ecclesiastical and secular matters was in progress. Throughout this period, in Scotland, the gradual substitution of material for religious interests

¹ The Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1701, p. 13.

² "Registrum Secreti Concilii, Acta Jul. 1699, May 1703," (MS)

was taking place.¹ The Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in Scottish history, and ecclesiastically, economically, and politically it represented a fresh departure in the life of the nation.² The settlement of the Church according to the Presbyterian system of polity and doctrine brought the theological disputes of the seventeenth century to an end. Immediately post-Revolution Scotland turned hopefully to the world of trade and commerce. "This poor nation in particular hath been most unmercifully cramped and fettered in its natural Liberties," stated a contemporary writer. "The late Providential and Happy Revolution," he continued, had given Scotland, "not only a fair opportunity of reassuming all . . . ancient Freedoms, and natural Liberties, but also of extending the same in point of Trade, far beyond those Limits which some of our Neighbours seem not unwilling to allow us."³

1 P. Hume Brown stated that this transition was in progress in Scotland as it was elsewhere in Europe in spite of the fact that the successive Scottish ecclesiastical struggles of this century and a half are the chief concern of the histories of the period. "This," he said, "is largely due to the fact that the contemporary historians were churchmen whose interests were restricted to the sphere of religion . . . The period between the Reformation and the Revolution of 1699, therefore, may be regarded as a period of transition during which theological and secular interests were in continuous conflict for the dominant place in the national policy . . . By the opening of the eighteenth century," he concluded, "the result of the conflict was no longer doubtful." (P. Hume Brown, Surveys of Scottish History, pp. 98 et seq.)

2 Ibid., p. 105.

3 A Letter from a Member of the Parliament of Scotland to his friend in London, Concerning their late Act, for Establishing a Company of that Kingdom, Tradeing to Africa and the Indies, p. 5.

This enthusiasm for the development of commerce resulted in the projection of several commercial undertakings in the years following 1689:¹ foremost among these was the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies with its plans for colonial trade and its project for a Scottish colony. Thus it was that the Darien Scheme was indicative of the replacement of the concern for matters of religion by an interest in commercial enterprise.²

The Darien Colony and Scottish unity. Enthusiasm for the colonial scheme quickly united the nation beneath the banner of the Company of Scotland. The zeal for the project has been compared with the spirit that captivated Scotsmen at

¹ Supra, p. 13.

² Historians agree in describing Darien as symbolic of the spirit of the new age: W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union, p. 24; John Mackintosh, The History of Civilisation in Scotland, Volume III, p. 196; A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait, Thoughts on the Union Between England and Scotland, p. 135; John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Second Edition, Volume II, p. 204; Donald MacLean, The Counter Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930, p. 184; J. H. Burton, Narratives From Criminal Trials in Scotland, Volume I, p. 104; P. Hume Brown stated that this was Scotland's attempt "to capture the golden ball for which all the nations were contending . . . It's historical significance," he concluded, "is that it shows Scotland bent on becoming a commercial nation like her neighbours." (P. H. Brown, Surveys of Scottish History, p. 80.)

the time of the signing of the National Covenant,¹ and a contemporary English writer declared: "The Solemn League and Covenant [sic] being then the Word, whereas it's only Darien now for want of a better."² Many of the ministers of the Church of Scotland who were enthusiastic supporters of the project had been faithful in their adherence to the Covenanting cause in the days before the Revolution.³ Apparently these men turned to the Darien Scheme with something of the same determination with which they had once supported their religious convictions in the face of persecution.

The relationship between Scotsmen and the King during the later years of the reign of William III is indicative of the degree to which Scotland's colonial attempt led to a spirit of national unity. When King William's opposition to the undertaking was known, the ruler who had made the re-establishment of Presbytery possible, began to lose the popularity that he had once enjoyed with his Scottish subjects. A correspondent of Carstares declared: "The nation is bent one way, and the King is of another persuasion; and whether it succeed or not, it is like to have ill consequences."⁴

¹ Sir John Dalrymple, op. cit., p. 96; Winterbotham, op. cit., p. 123; Sir Walter Scott, Tales of a Grandfather, Volume II, p. 728; Mathieson, op. cit., pp. 56 et seq.

² An Enquiry into the Caledonia Project with a Defence of England's Procedure (in point of Equity) in Relation thereto, p. 53.

³ Infra, Appendix A.

⁴ Carstares State Papers, p. 490.

When the Colony failed, Wodrow recorded: "All the blame is laid upon the King, and people turning to very bigg words on the head."¹ The Earl of Melville regretted "to see this poor nation grow still madder and madder"² over the part that William was believed to have played in the tragedy; during this time, some went as far as to openly refer to the British monarch in highly derogatory terms.³ Indeed, the feeling against the head of the House of Orange in Scotland was so great that one historian has declared that "William was almost as unpopular as James II had been at the moment that a Revolution had hurled him from the throne."⁴ Only the loyalty of Presbyterians to the king who had been responsible for restoring the ecclesiastical liberties of the Scottish Church prevented this opposition from taking an overt form.⁵

¹ L. W. Sharp, editor, Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709, p. 92.

² Carstares State Papers, p. 578.

³ Caledonia's Complaint and Resolution, with the Answer to the Complaint, p. 15; Carstares State Papers, p. 634.

⁴ James Mackinnon, The Union of England and Scotland, p. 56.

⁵ A contemporary pamphlet recently found among the Hamilton family papers urged moderation toward William III in order that Scotland might have "the Benefit of those good laws which his Majesty promises for the Security of our Religion and Property. Considerations upon the Question, Whether the Parliament of Scotland should be next Session with asserting the right to Caledonia, & the legality of our late settlement there, p. 2. A similar view was expressed in A Just and Modest Vindication, p. 194.

The Church and the new age. Even when it meant opposing a king who had conferred great benefits upon Presbyterians, the nation rallied beneath the banner of the Company that had dispatched the ill-fated expeditions to the Isthmus. Many who had enthusiastically supported the Covenants turned with a similar zeal to the colonial project. This was the first time in generations that Scotland had achieved any great degree of unity in a cause that was not primarily of a religious nature. Darien was indicative of the beginning of an age in which economic motivation was supplanting religious conviction as a basis for action. Two possibilities faced the Scottish Kirk: it could either withdraw from and renounce any interest in the enthusiasm for commerce and trade that was claiming the attention of the people; or it could accept the new outlook and display a concern for the economic welfare of Scotland. Later in the eighteenth century, to a large extent, the Church, adopted the first of these two alternatives.¹ However, this was not the attitude that it displayed toward the Darien

¹ E. E. B. Thomson stated that in the eighteenth century "the Church gradually accommodated itself to the changing outlook and interests of the nation, and was content to be a moral guide to the people." (E. E. B. Thomson, The Parliament of Scotland, 1690-1702, Hume Brown Prize Essay, 1926, p. 170.

Scheme; the Church's support of Darien was motivated not only by missionary zeal, but by the conviction that the project would advance the well-being of the people of Scotland.

The Church's concern for the Colony is significant in that it demonstrates a definite interest upon the part of the ecclesiastical leaders of the time in an enterprise that was not fundamentally of a religious nature. Here was a practical attempt to encourage and support that which was calculated to promote the social and economic welfare of Scotland. Thus it was that in its initial contact with the age of secularism, the Church manifested its interest in a scheme that had been primarily designed to bestow temporal benefits upon the nation.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE FAILURE OF THE DARIEN COLONY

The loss of life. Borland's estimate of nearly 2000 as the number of deaths that occurred during the Expeditions to the Isthmus of America is apparently tragically correct;¹ many of the remnant who escaped from the disaster settled in Jamaica, Carolina, and

¹ Extant accounts record the death of 744 of the members of the First Expedition, (F. R. Hart, op. cit., p. 96) and at least 940 colonists died during the second attempt to establish a settlement on the Isthmus. (Ibid., p. 144) In addition to these, a number of lives were lost in connection with the several attempts to reinforce the Colony. (Supra, p. 21) About one hundred of the survivors of the Isthmus Colony died as a result of their experiences at Darien while on the Island of Jamaica. (Borland, History of Darien, p. 78)

New York never to return to Scotland.¹ The national Church suffered with the nation: in addition to the large number of laymen who died, at least two theological students and four ordained men were lost on the Expeditions. The death of Alexander Shields undoubtedly had an important effect upon the future of religion in Scotland. His biographer declared that had he lived to return to his native land "he would doubtless have become one of the formative forces of the early eighteenth century."² Shields, he believed, could not have conscientiously remained in the Kirk after the passing of the Patronage Act.³ It is quite possible that had he been alive at the time, an exodus from the Established Church in protest to patronage might have begun as early as 1712 under the leadership of the former Cameronian. Undoubtedly, he would have played an important role in the Scottish ecclesiastical activities of the opening years of the century.

Economic loss and the Equivalent. In addition to the tragedy of the death of many of its young men, Scotland

¹ Comparatively few of the survivors of the Darien Colony ever regained their native land. (The Birthplace and Parentage of William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, and Projector of the Darien Scheme, Appendix, p. 117.) Extant records indicate that the surviving Darien colonists settled on the Island of Jamaica and at various places along the Atlantic seaboard. (T. C. Pears, op. cit., Appendix C, pp. 86 et seq.; Briggs, op. cit., p. 128; Documentary and Colonial History of New York, Volume V, p. 355 cited by J. F. MacLean, An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America, p. 94.)

² Macpherson, op. cit., p. 155.

³ Ibid., pp. 155 et seq.

sustained a severe financial setback from the colonial disaster. The nation had suffered from meager economic resources during most of the seventeenth century. In the 1690's very little money was in circulation and payments were often made in kind.¹ The sum of £400,000 sterling that was subscribed for by the stockholders of the Company undoubtedly represented a large portion of the wealth of the nation.² Forty-two and one half percent of the stock was called in before the end of the colonial attempt resulting in payments amounting to £153,448 5s 4 2/3d; the great difficulty that subscribers had in meeting the calls of the Company, increased, through the payment of interest, the actual amount ventured by the Scottish nation to the sum of £219,094 8s 7 1/3d.³

When the project failed, Scotland's meager financial

1 Supra, p. 11

2 Graham estimated that the total amount of coin in circulation in 1695 did not exceed a sum that was equivalent to £600,000 sterling. (Graham, op. cit., p. 506) Only £411,117 was actually turned in to the Bank of Scotland at the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 when all of the currency in the kingdom was called up. (Ibid., p. 511; C. A. Malcolm, The Bank of Scotland 1695-1945, p. 38.) W. R. Scott wrote: "Many investors in the Company had subscribed for as much stock as they could pay the deposit money of 25 per cent. on . . . Taking the financial condition of the country as a whole, investments had been made beyond the quantity of capital available." (W. R. Scott, op. cit., Volume II, p. 221)

3 The Darien Papers, p. xxvi.

resources became sadly depleted. The industrial and commercial development that had been taking place since the Revolution was brought to a standstill as many of the small manufacturing and trading establishments collapsed for lack of funds.¹ A near contemporary, in commenting upon the Darien disaster not many years later, declared: "Scotland received such a Wound, that I'm afraid it will never recover."² It is little wonder that in this condition Scotsmen were willing to look with renewed interest upon the proposals for a union between Scotland and England.

In 1706 the commissioners of the two kingdoms, who were then in the midst of deliberations over the draft of a treaty of union, found one obstacle before them that at first seemed insurmountable. The estimated revenue of England was

£ 5,691,803, while Scotland's was only £ 160,000; the English national debt, however, amounted to £ 17,763,842 in contrast to the Scottish debt of only £ 160,000.³ Eventually the northern delegates agreed to uniformity in taxation, a measure that would raise Scotland's revenue, but that at the same time would heavily increase the tax burden of the smaller nation. Finally it was decided that a substantial

¹ Scott, op. cit., Volume II, p. 222; W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times, p. 412.

² Charles Leslie, A New and Exact Account of Jamaica, Wherein, the Ancient and Present State of the Colony, its Importance to Great Britain, Laws, Trade, Manners and Religion, p. 295.

³ P. Hume Brown, The History of Scotland, Volume III, p. 106.

sum should be paid by England to Scotland as compensation for sharing the English national debt. After considerable deliberation, the sum of £398,085 10s, which came to be known as the Equivalent, was accepted by both sides as an equitable settlement for the losses with which Scotland would be confronted as a result of the Union.¹ When the question of how this money should be distributed arose, the decision was made to disperse the proposed sum by providing for Scotland's national obligations, by reimbursing any losses involved in the change of coinage, and by setting aside the largest part of the Equivalent for compensating those who had lost money in the Company of Scotland's colonial attempt.² Early in 1707, the Treaty of Union was ratified by both parliaments, and provisions for remunerating the stockholders of the Company from the Equivalent were complete.

However, this arrangement did not completely revive the economic condition of the nation.³ The remuneration of Scottish losses at Darien had not been the primary concern of the Commissioners who had drawn up the Articles of Union. The reimbursement of subscribers from the Equivalent merely

1 J. H. Burton, The History of Scotland from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection, Volume I, pp. 408-415; P. H. Brown, The History of Scotland, Volume III, p. 107.

2 Any surplus that existed was to be employed in the promotion of fisheries and other industries. (Loc. cit.)

3 Infra, Appendix B.

offered a politic method for distributing this sum, which was, in fact, compensation for the losses that Scotland was about to sustain through higher taxation, rather than for the losses that the nation had suffered as a result of the events that had taken place between 1697 and 1701. Though it proved to be a temporary aid to the financial condition of the land, Scotland was destined to remain economically destitute until much later in the century, when, as England's northern partner, the country began to benefit from trade with British colonial possessions. Many members and ministers of the Church who had hopefully looked to the Darien Scheme as a means of bettering Scotland's economic condition, suffered with the nation in the years immediately following the ruin of the Company of Scotland.¹

THE CHURCH AND THE
UNION OF PARLIAMENTS

Darien and the parliamentary
Union. Darien focused
the attention of the two

British kingdoms on the importance of an incorporating union.

¹ The educational scheme set forth in the Act "for Settling of Schools" that passed the Scottish Parliament in 1696, (Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Volume X, p. 63) and that received the wholehearted approbation of the Church, (Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, The General Assembly of 1699, p. 16; George Stewart, The Story of Scottish Education, p. 68; Warrick, op. cit., p. 79) suffered throughout the early years of the eighteenth century from a lack of financial support by the heritors who had been made responsible by the Act for the establishment of schools in the various parishes. (John Strong, A History of Secondary Education in Scotland, p. 119; Archibald Main, "The Church and Education in the Eighteenth Century" Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Volume III, p. 190; Mackinnon, op. cit., Volume II, p. 173) However, no definite connection is discernible between the economic drain upon the nation occasioned by the activities of the Company of Scotland and the reluctance of the heritors to fulfill their obligations.

In February, 1700, in Westminster, the House of Lords turned from a debate over Darien to a consideration of a plan for amalgamating the two parliaments, and immediately thereafter, King William recommended that steps toward union be taken.¹ Shortly after her ascension to the throne, Queen Anne, in answer to an address by the Scottish Parliament concerning the Colony, reiterated this proposal.² However, it was not until after the Act of Security had been adopted in Scotland that additional progress was made toward uniting the two countries.³ If some form of a satisfactory union could not be inaugurated, the possibility of a tragic war loomed menacingly before the leaders of both nations. Negotiations between Scottish and English commissioners were initiated, and early in 1707, Scotland's legislative body ratified the Articles of Union that had been drawn up the previous year.⁴ In May, the two neighboring kingdoms became united by the establishment of the Parliament of Great Britain.⁵ Shortly

¹ The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1699-1702, p. 106.

² Her Majesties Most Gracious Letter to the Parliament, in Answer to the Address from the Parliament, in Relation to the Company concerning the Union with England, April 21st, 1702.

³ Minutes of the Proceedings in Parliament May 6 - September 16, 1703, Number 42.

⁴ Mackinnon, op. cit., Volume I, pp. 138 et seq.

⁵ James Mackinnon, The Union of England and Scotland, p. 336.

before this, William Paterson, who had long looked forward to seeing his native land and his adopted country incorporated under one government, wrote to a friend:

I doubt not but you will remember that when we first proposed this Company, the prospect of its being instrumental in bringing a Union was warm and sensible on our spirits, as being the best and most desirable issue it could possibly have. Even the success we wished for, and sought in our attempts in Caledonia, could not possibly have terminated in more than this.¹

Thus it was that Paterson saw clearly that Darien had contributed directly to the Union of Scotland and England. Historians have been almost unanimous in describing the Darien Scheme as the most important of the immediate causes of this event.²

The Union and the Church of Scotland. The parliamentary Union both influenced and was influenced by the Scottish Church. Throughout the negotiations for the treaty that united the two nations, it was widely recognized that the attitude of the Church of Scotland toward the proposed legislation would be an influential factor in effecting either its adoption or its rejection. There were many within the Scottish Kirk who sided with Wodrow in believing that Union would mean "living to see

¹ "Letter of William Paterson, October 8th, 1706," cited by J. S. Barbour, op. cit., p. 117.

² James Mackinnon, The Union of England and Scotland, p. 56. R. S. Rait, Scotland, p. 283; G. P. Insh, The Darien Scheme, p. 5; A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait, op. cit., p. 151; G. D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland; A Short History, pp. 98 et seq; W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union, p. 57; J. H. Burton, History of Scotland from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection, Volume I, p. 320; and A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont, Volume III, p. 148.

this ancient kingdome made a province, and not only our religious and civil libertys lost, but lost irrecoverably."¹ However, once reasonable security for Presbyterianism had been included in the plans for a united parliament, most churchmen were willing to follow the leadership of William Carstares in supporting the party that favored the amalgamation of the two legislative bodies.² One presbytery echoed the general attitude of churchmen when it expressed its concern over the negotiations then in progress, but affirmed its hope for "a good Agreement, and such a Firm Union" with England "as may be Honourable to the State, Safe to the Church, and Beneficial to both."³

The amalgamation of the parliaments of the two British kingdoms effected the religious life of Scotland in many ways. An attempt to trace fully the extent of this influence would be beyond the scope of this study; however several of the immediate results of the Union for the Scottish Church should be noted. The removal of the seat of government from Edinburgh brought about the loss of much of the influence that the General Assembly of the Church had once enjoyed. A correspondent of Carstares wrote in 1708 "that many of the ministers

1 Sharp, op. cit., p. 291.

2 R. H. Story, William Carstares: A Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch, pp. 282-304.

3 Unto his Grace Her Majesty's High Commissioner and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament, the Humble Address of the Presbyterie of Lanark.

seem to think that the redressing of such grievances as the church may have will be rendered the more difficult by the want of a council in Scotland."¹ With neither a Privy Council nor a Parliament meeting regularly in Edinburgh, the close relationship between Church and government evident in the years between the Revolution and the Union ceased to exist.

R. H. Story declared:

With the demise of the Scottish Legislature much of the strength and glory of the Supreme Court of the Church departed. The Assembly could never again expect to influence the British, as it had influenced the Scottish Parliament.²

The Privy Council in London was now too remote and too exalted to be readily accessible to the applications of Church courts,³ and English political attitudes, in many instances, came to supplant a Scottish approach to matters in which the Church of Scotland was vitally concerned.⁴

Manifestations of this change were immediately apparent in the events that took place in the years following the Union. In 1709 James Greenshields, an Episcopalian clergyman, came to Edinburgh and opened a place of worship into which he introduced the use of an Anglican liturgy. He was committed to prison by the magistrates at the instigation of Presbytery;

1 Carstares State Papers, p. 770.

2 Story, op. cit., p. 302.

3 Ibid., p. 325.

4 James Mackinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland, Volume II, pp. 1 et seq; John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Volume II, p. 216.

however, his case was eventually appealed to the House of Lords where the decision of the Scottish courts sustaining the action of the local authorities was reversed.¹ In 1712 a full toleration of Episcopacy was provided for in Scotland when a bill was passed by Commons to "prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland."² This and the demand that the Oath of Abjuration be taken by the Scottish clergy brought forth widespread resentment.³ Another legislative act of even greater importance to the Church was passed in the same year: this was the bill that provided for the restoration of patronage. Carstares, who had warmly supported the Union, headed the delegation that was dispatched by the Church to petition Parliament against the adoption of this act that was described as "contrary to our Church Constitution so well secured by the Treaty of Union, and solemnly ratified by the Acts of Parliament in both kingdoms."⁴ But in spite of the protests of Scottish churchmen, the right of the lay patron to present a minister was restored by the united Parliament, and for generations to come, the Church of Scotland was to suffer from the controversies that developed over the execution of this law.⁵ Thus it was that

1 Story, op. cit., pp. 316-322.

2 Ibid., p. 326.

3 Ibid., p. 346.

4 Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, General Assembly of 1712, p. 28.

5 Rait, op. cit., p. 278; Dicey and Rait, op. cit., p. 280; W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union, p. 210.

the Darien Scheme was a link in the chain of events that led to an occurrence that had results of considerable significance for the Church.

THE DARIEN SCHEME A N D
SCOTTISH FOREIGN MISSIONS

Scottish missions in the
eighteenth century. The

Darien Colony provided the Church of Scotland with its first direct contact with a heathen people: the Church took advantage of this opportunity by attempting to evangelize the Indians of the American Isthmus. The failure of this enterprise, however, did not stifle all missionary interest within the Church. Steuart of Pardovan writing only a short time after the Darien disaster had occurred declared:

As it is the constant prayer and hope of the reformed churches, that the kingdom of Christ may and shall be enlarged, by sending the gospel to the rest of the Heathen; so, in testimony of the sincerity of these hopes and prayers, they must be joined with suiteable endeavours for spreading the gospel among them. This church hath not that happy opportunity, and invitation of concurring Providence to forward that work that some other churches have, through our want of foreign plantations, and by being injuriously dispossessed of what we had.¹

The Darien Colony, he believed, had been the Church's one previous opportunity for propagating the Christian faith in a pagan land. Both he and his contemporaries recognized that a responsibility

¹ Walter Steuart of Pardovan, Collections and Observations Concerning the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 22.

for the evangelization of the native inhabitants of colonial lands rested upon churchmen;¹ they apparently hoped that the Church of Scotland would some day be in a position to spread Christianity effectively through the medium of a Scottish colony. Only a few years later, under the terms of the Treaty of Union, Scotland, as a part of Great Britain, became a partner in the possession of the colonies of its southern neighbor. In the year that the Union took place, the General Assembly appointed a Commission that was directed to concern itself with "propagating the Christian Faith and Protestant Religion at Home and Abroad."² This committee dealt with the proposal of a group of laymen in Edinburgh who were interested in founding an organization similar to the recently established English Society that was proposing to spread the "Gospel in Foreign Parts."³ In 1709 the General Assembly passed an "Act and Recommendation for furthering the Design . . . for propagating the Knowledge of God and our Lord Jesus Christ in the North, the Highlands and the Islands, and foreign Parts of the

1 Supra, p. 220.

2 Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, The General Assembly of 1707.

3 The English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was founded in 1701. A pamphlet published in 1704 by this organization declared that spreading the "Gospel in Foreign Parts . . . is an Affair of the highest Importance to Mankind." The Society's seal consisted of a design showing a missionary preaching from the bow of a ship to the natives of a foreign land. An Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

World."¹ In the same year Queen Anne granted a charter to the Society in Scotland that was to dedicate itself to this object;² its cause was furthered by the Assembly's recommendation that collections be appointed by the presbyteries for the work of the newly formed organization.

The immediate task that confronted the Society was that of dealing with the lack of educational facilities in the Scottish highlands;³ this work, which was to absorb most of its energies during the early years of its existence, was soon begun. In 1710 a missionary teacher was sent to the remote Island of St. Kilda,⁴ and throughout the highlands and in many of the western islands, schools were established.⁵ However, the

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1690-1715, The General Assembly of 1709, p. 8.

² The Society's charter listed two purposes that called the organization into being: one was "the further promoting Christian Knowledge . . . within Scotland, especially in the Highlands, Islands, and remote Corners thereof"; the other was that of "propagating the same in Popish and Infidel Parts of the World." Her Majesties Letters Patent Erecting a Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 1.

³ John Smith, Broken Links in Scottish Education, p. 4.

⁴ Kenneth Macaulay, The History of St. Kilda, p. 241.

⁵ A little more than two decades later the Society's report listed over one hundred schools. This number increased to a total of 180 with above 7000 scholars before the end of the century. (An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge From its commencement, in 1709, pp. 6-19; and A Summary Account of the Rise and Progress of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 15)

Society did not long forget its initial pledge to undertake the propagation of Christianity in foreign lands. In 1717 the Reverend Daniel Williams, a Presbyterian minister in London, left part of his estate to its work on the condition that missionaries be sent to the American Indians.¹ In 1732 three men were dispatched to New England to begin work among the native inhabitants of the country, and though this attempt was unsuccessful,² during the next half century, a total of fifteen evangelists were sent to serve among the Indians of North America, the salaries of four others were partly paid, and assistance was provided by the Society for two native schools.³ However, with

1 "State of the Society," SPCK Sermon for the year 1754, p. 74. The lack of financial resources prevented the immediate execution of this design. An official publication later declared that the Society's views had from its very beginning been "extended to Heathen nations," but that from the narrowness of funds, its attention for some time was engrossed by its work in the Scottish highlands. (An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, From its commencement, in 1709, pp. 13 et seq.)

2 Ibid., p. 14.

3 In 1732 Joseph Secomb, Ebenezer Hinsdale, and Stephen Parker initiated the Society's missionary work in America. (Ibid., p. 14) The Reverend John MacLeod was sent to Georgia in 1735, (Ibid., p. 15) and a few years later a mission was undertaken among the Indians of Long Island. In 1743 David Brainard began evangelistic endeavors among the Delaware Indians. After a brief ministry which resulted in his early death, his brother John took up the work. ("The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1758, pp. 79-81; "The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1754, pp. 74-78.) Missionaries were sent to the Cherokee in 1757 and to the natives living along the Susquehanna River in 1762. ("The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1759, pp. 70-74) The Society attempted unsuccessfully to establish an Indian school in 1762, and in the following year gave its support to an institution that was later incorporated with Dartmouth College. (An Account of the Society. . . From its commencement, p. 16) Ten years later, missions were undertaken among the Oneida Indians, (SPCK Sermon, 1772, p. 53) the Delawares, (An Account of the Society, p. 18) and the native inhabitants of Canada. (Ibid., p. 19) The American Revolution hindered further support of these projects. (SPCK Sermons preached in London, 1786, 1794)

the exception of the work of David Brainerd, whose life and labors were destined to inspire a host of missionaries of later generations, very little success accompanied any of these undertakings.

The Society's attempts to evangelize the American Indians, nevertheless, were not lacking in missionary determination. A pamphlet entitled Proposals Concerning the Propagating of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Forraign Parts of the World was published in 1708 in which the evangelistic purpose of the Society that was then in the process of formation was set forth.¹ A great many of the sermons preached before the Society made enthusiastic reference to the foreign missionary work that was being undertaken in America, and the annual reports of this organization frequently reaffirmed its zeal for evangelizing the natives of North America.² One of the annual sermons, a homily by

1 This publication bears a marked similarity to the declarations of the missionary ideal that had accompanied the dispatch of the Darien ministers a few years before. The work of Roman Catholics in the West Indies, the labors of Eliot in America, and Dutch colonial missions are all cited as examples of foreign missionary successes. The statements of Las Casas, in almost exactly the same words as reported in the Darien pamphlets, are referred to here indicating that the author of the Proposals was probably familiar with the missionary arguments propounded by supporters of the Scottish Colony. (Supra, p. 211)

2 SPCK Sermon, 1732, p. 31; SPCK Sermon, 1750, p. 36; "The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1754; SPCK Sermon, 1755, pp. 51 et seq; SPCK Sermon, 1756, p. 27; SPCK Sermon, 1758, pp. 39-41; "The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1758; SPCK Sermon, 1763, p. 109; SPCK Sermon, 1766, p. 47; SPCK Sermon, 1768, p. 35; "The State of the Society," SPCK Sermon, 1772; SPCK Sermon (s) preached in London, 1774, 1786, and 1794.

W. Robertson, contained a carefully reasoned argument for foreign missions; this passed through five editions and was even translated into German.¹ Another of the official sermonizers of the Society quoted from a contemporary poet who had declared:

Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.²

Darien as the foreshadowing of the modern missionary movement. The light of the missionary ideal that had thus been glowing faintly but constantly throughout the century was soon to be rekindled through other means. In 1796, three years after William Carey sailed for India,³ both the Scottish and the Glasgow Missionary Societies came into being, and in the same year, the question of the support of these newly formed organizations was heatedly debated on the floor of the General Assembly.⁴ Though the work that had been essayed during the earlier years of the century tended to strengthen the cause of missions,⁵ the Assembly, dominated by the fear of any

¹ SPCK Sermon, 1755, p. 51; Weir, op. cit., p. 11.

² Thomas Randall said in this address that a "melancholy reason" for American missions was "the decay of real and vital religion amongst ourselves." His quotation in support of this statement was from the writings of a poet named Herbert. SPCK Sermon, 1763, p. 109.

³ J. H. Morrison, The Scottish Churches' Work Abroad, p. 34.

⁴ Mackichan, op. cit., pp. 68-92; Weir, op. cit., p. 14.

⁵ Donald MacLean, "Scottish Calvinism and Foreign Missions," Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Volume VI, p. 7.

organizations that bore even superficial similarities to the revolutionary societies of the time,¹ postponed any decisive action in support of the work of the newly organized groups. However, at the conclusion of this discussion, the Church's highest court pledged itself

to embrace with zeal and thankfulness any future opportunity of contributing by their exertions to the propagation of the gospel of Christ which Providence may hereafter open.²

A generation later the Assembly voted unanimously in favor of the initiation of foreign missionary work; Alexander Duff began his labors in 1829,³ and the Scottish Church launched an extensive missionary program. It was thus that the concern for the propagation of the Christian faith among heathen peoples that had first become manifest in Scotland during the days of the Darien Expeditions, eventually bore fruit in the Scottish missionary undertakings of the nineteenth century. The lack of financial resources in early eighteenth century Scotland, the deficiency in means of intercourse with pagan nations, and the rise of the Moderate Party within the Kirk⁴ were all partly responsible for relegating the Scottish endeavors to spread Christianity during the eighteenth century

1 Ibid., p. 8.

2 Weir, op. cit., p. 20.

3 Mackichan, op. cit., pp. 112-115.

4 Weir, op. cit., p. 13.

to a subordinate position in the life of the Church.

The Darien Scheme stands at the very beginning of the history of modern Scottish foreign missions: Alexander Shields and his colleagues were the first missionaries of the Reformed Kirk. For this reason the attempt to colonize the Isthmus of America is of considerable significance to the history of the Church.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM

Though the Church of Scotland's attempt to extend its influence through the

Darien Colony failed, this project was indicative of an unprecedented Scottish interest in the vast new world that lay beyond the western ocean. The settlers who sailed with the Darien Expeditions were but the advance guard of a countless host of their fellow countrymen who were to journey across the Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹ After the parliamentary Union, an increasing number of Scots found their way to the American colonies² where they quickly came to play an important part in the political, commercial,

¹ J. P. MacLean, in a work entitled An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783, deals in detail with the Darien Colony as the beginning of the migration of Scottish highlanders to American shores. (pp. 75 et seq.)

² Ibid., pp. 102-162.

and religious life of the country.¹ These colonists brought their religion with them. Wherever any sizeable body of Scotsmen settled in America, churches adhering to the Presbyterian system of doctrine and church government came into being.² Scottish ministers soon appeared on the scene to staff these churches. Men like Archibald Stobo and Francis Makemie tirelessly pursued their ministerial labors among their fellow countrymen along the frontiers. The American Presbyterian Church gradually became stronger: during the eighteenth century this daughter of the Scottish Kirk grew to maturity and began to play an increasingly important role in the religious life of the land.³ Thus it was that as

1 Trevelyan stated that the Union of England and Scotland "placed upon the world's highways of commerce, colonization, and culture, a small nation hitherto poor and isolated, but the best educated and the most active-minded in Europe." (G. M. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 482)

2 A Scottish settlement in Georgia in 1736 was responsible for the establishment of the first Presbyterian church in the Colony. (Letter of B. Lewis, August 2nd, 1948, Darien, Georgia) C. L. Wood, in referring to a band of Scots who were among the early settlers of Mississippi, declared: "They established a Presbyterian Church, a school, and laid off a farm of 8 blocks which they named 'Caledonia.'" (Letter of C. L. Wood, November 21st, 1948, Columbus, Mississippi) J. W. Thompson of Caledonia, Illinois reported that early Scottish immigrants there "organized the Willow Creek Presbyterian Church, one of the largest country churches in the U. S." (Letter of J. W. Thompson, September 30th, 1948, Caledonia, Illinois.)

3 Briggs, op. cit., pp. 132 et seq.

Scotland at last realized its dream of colonial possessions in the New World, the Church that had sought to reproduce itself in conjunction with the Darien Colony saw its aspirations being fulfilled as Presbyterianism began its march across the broad expanses of the North American continent. Darien is significant in that it represents the Church of Scotland's first attempt to establish Presbyterianism in America; that attempt failed, but other means were destined to bring about the expansion of the Presbyterian system far beyond the highest hopes of the churchmen who had supported the project for a colony on the Isthmus of Darien.

EPILOGUE

Several towns in the United States today bear the name Darien. One in Georgia and two in the state of New York were established in the early part of the eighteenth century by Scottish settlers who were not forgetful of their nation's first major attempt to colonize America.¹ There are other towns bearing this name in Connecticut, Missouri, and Wisconsin whose founders, in naming their settlements, apparently sought to honor the ill-fated Colony on the American Isthmus.² The first settlement given this appellation that was to survive the rigors of life in the New World was established by Scottish colonists in the year 1736 on the banks of the Altamaha River in what is today the state of Georgia. The editor of a newspaper published in Darien, Georgia recently wrote these words in referring to the Scots who settled in the region:

The little settlement on the Altamaha which these men founded was named in memory of the ill-fated colony on the Isthmus of Darien. The name was a challenge to the Spaniards and a constant reminder to the colonists.

¹ A letter from B. Lewis, dated August 2nd, 1948, gives information on the naming of Darien, Georgia. Towns with the names Darien, and Darien Center are in Genesee County, New York. J. W. Foley, Genesee County historian, has written that that county was settled by Scottish expeditions in the years 1738-1740. (Letter of J. W. Foley, January 13th, 1949, Batavia, New York)

² Letter of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., July 20th, 1948. Darien, Wisconsin was settled in 1840 by people of Scottish extraction who came there from Darien, New York. (Letter of L. Sweet, October 3rd, 1948, Darien, Wisconsin)

The parade of kilted invaders on the Altamaha bluff in view of scouting parties of Spaniards and their Indian allies; the skirling of the pipes sounding an alarm and defiance to raiders from the south and at times even audible to the more advanced of the enemy's outposts; all were a constant challenge to the Spanish claim on ownership, and an expression of the Highland determination that this Darien should endure to erase any possible stain which might have been placed upon their national honor by the evacuation of the original Darien in 1700.¹

This highly colorful journalistic account is, nevertheless, correct in asserting that these colonists, like the vast host of Scots who soon afterward followed them,² resolutely established themselves in the New World: thus they accomplished what their ancestors had failed to do in the tragic attempt to colonize the Isthmus of Darien.

1 A MS article by B. Lewis enclosed in a letter of August 2nd, 1948, Darien, Georgia.

2 The large number of towns in the eastern United States and Canada with the names "Caledonia," "Scotia," and "Scotland" indicate the extent of early Scottish settlements in North America. (Letter of C. A. Lemieux, Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada, October 1st, 1948; Letter of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., July 20th, 1948.)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

COVENANTING MINISTERS AND THE DARIEEN SCHEME

Interest in the Company of Scotland's colonial attempt has often been compared with the Covenanting enthusiasm that had some years earlier swept the Scottish nation.¹ Was this merely a superficial similarity or had the supporters of the Darien Colony actually been among the advocates of the cause of the Covenants? A consideration of the biographical information available on the various ministers who supported the Company's colonial undertaking provides an answer to this question. The following men were among the clergymen who supported the project as subscribers for the stock of the Company: James Brown, who had fled to America during the years of persecution;² John Flint, who had been educated at the expense of the United Societies;³ John Forrest, who had held conventicles among the hills of Scotland;⁴ Silvester Lyon who had been known for a "bold and daring" sermon against "Popery";⁵ Robert Merchistone who had been deprived

¹ Dalrymple, op. cit., Volume III, p. 96; Winterbotham, op. cit., Volume IV, p. 123; W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union, p. 56; Sir Walter Scott, The Tales of a Grandfather, Volume II, p. 728.

² Hew Scott, op. cit., (New Edition) Volume III, p. 458.

³ Ibid., Volume I, p. 143.

⁴ Ibid., Volume I, p. 416.

⁵ Ibid., Volume V, p. 296.

his charge for conscience sake in 1681;¹ Patrick Simson who had been cited for holding conventicles;² Patrick Warner, who had suffered imprisonment and exile;³ David Williamson, who had been denounced for conducting conventicles;⁴ and William Wisheart, who had been imprisoned for his religious beliefs.⁵ Robert Wodrow, the historian of the Covenants and the Covenanters, was a Darien enthusiast; and William Dunlop, who had sojourned in America during the period of persecution, was a leading figure in the promotion of the colonial undertaking.⁶ Archibald Foyer, the Darien pamphleteer, expressed Covenanting views in his writings,⁷ and Robert Wyllie, another advocate of the Colony, seems to have shared similar convictions.⁸ The Darien ministers themselves were apparently united in their support of the Covenants: Shields had suffered for his faith as a Cameronian, and Borland had undergone self imposed exile for his

1 Ibid., Volume II, p. 211.

2 Ibid., Volume III, p. 186.

3 Ibid., Volume III, p. 100.

4 Ibid., Volume I, p. 96.

5 Ibid., Volume I, p. 136.

6 Supra, p. 55; "Journal of the Court of Directors," Volume II, MS.

7 Scotland's Present Duty, p. 14.

8 Hew Scott, op. cit., Volume III, p. 260.

convictions; the other men, though too young to have participated in Covenanting activities, seem to have been sympathetic toward that cause. Though there were exceptions among the ministerial supporters of the Company such as John Langlands, who was deprived of his charge in Hawick in 1689,¹ and Andrew Urie, who had been responsible for the apprehension of a Covenanter by government authorities,² the majority of the ministers who were advocates of the Darien Scheme, seem to have either suffered for their convictions during the period of persecution or have been strongly sympathetic toward the principles set forth in the National Covenant of 1638.

1 Ibid., Volume II, p. 114.

2 Ibid., Volume I, p. 222.

APPENDIX B

THE PAYMENT OF THE EQUIVALENT

Two apparently contradictory views have been expressed by writers who have dealt with the payment of the Equivalent by England to Scotland after the Union of Parliaments in 1707. Some infer that the sum intended for reimbursing the stockholders of the Company never reached those who had suffered financial loss.¹ Others assume that these funds were paid in full, compensating those who had risked their fortunes in the colonial attempt.² It will be necessary to consider the

¹ Warrick, op. cit., p. 185; Warburton, op. cit., Volume I, pp. 26 et seq; P. Hume Brown, in a footnote, indicated his doubt that any considerable number of the subscribers ever received compensation; (P. Hume Brown, The History of Scotland, Volume III, p. 39) two contemporary documents state the uncertainty of Scotsmen at the time that the funds from the Equivalent would ever reach the hands of the colonial stockholders; (To His Grace, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament; and A Full and Exact Account of the Proceedings of the Court of Directors and Council-General of the Company of Scotland, p. 14) and several writers have declared that William Paterson received nothing from this fund. (Pagan, op. cit., p. 68; Cullen, op. cit., p. 183; The Case of Mr. William Paterson, in Relation to His Claim on the Equivalent)

² G. M. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, p. 268; Dicey and Rait, op. cit., pp. 317 et seq; W. R. Scott, op. cit., p. 376; J. H. Burton, History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection, Volume I, p. 471; W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and Union, p. 279.

available evidence concerning the manner in which the disposition of this sum was carried out.

Daniel Defoe, writing in 1709, gave a detailed account of the payment of the Equivalent that indicates that the money was delivered to the Commissioners and dispersed by them in keeping with the provisions of the Articles of Union. According to Defoe, the Equivalent reached Edinburgh after some months of delay in August, 1707; though only ~~£~~100,000 was in bullion, Scottish exasperation over what was believed to be a deliberate attempt by the English to defraud them was allayed when the Exchequer bills that had been sent to Scotland were eventually made good.¹ He declared that the entire matter was finally "concluded, and the whole African Stock being paid off, that Company Dissolved and Died."²

Other contemporary documents support this statement. Extant accounts indicate that the Directors of the Company ordered that Company records be prepared by the Commissioners of the Equivalent,³ and, as early as February, 1707, Gavin Plummer and Andrew Cockburn, cashiers of the Company, were appointed to receive the funds from the Commissioners "for

¹ Daniel Defoe, The History of the Union of Great Britain, p. 23.

² Ibid., p. 25.

³ Overture Concerning the Debts of the African and Indian Company.

paying out and delivering the same to the respective Proprietors."¹ On August 7th, 1707, the Commissioners printed a public proclamation that declared: "We are Resolved within a short time to begin to make Payments to the Proprietors of the African and Indian Company"; all concerned were asked to check the Company's books to see if the amounts due them had been properly recorded.² Three weeks later a statement appeared that fixed August 26th, 1707 as the day upon which funds could be collected.³ Evidence that these payments were actually made to some of the claimants is extant,⁴ and there is every indication that those who presented their claims were eventually compensated for their losses.

¹ Report of the Committee concerning the Indian and African Company.

² Proclamation of the Commissioners of the Equivalent.

³ Proclamation Anent Payment to the Proprietors of the African-Company.

⁴ The Records of the Royal Burgh of Glasgow indicates that ~~£~~ 1812 sterling in bullion was collected on behalf of the Burgh Council by John Aird from the Commissioners of the Equivalent as compensation for the sum that had been invested in the Company of Scotland. Aird reported that "he had safely brought home the saids soumes and had placed the samen, by subdivisions, in severall houses, of which he had given ane particular accompt and list to Mathew Gilmour." (Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1691-1717, pp. 407 et seq.) A MS document tells of the repayment of the funds invested by the Earl of Southesk. ("Darien Papers, MSS," Number 5, B Room 12, Register House, Edinburgh.)

However, though the Equivalent was paid according to the provisions of the Treaty of Union, in a majority of cases, those who had signed the subscription books did not sign the book of receipts for payments from the Equivalent. Some of the original stockholders had died, many had had their property arrested by their creditors, and a number assigned their scrip to others.¹ Defoe declared that prior to the Union

this Stock was dead Weight upon a great many Families, who wanted very much the Return of so much Money; It had not only been long disburs'd, but it was, generally speaking, abandoned to Despair, and the Money given over for lost; Nay, so entirely had People given up all Hopes, that a Man might even, after this conclusion of the Treaty, have bought the Stock at 10 Pound for an Hundred.²

W. R. Scott has pointed out that those who were able to buy up Company stock at the figure mentioned by Defoe gained "the satisfactory profit of over 600 per cent., which was made at the expense of the original subscribers from whom they purchased."³ It was in this manner that a number of those who deserved com-

1 A leather bound MS volume in the National Library's collection of Darien papers lists the proprietors of Company stock in behalf of whom certificates were drawn up for payments from the Equivalent. The issuing of these receipts began on August 12th, 1707 and ceased with a single entry in January, 1709. A great many included this or similar statements: "Arrested as pe. Book of arrestments and assignations given in . . . " ("Proprietors receiving certificates for payment from the Equivalent, August 1707 - January 1709," MS.)

2 Defoe, op. cit., p. 87.

3 W. R. Scott, op. cit., Volume II, p. 227.

pensation lost the payments that had been provided for them by the Articles of Union.

The claim of William Paterson upon the Equivalent was satisfied in 1714 when the projector of the Darien Scheme was awarded £18,241 10s 10 2/3d in debentures.¹ Similar settlements were made with those who had various financial claims which were to be paid from the "Arising Equivalent" --the expected increase of revenue for Scotland after the Union. This was not immediately forthcoming, and in order to provide compensation for deferred wages and pensions, debentures were issued in addition to the direct payments from the Equivalent that had been made to Company stockholders. For a time these were almost worthless, and many passed from the hands of Scotsmen to enterprising Englishmen.² In 1725, the Equivalent Company was incorporated; these debentures were to be subscribed into the stock of this corporation.³ In the year 1727 the stockholders of the new company were granted a charter that gave them banking privileges; they were to be "called one Body politick and corporate of themselves, in Deed and Name, by the Name of, The Royal Bank of Scotland."⁴ In 1850

¹ J. S. Fleming, "William Paterson and the Darien Scheme," The Scotsman, August 9th, 1880.

² Neil Munro, The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1727 - 1927, pp. 26-33. In 1727 a pamphleteer declared: "'Tis well known Two hundred and ten Shares of the Equivalent Company's Stock is in the Hands of other than Scotsmen, and only about Thirty eight in the Hands of Persons residing in Scotland." (Copy of a Signature for a New Bank, p. 34)

³ Fleming, op. cit.

⁴ Copy of a Signature For a New Bank, p. 8.

the capital stock of the Equivalent Company, which amounted to £ 248,550 0s 9½d, was paid off by the British government, and the corporation was dissolved.¹ The ledgers of the Equivalent Company, now in the archives of the Royal Bank of Scotland, give interesting information on the history of this commercial organization that gave birth to Scotland's second oldest banking institution.

Apparently payment was eventually made from the Equivalent to all who could substantiate their claims upon this fund.

¹ Fleming, op. cit.

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BORLAND'S MAP OF DARIEN



Francis Borland's map of Darien

The first edition of Francis Borland's Memoirs of Darien, published in the year 1714, contains a somewhat crude but extremely interesting map of the portion of the Isthmus upon which the Scots settled. Very few copies of this edition are extant: for this reason Borland's map has been reproduced here. It is of particular importance in illustrating the missionary itineracy of the ministers in January, 1700. The following are Borland's own explanatory notes: "a. shows the Isle of Pines; b. Golden Island; c. Where the Spanish Fleet did rid; d. Brandies Bay; e. Acla the Greater; h. Caledonia Harbour and Rocks; m. The Plantan Tree; n. The Narrow Neck; o. The Orange Grove; p. Indian Habitations; r. Little Island and Rocks; s. Indian dwellings; t. Acla the Lesser; v. Mountains and Woods; w. The watering place; u. The Maccaw-Tree, full of prickles; x. The Orange - Tree y. The Fort; z. The Cockernut-Tree; I. The wild Cabage-Tree; C. Caret-Bay river and Indians dwelling westward; K. about this Bay, the Spaniards landed men against us." (Borland, Memoirs of Darien, p. 8.)