



“At the Sign of the Unicorn”

Address delivered by

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In St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy

MAY 4, 1929

At the unveiling of a tablet erected by the
Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New
Jersey,

To the Memory of

George Scot of Pitlochrie, Margaret his wife,
their daughter Eupham, Doctor John Johnstone,
and two hundred other exiles from Scotland,
who came from Leith to Perth Amboy in the
ship “Henry and Francis,” September-December,
1685.

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IN MEMORY OF SIR GEORGE SCOTT
LAIRD OF PITLOCHIE, LADY MARGARET
HIS WIFE, EUPHAM HIS DAUGHTER, LATER
WIFE OF DR. JOHN JOHNSTONE, AND OF
SOME TWO HUNDRED OF THEIR FOLLOWERS
WHO IN 1685, BECAUSE OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION
SAILED FROM LEITH, IN SCOTLAND, ON THE "HENRY AND
FRANCIS" FOR PERTH AMBOY, THE COLONIAL CAPITAL OF
EAST JERSEY, OF WHOM SOME SEVENTY INCLUDING
SIR GEORGE SCOTT AND LADY MARGARET PERISHED
ON THE VOYAGE



THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN
THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, MCMXXX



“At the Sign of the Unicorn”

It is BUT a few months since this Society met at Burlington, the former capital of the Province of West Jersey, to set up in enduring bronze a tablet commemorating the landing of the English settlers who came over in the ship “Shield” in 1678. It was most fitting that such an event should have its memorial and in that place. To-day, in similar fashion, we meet at the former capital of East Jersey to commemorate a similar voyage in 1685, this time of Scotch emigrants; a voyage preceded and accompanied by sorrow, sickness and death, but which brought hither a strain of strong Scotch blood to mingle with that of other exiles and help to make this country what it has since become.

The spell of old Burlington is still strong; one recognizes it at once as an antique and realizes its charm. It is a pity that so little of the spell of Perth Amboy is left. Many are living in whose memories that spell is still fresh, and I am one of them. It is not easy to realize as we come here and look at this great mercantile and manufacturing city gridironed with railroad tracks, sprawling out over the clay pits that used to be back country where we went nutting, noisy with the roar of traffic, that it dates back to the seventeenth century, and though while intended by its promoters to be a metropolis, and it was actually a place of importance in and about Revolutionary days, yet in the 1800's and up to my own time, it ranked as a quaint old village, redolent of the past, but with little prospect for the future. But even to-day, if we burrow beneath the surface we shall find some traces of the old spell still existing; this church and particularly its churchyard; the original church begun in 1719¹ and completed in 1722, the development of religious services which commenced

¹Whitehead, “Contributions to East Jersey History,” p. 219.

as early as 1698;² on the bluff some 200 yards to the south, a house once occupied, and believed to have been built by, John Hamilton, acting Governor ad interim of the Province of New Jersey, 1736 and again in 1746;³ when I was a boy there were a magnificent avenue of Lombardy poplars connecting it with the High street, whose very name has the scent of old England, and several English elms, a rare tree in this country; west of High Street and still standing, though bereft of its magnificent lawn, now intersected by streets and cut up into building lots, the great old Governor's mansion, the last official occupant of which was William Franklin, son of Benjamin, and last colonial Governor of New Jersey, as ardent a loyalist as his father was a "rebel," the story of whose arrest and imprisonment is in all the histories. On High street stood, until recently, the old Kearny cottage, hoary with antiquity, and which, I am glad to say, after the death of its then owner, the last of perhaps half a dozen generations of Kearnys, was moved to another part of the town and set up as a relic; on the square, the old city hall, court house in the days when there was no New Brunswick, but only "Inian's Ferry;" the office of the Board of Proprietors, still in use; the old Kearny house on the corner of Smith and Water streets, later owned and occupied by my grandfather; the little square building on the same corner which was the law office of Cortlandt Skinner, last colonial Attorney-General and later Commander of Skinner's Brigade of Loyalists; below it, at the foot of the bluff, what remains of the "Tea Houses," two great store buildings, attesting the quondam maritime prosperity of the place; and lastly, within a stone's throw of the corner, the building known for generations as "The Castle," the home of my own family, running from top to base of the bluff.

These buildings, mostly fallen into decay, remain standing principally because the city has grown away from them to the westward; and if we look out over the ever-beautiful bay and can imagine what the old town must have been before there

²Whitehead, p. 239.

³Whitehead, p. 169.

were railroads and steamboats, and while it was filled with families whose very names connote East Jersey history, the spell will, even to-day, assert itself. It was felt as late as 1923, when the "Newark Evening News," in its issue of December 8; gave a whole page to an illustrated article on the subject; still earlier, in 1888, when "Harper's Weekly" contained an excellent illustrated account of the place. In 1903 was published a very attractive book called "Historic Houses of New Jersey," by W. Jay Mills, and the spell of the place asserts itself in his descriptions of "The Franklin Palace," "The Kearny Cottage," "The Bartow House" and "The Parker Castle," all very well done. In Mellick's "Story of an Old Farm," a wonderfully interesting and rather rare book, there is frequent mention of the old Perth Amboy; and Whitehead's book, published in 1856, and intended primarily as a compendium of historical and genealogical facts, still shows the subtle influence of the place itself; a place which it was hoped would be a metropolis, but which, until the railroads and factories came, was little more than a village. I remember it in my boyhood as a little town with one policeman, no fire department, fires fought by impromptu brigades, each house with its quota of leathern fire buckets; at the intersection of Smith and High streets, that ancient municipal institution, the town pump; to the west of State street, the colonial barracks; communication with New York by daily steamboat through the Sound and Kill von Kull, leaving at eight and returning at five; by the Camden & Amboy steamer starting from South Amboy and touching at the local wharf; by Staten Island Railroad from Tottenville and local ferry from Amboy and another from Tompkinsville; and in my time by a little branch of the N. J. R. R. from Rahway on which my father arrived at six o'clock. The engine was named "N. Perry," and had a valve action worked by an outside eccentric gear, a perpetual source of interest to a little boy with a mechanical turn of mind. There was one factory, for making corks; squealing and shrieking as they were cut; the raw material arriving from time to time on sailing barks from Spain; a pottery where the old-fashioned brown glazed ware was

made; otherwise the very moderate local wealth was derived from "oystering" on the "Great Beds" at the farther end of which you see the lighthouse now; there was no lighthouse then.

A very few years earlier there was no railroad; the family came from Newark in a carriage, and the baggage by water in a sloop. That was the Perth Amboy so graphically and, I may say, interestingly described in a paper by my sister, Mrs. Beekman, entitled "A Colonial Capital," and printed in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society" for January, 1918. Those of you who have not read it will not repent of it if they do. The period covered by that paper embraced the late fifties and early sixties, when my grandfather, James Parker, though an old man, was still living; he died in 1868 at the age of 92. Born March 3, 1776, the day when Washington occupied Dorchester Heights and drove the British out of Boston as Napoleon drove them out of Toulon, he lived through four wars and his span of life covered the period beginning with separation from the mother country and ending with the extinction of slavery and the final cementing of the Union.

But this is no time for a discussion of family details. I merely aim, following the example of Mellick in the book already mentioned, to utilize the family ties with Perth Amboy, in leading my hearers back to the time when it was settled and to the events with which we are particularly concerned to-day.⁴

His father, also named James, who died in 1797, brings us closer to our immediate subject, for this James' mother was Janet Johnstone, the daughter of Dr. John Johnstone and his wife Eupham Scot, and granddaughter of George Scot of Pitlochrie. This James lived through the most stirring times Perth Amboy has ever seen. He built the wooden part of the "Castle," but the Revolutionary War forced him out of his home and to a farm in Hunterdon county, a mile or so from Pittstown, where he heard distant cannonade after the Battle of Monmouth, and was obliged to give camping

⁴See "Life and Character of Hon. James Parker," by Judge R. S. Field, Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc., 1869.

ground and probably food to the Hessians captured at Saratoga as they marched to their Virginia quarters.⁵

But to return to Perth Amboy. At the beginning of the Revolution it was in American hands. It was here that Governor Franklin was arrested in June, 1776,⁶ and a few days afterwards Howe occupied Staten Island and our General Mercer established an armed camp at Perth Amboy. It was at the Billop House, which still stands just across the Sound and in plain view from this churchyard, that the famous Peace Conference of September 11, 1776, was held.⁷ Shortly afterwards, Perth Amboy became a sort of No Man's Land, being held principally by the British until the end of June, 1777, when Howe's expedition started for the Chesapeake to take Philadelphia in reverse, many of his troops embarking here;⁸ but, after this, the town was subjected to constant raids from Staten Island, the best known of which was the Simcoe cavalry raid of October 26, 1779. Simcoe penetrated on the north side of the Raritan to Bound Brook, crossed to Millstone, burned the Somerset Court House there, and returned on the south side to a rendezvous at South River. He was captured, but that did not repair the damage.⁹ The church that stood on this spot suffered with the rest, and, like other churches, was utilized part of the time as a stable.¹⁰ There is no time now for details; many will be found in Whitehead's book.¹¹

Thirty years earlier, in 1746, we find this James, a young man of 21, organizing a Company to go to Albany and thence to the French and Indian War; his father, John, and his

⁵Diary of James Parker, MS., Shipley, 1778. The entry for Sunday, June 28, reads: "exceeding hot & sultry," but does not mention any cannonade. On Wednesday, July 1, "a great deal of firing was heard at a distance this day; indeed the Regulars & Continental troops have been engaged either general or by skirmishes every [day] since Sunday last when by all accounts they had a very severe engagement."

⁶Whitehead, p. 193.

⁷Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," II, p. 608.

⁸Whitehead, p. 345.

⁹Whitehead, p. 348; Barber & Howe; N. J. Historical Collections, 456.

¹⁰Whitehead, p. 230.

¹¹Page 325, et seq.

mother, Janet Johnstone, were dead, and he was not yet married.

And here we have reached a period when Eupham Scott, the widow Johnstone, was still living; she died in 1763; her husband had died in 1732. Perth Amboy was a place of wealth and activity, the capital and general land office of East Jersey, the county seat, an important point on tide water, and the home of many distinguished families. It was a definite settlement when the "Henry and Francis" arrived in 1685; for it had been selected as the site for a town as early as 1669, by reserving "Ambo Point" from the charter grant to Woodbridge. I gather, however, from a hasty glance at convenient authorities, that it was not until 1683 that building operations began in a serious way,¹² and the Proprietors planned for "weekly markets and fairs." In 1684 they provided for the establishment of Courts and that the Deputy Governor reside there.

- Such was the general posture of affairs when George Scot of Pitlochrie (called "Pitlochry" in Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland"), having become weary of continuous persecution in that country, concluded that, if permitted, he would emigrate to New Jersey and there begin anew.

- So much has already been written about these persecutions in general, and about George Scot in particular, and the subject is such a lengthy one, that I must restrict myself to tracing it in the barest outline, citing, for the benefit of those interested in further examination of the subject, sources of information that are readily accessible.¹³ But a glance at the course of things in the seventeenth century is essential, as they are closely tied up to our particular story, not to

¹²Whitehead, p. 2; Barber & Howe, p. 306.

¹³Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," published in 1721-'2, covers the period from 1660 to 1688. The copy before me is in four closely printed volumes, in all nearly 2,000 pages. See "George Scot of Pitlochry," by Miss Edith H. Mather, in "Proceedings N. J. Historical Society," Oct., 1922; MS. article, under same title, by David McGregor, of East Orange, N. J.; "Eupham O. Johnstone," MS. paper by Miss Mather; see also note 23.

mention that the period is one of the most interesting in English history.

After centuries of border warfare, in 1603 James VI of Scotland became James I of England as well. From this time until nearly the end of the century dissensions were rife, mainly for religious causes. Scotland was determinedly Presbyterian; Ireland was determinedly Catholic; England had her own Church, to which James joined himself, abjuring that of his native land, to the great indignation of his former countrymen.¹⁴ James' son Charles I, known as "The Martyr," was even more Anglican than his father,¹⁵ and a series of unpopular and tyrannical acts culminated in an attempt on the part of Charles, with the aid of Archbishop Laud, "to force on the Scots the English liturgy, or rather a liturgy which, wherever it differed from that of England, differed in the judgment of all rigid Protestants for the worse."¹⁶ Scotland rebelled in 1639, and the rebellion was to a certain extent successful. In 1640 followed the Long Parliament; then Cromwell; the Battle of Naseby, the triumph of the Covenanters and, instead of a tyranny of prelacy, one of Puritanism. Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and his son, who gave in his adherence to the church of Scotland and undertook to exercise royal functions at Edinburgh, narrowly escaped capture and execution.¹⁷ Cromwell annihilated the Scottish forces, and the next decade was that of the so-called Commonwealth, followed by the Restoration and Charles II in 1660. A professed adherent to the Church of England, he was a Romanist at heart, and died shriven by a priest of that faith¹⁸ in February, 1685.

During Charles II's reign of a quarter century the Scotch Covenanters had been subjected to continuous persecution, instances of which as affecting George Scot we shall see in a moment: They will serve as illustrations of a general practice. The Scotch were unyielding, and centuries of fighting had taught them how to persist in their beliefs and practices in

¹⁴Macaulay's England, I, p. 67.

¹⁵Id., p. 84.

¹⁶Macaulay, I, p. 95.

¹⁷Macaulay, I, p. 131.

¹⁸Macaulay, I, pp. 438-9.

spite of everything; so that by the time James II came to the throne the wealthier Covenanters had been impoverished by heavy and repeated fines and men and women of all classes had been thrown into prison. The change of monarchs made matters worse instead of better, for James II at once made it plain that he was a Roman Catholic¹⁹ without at first officially acknowledging the fact, but it was indubitable for all that; and after his accession the persecution of the Scotch church continued with even greater severity, if that were possible.

George Scot, of Pitlochie, was one upon whom the hand of persecution had been laid with unusual severity. He was of the Scottish nobility, a younger son of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, and was born April 19, 1643, so that in 1685 he was only 42 years of age and justified in planning to make a place for himself in a new country. His father was a great patron of education and the arts, and a faithful adherent of the house of Stuart, for which loyalty Cromwell fined him 1,500 pounds. He submitted, and in 1662, after the Restoration, was fined 6,000 pounds for so doing.²⁰ George, in 1663, married Margaret Rigg, the daughter of his father's third wife. Like his father, he was a highly educated man of literary tastes. He did not inherit Scotstarvet at the death of Sir John in 1670, being a younger son, but acquired the estate at Pitlochie, probably by gift from his father, and so came to be called the "Laird of Pitlochry," or plain "Pitlochry," as we see in Wodrow's book. He was a strong Covenanter and constantly in trouble on that account. He committed repeatedly the crime of attending "conventicles," and he and his wife were fined a thousand pounds for this misdemeanor in June, 1674, and stood committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh for a month, until the fine was paid. Whitehead's book tells us of other fines; five hundred merks for "impertinent and extravagant carriage before the council;" and another thousand pounds "for harboring and resetting" one John Welsh, who conducted a conventicle. Then, in 1677, imprisonment in the Bass prison for more conventicles, and his wife fined a thousand merks.

¹⁹Id., p. 472.

²⁰Whitehead, p. 24.

He was liberated on giving bonds to keep away from conventicles, but in 1679 was again accused of this atrocious crime, and refusing to testify against himself was fined another 3,000 merks, and, in 1680, 700 pounds for "absence from the King's host;" and, later, was once more imprisoned in the Bass.²¹

I doubt not that during this term of imprisonment Scot looked into the American question and, like a true philosopher, concluded that nothing was to be gained, and what little he had left would be lost by continued defiance of an unjust law, and that the best solution was to emigrate. This task he seems to have set about performing in a rather businesslike way. In the first place, he put himself into communication with the Scots Proprietors of East Jersey, and arranged in course of time for a land grant from them, as we shall see. Secondly, he proposed to the Council that, if set at liberty, he would "go to the plantations," adding the important inducement that he would take with him his wife's cousin Archibald Riddell, a particularly objectionable conventicle parson. This proposition was satisfactory, and he regained his liberty. His third step was to spend some months in compiling for printing and general circulation a book—for it is nothing less, though in one sense an advertisement or prospectus—entitled, "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America, and Encouragement for such as Designs to be concerned there; Published for the information of such as are desirous to be interested in that place. Edinburgh, printed by John Reid, and sold *be* Alexander Ogston, Stationer, in the Parliament Closs, Anno Dom. 1685." Mr. Whitehead stated in 1846²² that only four copies of this book were known to be in existence, two of them in this country. It takes up 272 pages (in the original), and is admirably compiled and written, but we cannot stop to examine it at length. It concludes with the announcement that Mr. George Scot of Pitlochrie has obtained a pass for himself and those associating with him, gives a copy of the pass, and ends with a

²¹Whitehead, p. 25, citing Wodrow, *passim*.

²²"East Jersey under the Proprietors," p. 233. The "Model" is reprinted entire in that book.

statement of the persons to whom the public may apply for booking as passengers. This is worth reading in full, and we shall come to it in a moment; but as one of these persons is "John Johnstone, Druggist at the sign of the Unicorn in Edinburgh" in whom we are particularly interested to-day, this is a fitting opportunity to note who and what he was in Edinburgh A. D. 1685. I take the following statements of fact from a paper by Miss Edith Herbert Mather of Bound Brook:²³

First, that he was a scion of the noble house of Annandale.

Second, that he was a member of the Established Church, and so not under any ban.

Third, that he was at that time in love with Eupham Scot, the beautiful daughter of Pitlochry.

Fourth, that his brother James was already in America, having emigrated the year before in something of a hurry.

Fifth, that his occupation of a druggist was entirely respectable even for a young man of good family at that time and place.

Putting all these things together, we can form some conclusion as to why he abetted and accompanied the expedition. Eupham must have kept him guessing, as they did not marry until 1686 after nearly a year in this country.

Now let us look at Pitlochry's advertisement:

"Whereas there are several people in this Kingdom, who upon account of their not going that length in conformity required of them by the Law, do live very uneasie; Who beside the other agreeable Accommodations of that place many there freely enjoy their own principles, without hazard or the least trouble;²⁴ seeing there are Ministers of their own persuasion going along with the said Mr. George Scot; who by the fundamental Constitutions of that Countrey, are allowed the free Exercise of their Ministry, such as Mr. Archibald Riddel brother of Sir John Riddel of Riddel, Mr. Thomas Patterson

²³"Some Stories of Colonial Families; Eupham Johnstone," by Magdalen Newport (Edith Herbert Mather). I am not aware that this has been printed.

²⁴There is evidently an omission of something at this point, but my text faithfully follows that printed in "East Jersey under the Proprietors."

late Minister of Borthwick, and several other Ministers; It is hereby signified to all who desire this Voyage, That the Henry and Francis of Newcastle, a Ship of 350 Tun, and 20 great Guns, Richard Hutton Master, is fraughted for the Transportation of these Families, and will take in Passengers and Goods at Lieth, and Passengers at Montrose, and Aberdeen, and Kirkwa²⁵ in Orkney, and set sail thence for East-New-Jersey, against the 20 day of July, God willing. It being resolved by these concerned in the freight of the Vessel, to Accommodate such Passengers as may conveniently [be] done, without crouding themselves, and their Families; the inconveniences of which they are fully resolved to avoid, as what is certainly very troublesome in such a Voyage. Such therefore who desire to go Passengers in this Vessel, may apply in time, between [this] and the 12. of May, to Mr. George Scot of Pitlochie, at his Lodging in Baillie Robinsons land, and at John Johnstone, Drugist at the sign of the Unicorn in Edinburg; to Mr. John Gordon of Colinston, Doctor of Physicks, at his Lodging in Montrose: to James Armour, younger Merchant in Glasgow: to Henry Brown, or James Nisbet Merchant in Irvine: To Baillie Boyd, in Kilmarnock; to Bailly McKeuen: or Ralph Holland Merchant in Air: To Bailly Burt in Stirling: to Bailly James Gordon in Kirkcudbright: William Corbet Apothecary in Dumfries: Henry Elphingston Collector of His Majesties Customes in Aberdeen: whereby they may have their passage secured upon Reasonable Conditions in the said Vessel; And accounts of the Propositions to be made to them, in Order to the promoting effectually of that design; seeing after the number condescended upon, as to be carried without Croud in the said Ship, there will be no more admitted there: and so such as incline to go the Voyage, may lose their passage in the said Vessel, delaying to secure their place in time."

The charge for transportation seems reasonable enough:

"For every man or woman, five pounds sterling, passage and entertainment; for children under ten years of age, fifty shillings; and sucking children, nothing; forty shillings for the tun of goods and often under For ordinary servants who are willing to go over, after four years' service from the time of their arrival there, during which time they shall be well entertained in meat and clothing, they shall have set out to each twenty-five acres to them and theirs forever, paying

²⁵Kirkwall.

twopence an acre, as much corn as will sow an acre, and a suit of new clothes. Now, considering that there is five pounds sterling paid for their passage, these are good terms, and then after the term of their service is expired, they will gain more in one year there than they could do in two at home."²⁶

All this was most satisfactory to the Scots Proprietors, who, by resolution with a complimentary preamble, granted him 500 acres of land in New Jersey conditionally on his residing and building thereon. This was on July 28, 1685.²⁷ Other land had been contracted to him.²⁸ But the Scottish public did not rush to take advantage of these terms with that alacrity which Pitlochy hoped for and anticipated. In fact, it became quite apparent that he must rely mainly on involuntary patrons to fill his ship. He had been authorized in February, 1685, to take a hundred (political and religious) prisoners if they were willing to go²⁹, but even this did not suffice, and the start was delayed. In August, twelve persons banished to Jamaica were assigned to him; and later in the month over a hundred more, not allocated to any particular colony. I pass over the details; by the end of August all were on board or ready to embark.

A glance at the general events of this year, 1685, will throw a sidelight on the situation. It was the year that witnessed the death of Charles II and the invasions by Argyle and Monmouth, both of which collapsed. Charles II died a Catholic, as already noted, and, after the accession of Catholic James, the situation of the Covenanters was worse than ever, and was not helped by these two invasions. Argyle's father, the Marquis, had lost his head in 1661, just after the Restoration. The son succeeded him as Earl and head of Clan Campbell, and was known as McCallum More. At first in high favor with Charles II, he was indicted in 1681 for *lèse majesté* on charges branded by lawyers as somewhat preposterous; was convicted and sentenced to death, but later escaped and was actually in

²⁶"Scot's Model," pp. 105, 106; Whitehead, p. 29.

²⁷N. J. Arch., 1st Series, p. 85.

²⁸Id., p. 170; "Proceedings," 1922, p. 276.

²⁹Whitehead, p. 27, and authorities cited.

London for some time in hiding, though there is reason to suppose that James II knew he was there and made overtures to him. In April, 1685, we find him in Holland, conferring with the Duke of Monmouth, bastard son of Charles II.³⁰ They and their friends hatched the plot to invade Britain and depose James. Argyle was to land in Scotland and attract the English forces thither; and, while they would be pursuing Argyle, a clear field would be left for Monmouth. The plan miscarried. Argyle was not allowed a free hand; his clansmen largely failed him; the northern invasion broke down; he was captured on June 20 and executed at Edinburgh on June 30, pursuant to the sentence of 1681, that being deemed quite sufficient without the trouble of trying him again for treason. Monmouth also failed and was also beheaded.

All this naturally created a tremendous excitement, and the effect of it on Pitlochry's expedition will now appear.

On the eastern coast of Scotland, in latitude 57° North, some 17 miles by rail south of Aberdeen, and 114 miles from Edinburgh by the Forth Bridge route, is the county town of Stonehaven, looking out over the cold and stormy North Sea. A mile and a-half to the south, perched upon a cliff 160 feet high overhanging the sea, and separated from the mainland by a deep chasm, are the picturesque ruins of Dunnottar Castle, built in the 13th century, and afterwards possessed by the Keiths, Earls Marischal of Scotland.³¹ In 1685 this was no ruin, but it had been put to use as a prison. The Argyle invasion of May and June, 1685, futile as it turned out to be, gave the authorities a great fright, and to provide against a possible seizure of Edinburgh and the consequent liberation of prisoners for religion, it was determined to send them to a supposedly safe place. I should like to read you the account just as it is printed in Wodrow,³² but time forbids. Suffice it to say that some two hundred who had been in-

³⁰See Macaulay, I, p. 541.

³¹For this description I am indebted to Baedeker's "Great Britain" and Ripley and Dana's "American Cyclopaedia." There is a picture of the Castle at p. 64 of Vol. I of "Guy Mannering," Edinburgh edition of 1850.

³²Book III, Chap. IX, Sec. XI.

carcerated in the Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith tolbooths, or town jails, were, on May 18, suddenly and without warning taken from their prisons, hustled into open boats at Leith, kept on the water all night, and in the morning landed at Burntisland on the north side of the Firth of Forth and crowded to the number of 240 into the tolbooth of that place; kept there in misery, hunger and filth for two days, during which forty gave in and took the oath. After these two days they were conducted on foot, many of them with hands bound behind them, to the Firth of Tay, were ferried over to Dundee, and by Forfar and Brechin to North Esk bridge, on which they were confined in the open air for a cold and stormy night without meat or drink, "till three or four in the morning; and that day, May 24th, being the Lord's Day" (save the mark); "they were carried to their resting place at Dunnottar. Some few found means to get off by the road, and they were, when they entered Dunnottar, in all eight score and seven persons." Most of these unfortunates embarked on the "Henry and Francis;" but for over three months they were subjected to indescribable tortures and hardships in this Black Hole of Scotland; for a black hole it was. We read of a "dark vault, under ground, full of mire ankle deep, with but one window toward the sea;" "no accommodation for sitting, leaning or lying;" food—if they paid for it; water—if they paid for it. One night 25 escaped, but 15 were recaptured and put to the torture. Finally, at the end of July, they were rounded up by the Edinburgh authorities, and practically all were sentenced to banishment. Wodrow ends this story by the laconic statement: "Most part of them were given to Pitlochy." As Argyle had been beheaded after the collapse of his invasion, it is difficult to see why the helpless prisoners were not returned to their home towns, unless, as is not unlikely, it was deemed best, according to the custom of the time, to dispose once and for all of religious trouble makers who persisted obstinately in worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and send them over seas.

Thus it is, that a country robs itself of the bone and sinew of its citizenry; thus it was that the Moors were expelled from Spain, the Huguenots driven from France, and the educated and highly bred Irish from Ireland after the Boyne, all to the profit of the countries to which, and to the loss of the countries from which, they emigrated.

And here let me interrupt the course of the narrative to say a few words in vindication of the course pursued by Pitlochy in taking over from the government some 150 political-religious prisoners for transportation to America on terms that, unless they paid their respective fares for the journey, they should work them out after landing. Much depends upon the point of view. Any lawyer, and most laymen, in this audience will concede that if, let us say, Robert McLellan, who is mentioned as having sailed with Pitlochy, together with three of his children, was desirous of going but had not wherewith to pay, and agreed with Pitlochy to work on the plantation of the latter at a stated wage until the unpaid passage money had been earned, in such case Pitlochy, on performing the service of transportation, would be entitled to McLellan's services till it was paid up. Just how that right should be enforced is another matter; but as to passengers voluntarily taking passage under such a bargain the case is clear.

The stand taken by the involuntary passengers who "were gifted to Pitlochy" appears to have been substantially this, as I read Wodrow's account: 'We are free men and women and not slaves; we did not wish to leave our native land, and did so because forced into the ship by the military against our protest; we recognize no obligation to pay you money, or to work for you in lieu of money, imposed on us by any government or by anyone but ourselves; you have not the physical power to imprison us in America or compel us to work, and we repudiate your contract with the government so far as we are concerned.' Such an argument sounds impregnable here, to-day, but we must remember that in the 17th century the system of "indented servants" was fully established and generally recognized.

If we turn to John Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors"³³ we find them in several classes: convicted criminals—and let us not forget that in those days a very minor offense, petty larceny, for example, made one a "criminal"—kidnapped young people; "poor but honest persons who sold themselves into slavery for a brief term to defray the cost of the voyage," known as Redemptioners; and he goes on to say:³⁴ "A very different class of transported persons consisted of those who were not criminals at all, but merely political offenders, or even prisoners of war;" and cites a number of cases of indentured servants who later rose to prominence.

But the point that I am trying to make is that the practice of contracting with the government for the right to the labor of exiles in consideration of transporting them was fully recognized and apparently legitimate; a modified and mild form of the slave trade, if you please, but even the negro slave trade had a recognized status in the Seventeenth century. It was competitive between England, France and Spain, until 1713, when the treaty of Utrecht secured a monopoly of it to England.³⁵

So there was nothing disreputable in Pitlochy contracting for these prisoners, as, indeed, we may infer from the fact that such men as he, and Robert Barclay, later of Perth Amboy³⁶ and Governor of East Jersey, would so contract; nor was there anything disreputable in the incident related by Wodrow,³⁷ "that Pitlochy tampered with some of them, particularly James Forsyth, to get money before they sailed, offering for five pounds sterling paid now to set him at liberty as soon as they came to land. But James answered, he would give him no money to carry him out of his native land, adding he had done nothing worthy of banishment." That may have been very virtuous on James' part, but, like an obstinate Scot, he failed to realize that he had to go in any case; that if he remained it would be to live in a loathsome dungeon; that Pitlochy was

³³"Old Virginia and her Neighbours," original edition, Vol. II, pp. 176 et seq.

³⁴Id., p. 184.

³⁵"Old Virginia and her Neighbours," II, p. 190.

³⁶Id., p. 221.

³⁷Wodrow, Book III, c. IX, sec. XII.

not responsible for his going, or by law liable for his passage money. We may say that the passage of all should have been paid by the government, but things were not so done at that time, and, if the matter is viewed as a sentence of banishment plus a fine equal to the passage money to be worked out under direction of the probation officer, the whole thing seems to clear up. As a matter of fact the survivors, on arriving at the end of the voyage, repudiated all obligations for repayment of passage money, resisted legal proceedings, and dispersed in various directions. But I am ahead of my story.

The "Henry and Francis" was a ship of 350 tons. At a guess, such a ship should be between 110 and 130 feet long;³⁸ and it would seem that there was scant room for 200 passengers, besides crew, stores and 20 great guns. However, the Dunnotter prisoners must have had more room and more fresh air than in that dungeon. She lay in the road of Leith a week after the prisoners came aboard, and sailed on September 5, 1685.

In Miss Mather's paper, already mentioned, it is stated that the course lay through the English Channel; but it surely was not so intended at first, as the announcement in the "Model" states that the ship will take on "passengers at Montrose and Aberdeen, and Kirkwa [Kirkwall] in Orkney." Be this as it may, three months of misery lay before them, but it will not take long to tell this tale of tragedy, especially as it has been told many times. The dungeon, lack of food, cold and suffering, had done their work. Not a few of them, says Wodrow, were sick when they came aboard. Jail fever—typhus, no doubt—"began to rage in the ship, especially among such who had been in the great vault of Dunnotter." To add to the misery, the food was bad. "Much of the flesh which the captain of the ship had provided for the prisoners began to

³⁸This estimate is justified by the dimensions and tonnage of a number of vessels described in Morison's "Maritime History of Massachusetts." The "Fame" (p. 100), an early clipper of 263 tons, was 112 feet long. The "Mount Vernon" (p. 104), of 352 tons, was 99.6x28x14.3. The "Emerald" (p. 232), a packet of 359 tons, was 110 feet long, 27 feet beam. The "Mayflower" (p. 10), was of only 180 tons. Her length is not there stated, but was probably less than 90 feet.



Silver teapot (height $6\frac{3}{8}$ in.) made by Simeon Soumaine, a New York silversmith of the early Eighteenth century. This teapot belonged to Eupham Scott, wife of Dr. John Johnstone, and is now owned by Justice Parker, one of their descendants.

stink before they sailed out of Leith road, and in a few days it was not eatable." To-day we should talk about ptomaine poisoning. It was usual to cast over three or four dead bodies in one day; nearly seventy died at sea. Pitlochy died, having providently made his will on board ship, dated "the last of October," 1685. His wife is not mentioned, so we infer that she predeceased him. His daughter, Eupham, fell ill but recovered. Dr. Johnstone came through it all unscathed, so far as appears. There were storms and calms, and several times the ship sprang a leak. Wodrow tells us, with some indignation,³⁹ of a proposition by the Captain to Johnstone to take over the whole contract for a lump sum, and carry the prisoners to Virginia or Jamaica, where better markets offered, but that this was frustrated by the wind, which wafted them to New Jersey, willy-nilly. They actually did arrive at Perth Amboy about the middle of December, 1685, after a voyage unprecedented for its hardships and unusual for its length.

Here the story properly ends. As to Eupham Scott and Dr. Johnstone, we all know that they married and that a host of their descendants is living to-day. Dr. Johnstone died in 1732, after a life distinguished in New Jersey and New York for private worth and public usefulness. His wife lived until 1763. Both were of the real nobility, which to lofty birth adds the virtues that should accompany it, but do not always do so. Johnstone and his wife were permanently and closely identified with Perth Amboy and were members of this very parish.

As to their fellow-voyagers, willing or reluctant, we may be sure that they continued to exhibit the national traits of their race. Up to their landing, and for a short space thereafter, they were recalcitrant, and refused to recognize the obligation of a contract made for them without their assent. We read in Wodrow that the local courts refused to enforce it;⁴⁰ to the contrary, we read in Whitehead instances of its

³⁹Book III, c. IX, sec. XII.

⁴⁰Wodrow, *ubi supra*.

alleged enforcement.⁴¹ What rather concerns us now is the influence that this influx of Scotch settlers had upon their new country. Their names, or most of them, will be found in Wodrow's "History" and in Whitehead's "Perth Amboy." They went their ways and were absorbed into the population of a growing country. The effect of this upon them cannot be traced; but the effect of them on their new country, if not ascertainable with precision, can be readily surmised, when we consider their racial characteristics in connection with the modern growth of their old country under a free and enlightened government.

Glasgow is to-day the greatest city in the British Isles, with the exception of London. Princes Street, in Edinburgh, is generally acknowledged the finest street in Europe. Edinburgh is the home of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," "the Bartholomew Maps and Atlases," and "Blackwoods Magazine," for a century in the first rank of such publications. When we say that a bolt of woolen or tweed cloth is Scotch, or that an ocean steamer is Clyde-built, the last word has been said. The best marine engineers in the world are Scotch; and Scotch gardeners are proverbial. A people with such industrial characteristics; a people which in the intellectual, professional and artistic fields owns a poet like Burns, a prose writer like Walter Scott, a lawyer like Erskine, a divine like John Knox, a painter like Raeburn, a political economist like Adam Smith, philosophers like James Mill and John Stuart Mill, physicians like Dr. John Brown and Hugh Abernethy, a college President like James McCosh and a statesman like Alexander Hamilton, may well hold its head high and proudly among the peoples of the earth. And, should you ask, what of matters of sentiment and of the soul, I will bid you go to Edinburgh and spend a week examining the War Memorial in the old Castle perched upon its crag. Pilgrims journey thither from the uttermost parts of the earth. I know of no such monument anywhere that comes within hailing distance of this incomparable expression of solemn pride and national sor-

⁴¹Whitehead, p. 32, *et seq.*

row. As the visitor studies in silence its wondrous detail, he can almost hear the souls of the dead whispering to him. And if he has any Scotch blood in his veins, he will leave that place thankful that he can boast of kinship to such a race, and determined that he will "hold high the torch thrown from their falling hands."⁴²

And so, in like manner, and little though it be in comparison, we may well raise this memorial of ours to-day, not only to George Scot, who organized that tragic voyage, and to his wife, his daughter and son-in-law, but to all who participated, willingly or unwillingly. The reluctant travelers may have been blind to their own best interests; they may have been obstinate and unreasoning in preferring to breathe the fetid atmosphere of a loathsome jail in their native land rather than the free air of heaven in a country where Covenanters might attend conventicles without let or hindrance; but we may be altogether sure that, when they landed in America and found themselves confronted with a condition and not a theory and saw the opportunities awaiting them here, they quit themselves like men and did their full part in helping to make this land what it is. All honor to their memory; and may those who look upon this bronze in time to come reflect that it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, and give thanks that if bigotry, cruelty and persecution, suicidal as they always are, were destined to drive out of their own land citizens of strong and sturdy blood, that these particular exiles were driven to Perth Amboy, to bear their part in preparing the new land to become the Queen among the nations of the earth.

⁴²"In Flanders Fields," poem of the Great War, by Colonel John Macrae, a Scotchman.