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Two Scottish Documents concerning Emigration to North Carolina in 1754

Edited by Alexander Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

Emigration from Scotland to the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina was first recorded in 1739, when the North Carolina Assembly granted tax relief to 350 people from Argyll in the southwest Scottish Highlands and named five of the leaders of the group.¹ Land grants were also made available by the colony's authorities to encourage settlement, but little is known about the subsequent fortunes of the people who were part of this group of migrants.² In 1772 an account of North Carolina circulated in Scotland by Alexander Campbell of Balole (a farm his family leased on the island of Islay in Argyll) stated that "an Uncle of mine Niell MacNiel of Ardulay [a farm (Ardeley) on the island of Gigha off the coast of the Kintyre peninsula in Argyll] brot over the first Highlanders that went there 30 years ago, he then settled under many disadvantages 40 Miles in the midst of Woods distant from any other Settlemt, which hurt him and them greatly"³ Campbell, a former land surveyor and merchant in Jamaica, was trying to promote emigration from Scotland to North Carolina as a means of developing land he had acquired there. Previous historians have speculated that the 1754 emigration from Argyll documented below was planned but never executed, as available sources indicated that there had been difficulty in securing the number of people necessary to finance the voyage, but contemporary correspondence from the Isle of Arran in Scotland received and preserved in North Carolina recorded that the writer had heard that "Captain Neil Campbell" had been 'disappointed of some passengers' from the Isle of Jura off the west coast of Argyll, and had sent word to Jura that 'I woud engage to gett him his complement, but seems he getts from Jura as many as he can accommodate.'⁴ The legal documents transcribed and published below establish that 'Captain Neil Campbell', identified as organising the voyage, was 'Master & Owner of the Ship called the Mary of Glasgow' named in the Argyll Sheriff Court Process accusing him of intending to transport those

named in the process and their families ‘to Williamstown of Cape fair in North Carolina’ to the economic disadvantage of their landlord, Archibald Campbell of Jura.⁵ A document relating to a court action before the Scottish Court of Session in 1777 arising from the financial arrangements that made the emigration possible refers to ‘Neil Campbell from Black-river in Jamaica’, who purchased ‘victual’ in Belfast from a merchant named James Getty for ‘a Brig Archd McLarty master & Intended for some part of America’ in 1754.⁶ Campbell completed the purchase of stores for the voyage with help from Archibald McNeill (contemporary spelling of the surname varied) of the island of Colonsay, for whom he provided passage back to Colonsay from Belfast in the *Mary*. Neil Campbell’s relations on Islay took responsibility for ensuring that James Getty of Belfast received payment. Surviving Campbeltown, Argyll, customs records include an entry relating to the ship *Mary* of Glasgow as outward bound for ‘Cape Fair in North Carolina’ on July 9, 1754 with ‘Archibald McLarty, Master’.⁷ In addition, it appears that some of the individuals listed in the Campbell of Jura Sheriff Court action against Neil Campbell published below as tenants of farms on Jura intending to emigrate, appear on the 1755 Tax List of Cumberland County, North Carolina held by the North Carolina State Archives.⁸ The ship *Mary* reappears in Scottish customs records in 1755 landing a cargo of tar from North Carolina at Dumfries in southwest Scotland with Archibald McLarty recorded as ‘master’.⁹

‘Black River Jamaica’ was more than a single plantation or locality. It was also the name of the port at the mouth of the river on the southwest coast of the island.¹⁰ One of the named leaders of the 1739 ‘Argyll’ emigrants to North Carolina, Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland (near the present town of Lochgilphead in Knapdale on mainland Argyll), had returned to Argyll by 1741, and by 1755 his brother James had returned to Argyll from Jamaica.¹¹ A petition submitted to the Scottish Court of Session by the executors of Campbell of Kilduskland’s will in 1771 stated that when Campbell sold his estate and departed for

‘America’, ‘he carried a part of the price of his Estate with him, but left by much the greater part in Scotland.’¹² Did Kilduskland dispose of his landholdings in Bladen County at the time Cumberland County was created in 1754? We know when he received his land grants in 1740, but surviving records do not document private sales as these were ‘absolutely at his pleasure and without consultation with government officials’ and so cannot be documented.¹³ In the case of Hector McAllister, who also returned to Scotland from North Carolina in 1741, there was interest in recruiting migrants for ‘Captain Neil Campbell’ to go to North Carolina in 1754 because he had left his own land grant in North Carolina in the care of his younger brother Alexander. By the end of the American War of Independence, however, Alexander assumed ownership of Hector’s land in North Carolina on the basis that his years of unpaid management of the property over time equated to acquisition.¹⁴ Historians of emigration from Europe to British North America have long been aware of the economic context of a trade in people that was not linked to slavery, but also involved the supply of labor to an expanding economy, although in the case of Highland Scottish emigration to the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina slavery would come to be a factor that complicated the nature of the immigration which was being received. Certainly trading networks developing in early eighteenth century Britain and its empire were involved as much as economic changes in agrarian production in Scotland as factors encouraging the transportation of migrants. Commercialisation of agriculture in the Scottish economy (including regions of the Scottish Highlands) increasingly became evident from the 1730s if not before.¹⁵

What about the most striking aspect of these documents, the listing of individuals reputedly involved in the emigration? There has been some analysis of this aspect of the text by the Reverend Peter Youngson, former Church of Scotland parish minister on Jura during the 1970s.¹⁶ In his book on Jura he compares the document published below listing tenants and rents with inventories and valuations from the Campbell of Jura papers for the eighteenth

century, commenting on the fact that unlike his other sources, individuals at farm and sub-farm level are named rather than the farms alone. By comparing the rents for the individuals listed in the Sheriff Court process published below with the rents for entire farms given in the surviving 1764 rental for the estate (when the laird of Jura, Archibald Campbell, died, to be succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Archibald), Youngson has concluded that ‘everything except the value of a “tribute sheep” seems to have gone up’.¹⁷ Rents were rising, even in a relatively primitive agrarian economy such as that on Jura. Did the 1754 emigration occur because there was an upward pressure on rents? On a poor island community such as Jura, even a slight rise in monetary rent must have increased pressure on peasants farming in traditional multi-occupancy tenancies. Certainly the eight families on a single farm recorded in the documents published below indicates traditional township farming. Was the 1754 emigration related to the pressure of a rising population on the local community? The Church of Scotland minister who wrote the *Statistical Account of Scotland* account for the parish published in 1794 commented that ‘emigrations to America have proved, once and again, a drain to this island; but in the present mode of management, it may be said to be still overstocked with inhabitants.’¹⁸ Campbell of Jura’s 1754 Argyll Sheriff Court process related more to fears regarding losing rent than losing population, and it appears from the 1776 Court of Session *McNiel v Campbell* process that once Campbell was assured of the rent he feared he might lose, his efforts to prevent the emigration ceased.¹⁹ It seems that there were Jura families who were part of the large emigration party that departed from Argyll for North Carolina in 1739, and there is a letter preserved in the North Carolina State Archives from Donald Campbell of Ardmenish on Jura to ‘Collin’ Shaw of Cumberland County dated July 31, 1764, in which Campbell expressed pleasure that Shaw had written about being ‘in a good way of living’, which included voyages ‘back and forth to Jamaica and other parts.’ He asked Shaw to ‘mind me kindly to all the Jura people whom was my good neighbours’. These

included 'all your brothers and your sister Thett, to Hugh McLean and his family and Malcolm BUIE and his family, Archd BUIE (smith) and his family, ALEXANDER CLARK and his family and Donald PATERSON and all the McCRAINES And tell them that I have killd a deer this year in the muirs of Tarbert'²⁰

Youngson attempted to find out more about the people named in Campbell of Jura's Sheriff Court process by attempting to collate individuals listed with the surviving baptismal register kept by the minister of the parish of Jura between 1704 and 1734.²¹ Due to so many Christian names and surnames being duplicated in the baptismal register, it is impossible to absolutely identify any of the individuals listed in 1754 with those who appear in the baptismal register, but Youngson does discuss whether the following individuals named might be those who appear in the 1754 emigration lists: Alexander McDougald of Knockbreck, Christine McLean of Keils, Duncan Mcarthur of Crackaig, Archibald McIlrioch of either Corrynahera or Knockbreck, Hugh McLean of Knockrome, John Shaw of Knockintavil, Margaret Bowie of Knockafeolaman, Angus McIlrioch of Brosdale, Donald Black of Feolin, Gilbert Clark of Keils, Duncan Black of Sannaig, Alan McDugald of Brosdale, Hugh McCranie of Ardfernal and Cath McNamoile (possibly) of Knockafeolaman. What the Reverend Youngson was unable to do while researching his book on Jura was to try to collate the names listed in the Campbell of Jura 1754 Sheriff Court process with 'A True List of the Taxables in Cumberland County [North Carolina] in the year of our Lord 1755' (cited above in reference 8). There is some repetition of names (all male of course) across the two lists but as with the Jura register of baptism, absolute identification is impossible. The North Carolina list contains five individuals whose surnames are given as 'Buoy' [Buie], six whose surnames are given as 'Clark' or 'Clerk', two identified as McKay including one whose Christian name is rendered as 'Evor' ('Iver Mckay my farmer' of Crackaig is included in Campbell of Jura's 1754 list and appears in the 'List of men, women

and children that go for America' as 'Ivor Mackay'), a McCrain, a 'McCrean', a McDugald, an 'Archibald Black', a Shaw, and a McLean (Hugh, possibly the individual listed as tenant of a sixth of the farmtoun of Knockorame on Jura in the Argyll Sheriff Court process published below and identified in Donald Campbell's 1764 letter to Colin Shaw in Cumberland County). There are also, however, no fewer than nine McNeills, whose surname does not appear in the Jura list and there were no persons with the Jura listed surname 'McIlrioch' for four rent-paying tenants.²²

Was the Jura emigration of 1754 in any way linked to the establishment of 'Cumberland' County in North Carolina? This cannot be authoritatively documented, but collation of the names of the individuals listed in the Campbell of Jura Argyll Sheriff Court process of 1754 with the Cumberland County tax list of 1755 and the 1764 letter to Colin Shaw from Jura does indicate that further research may add to existing knowledge of migration from Argyll to the Cape Fear Valley. The Jura 1754 migration did coincide with the appointment of the Scottish-born Irish politician and colonial land speculator Arthur Dobbs as Royal Governor of North Carolina and his arrival in the colony in October 1754.²³ Dobbs's Irish estate was in Antrim, near Belfast, where Neil Campbell purchased provisions for the voyage of the *Mary*. Although his arrival coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and France in North America, North Carolina was already a colony rapidly growing in population. Dobbs had been interested in encouraging emigration from Ireland and Scotland to North Carolina since at least 1730.²⁴ By 1754 most settlers of European birth or descent migrating into the colony were arriving overland from the so-called Middle Colonies or from Virginia, settling inland at a distance from established centers of government. While much of this new population was of German or Irish origin, most were of North American birth and brought established systems of agriculture with that contributed to economic growth.²⁵ The Highland Scots were different, although not unique, in arriving by

sea on commercial shipping deployed by merchants operating in North Atlantic trading systems that had expanded so dramatically for British and Dutch merchants in the final decades of the seventeenth century. While the 1754 Jura migration was a single voyage, it does demonstrate established trading connections between Belfast, Glasgow, Black River Jamaica and Wilmington North Carolina as the expanding port of entry (rather than Charleston in South Carolina) to the Lower and Upper Cape Fear Valley region.

Recent research on the French Huguenot community in South Carolina has explored and to an extent questioned established narratives of assimilation and integration in Colonial British North America, certainly in the period before 1754. Mercantile migrants were drawn to the Carolinas and Georgia by their expanding trade, much of which was with island plantation colonies in the Caribbean.²⁶ Land grant entrepreneurs such as Jean Pierre Purry of Purrysburg South Carolina drew on the established North American immigrant trade to recruit population and establish urban centres that would expand regional trading networks, recruiting migrants of French-Huguenot, French Swiss, German Swiss, Salzburg German, Italian Piedmontese as well as English origins.²⁷ Trade in people from Europe developed in parallel with trade in people who were enslaved, both from Caribbean Islands and from west Africa, which introduced another ethnic element in a changing pattern of settlement in the Cape Fear Valley and wider region. The Highland Scots of North Carolina were different from the majority of migrants of Irish and Lowland Scottish origin in the region in that they were Gaelic-speaking, and became farmers working their own land (mostly) rather than merchants, but they also had a different linguistic cultural experience from German speaking migrants and with what we know of the French Huguenot experience.²⁸ They contributed to the development of a distinctive regional culture in the upper Cape Fear Valley and adjacent areas that would receive a much larger influx of Scottish Highland bilingual and monoglot Gaelic speakers from 1767. Links with Scotland, particularly Argyll and the Isle of Skye,

survived the upheavals of the American Revolution and remained a distinctive feature of a distinctive region within North Carolina well into the nineteenth century.²⁹

‘Petition for Archd Campbell of Jura To The Sheriff Substitute of Argyll 17 June 1754’,
marked ‘Ext [extract] given out’³⁰

Unto The Honourable Mr Archibald Campbell of Stonefield Advocate His Majesties Sherrif Depute of the Shire of Argyll or his Substitute The Petition of Archibald Campbell of Jura Humbly Sheweth

That where Neil Campbell Master and owner of the Ship called the Mary of Glasgow having prevailed on and entered into certain articles with the persons afternamed who are Tennants and possessors of my Lands and Estates aftersped To leave their native country and to Transport themselves Wives and children to Williamstown of Cape fair in North Carolina animo remanendi³¹ That the said Tennants being resolved to ship themselves on board the said Neill Campbells vessel now ready to receive them and lying in the Small Isles of Jura And that on or before the Twenty seventh of June Current Notwithstanding they have not Legally & timeously Renounced and yielded up to me their respine possessions afterspecified of my Estate Whereby they are not only lyable in payment to me of the Current years Rent of their possessions with the Cess and tiends due by each of them in Manner afterspecified viz.

Hugh McLean for his possession of 1/6 part of my toun & Lands of Knockorame pays of Silver Rent³² at Mart. 1754 £3:10:6 [and] $\frac{3}{4}$

A Kain Wedder³³ at 3: 4

3 Hens and 3 Dozn Eggs 1: 3

Tiends³⁴ 6: 8

Cess³⁵: 3: 4

£4 5: 1 [and] $\frac{3}{4}$ [Total]

John Cargil pays the like rent for anoyr sixth part of his possession of Knockorome

John McIlrioch pays for one Eight of Knockorome possessed by him of Silver Rent £2 15: 6 [and] $\frac{2}{3}$

A Kain Wedder 3: 4

2 Hens 2 Dozn Eggs : 10

of Tiends 5:

of Cess 2: 6

£3: 7: 2 [and] $\frac{2}{3}$ [Total]

Archibald Mc Craine pays the like rent for anoyr Eight part of Knockerome
£3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3

Alexr McDougald pays the like rent for anoyr Eight part yr of
£3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3

£18:11:11 [and] ½
[Total rent for Knockerome]

Item Donald Lindsay pays for his possession of one forth part of my Lands of Lergobreck of
silver Rent £2: 15: 6 [and] 2/3

A Kain Wedder 3: 4
2 Hens 2 Dozn Eggs : 10
of Teinds 5:
of Cess 2: 6
£3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3

Donald Bowie Smith pays for anoyr forth yrof
£3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3

Angus McIlrioch pays for his possession of one eight of my Lands of Brostate³⁶
Of Silver rent £2:10:

A Kain Wedder 3: 4
2 Hens & 2 Dozn of Eggs : 10
of Tiends 4: 2
of Cess 2: 6

Item he pays 4 Bolls³⁷ of Bear³⁸ & meal at 10 Stone weight to the Boll out of his possession
of anoyr eight part of Brostate at 10mks pr Boll 2: 4: 5 [and] 1/3
£5: 5: 3 [and] 1/3 [Total]

Duncan McGheil pays for one Eight part of my lands of Strone of Silver Rent £2: :

A Kain Wedder 3: 4
2 Hens & 2 Dozn of Eggs : 10
of Teinds 5:
of Cess 2: 6
£3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3 [Total]

Duncan McArthur pays for his possession of 1/8th part of Crackaig
Of Silver rent £2.15.6 [and] 2/3

A Kain Wedder 3.4
Two Hens & two dozen of Eggs .10 [ten pence]
of Teinds 5. [shillings]
of Cess 2.6
£3.7.2 [and] 2/3

John McDuffie pays the like rent for anoyr eight yrof £3: 7: 2 [and] 2/3

Iver McKay my farmer pays for his possession of one Eight part of Crackaig
Five Bolls of farm meal & Bear at 10 Stone³⁹ weight and
10 mks pr Boll inde £2: 15: 6 [and] 2/3
A Kain Wedder 3: 4
2 Hens & 2 Dozn of Eggs 10
£2: 19: 8 [and] 2/3 Total

Dugald McDugald alias Macamaile pays for his possession of a forth part of Crackaig as my
farmer
10 Bolls of Bear and meal at 10 mks p Boll inde £5:11: 1 [and] 1/3
A Kain Wedder 3: 4
4 Hens 4 Dozn Eggs 1: 8
£5:16: 1 [and] 1/3 [Total]

Donald Clerk in Keill for his possession of a forth part of my Lands of Kilernadale
of Silver Rent £5
2 Kain Wedders 6: 8
4 Hens and 4 Dozns of Eggs 1: 8
of Teinds 8: 4
of Cess 5
£6: 1: 8 [Total]

Gilbert Clerk pays for his possession of a three shilling land thereof including Cess Teinds &
presents £4:11: 3

Archibald Clerk pays for his possession of one Eight part thereof including Teinds Cess &
presents £3

John McIlpheder for one Shilling land thereof including Cess Teinds & presents
£1:10: 5

Donald Black farmer in Felin pays for one half yrof
10 Bolls farm meal & Bear at 10 mks pr Boll inde £5:11: 1 [and] 1/3
A Kain Wedder 3:4
4 Hens & 4 Dozns of Eggs 1: 8
£5:16: 1 [and] 1/3 [Total]

Gilbert McIlrioch pays for his possession of one Eight parts of my lands of Kaims
Silver rent £2
A Kain Wedder : 1: 8
One hen & one Dozn of Eggs : 5
of Teinds 2: 9 [and] 1/3
of Cess 1: 3
£2: 6: 1 [and] 1/3

Archibald McIlrioch pays for his possession of a sixteenth part of Corynahera
Silver rent £1
A Kain Wedder 1: 8
Poultry 2 [and] 1/2
of Teinds 1: 4 [and] 1/2
of Cess 7 [and] 1/2
£1: 3: 10 [and] 1/2

Extending in whole to the sum of £73: 1: 8 Sterling money and moreover by the fornamed Tennants their Relinquishing and Deserting their possessions at such an unseasonable time as this of the year The Petitioner will be under the necessity of keeping up neighbourhood with the other Possessors of the said Lands to prevent the samens becoming totally Waste whereby he must necessarily expend and Reburse the sum of [blank] Sterling money

The Petitioners is willing to Depone That the whole forenamed Tennants are now in meditatione fugae⁴⁰ by their being about to go abroad to Cape fair as aforesaid animo remanindi Whereby your Petitioner will be utterly frustrated not only of the payment of the Rents and others Justly due by each of them to him in manner before mentioned But will also Suffer the foresaid Damages in keeping up neighbourhood unless your Lordship will grant Warrant in manner and to the effect underwritten

May it Therefore Please your Lordship in Consideration of the Remisses to receive the Petitioners Oath That the forenamed persons are in meditations fugae and Thereupon to Grant your Warrant and authority not only for Arresting and Sequestrating the forenamed persons their Goods Gear effects Crofts and Debts But also for apprehending and Incarcerating their person within the County Goall Ay [sic] and while They find Sufficient Cautiion and Severty enacted in your Lordships Court Books for the due payment to your Petitioners of the rents and others due to him as aforesaid and any sum or sums he shall happen to expend in keeping up neighbourhood as aforesaid According to Justice and your Lordship Answer
Arch: Campbell

Inveraray 17th June 1754

Compeared the above Archd Campbell the petitioner who being solemnly sworn Depones that the whole persons within complained upon have entered into a Contract with the within Neil Campbell to transport them & their families to Cape Fair in America and that they are actually preparing to ship themselves aboard of the said Neil Campbell's ship which is now lying to Receive them at the small Isles of Jura And this is the truth as he shall answer to God [signed by Arch Campbell of Jura and arch Campbell of Stonefield Sheriff Substitute]

Inveraray 17th June 1754

Having Considered the foregoing Petition & oaths Grants Warrants to the officers of Court & their assistants to apprehend the persons of the several people complained upon in the said petition And to Incarcerate them within the Tolbooth of Inveraray, Therein to remain ay & while they find sufficient Caution as accords And in the mean time grant warrant for Arresting & Sequestrating their Effects Untill such Caution is found as aforesaid And Appoints the petitioner to serve each of them with a Copie of his Article of the Complaint

A List of men women and Children that go for America⁴¹
 Docketed 'A Note of the people intending a Voyage for Cape fair in North Carolina & the
 Amount of their Accepted Bills to Neil Campbell May 23[?]rd 1754'

L Agrs to Carolina[?]	Souls
Gilbert Mcilrioch [McIlrioch] Tennant in Legs Five Beds Seven Souls	7
Arch. Mcilrioch [McIlrioch] Tenant in Coryna three beds four Souls	4
John Mcilrioch [McIlrioch] in Knocherome three beds	4
Arch McCraine three Beds there	4
Hugh McLeans sixe Beds there	7
Alexr McDougald there four Beds	7
John Cargill ['McYuel' crossed out] five Beds there	6
Don Cargill ['McYeule' crossed out] three Beds there	3
Hugh McGilveach servant there two Beds	2
John McCrainkein Servt Arefernal one Bed	1
Katherain McLean Servt in Coranhouse 1 Bed	1
John Shaw in Knockantavil 5 Beds	6
David Linsie 3 Beds Lergobreck	4
Dond Buie Smith 3 Beds	5
Dond Black in Teolin 3 Beds	5
Archd Clark in Kiles 5 Beds	6
Dond Clark in Kiles 5 Beds	5
Gilbert Clark in Kiles 3 Beds	4
John mcilpheder [mcIlpheder] in Kiles 3 Beds	4
Arch Kay Black Servt there sixe Beds	4
Christian McLean servt there one Bed	1
Margaret Bowie Cottar in Knocknafeolinan three Bed [sic]	3
Dugald McNamaile shoemaker in Jura four Beds	4
Duncan McArthur in Crackaig five Beds	6
Ivor Mackay Crackaig Two Beds	4
Dougald McNamail four Beds	6
Duncan Black in Sannaig eight Beds	10
Duncan McGuile in Spoine three Beds	3
Angus Mcilrioch [McIlrioch] Tennant in Brostile Junior three Beds	4
Alan McDugald in Bostile [sic] three Beds	4
Arch Mcilrioch [McIlrioch] in Knocksbreaks	4
Hugh Mckrain[?] servt in Ardfernale	
Alexr McDougald Sannaig	
Malcom Mckrain in Ardfernale	
Niel McLean in Lerg[?] two Daughters	
Katerine McDougald	

A[?] V[?] 139

[on GD64/5/21 verso of above text]

Two names written on a fold of the paper: 'Hugh McNamaile' and 'Gilbert McArthur'

Further down this side of the paper these numbers are written]

£	£	
15 - -	12 - -	£172 [crossed out]
9	9	<u>165</u> [crossed out]
9	9	337 [crossed out]
18	18	
12	3	
	9	
15	12	£165
9	15	<u>167</u>
	6	£332
6	12	
	24	
3	9	
3		
15	9	
9	9	
9	<u>9</u>	
<u>15</u>		
165	162 [crossed out]	
	177	

Campbell of Jura papers, NRS GD64/5/22/1-2, is an extracted copy of ‘Petition for Archd Campbell of Jura To The Sheriff Substitute of Argyll 17 June 1754’ signed by James Smith Clerk Depute of the Sheriff Court of Argyll, with this additional text at the end of the text of GD64/5/22/2:⁴²

‘as his Oath and Deposition subscribed by him and the Sheriff Substitute foresaid bears which Petition above insert given in for the said Archibald Campbell Petitioner with his Oath and Deposition emitted thereon above insert being upon the day & date of their presents, read in presence of and Considered by the Sheriff Substitute foresd
He granted and hereby grants Warrant to the officers of Court & their Assistants To apprehend the persons of the several people complained upon in the said petition, And to incarcerate them within the Tolbooth of Inveraray, Therein to remain Ay & while they find sufficient Caution as accords And in the meantime Granted & hereby Grants Warrant for Arreasting & Sequestrating their effects until such Caution is found as aforesaid And Appointed and hereby Appoints the Petitioner to serve each of them with a Copie of his Article of the Complaint As a Signature thereanent hearin, Extracted upon this & The four preceding pages By James Smith Clk Dept.’

Dr. Alexander Murdoch is a former researcher for the Scottish Records Program of the North Carolina Colonial Records Project, based in Scotland working under the direction of Dr. Robert J. Cain. Microfilm and photocopies of relevant documents in Scotland were added to the Scottish Records Collection established within the British Records Collection held by the North Carolina State Archives at Raleigh. Dr. Murdoch is currently a Honorary Fellow of the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland and associated with the School's Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies. He wishes to record his debt to George Stevenson of the North Carolina State Archives as the researcher who carried out the pilot research program in Scotland, and his thanks to Dr. Cain and Professor Bradford J. Wood of Eastern Kentucky University, for their invaluable advice on earlier drafts of the introduction.

¹ William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), IV, 489-490, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*. The Kintyre, Scotland, local historian and judge, A.I.B. Stewart, was able to provide useful additional information relating to the five named leaders of the 1739 emigration in his article 'The North Carolina Settlement of 1739', *Scottish Genealogist*, 32 (March 1985) 2-13, reprinted in Victor E. Clark, Jr and Louise Curry, eds, *Colorful Heritage Documented* (n.p., privately printed, 1989).

² Robert J. Cain (ed.), *Records of the Executive Council, 1735-1754*, Volume VIII of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Second Series], edited by Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S. Price, Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1988), xviii-xx (hereafter cited as Cain, *Records of the Executive Council, 1735-1754*); Duane Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 27, 79-82(hereafter cited as Meyer, *Highland Scots*).

³ Alexander Murdoch, ed., 'A Scottish Document Concerning Emigration to North Carolina in 1772', *North Carolina Historical Review* 67 (October 1990), 438-449 (hereafter cited as Murdoch, 'Scottish Document').

Alexander Campbell of Balole should not be confused with another Alexander Campbell who also was born on Islay, but became associated with the Caribbean island of Grenada, where he died in 1795. See Murdoch (ed.), 'A Scottish Document', 444 and Mark Quintanilla, 'The World of Alexander Campbell: An Eighteenth-Century Grenadian Planter', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 35 (Summer 2003), 229-256.

⁴ W.R. Brock, *Scotus Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for links between Scotland and America in the 18th century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 81; Ian Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America 1603-1803* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1993), 36; Hector McAllister to Alexander McAllister, June 26, 1754, McAllister Family Papers, Private Collections P.C. 1738.1-2, State Archives, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh (hereafter cited as McAllister Papers). Hector McAllister's letter refers to 'the bearer Neill Munro', presumably the bearer of his letter from Arran to his brother in the Cape Fear Valley.

⁵ Argyll Sheriff Court Records, SC54/2/21, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter cited as NRS), published below. There is a ship Mary of Glasgow recorded in the Scottish Customs Collectors Accounts for Greenock, but it is always listed as bound for Virginia with Robert Shannon as master, e.g. Greenock Customs Collectors Accounts Oct. 1754-Oct. 1756, Goods Outwards, E.504/15/7, NRS, p. 111 Entry 27, April 21, 1755; Victualling Bills, p. 125, Entry 3, April 22, 1755. There are a number of entries in the Greenock accounts for 1756-1758 to 'the Hawk Neil Campbell master' always listed as from or to Jamaica: Greencok Customs Accounts Oct. 1756-Oct. 1758, Goods Outwards and General Goods Inwards, E.504/15/8, NRS, p. 15 Entries 50 & 51, Jan. 4, 1757; p. 20 Entry 6, October 14, 1756; p. 30 Entries 44 & 46, Dec. 2 & 6, 1756; p. 50 Entry 14, Jan. 25, 1757; p. 141 Entry 20, May 30, 1757; p. 246 Entry 100, Jan. 5, 1758; p. 258 Entries 24-25, Nov. 25 & 27, 1757; p. 280 Entry 24, Jan. 18, 1758; p. 285 Entry 47, Feb 2, 1758; p. 316 Entry 25, Feb. 18, 1758; p. 419 Entries 100-102 & 104, Oct 4, 1758 and p. 420 Entries 105, 107-109, Oct 4 & 7 1758.

⁶ James Getty to John Campbell [tacksman of Arднеaves (Arднеaves) farm on Islay], Belfast, March 13, 1776, Court of Session Papers, Unextracted processes, NRS CS230/Mc/4/4, McNeil v Campbell, photocopy from what is now the NRS in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh. This action concerns a bill issued to McNiell of Colonsay in 1754 by Campbell of Arднеaves and his father James Campbell of Ballinaby (another farm on Islay), who were respectively brother-in-law and father-in-law to Captain Neil Campbell. McNiell of Colonsay's son brought an action before Argyll Sheriff Court claiming that the bill had never been paid, judgement of which was appealed to the Court of Session by Campbell, who ruled in his favour.

McLarty was a Campbeltown sea captain recorded as master of a number of ships trading from Campbeltown in the 1750s: Campbeltown Customs Collectors Accounts, Sept 1748-Oct. 1757, Goods Outwards and General Goods Inwards, NRS E.504/8/2, p. 41 Entries 12 & 13, March 25, 1750/51 in the *Peggy and Jean* for Cork in Ireland; p. 56 Entry 7, Sept. 29, 1751, the same from 'Christiansound'; p. 67, Entries 24 & 26, the same for Dublin; p. 107 Entry 6, May 14, 1753, in the 'Campbeltown from Christian Sound in Norway'; p. 115, Entry 12, Sept. 11, 1753, the same from Cork; p. 200 Entry 29, March 10, 1756 in the *Charlotte* for Cork; p. 223 Entry 12, August 28, 1756, the same from Cork; p. 235 Entry 14, Feb. 21, 1757, the same from Cork; p. 240, Entries 2 & 3, April 22 & 30th 1757, the same for 'St Christophers'. All ships were noted as 'of Campbeltown'.

⁷ Campbeltown Customs Collectors Accounts Sept 1748-Oct 1757, Goods Outwards, p. 132, Entry 2, NRS E.504/8/2, microfilm copy from what is now the NRS in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh.

⁸ William C. Fields, ed., '1755 Tax List of Cumberland County, North Carolina', *North Carolina Genealogical Society Journal* (August 1987). I am grateful to Dr Robert J. Cain for sending me an offprint of this publication.

⁹ Dumfries Customs Collectors Accounts, Sept 1748 – Oct 1756, General Goods Inwards, pp. 256-257, Entry 44, 9 July 1755, NRS, E.504/9/2, microfilm copy from what is now the NRS in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh. Receiving merchants were 'Edward and Roberts Maxwells'.

¹⁰ James A. Delle, *The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in Jamaica's Plantation System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 49; Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (1774; reprint, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970), 2: 185-187; 'Black River, St Elizabeth Parish', Jamaica National Heritage Trust: www.jnht.com/site_black_river.php <accessed November 17, 2015>

¹¹ Alexander Murdoch, 'Hector MacAllister in North Carolina, Argyll and Arran: Family and Memory in Return Migration to Scotland in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33.1 (May 2013), 7-8 (hereafter cited as Murdoch, 'Hector MacAllister'); John Macdonald of Largie v Dugald MacTavish of Dunardry and Patrick Campbell of Knap, 16 Dec. 1771, Court of Session Papers, Extracted Processes, NRS CS21/1771/10/8, photocopies of some of the papers in this legal process from what is now the NRS are in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh; J.R. N. Macphail, ed., *Highland Papers, Volume IV* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1934), 78, refers to Duncan Campbell (when compiled c1741-1745) as having inherited the Kilduskland lands 'but sold the Estate and is unmarried', and also refers to a younger brother, James, 'now in Jamaica & unmarried'. The editor [Macphail] added a note that James married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Lamont of Stronlbanach in 1755. Also see genealogy of the Campbell of Auchinbreck family, NLS Advocates MS 34.6.19.f34. Duncan Campbell's sister Henrietta married the Reverend Neil Campbell, later Principal of the College of Glasgow.

¹² 'Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council Session', '*The Petition of Dugald Mactavish of Dunardrie and Patrick Campbell of Knap, Executors to the deceased Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland*', n.d., 3 (of 12), NRS, CS21/1771/10/8, photocopy from what is now the NRS in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh.

¹³ George Stevenson, 'Foreword', in Margaret Hofman, ed., *Colony of North Carolina: 1735-1764: Abstracts of Land Patents* (Weldon, NC: The Roanoke News Company, 1982), p. vi. Kilduskland's land patents appear in Hofman's book as entries 4108, 4111-4114, and 4119-4123 totalling 2335 acres. Entry 557 records a grant to 'Duncan Campbell' of February 25, 1754 of 200 acres in Bladen County 'on the W. side of the N.W. river on a branch of Rockfish creek called Juniper Branch, joining Daniel Munroe'. This is unlikely to relate to Kilduskland. Meyer, *Highland Scots*, 92-94, includes discussion of land grants to individuals with Highland Scottish names

including those in 1755-1756; Cain, ed., *Records of the Executive Council, 1735-1754*, xix, identifies Campbell as the largest recipient of land grants following the 1739 immigration. For a more general perspective on early Scottish investment in British empire including sale of estates in Scotland to fund overseas ventures, see Allan I. Macinnes 'Union, Empire and Global Adventuring with a Jacobite Twist, 1707-53' in Allan I. Macinnes and Douglas J. Hamilton, eds., *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 132-9.

¹⁴ Murdoch, 'Hector McAllister', 14.

¹⁵ Bradford J. Wood, *This Remote Part of the World: Regional Formation in Lower Cape Fear, North Carolina 1725-1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 28-29, discusses the contrast between commercial opportunity 'while the preponderance of backcountry immigrants pursued agrarian activities.' For the importance of Atlantic colonial trades from the late seventeenth century with an emphasis on Jamaica see Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Also see Marianne Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginning of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, Pennsylvania University Press, 1999), xxx, 59-112; Cain, ed., *Records of the Executive Council, 1735-1754*, xx.

¹⁶ Youngson, *Jura: Island of Deer* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Publishing, 2001), (hereafter referred to as Youngson, *Jura*).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 267. Youngson identifies a 'wedder' as 'a castrated male sheep', and the term 'kain' as signifying rent paid in kind. Both terms appear in one of the documents published below. For a discussion of the broader context of agrarian change in Scotland in this period see Robert Dodgshon, 'The Clearances and the Transformation of the Scottish Countryside' in T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 120-158, especially 141-146. The best account of agrarian change in Argyll in this period remains Eric Cregeen, 'The Tacksmen and Their Successors', *Scottish Studies*, XIII (1969), 93-144, reprinted in Eric R. Cregeen, *Recollections of an Argyleshire Drover and other West Highland chronicles*, Margaret Bennett, ed., (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2004).

¹⁸ Youngson, *Jura*, 270, quoting from Sir John Sinclair, ed., *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols., (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1791-1799), 12:324.

¹⁹ Youngson, *Jura*, 282-3, asserts that McNeill of Colonsay provided the funds (£73.1.8 Sterling) to settle the 1754 Argyll Sheriff Court process, but see reference 6 above. When levels of emigration from Scotland rose from 1767 much concern was expressed in the Scottish press and in some correspondence amongst the political elite regarding the loss of population in Scotland as a whole through overseas migration in particular. See Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 29-66.

²⁰ Youngson, *Jura*, 274-9. See Donald Campbell of Ardmebish, Isle of Jura to 'Collin' Shaw of Cumberland County, North Carolina, July 31, 1764, Shaw Papers, Private Collections, P.C. 20.1, State Archives, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 287-9.

²² My thanks to Ronald Black, former Senior Lecturer in Celtic at the University of Edinburgh and author of a forthcoming history of Argyll during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion in Scotland for his comments on the surnames that appear on the Jura lists, and those that appear on the 1755 Cumberland County tax list that indicate a connection with Gaelic. 'McIlrioch' was sometimes anglicized as 'Darroch'.

²³ Robert J. Cain, ed., *Records of the Executive Council 1755-1775* Volume IX of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Second Series], edited by Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, William S. Price, Jr., and Robert J. Cain (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1994), xlv (hereafter cited as Cain., ed., *Records of the Executive Council 1755-1775*).

²⁴ Robert M. Calhoon, 'Dobbs, Arthur (1689-1765)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7711>, accessed May 27, 2016]).

²⁵ Robert W. Ramsay, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); Cain (ed.), *Records of the Executive Council, 1755-1775*, xix-xxi.

²⁶ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 213-216; B. Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

²⁷ Arlin Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732-1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 158-159, 239.

²⁸ Daniel B. Thorp, *The Moravian Community in North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*.

²⁹ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 816-819; Donald E. Meek, 'The Pulpit and the Pen: Clergy, Orality and Print in the Scottish Gaelic World' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 97-98; Harry L. Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second American Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); James R. MacDonald, 'Cultural retention and adaptation among the Highland Scots of North Carolina' (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1992).

³⁰ Sheriff Court Records, SC 54/2/21, NRS. Published by permission of the National Records of Scotland. Parts of these documents have been quoted in Youngson, *Jura*, 266-9, 280-3. The Reverend Mr. Youngson attended a seminar organised by the editor of this publication on the Jura emigration to North Carolina of 1754 at the University of Edinburgh in November 1995 (the Reverend Peter Youngson, letter to editor, December 2, 1995). He was Church of Scotland minister on Jura for a substantial period during which he acquired close knowledge

of Jura, its geography and its history. The spelling of some of the personal and place names in the documents published here varies in some cases when cited by Youngson.

³¹ Jonathan Law and Elizabeth Elizabeth Martin, *A Dictionary of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), s.v. “animus” includes “animus manendi”, defined as “intention to remain in one place”, online edition accessed November 18, 2015.

³² Youngson, *Jura*, 257: “apparently set by the laird, and capable of ‘augmentation’”.

³³ Youngson, *Jura*, 257: “a wedder or wether is a castrated male sheep, the term occurs with the adjective ‘kain’, meaning rent paid in kind.”

³⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “teind”: “in Scotland, that portion of the estates of the laity which is liable to be assessed for the stipend of the clergy of the established church”, online edition accessed November 18, 2015.

³⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “cess”: “1. An assessment, tax, or levy: in various *spec.* applications. a. A rate levied by local authority and for local purposes. Now superseded in general English use by *rate*, but frequent *dial.*; in Ireland it is still the official term. b. *Scotland*. The land tax”, online edition accessed June 6, 2016.

³⁶ Brosdale, see Calum McArthur, *Place Names of Jura* (Jura: The Author, 1986).

³⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “boll”: “2. A measure of capacity used for grain, etc, used in Scotland and the north of England, containing in Scotland generally 6 imperial bushels”, online edition accessed November 18, 2015.

³⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “bear”: “2. Barley: the original English name, in later times retained only in the north, and esp. in Scotland,”, online edition accessed November 18, 2015.

³⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “stone”: “14.a. A measure of weight, usually equal to 14 pounds”, online edition accessed November 18, 2015.

⁴⁰ George Joseph Bell, *Commentaries on the laws of Scotland*, fifth edition (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1826), 2:559, s.v. “meditatione fugae”.

⁴¹ Campbell of Jura Papers, Gifts and Deposits series (hereafter cited as GD), NRS GD64/5/21. There is a photocopy of this document in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh.

⁴² Campbell of Jura Papers, GD 64/5/22/2. There is a photocopy of this document in the Scottish Records Collection, State Archives, Raleigh.