The research examines the reasons for and value of both deliberate and amorphous mutual-aid societies that influenced the life and success of an individual who lived in seventeenth-century Edinburgh, Scotland, and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Information is developed to allow a contextual comparison of life in both areas. The mutual-aid groups in Edinburgh and Massachusetts Bay were different and yet similar in function and origin. Some of these organizations were indigenous; some were formed in the natural evolution of a crisis situation, such as war, imprisonment or movement to a new and foreign land. These mutual aid groups played an important part in the life adjustment of Scottish immigrants to Massachusetts.

The function of mutual aid societies is examined through an individual named Alexander Stewart. He was born and raised in Edinburgh. Historical secondary data indicate he was taken prisoner by Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650 and was sold as an inden-
tured servant in Boston in 1651. He lived in Charlestown, Yarmouth and Marlborough, all in Massachusetts. He died in 1731 at the age of 98. He became a successful farmer and tailor, but he could not have been successful without the aid of organized societal assistance, whether it be from an ethnic community or from the family unit.

The primary difference between Edinburgh and Boston was urban versus rural life style. Patterns of life style, other than the religious aspects, developed along different lines. There was more opportunity for economic advancement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a situation that many of the Scottish prisoners were able to take advantage of, but not without the reinforcement of aid groups.

Mutual aid societies, both in Edinburgh and Massachusetts Bay Colony, developed in and of themselves when the situation dictated the need, which could be social or economic, of natural evolution or of purposeful creation. This is true both in the centuries-old society of Edinburgh and in the new society of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Massachusetts Bay Colony mutual aid societies provided the environment and opportunity for Alexander Stewart to succeed in an alien new land.
Individual Society and Adaptation in Edinburgh, Scotland, and the Massachusetts Bay Colony - 1650

by

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I. Introduction

Mutual aid is a necessary element in the life of an individual. The whole of our "cyclical nature of life, i.e., conception, gestation, birth, growth, reproductive maturity, senescence and death" is influenced, manipulated, maneuvered and shaped by the quality and quantity of mutual-aid received during its course (Clark and Anderson, in Hayes and Henslin 1975:331).

The life of Alexander Stewart provides a base from which to explore the various mutual aid facilities which influenced his life, allowed his survival from birth to death, and aided in his adaptation to the new world when he was transported as a prisoner from Scotland to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1650.

He enjoyed the closeness of family and friends and the stability of apprenticeship in the medieval city of Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1650, war with Cromwell took Alexander to the battlefield at Dunbar, on the East coast of Scotland, where he was taken prisoner and eventually sent to the New World. In Boston, Massachusetts, he was indentured for a period of five to seven years which gave him time to acclimate in a controlled situation to the customs, environment and climate of the English Puritan way of life. Once freed, he was alienated, as a Scot, from New England society. He, with other
Scots in the same predicament, formed an elitist group called the Scots Charitable Society in Boston for their own support and mutual aid.

Alexander married twice into established English families which helped him to acquire land and elevate his social and economic status. The second of these two marriages took him to the newly-established town of Marlborough, Massachusetts, where he owned land, held civic positions and produced children who prospered and continued to establish new settlements in the movement west and to take part in their organization and government. This research is designed to "test" the thesis that mutual aid societies provided a fundamental adaptive mechanism for Scottish prisoners taken as indentured servants to the New World.

The Evolution of Mutual Aid

Even though this research examines the institutions providing mutual aid to an individual only during his lifetime, it is important to examine the fuller context of mutual aid through its evolutionary development. The theories of cultural anthropologists regarding mutual aid have varied and changed greatly from the early studies of Darwin, Spencer and Kropotkin who believed, along with Huxley and others, that cultural evolution paralleled biological evolution in its development (Titiev 1959). There were significant observations of man hundreds of years ago by the crusaders and pilgrims of Europe. The Arabs were astute philosophers and surprisingly modern in their interpretations of culture. It was not until Lewis Henry Morgan
(1818-1881) began his studies of the Iroquois and observed their close-knit kinship system that anthropology had its formal beginning. He was an evolutionist and categorized the stages of mankind into levels of savagery, barbarism and civilization. Morgan was not unlike other ethnocentric anthropologists of the nineteenth century who assumed that "all men were rational beings who strive to improve themselves" (Morgan 1963).

Edward B. Tylor, the father of Anthropology and an Englishman, based his evolutionary theories on the reams of data supplied by missionaries and travelers regarding the religion of the primitive people of Australia. He felt primitive people were where they were in the scale of evolution simply because they had not progressed as far (Tylor 1871).

Darwin, in his *Descent of Man* (1859), says the evolutionary process was "slow and methodical" and was dependent on the survival of the strongest and the fittest - natural selection. Petr Kropotkin, an idealistic anarchist, put forward the theory that only through mutual aid among all species did man evolve and continue to evolve. Both Darwin and Kropotkin believed their theories basic to life itself and fundamental to the betterment of its existence (Kropotkin 1960).

Professor Kessler (1850), dean of St. Petersburg University, offered the idea that besides the law of mutual struggle there is in nature the law of mutual aid, which for the success of the struggle for life, and especially for the progressive evolution of the species, is far more important than the law of mutual contest. It
is the social Darwinist who isolated the questionable idea that only the fittest of supermen survive. Kropotkin was the first of the nineteenth-century biologists to collect material enough to give his mutual aid theory what he felt was valid argument (Kropotkin 1960).

There are those evolutionists who will admit to the importance of mutual aid among animals but will refuse to admit its importance to man. Herbert Spencer is among this faction. Spencer originated the term "survival of the fittest" which Darwin borrowed. He went to the extreme of denying mutual aid (charity, health, welfare, educational aid, etc.), based on his theory that it interfered with evolutionary processes. He felt the poor, sick and hungry were in a distressed condition because they were not fit for survival and should, therefore, be left to die. He did not, however, suggest the abolition of laws and police (Spencer 1967).

Darwin, in The Descent of Man, pointed out, in numberless animal societies, how the struggle between separate individuals for the means of existence disappears, how struggle is replaced by cooperation, and how that substitution results in the development of intellectual and moral faculties which secure to the species the best conditions for survival. He intimated that in such cases the fittest are not necessarily the physically strongest, nor the most cunning, but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other (Darwin 1859).

Kropotkin states that there is a "three-cornered contest" (xviii) within the mutual aid institutions: those who rose up to purify the old institutions, or to work out a higher form of
community wealth based on mutual aid principles; those who endeavored to break down the protective institutions of mutual support for their own edification and reward; the pardon of offences, or a still higher ideal of equality before the human conscience in lieu of compensation according to class value (Kropotkin 1960).

Darwin wrote that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring" (Darwin 1859).

Darwin's followers, having available only uncompleted work on the subject, narrowed his superman theory all the more. They--Huxley and Montagu among them--saw the animal world as a world of perpetual struggle among half-starved individuals, "thirsting for one another's blood" (Cerf & Klopfer 1936).

"Sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle," Kropotkin states. He feels the men most given to the habits of mutual aid are the fittest (Kropotkin 1960:5).

Professor Kessler, in an address delivered in January, 1880, for a Congress of Russian naturalists, said that so often the zoologist, and those sciences which deal with man, continually insist upon what they call "the pitiless law of struggle for existence." They forget the existence of another law which may be described as the law of mutual aid, which he considers the most important. He pointed out how the need of leaving progeny necessarily brings animals together. The "more the individuals keep together, the more they mutually support each other, and the more are the chances of the species for surviving, as well as furthering
their intellectual development. All classes of animals," he continued, "and especially the higher ones, practice mutual aid."

He concluded his address as follows:

I obviously do not deny the struggle for existence, but I maintain that the progressive development of the animal kingdom, and especially of mankind is favoured much more by mutual support than by mutual struggle. . . . All organic beings have two essential needs: that of nutrition, and that of propagating the species. The former brings them to a struggle and to mutual extermination, while the needs of maintaining the species bring them to approach one another and to support one another. But I am inclined to think that in the evolution of the organic world--in the progressive modification of organic beings--mutual support among individuals plays a much more important part than their mutual struggle." (Memoirs of the St. Petersburgh Society of Naturalists vol. xi:1880. Kropotkin 1960:8.)

Mutual-support instincts inherited by mankind from its extremely long evolution, play an important part in our modern society. When the mutual aid institutions, i.e., those of the tribe, the village community, the guilds, the medieval city, became individual institutions, the customs and patterns that succeeded were kept. Those factions which did not work did not survive.

Societies in the form of bands or tribes--not families--were the primitive form of organization of mankind and its earliest ancestors. The "band," not the family, was the earliest form of social life. Mutual aid was practiced by the earliest of "savages." Sustenance, protection, defense and the assurance of progeny were primary catalysts to compel the band to stay together (Kropotkin 1960:80).

Kropotkin's theory was that out of the disruption of the early clans and tribes came the village community. These became a bonded
group which lasted for centuries. With the village came the conception of common territory, either appropriated or protected by common efforts. The land became identified with its inhabitants. The independence of the family was recognized as well as its privacy within the family confines. Personal initiative was free to expand. From the small village community the greater organizations grew. There still exist some of these small medieval villages (Kropotkin 1960).

These small villages existed in England during both the Saxon and Norman times, some of them surviving until the last century. They became the foundation for the social organization of old Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The village was an outgrowth of a union between families of common descent and owning a certain territory in common. The village community was not only a union for guaranteeing to each one his fair share in the common land, but also a union for common culture, mutual support in all possible forms, for protection from violence and for a further development of knowledge, national bonds and moral conceptions. Every change in every aspect of the village life had to be favored by the members of the community. The community, being a continuation of the clans or gens, inherited all its functions. "It was the world in itself (Kropotkin 1960:112)."

Common hunting, fishing and agriculture was the rule of the old villages. Common agriculture was the first rule of the "barbarian" villages, beginning about 7,000 B.C. This does not necessarily mean the common consumption of the produce. After a certain amount was relegated to the store house, the remainder was distributed to the
huts of the dwellers. There was an individuality developing, but the joy of community feasts was maintained and is, even to this day (Kropotkin 1960).

The village people lived in a wide variety of institutions imbued with considerations as to what may be useful or not useful to their tribe or clan. These institutions were handed down from generation to generation in verses and songs, in proverbs and in stories and instructions (Kropotkin 1960).

From the medieval village of the "barbarians" developed the medieval city. As a means of protection from outside elements, stone walls were built to surround them. Built by the combined energies of the inhabitants, hundreds of fortified cities made their appearance in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This afforded the dwellers within the walls a new form of freedom. It also formed a close-knit social group within the walled confines of the city. The predominant common denominators were that of defense and sustenance. Law and order were a common desire, as it has been since early man appeared (Kropotkin 1960).

There developed within these cities a diversity of arts and crafts which evolved into the guilds. The guilds allowed men to belong, to become a member of a specific group that was to look out for his welfare, much as the early tribes and clans had done.

Temporary "guilds" were formed on board ships. When a ship of the Hansa had accomplished her first half-day passage after having left the port, the captain gathered all crew and passengers on the deck and stated the following:
As we are now at the mercy of God and the waves, each one must be equal to each other. And as we are surrounded by storms, high waves, pirates, and other dangers, we must keep a strict order that we may bring our voyage to a good end. That is why we shall pronounce the prayer for a good wind and good success, and, according to marine law, we shall name the occupiers of the judges' seats. Thereupon the crew elected a Vogt and four scabini, to act as their judges. At the end of the voyage the Vogt and scabini abdicated their functions and addressed the crew as follows: -- What has happened on board ship, we must pardon to each other and consider as dead. What we have judged right was for the sake of justice. This is why we beg you all in the name of honest justice to forget all the animosity one may nourish against another and to swear on bread and salt that he will not think of it in a bad spirit. If any one, however, considers himself wronged, he must appeal to the land Vogt and ask justice from him before sunset. On landing, the Stock with the fredfines was handed over to the Vogt of the seaport for distribution among the poor (Kropotkin 1960:170).

Similar organizations came into existence wherever a group of men--fishermen, hunters, traveling merchants, builders or settled craftsmen (guilds)--came together for a common pursuit (Colston 1889).

In the guild system, there was an obligation, a vow made between members, to assist a brother member, his widow and children, should a disaster occur. Members were considered brother and sister, and all were treated as equals before the guild. Disputes were settled within the organization. The guilds formed powerful groups within a city. The city organized itself as a federation of both small village communities (neighborhoods) and guilds (Colston 1889).

Kropotkin (1960) states "the medieval city thus appears as a double federation: of all householders united into small territorial unions--the street, the parish, the section--and of individuals
united by oath into guilds according to their professions; the former being a product of the village-community origin of the city, while the second is a subsequent growth stimulated by new opportunities and conditions (Kropotkin 1960).

What is important to note is that the medieval city was not simply a political organization for the protection of certain political liberties. It also was an attempt at organizing the citizenry for its own benefit and preservation and protection on a much grander scale than in a village community. It was a close union for mutual aid and support, for consumption and production, for social life together, without the controls of the state. It provided a new context for the full liberty of expression to the creative genius of each separate group of individuals in art, crafts, science, commerce and political organization. The individual cities had their own personality, having grown from various sources and occupying different geographic locations. At the same time, they were very similar.

Religion played a major part in the cohesiveness of the city. Group effort was involved in the building of a cathedral. Whereas the construction was done by the various guilds, the townsfolk participated in the raising of funds and embellishment. They then attended their cathedrals as an identifiable unit, worshipped with a common minister, and vowed the same doctrinal beliefs. The church furnished a common hope for all.

Other Cultural Interpretations of Mutual Aid

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, there were serious
doubts about the evolutionist theories. On the American scene, it was Franz Boas who "overthrew" the cultural evolutionist theories (Pelto 1966:23). Boas was trained as a physicist, educated in Germany, turned cultural geographer, who believed that facts should precede theories. He accumulated masses of data regarding the ethnography of the Northwest Coast Indians and Plains Indians of America. He felt there was not enough basis to construct theories relating to the enormous variation in human cultures. He shaped a strong anti-evolutionist theory, however, and denounced Morgan's stages as "figments of imagination" unsupported by fact. He noted, for instance, that several Great Plains Indian tribes had given up settled agricultural life to become nomadic buffalo hunters, a regressive act as opposed to an evolutionary one (Boas 1940).

The most fervent anti-evolutionists were W. J. Perry and Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, Englishmen who believed the world's cultural development was spread through diffusion from one culture to another. They theorized that all culture diffused from Egypt. An Austrian school of anti-evolutionists arose along the same diffusionist philosophies, claiming the origin of civilization was somewhere in Asia. Though not as extreme in their attitude, a German school, the Kulturkreise, developed from their theories (Pelto, 1966).

Boas emphasized the collection of detailed facts concerning the cultures and histories of particular people which gave rise to the Boasian approach called historical particularism. He proved the evolutionists had gone far beyond what their data would support and that they had assumed the differences between cultures were evolu-
tionary, which they "conceived as an independent, self-generating, and inevitable process or force (Boas 1940)." The anti-evolutionists saw the history of man more as a tree of culture with "complex branching, intertwining and budding off," all with mutual aid occurring within and without all groups (Pelto 1966).

Boas and his students and followers found much evidence of the interaction between societies from the diffusion of cultural traits from one group to another. This aspect of their research gave rise to the diffusionist school of thought led by Elliott Smith, W. J. Perry, and W. H. R. Rivers (Plog and Bates, 1976).

From the volumes of data that Boas and his associates gathered, the extreme complexity of the kinship systems of the primitive
tribes became apparent. The intricacy of these systems encompassed all aspects of tribal living, i.e., law and order, marriage, status, birth, death, social life, all involving mutual aid and exchange.

Norman R. Jackman has done much research concerning the importance of group identification and mutual aid as a basic factor in the physical and psychological survival of the individual. He used as his source the German concentration camps and a few selected membership groups in the community (Jackman 1958).

Jackman's theory states that an individual derives the necessary strength from a support group which enables him to survive physically and mentally under unusually stressful and life-challenging situations. The perspective and attitude of the individual was an important aspect of his survival—in fact, paramount to his physical and mental well-being. A positive perspective is enhanced by a support group (Ibid.).

The data from the concentration camps were obtained in different manners and from different points of view. They were derived from people imprisoned and the records of their captivity that were available. The approach varied; for instance, there were those who had a broader view, reflecting the whole of the camps. The majority of the inmates, however, were ordinary citizens, without skills for observation, who looked at the singular instances and did not place them in the whole of the situation. Jackman cites only two professional psychologists who applied their training in observation. The conclusions were determined by comparing the group living conditions of those who survived (Ibid.).
A group of boys and their leader from a school were imprisoned. They vowed to survive until released, which they did. They had to relearn the natural reflex and teachings of charitableness to other inmates and discipline themselves to take care of only their own. It succeeded, and they were all released. In camps where the inmates were kept apart and moved often, reducing any chance of close alliances, many perished (Ibid.).

Alan Kullikoff found, in his research of the slave communities in Maryland and Virginia, that often small nuclear communities had begun aboard the slave ships during the voyage from Africa (Kullikoff in William and Mary Quarterly, April 1978). Communities lasted where people stayed together. A communications system evolved between those separated.

The common problem of survival and religious doctrine allowed the early settlers of America to survive. The factor of group effort, identity and mutual aid allowed them a foundation of strength on which to build.

Both the evolutionist and anti-evolutionist points of view emphasized the "rationality and humanity" of primitive people. They agreed that "cultural differences are due to culture history and not biological inequalities; and both schools of thought were fundamentally opposed to the theological view that primitive peoples have degenerated from a state of original paradise (Pelto 1966:24)."

Among Boas's students were and are some of the most outstanding anthropologists of our time. They all began extensive field studies of the American Indians. Clark Wissler, A. L. Kroeber, Robert Lowie,
Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Melville Herskovits are among the better-known of Boas's students. All derived from their research their own theories regarding cultural anthropology.

It was through the research of these and other people that the complexity and strength of kinship ties was revealed. Napoleon Chagnon (1968) stated that "Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure." The organization and structure of the kinship patterns varied from one cultural group to another; however, it formed the bonds that enabled each of the separate cultures to develop their own idiosyncracies into a working unit (Chagnon 1974).

There were those like Bronislaw Malinowski, a functionalist, who felt that the needs of the individual dictated the direction of a culture; whereas, the structuralists Emil Durkheim and A. Radcliffe-Brown stressed the needs of the social system as a whole as a causation factor. The field work of people of these schools of thought has led to a more thorough examination of data gathered and, thereby, has added a deeper dimension to the science of anthropology and our ideas of interdependence of human beings (Pelto 1966).

World War II allowed situations where the anthropologist could apply his knowledge of little-known cultures. The anthropologists wrote handbooks and manuals to aid the service people in their relationships with cultures foreign to them (Plog and Bates 1976). The Boasian school of anti-evolutionism was tempered, and more psychological and sociological aspects were considered in the studies and research of anthropologists. Modern societies became a subject of observance and an increased interrelating of historical,
functionalist, biological, psychological, and even evolutionist concepts were brought into a unified theory of human behavior (Pelto 1966).

The Individual and Mutual Aid

From contemporary data it can be assumed that any community of people can be described as organized into a social system in which individuals and groups play various parts or roles in the drama of living. The interrelationship of one individual with another and the whole of the cultural society with another society can be categorized as mutual aid, a necessary element for the continuance of both individual and group.

The function of the extended family found in most of the primitive groups and much of general society well into the nineteen hundreds, proved to be a more effective institution for mutual support than the young couple living independently in their own home, raising their own children. The kinship systems of the primitive people were more complex and, in the over-all aspect, more protective than the single family unit.

Beyond the bounds of family and kinship are voluntary associations that characterize urban societies and state systems of political control. According to Kenneth Little (1974), such associations often play a more important role in determining an individual's status and identity than does one's nationality.

Through the process of enculturation of the children of a given country or area, a national character evolves. A basic per-
Personality type is developed through the repetition of cultural patterns and subjection to the same systems of values (Titiev 1959). Numerous uniform cultural institutions such as school, most certainly churches and religious beliefs, newspapers, economics, and government emit a common response in the citizenry.

Clyde Kluckhohn says, "Experiences of early childhood are apt to play important parts in the formation of adult personalities (Titiev 1959:307)." The origins of national character are with the children and the examples they observe. Margaret Mead discovered from her research of Samoan people that the environment within and without the household teaches a child who he is and who other people are. He learns the peculiarities of his own home and who will help him the most and who will discipline him (Mead 1935).

It is the ideal character which is used as a behavioral example for small children. Each culture has its criterion; but it is not to be assumed that the ideal which they establish is the norm (Gorer 1948). Gorer portends that, on the basis of social continuity, the adults will have characteristics which they will unconsciously impose on their children; and the children will grow up to be much like their parents, only to repeat the process with their own off-spring (Ibid.).

That mutual aid plays an important part in the development of national character goes without saying. The more aid and direction an individual receives, the more he will resemble his peers.

The Scottish National character was one of stern discipline, strong opinions, thrift and the love of a good time. The Highland-
ers were tough, seasoned outdoorsmen, which gave them a trait not found in the Lowlands. The Lowlanders were more in tune with the Anglo-English psyche and language. Collectively, they were a dedicated, disciplined and resilient people.

Kenneth Little (1974), in his African studies, found that those displaced individuals who had migrated to the cities could either integrate into the general society or not. They could choose to remain with their ethnic group and retain their ways or could move without the group and slowly adopt the ways of the white people. The individual status of Scots in Massachusetts Bay Colony placed them in a position not unlike that of other despised immigrants, whose entrance into the new society was limited both by dominant attitudes and Scottish preferences.

The membership in a given ethnic group determines the amount of prestige a man can attain in society at large. The Scots, although not handicapped by the color of their skin, were in the same stratum of society as the Indians and blacks. Some of the Scots spoke only Gaelic. By moving between one social system, the Anglo-English, and their own, the possibility was there for the Scots to manipulate the situation to their own advantage (Little 1974).

The physiological needs of humans involve food, sleep, escape from pain, and sexual satisfaction. In addition to these basic needs, Ralph Linton has specified the psychic needs. He lists as the most needed of these emotional response from other individuals—that is to say, a satisfying, favorable response from others. It is possible to be alone in a crowd which elicits no response at all, or
even a negative one, which is not satisfying to the individual. A positive response is what is needed to fulfill the need of a human being.

The second psychic need is that of security over a long period of time. We are in constant need of reassurance.

The third and last of his psychic needs is that of "novelty of experience (Linton 1945)."

Alexander Stewart and his fellow Scotsmen most certainly did not lack for novelty of experience. They perchance, at times, felt there was an overabundance. They nevertheless required positive emotional input to their lives. They needed time for adjustment and adaptation, which would give them confidence at the termination of their service (Linton 1945).

Members of a group or society tend to share similar personalities, attitudes, behaviors and values. The New England towns provided different challenges to the Scottish newcomers, in both their status as indentured servants and in their developed individual personalities formed by the similarity of thought and actions as citizens. They thus faced a requirement to adjust to a new diversity and localism in New England.

A social network in the form of family, friends, community and institutions primarily offers psychological support. The number of friends and acquaintances—contacts—a person has is important; but who they are is even of greater importance. In order to survive in the New World, it was essential that the Scots expand the value of their social networks. They needed new alliances to open doors
otherwise closed, or at least difficult for the Scots to open. Given the absence of Scottish women, it was necessary that they marry into non-Scottish families to augment their status. The networks of these families could, in turn, add status to the Scots' position. If a member of the new family or friends were a leader in the community, the friends and contacts available to him would potentially be available to the Scot, giving him new latitude in influence and strength (Plog and Bates 1976).

In the following chapters, the historical and cultural background factors that were to influence the individual character of Alexander Stewart and which, in turn, were to provide a basis for his survival and successful adaptation to American culture, are examined. The fundamental principle of mutual aid is examined through the account of Alexander Stewart's experiences.

The thesis developed in this work pertains to the experiences of an individual raised in one socio-cultural system and removed by war to lowly social position in another. The account examines mutual aid, extended through a number of groups and institutions that impacted Alexander's life, and seeks to determine the adaptive significance of that mutual aid.
II. The Historical and Cultural Context of Scotland and Edinburgh

The enculturation of the Scottish individual through the accumulation of history and legend provided foundation for the Scottish national character. The importance of birth, infancy, and childhood and the attitudes toward those institutions determines the type of individual that emerges from a given society. The attitude toward children in seventeenth century Edinburgh was one of love, respect and appreciation, allowing for the building of confidence and character. The mutual aid provided by the family units, friends, neighborhoods, schools, church, and the guilds gave the individual a sense of security and knowledge of mutual aid source. Within those social networks, Alexander Stewart was able to enjoy the accessibility to this environment, which provided the basis for his character and personality.

From Romans to Cromwell

The political evolution of Scotland was fundamental to the early development of Scottish independence and character. Scotland became an isolated country north of England. The topography allowed clans to develop characteristics within themselves and collectively, to give Scotland a personality of its own. The awesome struggle of four hundred years of war with England subdued, but did not extinguish, the Scottish desire for independence. It enhanced the closeness of the Scottish people to a common cause, to work, play and fight together under the spirit of mutual aid.

It is the amalgamation of character and the events of the past that tie the people of Scotland together. "The Scot
is a disciplined creature who can stand when all about is falling, who can fight when the day seems lost. (Notestein 1946:ix).

A Roman army, commanded by England's Roman governor, Gnaeus Julius Agricola, invaded and conquered Scotland, in A.D. 80, from the center of Britain. The Romans called the people of the country Picts, or painted people, because they painted their bodies with a blue paint. Caledonia was the name Agricola gave to Scotland. To keep the Picts under control, the Roman emperor Hadrian built a wall from the Solway Firth to what is now Newcastle-on-Tyne (MacKenzie 1975). In the early 500's, a tribe of Celts, called the Scots, left northern Ireland and established a colony on Scotland's western coast. Columba, the Abbot of Darrow, followed the Scots in 563. The Scots urged Columba and his monks to convert the fierce Picts to Christianity. This was accomplished by the mid-600's (Ibid.).

Kenneth MacAlpin, King of the Scots, claimed the throne of the Picts in 844 and established the first united kingdom in Scotland. He and his successors waged many wars against the English and the Norsemen who continually raided the coasts. King Duncan I was killed in 1040 by one of his generals, Macbeth, who died in battle in 1057. Duncan's son, Malcolm III, then became King (Dickinson 1965).

Margaret, King Malcolm's wife, was an English princess who influenced him greatly. The king gave charters to the towns and created a parliament like that of England. During the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, refugees fled to Scotland where they were
given grants of land. This was the beginning of feudalism in Scotland (Dickinson 1965).

During the reign of Alexander III (1241-1286), the Scots made great progress. Peace with England lasted for nearly 100 years, and the two countries established a workable border for the first time. Agriculture and trade flourished. Many roads and bridges were built (Ibid.).

Scottish barons competed for the throne when Queen Margaret died in 1290. Edward I of England declared one baron, John de Baliol, king of Scotland. Baliol was required to recognize Edward as his superior, which caused the barons to revolt against England and forced Baliol to form a military alliance with France, England's enemy. Edward stopped the revolt, for a time, by invading Scotland and winning a great victory at Dunbar in 1296. He then proclaimed himself King of Scotland (MacKenzie 1957).

The Scots rallied under William Wallace, the first popular hero of Scottish history. After several victories over the English, Wallace was betrayed and executed. Robert Bruce then took up the struggle. He defeated Edward II at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, but Edward refused to recognize Scottish independence. The Scots declared their independence in 1320. Finally, in 1328, the regents of Edward III recognized Bruce as King Robert I of Scotland (Dickinson 1965).

David II, son of Bruce, died without an heir in 1371; and several families competed for the Scottish throne. The Stuarts won the struggle, and the first Stuart king, Robert II, was crowned in
Later Stuart kings had to deal with feuds among Scottish barons, meanwhile fighting many wars with England. In 1502, James IV tried to form a peaceful union with England by marrying Margaret Tudor, the daughter of Henry VII. He soon returned to Scotland's former policy of cooperation with France. The French Queen, Anne of Brittany, urged James to invade England. He did so in 1513, but was defeated and killed in the Battle of Flodden Field. His granddaughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, grew up in France (Donaldson 1965).

Before 1560, the Roman Catholic Church was the official church of both Scotland and France. Many Scottish leaders resented the church's power and French influence, and sought to establish a Protestant church. They drove out French Catholic government officials and soldiers in the late 1550's with the secret help of Queen Elizabeth I of England. A Scottish minister, John Knox, led the Scottish Parliament in establishing the Presbyterian...
Church as the national church of Scotland in 1560. Queen Mary was forced to give up the throne because she was a Catholic. She escaped to England in 1568, but was captured and imprisoned. She had a valid claim to the throne of England; and, as a result, Elizabeth had her executed in 1587. Mary's infant son, James VI, was made King of Scotland in 1567. He was reared as a Protestant, and the Presbyterian Church became firmly established in Scotland (Donaldson 1965).

James VI was the great-grandson of Margaret Tudor, an English princess. When Elizabeth of England died in 1603, James inherited the English throne. He ruled both England and Scotland as James I of England. In order to promote British influence in Ireland, James sent many Scots to northern Ireland to form colonies between 1609 and 1611. They became known as the Scots-Irish. In the early 1700's, many of the Scots-Irish came to North America. Political and religious institutions in Scotland and England remained separate under James. But his son, Charles I, wanted to reorganize the Presbyterian Church. In 1638, the Scots signed a National Covenant, a pledge to keep the Presbyterian Church as it was (Ibid.). English Puritans turned against Charles at the same time. In the civil war that followed, Scottish signers of the Covenant supported Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans against Charles I. Charles was captured and beheaded in 1649. At the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, Cromwell defeated the dead king's son, who later became Charles II. In 1654, Cromwell forced the Scots into union with England. Charles II
persecuted the signers of the Covenant when he became king in 1660 (Donaldson 1965).

Scottish and English leaders finally realized that peace could be preserved only if their countries united. Both parliaments
passed laws uniting the two kingdoms in 1707 under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The union left Scottish laws and the Presbyterian Church unchanged. The Scots received representation in the British Parliament and dissolved their own legislature (Donaldson 1965).

Considering the differences of race and language among its people, the contrast between Highlands and Lowlands, and the affinities between the Lowlands and England, it is remarkable that a separate state, with its frontier at the Tweed and the Solway, ever came into existence and preserved its identity. No doubt the persistence of some native institutions, despite all southern innovations, had something to do with it; and no doubt the retention by the monarchy of its ancient trappings contributed too, but the full explanation remains unknown. One element was this: Picts and Britons, Scandinavians, Angles and Normans, all laid aside their particular memories of the past and adopted the history and mythology of the original Scots, who had come as Irish invaders (Ibid.).

Robert Lewis Stevenson summed it up rather nicely:

Scotland is indefinable: it has no unity except upon the map. Two languages, many dialects, innumerable forms of piety and countless local patriotisms and prejudices, part us among ourselves. . . . When I am at home, I feel a man from Glasgow to be something like a rival, a man from Barra to be more than half a foreigner. Yet let us meet in some far country, and, whether we hail from the Braes of Manor or the Braes of Mar, some ready-made affections join us on the instant. It is not race. Look at us. One is Norse, one Celtic, another Saxon. It is not the community of tongue. We have it not among ourselves: and we have it almost to perfection with English, or Irish, or American. It is not (the) tie of faith, for we detest each other's errors (Donaldson 1974:25) (Figs. 2, 3).
Early Edinburgh

Out of the disruption of the early clans and tribes came the village community, becoming a bonded group lasting for centuries. Although individual ownership of land and homes evolved, there existed a common bond within the village, an element of mutual aid. Edinburgh began as a small settlement beneath the fortress which capped the top of a volcanic prominence on the Firth of Forth. It grew and became a beautiful, though befouled, medieval city. Its structure, physically and socially, allowed a child freedom and early exposure to the fates, joys and hardships of life.

The top of the prominence by the Firth of Forth was scraped off by the glaciers of the last ice age, the remains scattered in a ridge-like formation down the eastern slope of the mountain. The formation is known as a crag and tail (Reid 1894).

On this stubbed hill where Edinburgh Castle now exists, the first early men of Edinburgh established their forts. The elevation, the view out over the land in all directions, as well as out over the Firth and the North Sea, made it a natural fortress.

The earliest evidence of a town in the vicinity of the castle hill is contained in a charter granted by David I to the Abby of Holyrood, dated between 1144 and 1147. The canons of Holyrood were given the right to establish their own burgh, the Canongate, which became an extension of Edinburgh (Reid 1894).

Edinburgh formed the northern post for the Roman route from the South of England to the Firth of Forth. The Roman Road, affording
accessibility, gave cause for Edinburgh to survive through the Dark Ages when surrounding fortresses fell and died out of existence (Stark 1806).

The highest point on the crag and tail formation (440') became the location for the fortified castle that grew with each new chief

Figure 5.

HICENBURG'S PLAN OF EDINBURGH
Gives an impression of the Castle as it was before the siege of 1573 and its subsequent reconstruction.

Figure 6.


and king. The area immediately below the castle - the tail or ridge - developed into the town burgh. The houses huddled together under the protection of the king and castle. More often than not, when under siege, these houses received fire from both enemy and defender. They were rebuilt innumerable times, fire being the worst invader. They were made of wood with thatched roofs of heather and straw. It was not until well into the sixteen hundreds that a city ordinance required buildings to be constructed of stone with a slate roof (Reid 1894) (Fig. 6).

The original strips of land bordering on the High Street beneath the castle were given to the burgesses on which to build their
homes. The strips were approximately 25 feet wide and 450 feet long and ran down the sides of the ridge (Historical Monument Commission 1951).

For a long period, the Norman Church of St. Giles, established in the 12th century, may have been the only stone building in the burgh (Coutts 1977).

The early town, then, was a small place occupying about 100 acres at the west of the mile-long ridge extending from the Castle Rock to Holyrood Abbey. A stream ran down the valley on each side
of the ridge. Underneath the Castle Rock, to the northwest, stood the Church of St. Cuthbert, possibly founded in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, though it is first recorded in a charter of David I in 1127 (Stark 1806) (Fig. 7).

There were several walls built to protect the town in the course of its history. Early documents mention a West Port near the Castle and the Nether Bow or East Gate, which was situated at the east end of the High Street. These marked the eastern and western limits of the burgh (Stark 1806).

Before the death of Robert the Bruce, in 1329, Edinburgh was given a new charter whereby the burgesses ceased to be considered as individual vassals and the community of the burgh came to be regarded as a unit subject to the crown (Stark 1806).

Edinburgh began to grow in size. A new street, the "Kowgate," was developed in the valley to the south of the High Street, where --to the east-- the Black Friars had set up a convent in 1230. The Cowgate was, for a period, one of the most exclusive streets in Edinburgh. In the early 16th century, it was described as being "where the nobility and the chief men of the city reside, and in which are the palaces of the officers of state, and where is nothing mean or tasteless, but all is magnificent (Coutts 1977:3)." It was to become one of the worst slum areas of Edinburgh (Fig. 8).

The Flodden Wall was begun in 1514 as protection against the English. Its intended function was not successful. It inadvertently succeeded in restricting the manner in which the town grew, which was up and not out, for a period of over two hundred years. Edin-
Figure 8.


Edinburgh had the tallest buildings in all of Europe. Tenements existed that were fourteen stories high. They were close together with narrow wynds or alleys between to reach the back or another street.

Seventeenth Century Edinburgh

Seventeenth-century Edinburgh was the cultural context for Alexander Stewart's childhood and early manhood. He was born in 1633, the son of a shopkeeper and tailor. His early years were secluded within his close-knit family. At ten he traded this security for an apprenticeship with a master tailor. Alexander
went to school, learning the very basic elements of reading and writing. The streets, shops, institutions, and historic traditions made their inevitable character impact on his personality and values.

The crowded conditions of Edinburgh augmented the evolution and need for mutual aid. Group concern and cooperation were imperative for the well-being and survival of all. The closeness of the accommodations greatly diminished the possibility of privacy; therefore, everyone knew the needs, troubles, joys and sorrows of their neighbors. Alexander Stewart was a victim of these conditions in both a positive and a negative manner. Negatively, life was simply difficult; positively, the mutual aid which evolved from the existing conditions provided a sense of security and knowledge that there were those around him who cared.

Visitors to Edinburgh in the seventeenth century shared similar opinions. An Englishman who visited in 1636 described the High Street as the most graceful street he had ever seen. He was not so complimentary about the habits of Edinburgh citizens.

This city is placed in a dainty, healthful pure air, and doubtless were a most healthful place to live in were not the inhabitants most sluttish, nasty and slothful people. I could never pass through the hall but was constrained to hold my nose; their chambers, vessels, linen and meat, nothing neat but very slovenly (Coutts 1977:11).

Another visitor described it simply as "high and dirty." The tenements were tight together, leaving little if any space between. They were dark, with small windows and doors. Fireplaces provided the only means of heat for warmth and cooking, often with no chimneys to vent the smoke (Reid 1894).
These tenements were called lands, a term derived from "a holding of land." It was sometimes called a mansioun-land and at others a "lugeing" or a "bigging" (Historical Monument Commission:11). They were located in the narrow wynds or closes, a close being simply an enclosed place (cul-de-sac) and a wynd being a narrow lane or thoroughfare. The wynds led to the garden in the rear of the land. As the population grew and more housing was needed, the garden spaces were filled with houses and the wynds became narrow alleys between streets (Fig. 9).

High Street in the seventeenth century was, according to travelers, a magnificent cobblestone thoroughfare. It had a high crown in the center, with deep, wide gutters on each side. The gutters were far from sufficient to carry off the refuse of every description that was thrown onto the street and which remained in piles for the ever-present pigs to root in. Excrement and household garbage from the tenements were thrown from the windows after ten at night with the warning

Figure 9.
"gardy-l'eau" (be on guard for the water) (Coutts 1977). The Privy Council, in 1619, affirmed it "a great discredit to the hail king-
dome" that the streets of the principal burgh "cannot be keipit clene,..." They threatened to take steps to force the cleaning of the city; but this did not occur until 1686, when there were complaints of the nastiness of the streets, wynds, closes and other places of the city, and also of the annoyance caused by the "great numbers of clamorrus beggers (Historical Monument Commission 1951: xlix)."

The city had a gray appearance resulting from the gray stone used for construction for both housing and streets. The weather was often gloomy and cloudy, giving Edinburgh an outward sad appearance. It was far from a sullen town. People lived in the streets--their activities, socializing, business and water-getting took them out of doors (Coutts 1977).

The street which rode the crest of the ridge from the castle hill to its lower elevation was called High Street. It was also referred to as the Royal Mile, in reference to the approximate mile from the castle to Holyrood Palace at the lower end. Great pro-
cessions passed down this street when the king or queen moved from one location to another. James IV started Holyrood, and thereafter, each monarch had his or her turn at additions and alterations. The The location of Holyrood is in proximity to Holyrood Abbey, built by Richard II in about 1258 (Chambers 1914).

Everyone, gentle and simple, was crowded together in the tower-
ing lands. All the inhabitants were forced to use the same dark,
narrow, spiral stair which ran throughout the house from cellar to garret. The more humble were housed in the cellars, the poorer tradesmen and mechanics in the attics, while the intervening flats were occupied by nobles, Lords of Session, doctors or ministers—people of means. The turnpike stairs were a leveling agent for the tenants. There was forced integration in the stair-well (Chambers 1914). The apartments (flats) were often very small. It was not uncommon for all rooms to be used when entertaining. In one instance, a bedroom was used to receive a nobleman and other distinguished clients because apparently they had only one public
room in which they were to dine (Historical Monument Commission 1951) (Fig. 10).

The typical seventeenth-century house had a hall, kitchen, a chamber (bedroom) or two and a cellar. Occasionally there was a garderobe house (privy), but not commonly. The houses varied in size, and so did the flats within (Historical Monument Commission 1951).

In the fifteen hundreds, permission was given to use the timber from the Burgh Muir, to the southeast, to extend the fronts of the houses into the street by seven feet. The street was reduced to a width of fourteen feet in some areas. Galleries were formed by this extension through which people could walk and in which animals were sheltered. The arcades provided the fronts to the shops which occupied the ground level of the building (Historical Monument Commission 1951).

The very cramped conditions of Edinburgh led to the setting aside of public assembly rooms for music and dancing, and to the formation of clubs which bore curious names. The clubs had their headquarters in narrow closes and wynds where the male portion of the community met for convivial gatherings for which there was not sufficient space at home. Many of the doctors saw their patients in the taverns (Grierson 1926).

The crowded conditions of the tenements also led to a great deal of the social life of the city being carried on in the open air in fine weather. The Mercat Cross, near St. Giles on High Street, was the great rendezvous of many, and from there the impor-
tont announcements were made to the people. It was also the
location of many executions and punishments, which attracted great
crowds. There was a constant crowd around the cross, with vendors
and entertainers and a general conglomeration of observers (Ibid.).

In the afternoon, ladies in a slightly higher social circle
than the shopkeepers attended concerts in St. Cecilia's Hall in the
Cowgate, where the gentlemen of their acquaintances performed on
the flute, violin, cello or harpsichord. In the evenings, classical
concerts were held. If the ladies had not joined their husbands in
drinking their meridian in the morning, they had their own special
entertainment in the late afternoon. They invited their friends to
drink their "four hours" with them in the dining-room or bedroom,
according to the size of their house. The "four hours" consisted of
ale or claret until the time when tea was introduced. Supper was at
eight and at ten the town guard went through the streets beating a
drum to warn everyone that they ought to be indoors or think of
going there (Grierson 1926).

The pressure of population, in conjunction with the upward
expansion, explains many of the features of Edinburgh life in the
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Class distinction and social
snobbery could not flourish when rich and poor, well-born and humble
shared the same close, house and street (Ibid.).

Life in Edinburgh was like the life of one big family. So
restricted was the space that a great number of families, in most
varied stations of life, dwelt under the same roof.
Edinburgh was the town in which royalty might be seen (but rarely so after 1603 when James VI moved to London). James VI was in Edinburgh in 1617, Charles I came for his Scottish coronation in 1633, and came again in 1641 in an effort to build up a royalist party. Charles II spent the summer of 1650 in Edinburgh, before Cromwell had gathered his forces for a final assault on the northern kingdom (Ibid.).

Birth, Infancy and Childhood. The survival of birth was a child's first accomplishment. In 1640, life expectancy was 32 years; and one-half of the children were dead by the age of 10 (Stone 1977). There was a 21% death rate among newborns and mothers.

Childbirth, therefore, was a critical time, involving two lives. Many mothers perished in the process. The effect on the remaining family was acute. The church, guilds and community responded with mutual aid to assist the survivors with material goods and moral support.

Childbirth in Edinburgh in 1633 was a basic risk which women had no choice but to take. The fatality potential was great for both mother and child. The position of any woman in a given society is best gauged by the care she receives during childbirth (Stone 1977).

The attitude toward the arrival of a baby in seventeenth-century Edinburgh was one of anticipation and excitement for the whole family—but often included great distress and anxiety. Potentially twenty per cent of both mothers and babies expired during the
process. In the tenements of Edinburgh, the children were born at home. The mothers were fortunate if they were not forced to endure the fetid air, pestilence and butchery in a filthy hospital for the indigent, where there might be four to a bed. There were other complications, such as syphilis, tuberculosis, plague, typhus, gonorrhea, and alcohol. Lice were an ever-present nuisance, and bed bugs abounded (Graham n.d.).

A hired midwife, or an experienced family member, assisted in the birth of most babies. She was equipped with the necessary instruments to aid in birth, often including an obstetrics chair. This was a horseshoe-shaped affair with sturdy arms. If there was no chair, the mother sat on the lap of an assistant or friend while the midwife received the baby as it arrived. Birth in bed did not come into vogue until later in the century (Haggard 1929).

There were two divergent attitudes toward newborns in the seventeenth century. Families who had experienced numerous infant deaths adopted an uncompassionate attitude as a protection against further remorse should the child die. The majority of the children were accepted with much love, warmth and anticipation. If they reached marriageable age, that was a gift. Scottish families were close-knit. Most newborns were not only anticipated but thoroughly enjoyed (Marshall 1976).

Precautions were taken when a still-birth was suspected or when it appeared that neither the mother or child would survive. Baptism was essential to even those unborn. An intrauterine syringe was used. It was inserted into the mother and the child was properly,
if unusually, baptized, assuring the safety of its soul (Haggard 1929:92).

An average family in seventeenth century Edinburgh consisted of the mother, father and six children. Thirty-seven per cent of the fathers had married the second time, telling us the cruel hazards of childbirth (Marshall 1976).

Christening took place when the baby was a few days old. It was a private, family affair. There was little time to invite friends and relatives from a distance. The ceremony was a simple one, with either the minister or the local schoolmaster naming the child. Christening robes, as such, were a later development; but the child would be dressed with lace-trimmed cap and sleeves for the occasion. A celebration followed (Ibid.).

The common custom was to give the child the name of a close relative. The Scots favored simple names, the most common being: John, Alexander, William, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth. Middle names were rare (Ibid.).

Many children survived the birthing process only to die in infancy. From the beginning, feeding was a problem. Controversies abounded, then as now, as to what and how to feed a newborn. The question was not whether to breast feed or not, but whether the mother should do it herself or hire a wet nurse. Economics dictated that most mothers feed their own. Wooden baby bottles were in use at the time (Ibid.).

Children were weaned between the ages of twelve and twenty-four
months. Oatmeal, the Scottish staple, was their first solid food (Notestein 1946).

The practice of swaddling existed in Scotland well into the seventeenth century. The first swaddling began with the newborn baby and involved two wrapping processes. The infant was encased in a bag, called a bed, consisting of a large, square band bound round his chest, down to and enclosing his feet, then up again. This was fastened tightly around him with strips of cloth called hands or tollers. He was next wrapped in a covering called a waistcoat, his arms being bound to his sides by more bands. He could then move only his head (Marshall 1976).

After five or six weeks, the outer set of wrappings was removed and the baby's arms were left free. From the start, they were removed from time to time during the day. Psychological and physical effects must have been considerable. Swaddling provoked a controversy at that time. Once swaddling was discarded entirely, it was replaced by a long dress, covered with a long apron (Ibid.).

The baby spent his earliest days in a wooden cradle. Made by its father or the local craftsmen, a cradle often remained in a family for generations. A walking frame or go-cart, made of wood, stabilized the child when learning to walk. They were imported from London in considerable quantities. Homemade cradles and walkers were common, also (Ibid.).

Leading strings, or a harness, protected the child from tumbles down the turnpike stairs and kept him from venturing into the street. Various materials were used to make them—silk and worsted, for

Both boys and girls wore a long dress with an apron and cap until they were about six, when the boys were put in breeches and doublet. The girls graduated to dress like their mothers wore. Everyday clothes were of plain fabrics—wool in winter, linen in summer. Most clothes were made at home or by the tailor. There were ready-made garments available, also (Graham 1979). The local shoemaker made shoes for the family. Boots were a practical item in the dirty streets. The servants in a household were supplied as the family was.

Bread, eggs and milk, oats and local vegetables, in various forms, made up the diet of young children. The children joined the adults for dinner at an early age. Fish and poultry were readily available from the stalls or Fishmarket close. The fish, fresh each morning, was carried to Edinburgh in baskets on the backs of fisher-lassies.

Toys were popular in Edinburgh in the seventeenth century. Holland was a great exporter of dolls and doll houses. A table of rates and values of merchant goods imported to Scotland in 1616 included not only rattles and whistles for children, but babies or puppets-dolls. The Customs Books of the period also record consignments of toys. In 1663, for instance, William Scott brought from Holland in his ship, the James, one hamper with children's toys, value £95:10 Scots (Ibid.).
There was a variety of sports available as the children grew up. Bowls and golf were both games popular with boys, and by the seventeenth century archery had become a favorite sport of children. Cockfighting was another favorite, particularly with school boys. The cocks were set down in the actual playground. The boys enjoyed cards and chess, while small girls learned embroidery, tapestry and painting. Some had a literary skill and were encouraged to write poetry. There were great and exciting places to play in and around Edinburgh. Catching larks with a net was a pastime that took the children to the fields (Donaldson 1974).

Pets were a source of entertainment. In portraits, it is not uncommon for a child to be holding a favorite animal. The abundance of animals on the city streets afforded opportunity for pets. Cats are conspicuously absent in the material available about seventeenth century Edinburgh. Parrots were popular and an assortment of wild creatures were tamed (Marshall 1976).

Children celebrated their birthdays and they were frequently to be found at baptisms and weddings with the rest of the family. They attended public performances of puppet shows and enjoyed the visits of other traveling entertainers. There were men with dancing bears and, on one occasion, an elephant. Contortionists, traveling minstrels and jugglers were all part of the transient group of entertainers (Graham 1979).

The krames trinket shops, attached to St. Giles (Fig. 11), were a constant source of curiosity and intrigue for young children. The treasures of the world found their way to these shops. The
customers were equally entrancing. A nobleman in elegant dress and a Highlander in his tartan trews (plaid pants) might be seen side by side (Graham 1979).

The tolhouse offered entertainment of a more disturbing nature. Hangings were held on a platform high above the street. Heads of the more illustrious were impaled on the gibbets of the tolhouse. Those less important were to be found on the city gates or the Canongate Tolbooth. Hangings became carnival-like. Crowds gathered, vendors plied their wares of food and drink. A man also offered a convenience of a more basic nature. He carried about a
privy-chair and wore a large coat with which he covered his client, whom he had attracted with the call "Who needs me?" (Chambers 1914).

The venturesome children who chose to avoid school had the castle rocks and Arthur's Seat on which to climb. A truant officer was employed by the city to seek out such offenders (Chambers 1914).

The Presbyterian belief in original sin led to a perception of children as wild creatures whose natural instincts needed to be suppressed or, at least, guided firmly. Research indicates, however, that children were generally treated humanely (Marshall 1976).

Illness was of concern to everyone. In a time when but fifty percent of the children born reached the age of ten, it became a matter of grave importance to treat them in the proper manner. Colds, fever, digestive upsets, and small pox seemed to be quite common. The plague came and went on periodic visits, with one of the worst in 1645. Remedies were consistent with the expertise of the time. Herbal concoctions and strange items like "dragons' blood" provided the basic treatment. The ceremony of the process was important. The treatment for a rash of a three-year-old included an ointment and the following procedure: he was given vigorous purgatives and bathed in a decoction made with dock leaves, mallious and scabious, blood-warm at first, then raising the heat gently by degrees. Half a pound of fresh damask rose leaves would then be tipped into his bath, and he would stay there for at least an hour. His nurse was then to put him in bed, wrapped in a warm linen and a little woolen blanket. Finally, he was to swallow a drink of rosemary, powdered crab's claws and oriental bezoar. The apothe-
caries, as well as the doctors, were a source of advice when a child was ill. There were many herbal treatments, such as syrup of violets, aniseed water, cordial glysters and rhubarb wine--many of which were effective [Marshall 1976:23].

Death was an everyday occurrence in a medieval city. Edinburgh was no exception. A child's funeral was often held at night by torchlight, with only family and close friends. The men gathered after for brandy, to smoke their pipes. A meal was sometimes served. The funeral of an adult was a more festive occasion with much food, drink and dancing (Ibid.).

The practice of embalming the dead persisted throughout the seventeenth century. A man of stature was embalmed without question because of the long period of viewing. Women, revolted at the idea of being "opened," for the process of embalming, denied the process more and more as time progressed (Ibid.).

The corpse was placed in a plain wooden casket after it was wrapped in cloth. The poor were carried to the burial ground in the city casket and then removed at the site of the burial (Ibid.).

The attitude of death by those of covenanting sympathies was not regarded as the end, but as their "glorious charge." It was their entrance into eternal life (Ibid.).

The days of childhood were often ended by marriage at an early date. In the seventeenth century there were child brides, but their number was dwindling rapidly because of public disapproval. A seventeenth-century marriage contract does not normally specify the age of the bride, but stipulates the earliest age at which a girl
may marry. It was usually sixteen or eighteen. In 1600, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had expressly forbidden the "untimous marriage of young and tender persons before they come to age meet for marriage" and had set the permissable age at fourteen for a boy, twelve for a girl (Marshall 1976:26).

**Education.** School, its various factions and involvements, provided an arena for the formal molding of a child's attitude. It required the group effort of family and community to maintain a school and see to its proper maintenance. Mutual aid played a predominant part in the success of the parish school systems of Scotland. The parents saw to the attendance of their children; the church and its authorities saw to proper curriculum and its implications.

Seventeenth-century Scotland led the world in education. Everyone was, by law, to attend a parish school to learn to read and write. The towns and cities followed the edict of the kirk and opened schools where a minister was available to conduct classes. Alexander Stewart, as a child in the city of Edinburgh, had the advantage of consistent schooling. The children in the rural areas were not always so fortunate.

The installation of compulsory education furthered the implantation of Scottish customs and national character. A network of elementary schools was instigated in Scotland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The object was to give every boy, no matter what his parents' means, a chance to learn to read, write and count. The education of girls was thought to be of much less
importance and little was done before the eighteenth century. They stayed with their mothers in the home to learn to sew, cook and run a household (Graham 1979).

It was considered a Christian duty to "plant schools," to equip them with teachers "able in doctrine," and to have regular visitations by the authorities to ensure that the statutes were being obeyed and that parents and children were taking advantage of the opportunities. In 1666, the Privy Council directed that a school be established in every parish where "convenient means may be had at the expense of the parishioners and by the advice of the bishop of the diocese." The aim was to instruct the youth in godliness and knowledge, to teach them to read and write in English and, thereby, to abolish the Irish language (Gaelic) which was said to be a chief cause of the continued "barbaritie and incivilitie" of the Highlands. There was much Lowland prejudice toward Gaelic culture. (In modern-day Scotland, there is much pride in Highland heritage.) In 1616 land taxes were imposed on each parish for the establishment and maintenance of the school (Graham 1979).

The parish schools taught the rudiments of reading, simple arithmetic, and gave instruction in the elements of religion. Some went so far as to offer courses of Latin and even, occasionally, of Greek or French. The boys attended between the ages of seven and nine or ten, after which a few would go on to a grammar school. There was quarterly fee, often a shilling, but sometimes more, which was paid directly to the schoolmaster and formed part of his income. The scholars also brought straw for the floor, peats for
fire, and candles or gifts of money at Candlemas (Feb. 2), while on Shrove Tuesday fighting cocks were matched against each other by the boys. The dead cocks became the property of the teacher as a bonus. He also could earn a little extra with the fees paid to him as session clerk and also as parish registrar of births, deaths and marriages (Graham 1979).

Grammar schools followed for some of the boys. Latin was often the only subject taught. Much boring, disciplined drilling was necessary to qualify a student to go on to the university (Ibid.).

The school hours were very long. At Stirling, for example, in 1613, they ran from six o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, with a breakfast break between nine and ten and an hour for dinner at noon. Saturday was no exception (Notestein 1946).

As the capital and largest city, Edinburgh had outstanding schools which drew the sons of the titled and the wealthy from all over Scotland and England.

Wealthy and poor alike studied together. There was much less separation by class in Scotland than the class stratification that existed in England in the seventeenth century. The University was established in 1582, the fourth in the nation. A few years after its creation, the town council provided a new "playfield to the town" and "ane playing place" for the use of the university students (Donaldson 1965:275).

Church. The church, more than any other factor, controlled the life of the Scottish Covenanters and offered mutual aid and assis-
tance. The Presbyterian Kirk took precedence over the king or Parliament.

A young boy like Alexander was shaped and molded by the discipline and teachings of the church, resulting in characteristics which helped him to survive the trials ahead of him. The church was a primary source of mutual aid, both in an individual and a broad sense.

The signing of the National Covenant bound the people of Scotland together and gave them courage to cling to their own doctrine and ideals. They lost their government, but retained their religion and national character. The Covenanters were men and women who professed their faith from their very souls. This dedication took form in the signing by the multitudes of the National Covenant of Scotland which was written in 1638. In 1643, a similar document, but wider in geographical scope was presented and sworn. That was the Solemn League and Covenant, which included not only Scotland, but Ireland and England as well, in the effort to install Calvinistic Presbyterianism in all of Great Britain. The writing of the Solemn League and Covenant was the work of Archibald Johnston of Moriston and Alexander Henderson, one of the more outstanding Presbyterian ministers of the day (Smellie n.d.).

It was signed in the churchyard of Greyfriars, on the site where a Franciscan monastery had stood (Fig. 12). It is said that there were sixty thousand persons present, including great nobles, the lesser barons, the ministers, the burgesses, and the common people. The ceremony was impressive and moving, with people weeping
and anxious to sign the document. In but a few weeks it became apparent that it was the symbol of the nation's will. Noblemen and gentlemen conveyed copies of the deed from district to town, to village. Virtually all of Scotland signed it (Smellie n.d.).

Patriotism and religion were blended within the Covenant. It was the protest of an indomitable people against the restriction of political right and freedom. It was the declaration of the Church which believed sincerely and intelligently in its own simplicities of creed and worship, "that it could not tolerate the imposition of forms which it hated, and from which it had with great effort emancipated itself (Ibid.:74)."
Charles I was a stubborn, head-strong, despotic ruler, but he would have confronted a will stronger than his own had he attempted to deprive Scotland of her civic liberty or her spiritual birthright. The difference lay in the philosophy of the English Episcopalians and the Scottish Calvinist Presbyterians. The English were for a civil league, while the Scots strove for a religious covenant. The Scots wished for nothing else other than a true religion in their land—that of Calvinist Presbyterianism (Ibid.:93). "The Scots thought there was only one God and he was Calvinist (Notestein 1946:139)."

Religion was the most important element in Scottish character. The Church ruled their lives. The church was divided into governing bodies. The presbyteries entailed a body of ministers from surrounding parishes who formed an ecclesiastical court. The Kirk was formed by a representative body, including the minister of a single parish. Without a minister, a kirk was powerless in the matter of discipline. A kirk session was simply the congregation of the appointed elders of the church. They met regularly to issue baptism and marriage testimonials and receive fines collected by the presbytery.

The members came from the population in general—consisting of craftsmen, millers, working farmers, tenants and small proprietors. There were prominent citizens, but often they were not the leading, most powerful persons in the parish. Those people were not attracted to the power allowed by such positions. They already possessed the stature they wished. In the Canongate, the elders were drawn from
the wealthier elements of the congregation. They tended to be wealthy middlemen or master craftsmen, and they often held office either as councilors or as the deacons of their incorporations (Foster 1975).

The kirk sessions varied in numbers. That of Trinity College Kirk in Edinburgh consisted of six elders and six deacons who were selected every December. The primary responsibility of the session was disciplinary--"the better tryell of vice and punishing thairof"--but the elders were also often instructed to inform the minister of "ony persoine be seik within ony familie that the mineris may cum and comfort thame with holy admonition (Ibid.:72)."

Kirk sessions were the oldest, most enduring and efficient institution developed by the reformed Kirk. Sessions successfully enlisted much of the leadership of the church and nation. Week after week, the minister, the elders, and sometimes the deacons met together to see to it that "true preaching...right administration of the sacraments (and) ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered" were a reality for the people of God in that place (Ibid.:71).

The importance of the theological status of "ecclesiastical discipline" would be difficult to overestimate. No parish would have been regarded as reformed which had not accepted the discipline of the church and which did not bring offenders against that discipline to at least formal repentance. Indeed, any parish without a kirk session to enforce discipline was usually described as 'desolate.' Discipline was one of the most enduring features of the Scottish Reformation, and its administration was retained by the church.
throughout the seventeenth century. It was this attribute of the Scottish servants sent to the colonies that made them a valuable commodity (Foster 1975).

The church had a definite idea of the behavior it expected of its members. The session of Aberdeen, in 1604, issued a notice distributed to its parishioners.

The aill famelie sail keip halie the Saboth day, and that by abstinence from play and corporall labour thairon; sail resort to thair awin proche, kirk, heir all the sermones thairin, and quaa can reid sail learne to sing and prais God publictlie. (Aberdeen Kirk Session 34-5 in Foster 1975).

Those who were 'absentis frome sermon,' those who profaned the Sabbath by 'playand,' 'gatherin kaill,' 'fisching both of whyt fisch and salmond fisching,' and similar offences could expect a summons before the sessions (Belhelvie K.S., 13 April 1623; Elgin Kirk Session, 103, B.U.K. III, 996; Calderwood, VI:184 in Foster 1975:73).

Marriage on Sunday was controversial, although one parish in 1614 ordered that "na marriage be geven one the sabboth day inder the pane conteinit in the act of the synodole assembly." Custom seemed to dictate that no marriages be performed during Lent (Maitland Misc. I:136, 10 June 1601, Jedburgh Presbytery in Foster 1975).

Marriages formed only a small part of the jurisdiction which sessions exercised. Cases of incest and adultery often came before sessions. Kirk sessions tried many cases of fornication. Fornication 'under promise of mariage' was common. Kirk session tried to get the guilty couple to marry after their penalty had been paid. Quarrels between married couples were counceled, also (Foster 1975).
The threats of the session were not to be taken lightly. A son who failed to support his aged father was ordered 'to do his dewtie to his father anent his interteinement of meit and claiith.' A man was required to guarantee support for his illegitimate child before his marriage (to another) was permitted (Foster 1975). The number and variety of cases are evident in the records and similarly the punishment varied. Trials were short and simple.

Apart from discipline, so basic in the environment of all of Scotland, the care of the poor was the main responsibility of the church. The First Book of Discipline declared, "Every several
Kirk must provide for the poor within the self; for fearful and horrible it is that the poor. . . are universally so contemned and despriised. (Knox' History of the Reformation in Dickinson 1965: 290-1) (Fig. 13)."

The ideal remained throughout the seventeenth century. Most parishes had a collection for the poor on the sabbath. Alms were collected at the door of the church by elders or deacons. An indication of the rise in prosperity of the church and nation is evident in old records. In 1626, Trinity College in Edinburgh collected 1,034 pounds, while in 1636 they collected 2,423 (Foster 1975:78).

Each parish was expected to have a list of its own poor and to give them seals or "cognisances" as evidence of their status. A means of identification was meted out to the poor to show they deserved help. In Dunfermline, seals of lead were used; in Belhelvie, in 1636, two tokens were distributed, one of lead and another of brass. Those with both were the more indigent, while those with only the brass indicated they were able to help themselves in some manner. Alms were distributed to the poor at regular intervals, often five or six times a year. Included in those receiving aid were people with mental problems, widows with children, and "ane pour man with his wyff and fyve barnes (children) (Belhelvie, Kirk Session, 10 January, 9 May, 1630 in Foster 1975).

Indigent strangers were not welcome and help was not given them. They fell into a diversified group described by the General Assembly in 1596 as "ane great number of idle persons without lawfull calling as pypers, fidlers, sangsters, sorners, pleasant,
strang beggars, living harlotrie and having their children unbaptizit (Foster 1975:8)."

Records regarding the help of the poor are sparse, but it is evident that the church's concern was widespread and continuous. The most frequent entry found in typical kirk session minutes was the amount collected for the poor. The poor were also aided by the gifts of the wealthier citizens to the kirk for that purpose. Gifts were also given to the Town Council for distribution, but the church remained the center for mutual aid and assistance.

The church played the most important part in a Scotsman's life. There was a diligent attempt to maintain daily services, especially in burgh churches such as Edinburgh and the Canongate. In some towns a bell was to be "soung ilk day at four afternoone to the evening prayers" and every winter the session provided a four-penny candle "ilk nycht to the evening prayreis (Elgin Kirk Session February, 1630 in Foster 1975:10)."

The great service of the week was that on Sunday morning. The service was marked by three bells: the first to call the people to church (there were few time pieces), the second to mark the beginning of the reader's service, and the third to announce the arrival of the minister into the pulpit. Since the Sunday service played such an important part in the lives of the people, it is only appropriate that a service be described:

At the beginning the people bow themselves before the Lord to make an himble confession of their sinnes...which you will heare openly read out by the publike Reader.... Next, the people prepare their Psalmbooke, that all of them,
with one heart and mouth, may sing unto the Lord. There is the Psalme which the Reader hath proclaimed. Next, the Reader opens the Bible: you will heare him read some portion of holie Scripture. . . . After the arrival of the minister he will conceive a Prayer. . .thereafter he reads his Text of holy Scripture. . .then hee falls to the preaching, which some heare with their heads covered, some otherwise. . . . He concludes all with a thanksgiving, after which there is a Psalme sung by the whole Congregation, and then the Minister blesseth the people in the name of the Lord, and so dimits them (William Cowper, Works:680, 682 in Foster 1975: 78).

The whole Sunday morning service was expected to take about two hours, and the minsters were sometimes warned not to preach too long. The kirk was known to fine the ministers if they went on too long. Parishes which had schools often expected pupils to attend in a body. At St. Andrews the "maister of the sang schole" was ordered "to caus the best of his scholaris to sitt besyid himself, about the pulpeit, to help to sing the psalmes (St. Andrews Kirk Session II:908 in Foster 1975:179)."

The proclamation of a fast by the kirk directly affected the lives of the parishioners. A fast could be kept on either a week-day or a Sunday and might be enjoined by a general assembly, a synod, the Privy Council or a bishop (Calderwood VI:116). According to Alexander Henderson "the dayes of the fast from morning to evening, are kept holy unto the Lord in the nature of an Extraordinary Sabbath, with abstinence from meat and drink." And the kirk sessions summoned those who had eaten "beif and uther melt. . .that day of publict Fast" or even those who had been "at breid and cheis (Lanark Presbytery, 2 August 1627 in Foster 1975)."
Christmas was a controversial time. "you'll" was observed only sparsely throughout Scotland, as was Good Friday (Spalding, History of the Troubles I:179-80 in Foster 1975).

**Guilds.** The guilds formed powerful mutual-aid societies. They formed a cohesive group within which a member was assured of assistance and training. His family would be cared for should he perish or meet with disaster.

The guilds controlled each individual craft and its membership, guaranteeing employment for those finishing apprenticeship. A young boy was fortunate to be placed as an apprentice to learn a trade. Alexander Stewart was a tailor's apprentice. He enjoyed the closeness of a master's family, which could have been friends of his own family. He was later to utilize his tailor's craft in New England as a supplement to farming.

The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh formed a powerful mutual aid group which held strict and implicit control over its members. Dues were paid, duties carried out and rules followed under the direction of the various deacons of the guilds. The rules were stringent, and heavy fines were levied against those who broke them.

When a boy like Alexander was about ten, he was apprenticed to the master of a trade. Apprenticeship in the seventeenth century is referred to as that period between childhood and adulthood. They were no longer children but were yet bound to a master and forbidden to make decisions and take responsibility. Apprentices were drawn from all levels of society--some were orphans or paupers' sons, while
others were sons of gentlemen or wealthy merchants and could expect to become prominent businessmen and citizens (Colston 1889).

Not much is known about the process of placing a boy with a master. It is known that many arrangements were made by families with friends in the desired trade. Orphans were under the jurisdiction of the Justice of the Peace and the Overseers of the poor who were authorized to make arrangements for them. Apprenticeships were sealed with the formal signing of indentures. The length of the term was then given, "during which term the said apprentice his said master will and truly shall serve, his secrets keep close, his commandments lawful and honest everywhere he shall willingly do, hurt nor damage to his said master he shall none do (Colston 1889)."

There were moral regulations. The apprentice pledged himself not to commit fornication nor to marry nor to run away. The master obligated himself to teach the apprentice his trade and to provide him with food, drink, lodging, and clothing. After the signing of the indentures, the names of the apprentice and his master were entered in the company records and then again in the city's records at the guildhall (Colston 1889).

The apprentices were not to wear any clothing except that provided by their masters. There were fines for engaging in dancing or masking, for being present at tennis courts or bowling alleys, for attending cock fights or brothels and for keeping chests or trunks without permission. They were also required to wear their hair short (Ibid.).
Ideally, the apprentice became a part of his master's household. He lived with him as he would his own father and, indeed, this was the norm. There were cases of mistreatment, but they were not common. There were also instances where the apprentice gave his master a difficult time. The apprentices' sense of fraternity was reinforced by informal breakfast gatherings and more formal religious services (Colston 1889).

The Tailor's Guild Hall is among the most important and historic buildings in Edinburgh. It was built in 1622 on the Cowgate, which at that time was the neighborhood of the wealthy and elite (Historical Monument Commission 1951).

Aside from forming a unified mutual aid group, the tailors of Edinburgh were good businessmen. They built tenement buildings on their property. Later they leased the Tailors Hall to a brewery, a printer and as a meeting hall. The theater productions of seventeenth century Edinburgh took place in Tailors Hall. The National Covenant was duplicated through the effort of scribes working through the night prior to its signing in 1638. Cromwell used the hall as his seat of government when he succeeded in taking Edinburgh in 1650 (Colston 1889). The Charter for the Incorporation of "Talzouris" of Edinburgh dates back to August, 1500. There is evidence that it is much older than that. Before the reformation in Scotland, the revenues of the Craft were freely devoted to the salary of their chaplain in St. Giles, and the upkeep and repair of the Altar. When altar worship was abolished at the change of religious views from Catholic to Presbyterianism, the revenues of the
Talzour Incorporation, and those of other Crafts, were employed in providing a fund for the widows and orphans of the various members of the incorporations. Aid was given in time of disaster and death. Ritualistic burials were a part of their order and custom (Colston 1889).

The history of Scotland contains many incursions by invading factions. The Romans were not able to penetrate further than the Forth and Clyde. The English managed periodically to at least theoretically claim control over the Scots until the final fusion of England and Scotland under James the VI in 1603. The different racial factions that have formed the Scottish nation have given it an unusual strength built on the adoption of a common historical base: that of the early Scots who came from Ireland.

Edinburgh was Scotland's first large city. Its location made it valuable as a fort, and it had been utilized as such since early man. Edinburgh grew up instead of out within the confines of the city wall, which provided an area within which a close-knit society developed.
Mutual aid in all its ramifications was prevalent in the form of family, tenement dwellers, neighborhoods, the city itself, schools, church, and guilds. Alexander Stewart was a product of early Edinburgh and was formed and molded by the mutual aid institutions and the environment of the city itself.
III. The Battle of Dunbar and Passage to the New World

The three-hour Battle of Dunbar gave impetus to the people of Edinburgh to employ the maximum mutual aid attitudes and facilities. They rallied to fortify the city and remove obstacles that would aid the Cromwellians.

The battle, on September 3, 1650, lasted three hours. Both Cromwell and General Leslie had equal faith that they would be victorious. Cromwell won decisively.

The battle changed the course of Scottish history, as well as the lives of Alexander Stewart and his fellow prisoners. For them, it meant a brutal initial prisoner situation and, then, a chattel servitude. For Alexander Stewart, the Battle of Dunbar and passage to the New World meant total alteration of his life.

The Battle of Dunbar

In July, 1650, Oliver Cromwell crossed the Tweed by way of the old Roman Bridge and entered Scotland with his army of 16,000 men.

A year prior, he had led Parliament in the indictment and beheading of Charles I. Cromwell was an Independent, had succeeded in defeating the Royalists in England, and was now on his way to set the Scots straight. The Scots had not agreed wholeheartedly with Charles, but they did not condone his execution. They therefore rallied to his cause and were ready to meet the Cromwellian troops (Firth 1940).
Cromwell made his way up the Old London Road used by the Romans, which follows the coast line on the east. He got to the outskirts of Edinburgh, where he camped with his army for a month. His supplies ran short, and he was forced to retreat to a small fishing village on the coast called Dunbar (Firth 1940).

While Cromwell was waiting for ships to resupply, the Scottish General, Leslie, the Earl of Leven, marched his covenanting troops from Edinburgh, following the crest of the hills to a prominence over-looking Dunbar called Doon Hill (Ibid.).

Both armies, imbued with intense faith, felt they were God's chosen people. Cromwell was a devout Puritan, and an independent; Leslie was a convinced Presbyterian, sure that his Covenanters could not lose. The battle cry of the Cromwellians was "The Lord of Host"; that of the Covenanters, "The Covenant." The Covenanters, in their effort to have as pure a force as possible, had purged their army of all malignants and suspects of unquestionable faith. Among these men were many well-trained officers and soldiers. Even though the independence of Scotland was now at stake, the Act of Classes denied the privilege of fighting for his country to any man who had followed Montrose or Hamilton, eliminating additional thousands of the bravest and most experienced soldiers. There remained thousands of eager, self-righteous Covenanters totally unschooled in the tactics of war. It was a misjudgement on the part of Leslie and his aids that lost the battle for the Scotsmen.

There are several eye-witness accounts of the Battle of Dunbar, including letters by Cromwell. Leslie complained, in a letter to
Argyle, that the Covenanters could have easily beaten the enemy had the officers stayed by their troops and regiments (Mackie 1962:4).

Cromwell's letter of description is one of the best.

The enemy's word was 'The Covenant!' which it had been for divers days; ours 'The Lord of Hosts!'. The major-general Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley and Colonel Twistleton gave the outset, the enemy being in very good posture to receive them having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at sword's-point between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty (being overpowerd with the enemy) received some repulse, which they soon recovered. For my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and my major White, did come seasonable in, and at the push of pike did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give. Which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot, this being the first action between the foot. The horse in the mean time did with a great deal of courage and spirit beat back all oppositions, charging through the bodies of the enemy's horse and of their foot, who were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of hosts as stubble to their swords. Indeed I believe I may speak it without partiality, both your chief commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbear particulars.

The best of the enemy's horse being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout, our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about three thousand slain. Prisoners taken; of the officers you have this enclosed list: of private soldiers near ten thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery great and small, thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought in to me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you (Carlyle 1871:ii,191,192).
The battle ended an epoch in Scottish history. Cromwell continued north, taking Edinburgh and Stirling. One year later, to the day, he took Worcester, which completed the campaign to control Scotland.

The surviving prisoners of the Battle of Dunbar were questionably fortunate. Cromwell withheld his practice of genocide, as he had dealt the Irish. He let many of the wounded go and only the able-bodied men were marched toward the south, down the same London Road on which Cromwell had advanced north.

Of the 23,000 soldiers in Leslie's command, three thousand were killed; ten thousand were made prisoners, while the rest were set free. Few were able to escape (Carlyle 1871:475).

Five thousand prisoners were sent down to Durham and Newcastle by way of Berwick and the Old London Road. The dead were, perhaps, more fortunate than the survivors, who were stripped by the guards and "driven half-naked" towards Durham. The weather was cold and it rained continuously. The strong wind from the North Atlantic increased the misery. For eight days they marched with no food or water and with maximum exposure. They were herded along by mounted horsemen who cut down those who lagged behind. Many dropped from exhaustion, and pestilence ran rampant through the group. It continued to take its toll during their confinement in Durham (Carlyle 1871:473).

The prisoners were under the control of Sir Arthur Heselrigge, who wrote to the Council of State (Newcastle, October 31, 1650):

When they came to Morpeth, the prisoners being put into a large walled garden, they eat up raw cabbages, leaves and roots, so many as the very feed and labour at 4d. a day was valued at 9s. which cabbage (they having sited as they themselves said near eight days) poisoned their bodies, for as they were coming from thence to Newcastle some died by the way-side: when they came to Newcastle I put them into the greatest church in the town, and the next morning when I sent them to Durham, about 140 were sick and not able to march - three died that night, and some fell down in their march from Newcastle to Durham and died. On being told into the great cathedral church, they were counted to be no more than 3,000, although Col. Fenwhick wrote me that there were about 3,500 (John Brand, The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne, vol. 2:1734).

Another account, by Echard, states:

They were driven like turkeys to New castle where 1600 of them were starved, having nothing to eat but green cabbagleaves and oats in a small proportion: the stronger persons that subsisted with this diet were condemned to the
sugarmills and by the English planters were transported to the West-Indies.

A portion of these prisoners were sent to New England, as Cromwell expressed in a letter to Sir Heselrigge, dated Sept. 9, 1650, from Edinburgh.

I hope your northern guests are come to you by this time. I pray you lett humanitie be exercised towards them, I am persuaded it will be comely, lett the officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester (Massachusetts Proceedings: October 1927-June 1928).

The Appendix in the Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, October 1650, (Surtees Society 1866:354-355) gives insight as to the mundane duties performed by the English as a result of the Scottish prisoners.

October. The Corporation paid for the cleansing of Nicholas' Church, where the Scots prisoners was kept one whole night &5 ls 11d: for coals and candles for the guard at Nicholas Church, and for two tar barrels to burn naughty meat with, 8s: William Wittaker, grave maker of All Hallows;, per grave, 7s 8d (Richardson n.d.).

Richardson gives further accounts. He quotes from the chamberlains accounts of the cathedral in Newcastle (numbers 30 and 31):

September 21, 1650 week commencing - Paid Constables of West Spittle Towere for candles and coles for the guards that watched the Scotch prisoners. 2s 9d.

December 14 - week commencing f 11r Paid the poor prisoners and the Towne of Durham which was a gift of Mr. Frack-land dew at St. Andrew day last past &3 6s 8d.

December 21 - week commencing f 12r Paid the Gravemaker of Al hallowes Church for makeing of 9 graves for 9 Scotts prisoners. 3s.
Hesselrigge wrote Cromwell that there was medical aid for the prisoners. It can be rightfully assumed that it was marginal. The pestilence and flux prevailed. Coupled with the cold dampness, hunger and exhaustion, treatment for the ailing would have been near impossible.

Sir Arthur Hesselrigge stated further in his letter to the Council of State (1650):

When I sent them first to Durham, I wrote to the Mayor, and desired him to take care that they wanted for notheing that was fit for Prisoners; and whaeshould disburse for them I would repay.

I also sent them a daily Supply of Bread from Newcastle, and an allowance equal to what had been given to former Prisoners; but their Bodies being infected, the Flux increased among them. I sent many Officers to look to them, and ordered those who were sick to be removed out of the Cathedral Church into the Bishop's Castle, which belongs to Mrs. Balckiston. Cooks were provided, and they had pottage made with Oatmeal, Beef and Cabbage, a full quart at a meal for every Prisoner; They had also coals daily brought them, as many as made about 100 fires both Night and Day, and Straw to lie on. I appointed the Marshall to see all these Things orderly done, and he was allowed eight Men to help him to divide the Coals, Meat, Bread, and Pot-tage equally: They were so unruly, sluttish, and nasty that it is not to be believed; they acted rather like beasts than Men; so that the Marshall was allowed 40 Men of the lustiest Prisoners to cleanse and sweep them every Day, who had some small Thing given them extraordinary. The above Provisions were for those who were in health; as to those what were sick, and in the Castle, they had very good Mutton Broth, and sometimes Veal Broth, and Beef and Mutton boiled together; and old women appointed to look to them in the severall Rooms; There was also a Physician to let them Blood, and dress such as were wounded, and give the sic Physic; and I dare confidently say, there was never the like Care taken for any such Prisoners in England.

Norwithstanding all this many of them died, and few of any other Disease than the Flux; some were kill'd by themselves for they were exceedingly cruel one towards another. If any Man percieve to have any Money, it was two to one but he
was kill'd before Morning, and robb'd; and if any had good
Cloaths, he that wanted, if he was able, would strongle the
other and put on his Cloaths.

The Disease of the Flux still increasing among them, I was
forced, for their Preservation, if possible it might be, to
send all the next Towns in Durham, within four or five Miles,
to command them to bring in the Milk, for that was conceived
to be the best Remedy for stopping of their Flux; and I prom-
ised what rates they usually sold it for at the Markets.,
which was accordingly performed by about 60 Towns and Places.
Twenty of the next Town to Durham continue to send daily in
the Milk, which is boiled, some with water, some with Bean
Flower, the Physicians holding it exceeding good for the
Recovery of their health.

Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange of this long Pre-
amble; and wonder what the Matter will be. In short it is
this; out of the 3000 Prisoners that my Officers told into
the Cathedral Church at Durham, 300 of them, and 50 from
Newcastle of the 140 left behind, were delivered to Major
Clarke, by order of the Council; there are bout 500 sick
in the Castle, and bout 600 yet in Health in the Cathedral,
the most of which are, in all probability, Highlanders, they
being hardier than the rest; and we have no other means to
distinguish them. About 1500 are dead and buried, and about
60 officers are at the Marshalls in Newcastle.

My Lord-General (Cromwell) having released the rest of the
Officers and the Council having given me Power to take what
Men I thought fit. I have granted to several well-affected
Persons that have Salt-Works at Shields, and want servants,
40; they have engaged to keep them at Work at their Salt-
Pans, and I have taken out about 12 more, Weavers, to begin a
trade of Linen Cloth, like the Scots Cloth, and about 40
Laborers.

I cannot give you, on a sudden, a more exact account of the
Prisoners, neither can any Account hold true long, because
they still die daily, and doubtless so they will, so long as
any remain in Prison. And for those that are well, if Major
Clarke could have believed that they had been able to march
on Foot, he would have marched them by land; but we percieve
that divers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all
been sick, suddenly die; and we cannot give any Reason for
it, only were apprehend they are all infected; and that the
strength of some holds out till it reaches their very Hearts.

Now you fully understand the condition and Number of the
Prisoners. What you please do direct I shall observe, and
intend not to proceed further upon this letter, until I have your answer upon what I have now written. I am.

Your most affectionate Servant

Ar. Haselrigge.


The Scots destroyed the interior of the Durham Cathedral. The "coles" given them for heat were not sufficient. For warmth they burned every piece of wood within the building. "The men burned two cases (cabinets) and all the seats and Wainscot and all the Wood they could find in the Cathedral church aforesaid (Fowler 1902)."
The only thing they left untouched was the Prior Castle's great clock which had the carving of a Scottish thistle on it (Stranks 1973).

Some prisoners were sent down to London by water and, about a month later, ships were seen coming up the Thames carrying Scottish prisoners. Only sixteen days after the battle, Haselrigge was ordered to deliver 900 Scottish prisoners to be sent to Virginia and 150 more to be sent to New England providing they were well and sound and free from wounds (Figure 16).

On the eleventh of November, 1650, the council ordered "to write Sir Arthur Heseirigge to deliver 150 Scotch prisoners to Augustine Walker, master of the (ship) Unity, to be transported to New England (Calendar of State Papers 1650:346)."
Figure 16.

In cramped and crowded quarters the prisoners taken by Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar set sail from London aboard the ship "Unity," a small English merchant ship. There was much illness and discomfort. It is not known how many survived to land on the wharf of Boston, where they received their first impression of the New World. Alexander Stewart survived the passage across the Atlantic only to be sold into indenturedness (Figs. 17, 18).

At best, the voyage across the North Atlantic in winter was dangerous and offered little pleasure. Storms prevailed; the
accommodations were marginal and the food worse. For a prisoner it was grim. And for a prisoner who had already suffered greatly, survival was miraculous.

Granted good weather and consistent winds, the crossing could be accomplished in six weeks. Victualizing of ships going to the colonies was planned, wisely, for twelve weeks—sometimes fourteen or sixteen. A prison ship had the advantage of an accurate headcount, enabling an adequate supply of needed foodstuffs and material goods. The passenger ships counted adult passengers as one, children as one-half, and infants not at all. There could be provisions
for, for instance, 223 freights (adult passengers) when, in actuality, there 332 mouths to feed (Smith 1947).

Provisions for prisoners were basic. Abbot Smith, in Colonists in Bondage (1947), quotes Joselyn with an account of the common allowance during the seventeenth century—"for three days each week, a group of four persons received each day two pieces of beef, of 3 pound and 1/4 per piece, Four pound of Bread, one pint 1/2 of Pease, Four Gallons of Bear with Mustard and Vinegar." On the other four days of the week, each mess received "Two peices of Codd or Habbercine, making three pieces of a fish, One quarter of a pound of Butter, Four pound of Bread, Three quarters of a pound of Cheese, Bear as before." In addition, one gallon of oatmeal was allowed per day for fifty men (Smith 1979).

Seasickness was the single most miserable ailment of the immigrants. A storm required the hatches to be battened down, with all passengers below no matter how crowded the ship might be. The results are incomprehensible. John Harrower, who experienced a relatively pleasant voyage, stated that soon after a storm began there was the odest shene betweixt the decks that ever I heard or seed. There was some sleeping, some spewing... some daming, some Blasting their leggs and thighs, some their liver, lungs, lights and eiyes, And for to make the shene the odder, some curs'd Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother (Smith 1947:24).

In Mittleberger's Journal, an incredible list of difficulties is mentioned, i.e., terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, con-
stipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like (Smith 1947:215).

A man named John Coad relates

we had enough in the day to behold the miserable sight of botches, pox, others devoured with lice till they were almost at death's dore. In the night fearful cries and groaning of sick and distracted persons, which could not rest, but lay rumbling over the rest, and distracting the whole company, which added much to our trouble (Smith 1947:215).

There was no ventilation between decks; the sanitation was nil. Although the decks were periodically washed with vinegar, it was not a disinfectant and only alleviated the stench for a short time (Ibid.).

Wind, the force or lack of it, determined the length of the voyage. The winter crossings were often the victims of ferocious
storms with gale winds which blew them off course, lengthening the time for crossing.

The sun was a welcomed sight, but research does not indicate that prisoners were allowed the freedom of the main deck.

As the ships approached America, an attempt was made to groom their cargo to make them as presentable as possible to the potential buyers (Smith 1947).

Alexander Stewart found himself in the midst of thousands of former soldiers. The battle with Cromwell at Dunbar, on the third of September, 1650, was short lived. Within a matter of three hours the battle was over, and Alexander—along with thousands of other soldiers—was taken prisoner. After being marched south along the Old London Road to Newcastle and Durham, they were then sent to the colonies of America as indentured servants (Fig. 19).

The three-hour battle altered the course of the lives of the survivors forever. They were never to return to Scotland but continued on to the New World and the unknown.
IV. Indentured Servants

Alexander Stewart and his fellow prisoners were treated much as prize cattle when they arrived in the dirty, winding streets of Boston (Fig. 20, 21). The mutual aid they received was self-generated. They helped one another. The disciplined, hard-working Scot was a valuable commodity. They were purchased in groups and two or three at a time. They were able, then, to console and aid one another when the thoughts of Scotland became unbearable. Most of them never returned to Scotland, and many of them left families that were never seen again. The New England system allowed them, however, to purchase land and develop their own lives as they wished. Those who took advantage of opportunities through the mutual aid institutions available to them enjoyed a standard of living far beyond that potentially possible in Scotland.

The Scots formed their own benevolent Society to alleviate the difficulties in which many found themselves. Assistance from the Massachusetts General Court was not forthcoming, giving impetus to the formation in 1657 of a cohesive ethnic group which they called
The Scots Charitable Society. The Society became a sophisticated organization which loaned money and gave sympathy and assistance when needed by the Scots. Through this organization, they maintained close contact with one another, further enabling them to help each other.

When these men arrived in these various towns, especially in Boston, it became evident they were to get no assistance from the General Council. They were alienated, as were the Indians and the blacks. Poverty was rank among them. In response, they formed the first immigrant aid association in America, the Scots Charitable Society, in 1657. Its aim and result was not only to form a benevolent society, but to foster a Scottish community. It served as a focal point for friendship and hospitality among the Scots. It was a center for communication to the various communities where the Scots resided other than Boston. Dr. William Douglas was the leader of the original group and developed a sophisticated organization of pensions and aid for the sole benefit of the Scots (Virgadamo 1981).
In all, including the prisoners from both Dunbar and Worcester, there were approximately 400 men, forming the largest group of non-English-speaking people in New England. The Presbyterian religion which they professed was as different to the Congregationalist Puritans as the Gaelic they spoke. Unique to their situation was the fact that they were all men, which added to the suspicion which they already stimulated. Single men in New England were specific targets of Puritanical criticism. These men had no families as a facility with which to integrate into the community (Virgadamo 1981).

Toleration was not one of the attributes of the Puritans, as the Quakers had learned. The Scots, being Presbyterians, lacked another cohesive force, provided by church, which the Society helped allevi-
ate by reading psalms at their meetings and with expressions of piety when they donated to charity "as God shall move our hearts (Virgadamo 1981:4)."

Friendship, hospitality, charity and other feasible needs they could provide was the format of the early beginning of the society. Society records indicate that the Scots in Boston met informally as early as 1654 to consider their problems. Several years later, the Society consisted of former prisoners and mariners who had to demonstrate they were "Scottish men or of the Scottish nation." The meetings--held at a favorite tavern, "Sport at ye Starr"--in Boston's north end, which became the Scottish community, provided an opportunity to renew old friendships, welcome new members, and be a Scot
for an evening. They met quarterly for their "Clubb night" and enjoyed beer and "cyder" (Ibid.) (Fig. 22).

They celebrated together and gathered to bury their dead. Funerals were expensive, and in this expenditure the Scots Charitable Society developed a ritual "to commemorate a member's loyalty to the Society." The Society also printed notices "warning ye people" of a member's "founerll." Included in the expenses for Scottish burials were the "mortcloath," "ye pall," "the Coffine," payment for "Caring (the) corps to ye Grave," and gloves for the mourners. A child's funeral was considerably less than a distinguished member. Their custom of funerals was similar to that in Scotland. The Puritans, however, buried their dead with few words from the minister, contrary to the rowdy parties the Scots sometimes held after a burial (Virgadamo 1981:5).

The Society assisted all social levels. The poor received charity and the artisans were allowed to take out loans, and the wealthy had the opportunity to demonstrate leadership as officers of the association.

The Scottish Charitable Society formed the bank for the Scottish community. Cotton Mather referred to it as "a Bank, for the Releef of their Poor (Ibid.:6)."

The Society continued to play an important part in the life of old and new members for years to come. They assisted ship-wrecked individuals who had lost everything, as well as the military indigents from the French and Indian Wars. Widows and children were the more numerous of the beneficiaries.
The arrival of the Scottish prisoners to be used for indentured servants was among the first experiences of the New England people in this kind of human traffic. The Reverend Joseph Cotton eased their Puritan conscience by utilizing the services of such people himself, thereby endorsing the practice (Morison 1930).

Governor Hutchinson, anxious to assure Cromwell that the men were being well treated, wrote in 1651:

The Scots whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not been sold for slaves to perpetual servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 years, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I hear) buildeth houses for them, for every four an house, layeth some acres of ground there-to, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 days in the week to work for him (by turns) and 4 days for themselves, promiseth, as soon as they can repay the money he laid out for them, he will se them at liberty (New England Historic Genealogical Register, vol. 1:377).

Prior to the departure of the Scottish prisoners from Durham, England, the Council ordered that one hundred fifty of them be delivered to Joshua Foot and John Bex, to be sent to New England. John Bex was a merchant in London and a partner in an Iron Company formed in England for the production of bog iron in Lynn and Braintree, Massachusetts. Joshua Foot was an iron-monger from London who came to Boston and acted as one of the agents and commissioners of the company.

John Winthrop, Jr., as early as 1641, had decided that iron-works were feasible at Saugus (Lynn) (Figs. 23, 24) and Braintree and returned to England to find the capital to develop the resource.
He formed a company of "Undertakers," headed by John Bex (Becx, Beex).

Lynn was his second choice for the first of the ironworks. The workers called it Hammersmith, perhaps as a joke or because some of them came from the village with like name near London (Morison 1930).

It was probably Joshua Foot's connection with the Iron Works that led to the employment of many of the Dunbar Scots in Lynn. Those prisoners remaining after the purchase by the Iron Works were sold to purchasers willing to pay the price, or were then distributed to numerous towns in Massachusetts or, finally, to the mines and saw mills of Maine and New Hampshire (Morison 1930).

The price Augustine Walker received for the prisoners was twenty pounds for some and thirty for others. As the prevailing cost of an Atlantic passage at that time was five pounds, it is evident that the Unity cleared about fifteen hundred pounds in this transaction for her owners (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings 1928).
FIRE BACK CAST AT THE SAUGUS IRON WORKS IN 1660
FOR THE PICKERING HOUSE, SALEM
The letters I A P stand for John Pickering and Alice his wife

Figure 24.


The prisoners were marched from Boston to Lynn, taking two days. A William Edmonds was paid for "dyett for the Scotts by the waye from Boston to the workes." A physician accompanied the caravan and attended the sick. Of interest in the accounts of the Lynn Iron Works is a list of expenses dealing with the arrival and settlement of the Scots: "&35 for framing of the Scots house, the purchase of 65 pair of shoes @ 5s a pair, 92 pairs of stockings, 72 shirts, 92 skines for makeing the cloathes, Hatts and Bands, ..." William Emmory and James Mackall got "two Stuffe Suites," Goody Burt of Lynn was paid for "phsicke" for those who were ill. Two hundred pounds of tobacco were bought for them, costing &13:17:04 (Accounts of Lynn Iron Works, Harvard University, Baker Library in Ibid.).
Data regarding the men who went to Maine and New Hampshire is sparse, other than to mention they were there. There was coastal trade in 1651, so it is possible the men were transported to New Hampshire and Maine by small ship; but it is not impossible they were marched north. How they were treated is difficult to tell. It is known that the forced immigrants were not Puritans and proved contrary to Puritan discipline, frequently getting into the courts for fighting, swearing, drinking, and Sabbath-breaking. The Highlanders were more high-spirited than their Anglicized Lowland counterparts, and at times proved difficult to control.

In spite of the servant labor at the ironworks, by 1653 it was in financial trouble. From that time on, the story of the Lynn ironworks is one of lawsuits against the company, "of American partners against English partners, of mortgageors against Mortgagees, and so forth (Morison 1930:279)."

Because of the litigations of the ironworks, there were depositions taken from several of the Scots, giving us records that otherwise would not be available.

An inventory was made on November 4, 1653, of the goods of the undertakers of the Iron Works. Thirty-five Scots, of the original 65 purchased, were found (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings 1928).

Mr. John Gifford, who succeeded Foote, was agent for the ironworks in 1653 and was required to account for all property received and sold by the company. "For 62 Scotts dd and only 35 left on the
works, 16 to Aubrey, 3 to commissioners; 2 sold and rest we desire to whom disposed of, which is 5 at 20 pounds £100:0:0 (Ibid.).

Further documents in the litigation show that "a house had been built for the Scots" at Lynn; and that "old Tingle" (William Tingley), the collier, had hired four of the prisoners for three years' service, while Thomas Look, Thomas Wiggins and Richard Hood had each bought the time of a "Scotchman" for three years. A John Stewart, who had been sold to a Mr. Pynchon, was in Gifford's own personal service in his house. Evidence in the litigation shows that these servants did farm work and lived at the Scotsmen's House, while others did a variety of general labor. The seventeen prisoners turned over to a William Aubrey were for service in the Boston warehouse of the Company, of which he had charge. In the progress of various suits, five of the prisoners testified concerning the management of the Company's business (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings 1928).

John Clarke was 26 years of age "or thereabout" when he testified that when John Gifford, Agent for the Iron Works

sett John Toysh (MacIntosh) to take in the stocks of coale and myne that the said John Gifford then ordered him to see that good loades of coales and myne were received and in any case any came in that were not measure to lay the coales by themselves and measure them and thy myne by itself and sigh it that abatement might be made to those who brought them in. Taken upon oath the 245h 11mo. 1653 (Essex Court Files 4:52).

James Danielson and George Thompson were about twenty in 1653. They offered similar testimony regarding the filling of the coal carts to their maximum (Ibid.:55).
Robert MacIntyre, ages 24 "or thereabouts," mentions full carts of coales. He was asked by Mr. Gifford to call upon the colliers to see that the "wagons were felled levill with the wood (Essex Court Files 4:55)."

James Adams, aged twenty-three years "or thereabouts," swore that he participated in taking the "company team" to market where he traded for cattle which were marked with Mr. Gifford's mark. He then fed the cattle with company hay until the time of the Ipswich court, where the litigation was being conducted (Ibid.).

Other depositions indicated that the Scots became house servants; some were employed in planting corn, making hay and gathering in the corn on farms. Dani l Salmon was employed in the husbandry about the farm. The saw mills demanded a different kind of work, though it was similarly mundane.

A typical indenture is that of Allexander Gorthing, Scotsman, which he signed with his mark, and who was probably ignorant of its content.

This indenture witnesseth that I, Allexander Gorthing, Scotchman, Lately being arrived the coaste of New Eng- land, do covent agree and promise to Serve Goodman Stratton, Planter of Watertowne the full space of six years, wherein I do promise to do him true and faithfull service not to absent myselfe day or night out of his family dureing the time of Apprentiship aforesaid with- out his license or consent, that I will not entangle or engage my selve in any way of Contracts or marigage dure- ing the aforesaid time, all his lawfull demands and injunctions I do promise to fulfill to my uttermost power and abilities, all this I the aforesaid Allexander do likewise untill it be fully expired of providence should
take away my present master by death, witnes my hand.
Witness, Goodman Blois
  Richard Blois
  Richard Norcras
  Allexander Gorthing
his marke and a seale

(Essex Court Files Oct 15, 1652).

Allexander Gorthing was from the Battle of Worcester, which occurred Sept. 3, 1651, exactly one year after the Battle of Dunbar. Many prisoners were sent to New England after this battle. Gorthing, one year later, petitioned the court because Stratton had sold him to another man for seventeen pounds.

Language was a problem since most of the Highland prisoners spoke only Gaelic. The single Scottish indentured servant was unusual. Most of them were in groups or at least threes and fours.

There were continued dealings in Scots by the enterprising men of New England, Mr. Valentine Hill of Dover, formerly of Boston, where he had been a Deacon of the First Church, was one of the large dealers in contract prisoners. This item appeared in the Dover Town Records (I:59): (5:10mo:1652:) "Given and granted unto Mr. Valentine Hill, his heires, Executors, administrators or assigns foure acres of land adjoining to Goodman Hudsons Lott for his Scots."

There is, likewise, another:

Layd out and Bounded to henrey Brown and James Ore fower ackers which were given and granted unto Mr. Vallentine Hills seven Scotes in the yeir 1652: Said land lyeth on the northern side of the land that was granted to Hudson and now in the hands of Edward Patterson (Dover Town Records Vol. 1:59).
These men probably lived in rude cabins and cultivated small garden plots when not engaged in the mills.

Scotsmen from the Battles of Dunbar and Worcester settled in all parts of New England, but most commonly in the towns of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Dedham, Concord, Hingham, Ipswich, Reading and Salem. From these towns they and their progeny helped to settle new land to the west.

As these prisoners served out their indenture time, they were released. Many had no skills or knowledge on which to rely. Many became destitute and needed the help of the community. The Scots at this time could be likened to the foreign-speaking immigrants of the 1850's. Boston drew large numbers of them.

Alexander Stewart and his fellow prisoners were sold in the Massachusetts Bay Colony as indentured servants. The mutual aid they had provided among themselves was to continue as they were sold in groups of several and two and three at a time. They were able, during their indenture, to maintain a reasonable amount of communication with one another, furthering the support they were able to supply their fellow Scots. The indenture period allowed them time in a new community to adapt to the environment, customs and attitudes of the Puritan English. They were able, during this time, to contemplate their future actions. It appears they were treated fairly, and many of them married into the families with whom they were indentured. The owners, themselves, provided an environment of mutual aid inasmuch as the servants were assured of food, clothing and shelter.
Marriage

Marriage was among the first prerequisites of the Scots when they were released. They were in their twenties and early thirties, men of marriageable age. It is logical that they were attractive to the single daughters of the settlers, but not every Puritan family would have welcomed a Presbyterian Scot into the family. They therefore found their wives among the non-conformists and the more liberal minded.

Alexander Stewart married twice--into established, English families--each time fathering a family and acquiring land and housing belonging to his wives.

Servants, at the finish of their indenture, were normally given something in order to make their entrance into the local society easier. In Massachusetts "freedom dues" in 1641 were based on a quotation from the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 15:12:13). Servants after seven years labor must "not be sent away empty." This allowed great latitude in the value of "freedom dues."

It is on record that most reliable servants were treated fairly at the end of their terms. The gift of new clothing and shoes was common, and of money--not much, but enough to allow the servant to get to a town or another place of employment (Smith 1947).

During the term of an indenture, a servant had the privilege of many of the old as well as the newly settled villages about New Eng-
land. They owned land and raised their families in the disciplined manner in which they had been raised. The environment of the New England Puritan world assisted with strong words regarding good behavior and Godly attitudes.

There was genuine concern during the early settlement of New England for the indigent and the poor. And, unless the person was repulsive in nature and character—or Scottish, black, or Indian—there was a helping hand offered by the church and the General Council (Wright 1962).

The records of early Massachusetts show that the Scottish men married "local" girls from established English families. There were instances where the Scots married the daughters of their masters and became an even more integral part of the family.

Alexander Stewart married Hannah Templar, the daughter of non-conforming Englishmen. Her grandfather, Richard Pritchard, was one of the first settlers of Yarmouth in Plymouth Colony. He and his wife came with the determination to seek religious liberty for themselves, not for others. They, as the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay, were an active group or they would have stayed in England. The people of Plymouth Colony temporarily joined in the warfare against the Quakers; but they soon established a more tolerant system, while other communities were adhering to a severe and persecuting policy. The settlers of Yarmouth, contrary to the inhabitants of the other neighboring settlements, came from a diverse background. Not more than two of the settlers, so far as is apparent, had ever been connected together in business, social or religious concerns. They came
from different parts of England and Wales. Some of them were Independents, some Puritans, a few were latitudinarian in doctrine and practice. Among them were men of good education and good background, and all were of intellectual independence. It is reasonable to expect, under the given circumstances, that there would be conflicts. Some of the settlers of Yarmouth had originally settled in Massachusetts, others in Plymouth, only to find the religious climate not to their liking. They were not exclusively of the Pilgrim or of the Puritan types, but combined some of the best traits of both—the liberality and tolerance of the former, and the worldliness of the latter (Swift 1884).

It is conceivable that the attitude of toleration, which the people of Yarmouth had more than any other New England settlement, is what allowed Alexander Stewart—a Scotsman—to marry into one of its families. There is also the chance that Hannah was of marriageable age, and he was the "distinguished individual" that was available. Attitude toward single individuals in colonial times was not one of toleration; and the group of available Scotsmen provided a ready source for husbands of the settlers' daughters.

The controversies which developed in Yarmouth among the independent thinkers may or may not have been the reason for Richard Templar, Hannah's father, moving back to Charlestown. The Charlestown Land Records of 1670 show that he was paying taxes on a home on Graves Street, that he owned seventeen acres in woods and three acres of the commons. Perhaps he sold land in Yarmouth to finance his
move. By 1663, which is when it appears he made the move, there was no free, only purchasable, land to be had in Charlestown (Wyman 1879).

Hannah, the first of seven children born to Hannah Pritchard Templar and her husband Richard, was born on January 5, 1643. Two of the children died in infancy. Childbirth and childhood took its toll equally in the colonies, as it had in Edinburgh. Techniques and attitudes were similar.

Alexander Stewart and Hannah Templar were married on October 15, 1662, in Charlestown, where they were to live until her death in 1674. Five children were born of this marriage, the first--James--arriving on May 8, 1665. John (11-24-1667), Samuel (12-19-1669), Hannah (1-24-1672) and Margaret (8-11-1674) followed. With the birth of Margaret, Hannah died, leaving Alexander with five young children. Further proof of the non-conformist attitude of the Templars is indicated by the fact that Alexander had all five of his children baptized on March 9, 1675, in the First Church in Charlestown, a Congregational denomination. It is easy to speculate that church pressure, or the advice and encouragement of friends and neighbors, was the basis for his decision (Wyman 1879).

In 1670, Alexander appears on the tax rolls of the constables office of Grand Island, which lies in the bay of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He is one of sixty-nine Scots on the register. The Scots were from both the Battle of Dunbar and the Battle of Worcester and were probably in the service of the saw mills that were prevalent in that area. Upon release from their indenture, they were given land concentrated in one area. The land was not produc-
tive, and there were no wives to be had among all the Scotsmen; so Alexander and others went south to Charlestown, where he practiced the tailor craft he had learned in Edinburgh (Stewart 1911).

His father-in-law, Richard Templar, died in 1674. Alexander, with his sons James and John, inherited the house and land of Richard Templar. They, in turn, gave it to Richard's widow, Alexander's mother-in-law, Hannah. The value of the Templar estate was recorded as twenty pounds, a humble amount for a dwelling, even in those days (Ibid.).

In Charlestown, in 1667, Alexander was the administrator of the estate of James Nicholls, a fellow Scotsman who was also on the tax records of Grand Island, New Hampshire. In 1678, he sold eleven acres on the Mystic side (Mystic River, Charlestown) to a Peter Tufts. In 1682, he sold a lot number 128 to R. Pritchett (Wyman 1879).

During the period of these transactions, Alexander appeared to be moving about. He appears on the records of the town of Marlborough, July 24, 1676, as having fought in the war with King Phillip, and was paid four shillings two pence (Hudson 1889).

**Education**

Education was even more important to the Puritans than to the Scots. The Puritanical philosophy held that knowledge and ability to read the scriptures assured their salvation. Early efforts were made to open schools to all children, whether of formal nature or in the home of a neighbor who could teach the fundamentals. We can
assume that most Massachusetts Bay children received some education, and that a great many of them received a good education. Grants and endowments enabled the poorer children to attend schools; and when this was not available, the communities took it upon themselves to see that they at least could read and write.

The Puritanical Theocracy the Scots found in Massachusetts Bay was no different than they had experienced at home in Scotland. The notion of the dignity of labor and the virtue of strict adherence to one's endeavors was, perhaps, more seriously believed in Massachusetts Bay; but the discipline which it required was nothing new to the Scots. They were a hard-working group, albeit they played hard, too, which upset the English Puritans considerably—but the Scots were capable of producing when necessary. Most of them succeeded in being substantial citizens of the communities where they settled; and many of them held the position of selectmen and various appointed and elected positions of the community (Wright 1962).

There was no lack of advisory material on the value of sobriety, diligence and thrift. Diligence and thrift the Scots knew well; sobriety was another matter. As they settled in communities and raised families, they became substantial and proper citizens.

The Scots were from a country where education was of extreme importance. It was no different in the colonies. The Puritans were convinced that "education increased piety and piety bred industry (Ibid.:25)." The education of the children had a two-fold result. It taught the children to read and write; but it also reduced the possibility that "ignorance would beget idleness, and idleness,
which was the waste of God's precious time—a recurring phrase in Puritan writing—was one of the worst of sins (Wright 1962:25; Morison 1936:63)."

Learning to read was the priority of a child's early education. Reading and learning the Scriptures was elementary in God's divine plan for himself and all mankind. The General Court, in 1647, required the establishment of reading schools in each of the towns; and, to stress the religious motive, asserted that it was "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." The Puritans, however, respected education as a means of improving society in general. The legislature, therefore, required that every town of at least fifty households appoint a teacher to instruct in reading and writing, any student, regardless of age, that was sent to him (Labaree 1979:78-79).

Massachusetts Bay had an advantage over the other colonies in the high proportion of University graduates among its leaders. They immediately set about establishing a pattern of education as much like the one they had known in England as they could. They considered New England another England purified of its errors and shortcomings. They wished their children to be brought up to be virtuous and educated men and women; and success was assured, according to Samuel Eliot Morison (1935:157) "in a community so well provided with ministers, schoolmasters, and birch trees (Wright 1962)."

One of the primary catalysts for the success of education, as well as that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and, actually, all of New England, was the philosophy that idleness was a sin. To grow up
in ignorance and idleness was sinful twofold. The Puritans worked and learned (Morison 1936).

The schools influenced the intellectual life of everyone in the material that filtered through via church sermons and printed matter (Ibid.).

Higher education, whereas religious in spirit, went beyond theology. The wish for higher learning was evident from the beginning. The leaders of the colonies were vigorous, educated people and established an atmosphere of sophistication which the people admired (Ibid.).

Harvard College was founded in 1636. There was a degree of hostility toward Harvard in the beginning by the Puritans, who felt Christian education should begin with Sacred Scripture, not with pagan poets and philosophers (Ibid.).

In the more urban settlements, such as Boston, Latin was the core of the curriculum. In the rural villages, however, reading, writing and spelling were the priorities (Wright 1962).

The children of the poorer farmers, remote from schools, had to do the best they could. Occasionally the parson gave instruction in reading. More often the parents, when they were themselves literate, taught their children the rudiments of learning. At best, children on isolated farms in the agrarian colonies received little instruction beyond the ability to spell out the catechism and to scrawl their names. Only rarely did a slave, usually Indian or Black, learn to read (Labaree 1979).
Conditions were far more favorable to learning in the compact towns and villages of the northern colonies than in those of the south. When a school was established, every child in the community, in some manner, had access to what it had to offer. The cost of hiring teachers was either a civic responsibility or could be shared by the parents. This economic factor alone made education more available to children in New England (Wright 1962).

The selectmen in every town of Massachusetts Bay were to make periodic inquiries of parents and masters concerning the training of children and apprentices, "especially their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." In cases of negligence, the selectmen were instructed to impose fines and to apprentice children where they might gain the rudiments of an education (Ibid.).

A large proportion of New England women were literate. In some instances, a literate housewife who had children of her own to instruct would take in a few neighborhood children as well. In New Haven in 1651, Goodwife Wickham kept such a school. It is recorded in history because a little girl under tutelage was brought before the New Haven magistrates for swearing and testified that she learned naughty words at Goodwife Wickham's, where she went to school (Ibid.).

The school law of the colony of 1654 was not always kept. The settlement of Sudbury was either not inspired or did not have the finances to open a public school for all children until 1692, when a
"Writing school master, to teach the children to write and to cast accounts" was hired (Powell 1963:105).

Sudbury was settled in 1638. In 1664, "the town promised to give answer at the 'next meeting' whether or no they will accomodate a Mr. Walker any lands towards his encouragement to keep a free school in Sudbury." From the following report on educational matters, written in 1680, it appears that there was an attempt at informal instruction.

And as for schools, tho' there be no stated school in this town, for that the inhabitants are so scattered in their dwellings that it cannot well be, yet such is the case that, by having two school dames on each side of the river, that teacheth small children to spell and read, which is so managed by the parents and governors at home, and prosecuted after such sort as that the selectmen who distributed themselves did within three months last past so examine families, children, and youth, both as to good manners, orderly living, catechizing, and reading, as that they returned from all parts a comfortable good account of all these matters, and render them growing several families beyond expectation, rarely reprovable anywhere, encouraging in most places, and in others very commendable, so as that the end is accomplished hitherto. And for teaching to write or cypher, here is Mr. Thomas Walker, and two or three others about this town, that do teach therein, and are ready to teach all others that need, if people will come or send them (Sudbury Town Records, in Hudson 1889:139-140).

We can assume that the town of Marlborough, where Alexander Stewart and his wife, Deborah, raised their three children, had similar tendencies toward education. The leaders of the Marlborough settlement included some of the same men who had organized the settlement of Sudbury. It stands to reason they took the same philosophy with them to the new location of Marlborough, thirteen miles away.
Deborah Rediat Farrowbush Stewart was a product of early Sudbury and, although her father was an indentured servant, he came with a prosperous, educated family. He signed his will in 1687 with "his mark, making it evident that he did not learn to write (Powell 1963)."

**Food**

Approximately ninety-five percent of the twenty-five thousand early settlers of Massachusetts Bay were farmers who were essentially self-contained. As the town grew, more and more craftsmen were needed to satisfy the needs of the community. It was a common practice to combine their respective crafts with that of farming, as Alexander Stewart did. He farmed at Crane Meadows, a part of Marlborough, and practiced the art of tailoring (Dow 1967).

When Alexander Stewart moved to Marlborough, he practiced his craft of tailoring; but he also farmed on land formerly owned by an original settler of Sudbury, John How. Most people on the frontier of New England farmed. It was an agrarian society, and the farm was the center of family life. By 1670, Boston was becoming a major maritime center, causing the surrounding area to become less agrarian and more commercial.

The farms of the early New England towns were scattered about in separate sections which incorporated a portion of the varieties of land in the grant, i.e., meadow, swamp, upland, house lot, etc. The wife usually tended the household garden, which afforded beans and corn and other vegetables. Corn replaced the ever-present oats in
the Scotsmen's diet, although oats and wheat were raised in limited quantities. Fruit trees were planted and farm animals kept. Sheep were quite plentiful by the time the Scots became established citizens. Cows were raised for both milk and meat. Wild game was easily obtained; but pigs, sheep and cows were periodically butchered. It was the custom to lend pieces of the meat to neighbors, to be repaid in kind when animals were killed by them. In this way, the fresh meat supply was maintained for a long time by the killing of one animal. Other parts of the meat were salted and kept for a number of months before all was eaten. Nearly every family had a beef and a pork barrel, which preserved the meat in salt, to be used during the summer (Dow 1935).

Oxen were a necessity, as was the family horse. Sheep and goats provided wool, mutton, and milk. Pigs were a common source of meat because they could fend for themselves—unfortunately, often in someone's corn field or vegetable patch. They reproduced prodigiously, making them a practical animal. Chickens, ducks and geese provided meat and eggs for the table with little trouble. Most of these animals could be found on the streets of Edinburgh in the late 1600's, where they served the same purposes (Dow 1935).

Baking, weaving, sewing, cooking were all done in the manner of England and Scotland—in large, open fireplaces and with hand-built looms and coarse thread, produced by themselves.

Cider, rather than the beer drunk in Scotland, was made every season and stored in large barrels for use during the rest of the year. Cider mills were a part of every farm inventory. Even so,
there were great amounts of beer and ale consumed. Beer was made from imported malt and Indian corn. Laws were enacted governing and controlling the manufacture of ale and beer. Quality control, as well as price control, was exercised. Penalties were severe regarding excessive drinking. Cotton Mather, in 1675, said that every other house in Boston was an ale-house. There was order, however, and people were safe on the streets. Even Judge Sewall could stumble home alone in the dark from his love-making without fear of molestation. He could also make a list of the rowdies on his way home (Earle 1893:167).

Clearing of the fields was the first near-unsurmountable task the farmer had to perform. Forests had to be cut down; and the large, prevalent glacial rocks had to be removed. Once cleared and plowed, the fields were planted, with Indian corn, wheat and rye as the main crops, although peas and beans, oats, barley and other grains were also raised. Flax was grown, spun and woven into fabric for clothing. Large vegetable gardens were tended by the wives, who also raised turnips, parsnips and carrots. These did very well in the virgin soil; and pumpkins, cucumbers, leeks and onions were also raised. There was an abundance of wild produce such as strawberries, pennyroyall, winter savory, carvell and water-cress (Dow 1937:104).

Housing

Paramount in the settlement of a new community, such as the New England villages, was mutual cooperation in all respects. Mutual aid was at its ultimate during the formation of a new village. The
land was divided in a reasonably equitable fashion, as were the duties performed by each member of the village. Individuals owned their own land, with additional land in common, and raised their own livestock and crops which they used for bartering-in-kind. Money was seldom used in the rural communities. Trading of one item for another was the custom.

For those willing to work, gamble and cooperate, the new villages offered an opportunity to accumulate a reasonable amount of wealth and security not available in Scotland or England. The Scotsmen, then, in this respect were better off than their countrymen who were still in Scotland, for many of the Cromwellian prisoners prospered.

The housing which confronted the Scotsmen as they worked their way through their indenture and settlement were quite different than those in Scotland—and most certainly than those in Edinburgh. Wood was the primary construction material, as opposed to the stone used throughout Scotland. The Scots, as prisoners, worked in the saw mills of Maine and New Hampshire. The lumber they produced went primarily to Europe, but some of it found its way into the homes of the early settlers. By the time the people of Marlborough and Sudbury were building their homes, they had facilities to make their own planks and boards for housebuilding (Dow 1967) (Fig. 25).

Bricks were made in number as early as 1629 in Salem, but it is not evident that they were used in the "frontier" towns such as Sudbury and Marlborough (Ibid.).
The large percentage of the houses were one-room affairs with a large fireplace and chimney in one corner of the room. The more affluent might have two rooms, possibly a second story, or a lean-to which expanded the sleeping space as the family grew (Dow 1967).

There was no typical seventeenth-century house in Massachusetts Bay. They all seemed to have derived from the early one-room dwelling, with a fireplace and a porch along one end. Usually there was a stairway leading to a sleeping loft. The size was conservative and might encompass a space twenty to twenty-five feet long and, perhaps, sixteen or eighteen feet wide (Labaree 1979) (Fig. 26).

By the end of the seventeenth century, enough of the houses had incorporated the lean-to to develop a new style of house called the "salt-box" (Dow 1967).

The positioning of the house was important; and the fact that the owner had latitude in his decision to position it indicates a freedom that a Scot would not have enjoyed in Edinburgh. A site where drainage was good was imperative to assure a dry cellar. The
house needed to be close to a road for accessibility. The front needed to face the south for maximum heating in the winter; and the sloping part of the roof faced into the north wind, to shunt it up and over (Labaree 1979).

The cooperation of friends and neighbors was usually called for --and granted--when a new house was built (Fig. 27).

First the cellar hole was dug and fieldstone walls laid up on the dirt floor. Next came the heavy oak sills, squared like the other timbers by broad axe to the desired size. Front and rear walls were assembled flat on the ground, then raised into place by as many men as necessary. Corner posts had already been mortised to receive the tenoned end girts, which were locked into place with treenails to hold the front and back walls erect. Floor joists, chimney girts, and summer beams gave further strength to the frame, to which was finally added roof rafters, studs, and other light pieces (Labaree 1979:58).
Clapboards were the most used for siding. They were long narrow boards of cedar or pine logs and fastened directly onto the studs with an inch or so of overlap. Cedar shingles took the place of the earlier thatch.

By the end of the seventeenth century, when prosperity had increased, the use of glass and other refinements became more common. Few houses were painted until well into the eighteenth century.

Religion

Calvin taught great simplicity of life. The daily life and actions of Calvinism's citizens were as closely guarded as those of children. All frivolous amusements were forbidden; a curfew was
established; and all were constrained to save souls and to labor for material development. Dress and personal conduct were carefully supervised, and a literal construction of Bible mandates was followed. Calvin's theology was based on the belief that all men were born sinners and, since Adam's fall, all were condemned to hell. The Puritans found life endurable because they considered themselves of the chosen few. The Calvinist found comfortable the thought that, while his neighbors were destined to go to hell, he was not (Dow 1935).

Alexander married, first, a woman from a non-conformist family. He then, when she died, had his five children baptized in the First Church of Charlestown. His second marriage was in Marlborough, where the climate was such that there was no minister for the first ten years of its existence. His life, then, did not follow the rigidity dictated by the true puritanical doctrine.

Calvinism in Massachusetts Bay was even more austere than it had been in Scotland. The New England Puritans only allowed themselves one full holiday in the course of the year and that was Thanksgiving Day, a time for feasting. A Fast Day in the spring gave them a day off from work, but it was a day spent listening to sermons in the meeting house. The sermons were depressing in themselves and must have disturbed impressionable young children and worried adults. The sermons of Rev. Samuel Moodey, an eccentric minister at York, Maine, for nearly half a century, were printed, and among them were the titles: "The Doleful State of the Damned, especially such as go to hell from under the Gospel." Such was the
trend of all sermons preached in the New England churches (Fig. 28). Taken seriously, they could be extremely depressing, and so the parishioners prayed even more intensely. No record shows the attitude of the Scots toward such words of wisdom; but the sermons were not too different from those they had grown up on (Dow 1935:103).

The books most often found in New England homes were the Bible, the Psalm Book, an almanac, the New England Primer, a sermon or two and, perhaps, a copy of Michael Wigglesworth's poem, "The Day of Doom," which had been reprinted seven times (Ibid.)

Contrary to the belief that "everyone went to church," the size of the meetinghouses, the isolated locations of many of the houses, the necessary care of the numerous young children and the interesting sidelights on the manners of the time which may be found in the court papers, all show that the statement must not be taken literally. Absence from meeting, breaking the Sabbath, carrying a burden
on the Lord's Day, condemning the church, condemning the ministry, scandalous falling out on the Lord's Day, slandering the church and other misdemeanors of a similar character were frequent (Labaree 1979).

In actuality, drunkenness was very common in the early days of Massachusetts Bay (Ibid.).

The church, however somber, was the core of the New England family. The quest for personal salvation did not eradicate the need nor the pursuit of fun and enjoyment (Ibid.).

Marriage was the first step into the English Puritan society. Marriage allowed immediate acceptance by at least a reasonable number of the citizens of Massachusetts Bay.

The education encouraged by the Puritans meant participation in the schooling of their children and, therefore, integration with the Puritans themselves. As their children became literate, the status of the family increased; and, therefore, the integrative powers were augmented.

The sustenance of the New England family was not an independent endeavor. The food produced for a town was often a cooperative affair with small household garden plots in addition. Through this process of food production, the cooperative mutual aid of the town was increased.

The building of a new house on the New England frontier called for the community to participate. The citizens gathered to work and, often, eat and drink, to aid the individual with his new house, which was built of wood.
VI. King Phillip's War

Territorial wars have been fought by man since the beginning. With the advancement of the white settlers deeper into the Indian territory to the west of Boston, the Indians became increasingly hostile until, under the leadership of King Phillip, son of Massasoit, an all-out war was fought. With memories still of Dunbar, the Scots found themselves involved in a very different sort of combat. Most of them had new families to protect as well as land and houses.

Mutual aid was at its maximum in the organization of the defense of a town. All able-bodied citizens were expected to fulfill a duty. Alexander participated in the war as a soldier from Marlborough. It is not known if he was living with friends or married for a brief period before marrying Deborah Rediat Farrowbush.

Phillip was the son of Massasoit, a friend of the pilgrims at Plymouth. Unlike his father, he distrusted the English. He feared encroachment upon the land of the Indians and endeavored to halt the advancement into the forests of the west. He allied most of the Indian tribes of New England and presented an ominous threat to the settlers--particularly those on the frontier to the west, like Marlborough and Sudbury, which were the outposts. His war with the Puritans was the most destructive of any of the Indian wars (Hudson 1889).
Hindering the settlers was the raw, wild condition of the country (Fig. 29), the isolation of the villages, and the slow communication between towns. Garrison houses were built in both Sudbury and Marlborough, which were on the edge of the frontier; and it was to
these that the people fled at the first sign that the Indians were approaching. The Indians were unpredictable and clever in their hiding in the woods, producing a constant state of alert in the villages (Hudson 1889).

There are many veteran soldiers—including Alexander Stewart—from the Battles of Dunbar and Worcester on the roles of King Phillip's war, though some had fought in only one battle. The concern and anticipation likely remained the same, but the terrain and war technique was quite different. The Indians, when not in direct attack, had to be sought out in the woods and preventive measures taken. Compared with the siege-with-slogans method they had experienced in Scotland, their only advantage was their diligence and discipline. The muskets they carried were familiar weapons, and what experience they had was in their favor (Ibid.).

The first of Phillip's campaigns took him to Plymouth Colony, but the fiercest battle was the "swamp fight" that took place in Kingston, Rhode Island. For this expedition, one thousand men were fitted out from the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, under the command of Major Josiah Winslow, Governor of the Plymouth Colony (Ibid.).

There were many such expeditions, although with fewer men involved, before Phillip arrived in Middlesex County, the location of Sudbury, Concord and Marlborough. He arrived with his force at Marlborough on or about the 18th of April, 1676. The town was totally devastated, with everything burned and the inhabitants
scattered. The number of warriors Phillip had under his command are said to have been "about a thousand strong (Ibid.:219)."

Alexander Stewart fought against King Phillip under the leadership of Captain Joseph Syll. On the twenty-third of September, 1676, Alexander was paid four shillings, two pence, for his endeavors (Massachusetts Archives vol. I:148).

Research has not shown if Alexander was an inhabitant of Marlborough at this time. There were other Scotsmen on the roster of this battle; and he had countrymen in the town of Marlborough at this time--Daniel Farrowbush for one, whose widow he was later to marry.

The protection of the town and its citizenry called for maximum mutual aid within a community. The militia of a town had assigned duties, and the general population were given posts and garrison houses to which to go when a skirmish was pending.

King Phillip's War was the major Indian war of the late sixteen hundreds. It portrayed the effort of the town of Sudbury and Marlborough to protect themselves and each other.

King Phillip was the son of Massasoit, a friend of the Pilgrims. Phillip, however, did not like the encroachment of the white people into his lands and rallied the surrounding Indian tribes to join him in a war to eradicate the white settlers. The heavy forests and thick vegetation made fighting difficult, but the New England militia finally subdued the Indians.
VII. Sudbury and Marlborough

The Scottish prisoners sent to New England were unfortunate men, but not so much as their counterparts that were sent to Ireland and the West Indies. The New England town life in which they all were eventually able to take part had the power to raise a man's social and economic status dramatically, but they demanded that he become an active, responsible citizen of a community which was acting in moderation as it grew. And they required that any new citizen respect a significant spirit, which was becoming a deep faith—a respect for the orderly processes of law, an alertness to social justice, and a desire to improve society by forming, ever and again, self-governing entities called New England towns (Powell 1963:138).

If the Scots took advantage of the mutual aid facilities, coupled with their own abilities and ambitions, they succeeded in acquiring much-sought-for land, raising beautiful families and becoming leading citizens of their respective towns.

Alexander Stewart participated in the town of Marlborough. He enjoyed and participated in the mutual aid institutions of the town. His second wife was from the environment of Sudbury. Together they succeeded in being successful citizens of a new New England Town.

The settlement of the town of Sudbury in 1638 resulted from the "overcrowding" of Watertown, which had been settled by Sir Richard Saltonstall and Company who came to America in the ship "Arbella" with John Winthrop. Mr. Saltonstall landed at Salem, went from there to Charlestown, and then four miles up the Charles River, where he
and his company founded Watertown. It grew rapidly in strength and importance, and soon parties moved on to settle new areas. Some went to the places now called Dedham, Concord—and some went as far as Wethersfield, Connecticut (Powell 1963) (Fig. 30).

In 1637 it was proposed that a company proceed west and settle at what is now Sudbury. By going west, they could obtain more land and space for themselves with fewer people and less congestion. A few of the Watertown people went to Sudbury; but, in fact, it was settled by a shipload of immigrants direct from England. Among these Englishmen was John Rediat, the father of Deborah, who married Alexander Stewart in 1688 (Ibid.).

Marlborough was settled by a group of unhappy inhabitants of Sudbury who disagreed with the division and assignment of land. Among the first petitioners was the father of Alexander's second wife, Deborah Rediat Farrowbush. John Rediat immigrated to Sudbury as an indentured servant with his master, Walter Haines, who dealt in linen. Rediat was a linen weaver from the village of Sutton-Mandville, Wiltshire, England. Haines came with his family and three servants on the ship "Confidence" in 1638 (Powell 1963).

Twenty years after his arrival, in 1658, John Rediat was assigned a 130-acre allotment of land in Sudbury. In 1660, as a signer of the original petition for Marlborough Settlement, he received twenty-two acres plus meadow land (Ibid.).

John Ruddock was the leading selectman of Sudbury. He was dissatisfied with the manner of land division in Sudbury, and Sudbury
The Great Trail and Connecting Pathways

Current Highway following the Route of the Great Trail (Both maps Courtesy of the Marlborough Historical Society.)

Figure 30. The Great Trail from Boston.
was most unhappy with him and the comments and charges he had directed toward the town and its minister (Powell 1963).

Peter Noyes was one of the leaders in the settlement of Sudbury; and he, too, was distressed with the land arrangement (Ibid.) (Fig. 31).

In September, 1656, Ruddock and Rice, another original Sudbury settler, called a meeting of thirteen petitioners at the site of
Marlborough to discuss citizenship and entrance requirements for the new town they proposed to settle. They voted that each male petitioner who agreed to be a resident of the town within two years, and who agreed to pay town taxes based on the value of his property, would be granted a house lot and farm, all in one piece (Powell 1963).

Ruddock, as leader of the rebel group, proposed a social system similar to the one created in Sudbury. No man would be granted property who would not be an active citizen. Each settler had to live in the town, serve in the town government, and pay taxes in proportion to the size of his grant of land (Ibid.).

The government of Marlborough was organized before the process of land distribution took place. Five men were elected selectmen for a year. They included Ruddock, Edmund Rice, William Ward, Thomas King and John How, Sr. Their chore was "to put the affairs of the said plantation in an orderly way (Powell 1963:134)."

As in Sudbury, the settlers waited a few years before dividing the land. They had placed their town grant almost on top of the Indian settlement of Ockocangansett, to the northwest of Sudbury, with the permission of the General Court. A detailed compromise had to be worked out with the Indians.

From the "aristocracy" of Sudbury, a list of forty-seven men who had been especially devoted to Sudbury was drawn up--each to receive a grant of 130 acres. The placement of the farms was decided by drawing lots (Ibid.).
In the fall of 1660, at a full town meeting of "inhabitants and proprietors," the first land distribution was made. The total land grant consisted of six square miles, containing 24,000 acres. The process of division was a difficult one. There were thirty-eight inhabitants (men) who included the sons of ten leading Sudbury families. "The new group then, consisted of the older landed men and the younger landless settlers (Powell 1963:135)."

It was Ruddock's chore to divide the land and to schedule the granting of it. The men were, at this point in time, experienced farmers, able to handle their own land which would contain "pasture ground" and "plow ground" (Ibid.). The freshwater meadow was to be divided into four "squadrons," each divided into rectangular lots. Groups of the men would be assigned to the various squadrons (Ibid.).

"No one was allowed to be too rich or too poor." There were no "top men" or "low men." In the first division, only 992 acres were given out of the 24,000 in the general grant. Three men received 50 acres each; nine men received 30 acres per man; and, at the low end of the scale, six men were granted 16 acres apiece. A month after the first grant, the freshwater meadow squadrons were awarded, totaling 427 acres (Powell 1963).

As in Sudbury, the wealth or amount of land received dictated the social responsibility in the town. Ruddock became and remained the leading selectman; and the other men of the original group assumed responsible duties in the running of the town (Ibid.).

The minister in Sudbury had generated much heated dispute. This was taken into consideration in Marlborough. The minister,
normally one of the wealthiest of citizens, was deemed no better than the blacksmith and seven other men of the town. He was awarded only 30 acres of land, placing him eighth in the scale of landed wealth. A decade passed before the town of Marlborough could induce a minister to join the recalcitrant group (Powell 1963).

Deborah Reddiat Farrowbush lived in Marlborough with her husband, Daniel. Her father was among the first subscribers to the new town. Her husband died in 1687; her father died on April 7; also in 1687, at the age of seventy-five.

The will of Daniel Farrowbush, dated 10 September, 1687, gives to his wife, Deborah, "house and land it stands on, it being hers and the children I had by her by will of her father John Reddiat Sr. dec'd (Suffolk Probate 1-165, 164, 167; Stewart 1911)." To his eldest son, Daniel Farrowbush, he willed his arms and ammunition. His second son, Thomas, received one calf. Samuel, a third son, "a cow, given by his own mother on her deathbed." His two daughters by his first wife received nothing.

Deborah, Daniel's second wife, was the executrix of the will, which was signed by Samuel Brigham, a leader in early Marlborough. The witnesses included William Ward, Sr., one of the leaders of the Marlborough group from Sudbury. The other two witnesses were John Boaker and Nathaniel Oak, both first division citizens of Marlborough.

The total value of the estate was forty-nine pounds, seven shillings. The dwelling house appraised for ten pounds, a horse at five pounds, wheat for six pounds, rye at seven pounds, and Indian
corn at six pounds. His sword and "musquet" did not have a recorded value (Stewart 1911).

Alexander Stewart, then, was the second Scotsman to enjoy the "ten pound" house of Deborah's father, John Rediat. Rediat had been awarded the one-hundred-thirty-acre farm lot in Sudbury in 1658 (Fig. 31). He had been given thirty-three acres in Marlborough in the first division by the town leaders.

The Colonial Records of the Town of Marlborough indicate that Alexander lived out his life on land in Crane Meadow, formerly owned by John How, Sr. The How family eventually owned and operated the How Tavern, which became the Red Horse Tavern and then the famous Wayside Inn of Longfellow fame. There was considerable exchange of land through selling and purchasing in the New England towns. Alexander, then, perhaps sold the land and house willed to his wife, Deborah, who died April 22, 1720, at the age of seventy-eight.

Alexander and Deborah Stewart produced three children, all born in Marlborough. Mary was born February 13, 1689. Daniel arrived on February 6, 1691, and Alexander on January 15, 1695. Daniel went on to settle Paxton, Massachusetts, and later to fight in the Revolution from Brattleboro, Vermont. Alexander went to Virginia, where he owned a plantation and farmed. Mary, it appears, stayed in Marlborough--perhaps in the "ten pound house"--and died at the age of eighty-four.

Alexander Stewart died April 6, 1731, on his farm in Crane Meadow, now an industrial park of Marlboro, Massachusetts. He was
near one hundred at the time of his death, a feat which was not that uncommon in colonial times. There were a disproportionate number of aged people in the late sixteen and early seventeen hundreds. The theories as to why are many and varied, but perhaps the conditions conducive to and the result of mutual struggle and aid played an important part in their longevity (Fischer 1977).

The predominant and determining factor in his life was that he was never alone. If not with an immediate, intimate group, a social network surrounded him, making consistent communication—and, therefore, support—available.

During the span of his life, he was sheltered by isolated, as well as overlapping, network systems in the form of family, friends, neighborhood, church, country, apprenticeship, guild, army colleagues, shipmates, the protection of indenturedness, the Scots Charitable Society, the families into which he married, the New England church, participation in a New England Town, and finally the protection of the grown family. He lived a full life, indeed.

The towns of Sudbury and Marlborough were on the frontier of Massachusetts Bay. The settlement of Sudbury was accomplished by a shipload of immigrants from England and some citizens of Watertown. Marlborough was then settled by a group of unhappy citizens of Sudbury, who disliked the manner and speed with which the town selectmen were distributing the land. Mutual aid was at its apex during the formation of a new settlement.

Alexander's second wife, Deborah Rediat Farrowbush Stewart, was born in Sudbury. Her father was one of the unhappy Sudbury citizens
to subscribe to the new settlement of Marlborough. Alexander Stewart married her after the death of her husband, Daniel Farrowbush.

Alexander then became a landowner through marriage as well as being allotted acreage after he had lived there for a few years. He participated in the town government and responsibilities, attaining stature not conceivable in Scotland and integration not anticipated upon his arrival in the New World.

A New England Town provided the area where the Scots could acquire land and be stalwart and involved citizens. The towns also provided the maximum of mutual aid. Cooperation was imperative for the survival of the town. Group effort was needed for protection and general survival.

Alexander lived to ninety-eight years of age--perhaps due, in part, to the support systems through mutual aid he had enjoyed throughout his life.
VIII. Conclusion

Mutual aid in all its various forms plays an undeniably important role in the life and welfare of an individual. The essential mutual aid which Alexander Stewart received during the course of his life determined his destiny. Because mutual aid was forthcoming, he was able to succeed in early development, the traumatic occurrence of the Battle of Dunbar, the passage to the New World and the challenge of adjustment to the foreign New England towns notwithstanding.

Alexander enjoyed the protection and social nurturence of the mutual aid which began with his birth in Edinburgh, Scotland. The concern and love of his family, friends and neighbors provided him with the initial impetus of confidence and well-being. As Franz Boas discovered, the intricacy of the family unit provided essential early mutual aid needed by an individual. The family units in Edinburgh were often extended to include grandparents, uncles, aunts and, certainly, those surviving brothers and sisters. The typical Scottish families were normally warm and close-knit units. Margaret Mead's assertion that family unity gives strength to an individual, as well as furthering national character, certainly pertains to Alexander's experience in Scotland. The fundamental source of mutual aid in any medieval environment was that of the family unit.

Mutual aid, with the progression of time and the onset of urban life, has become less personal. In more advanced times, important
new sources have developed in the form of voluntary associations and support systems.

Alexander partook of the voluntary apprenticeship system under the careful scrutiny of the guilds in Edinburgh. He became a tailor's apprentice and enjoyed the stability of a caring family other than his own, and the protection of the guild itself. The mutual aid provided by the guilds continued into the adulthood of their members, giving aid and support to widows and children and those in need.

The church and the educational system in Edinburgh also strongly influenced Alexander's life—but not to the extent of his close-knit family and his apprenticeship. The church extended the social networks of the family and guild discussed by Mitchell (1969). The Church also provided a base of fundamental faith that persuaded each believer he was among the chosen few and would survive all odds if he maintained his faith.

The school which Alexander attended added yet another dimension to the social networks which surrounded him.

The centuries-long historical development of Scotland, encompassing the stages of development outlined by Kropotkin as those of the bands, tribes, village communities and the medieval city, gave foundation to the customs and traditions which formed the Scottish national character. As Gorer (1948) found, through such history and the development of Scottish customs and legends, characteristics were often unconsciously imposed on children—and the children, in turn, grew up to be disciplined, hard-working Scots like their
parents. They were to repeat the process with their own off-spring. Alexander spent the formative part of his life in the Scottish atmosphere of Edinburgh. He developed, therein, the ethnic characteristics of the Scottish people.

The importance of group identification, as researched by Norman Jackman (1958), indicates the value of the groups formed by the people Alexander associated with as a prisoner at the end of the Battle of Dunbar and as an alien in Massachusetts Bay. The support of the fellow prisoners allowed many of them to survive that would not have done so otherwise. The Scots Charitable Society, formed after their indenture, provided an identity group which enabled the Scots to encourage and support each other.

The Scottish prisoners were sold into indenturedness in New England. Alan Kulikoff (1978) determined that slaves, like the indentured servants, were herded into the American ports and formed their own communities while on the passage across the Atlantic. Kulikoff also found that some of these communities continued, as did the Scottish groups that formed the Scots Charitable Society, as a connecting link between the Scottish peoples.

The Scots, at the termination of their indenture, married into English families. This opened new doors to them, providing for the formation of new social networks and, thereby, expanding their resource of mutual aid. Plog and Bates (1976) had noted elsewhere that these new social networks allowed for even more social expansion and opportunity, depending on the adaptive desires of the Scots themselves.
Kenneth Little (1974) showed, in African urban adaptation, that integration and adaptation were primarily up to the individual. If a person wished to join the mainstream of society, he could; but conformity was essential. The Scots generally integrated—and did so successfully. They had no choice but to join the New England society if they wished to partake in distribution of new land or the society itself. This meant the assimilation and individual adoption of New England Puritanical customs and manners.

The Scots Charitable Society provided an arena within which the Scots could be Scots and, at the same time, offer each other a maximum of mutual aid. Kenneth Little (1974) determined this to be a natural situation in Africa. Unlike urban Africans, the Scots lived without the ethnic environment when they worked in the English environment—but returned to the world of the Scots at the end of the day or, perhaps, only at meeting time. In this manner they were able to maintain their Scottishness.

As the Scots married and produced their own families, the importance of kinship ties (cf. Boas 1940) once again became the most important source of mutual aid in their lives. Through the expansion of their families and the associations developed through them, social networks were again expanded, allowing for further integration and opportunity.

The mutual aid institutions that were available to Alexander Stewart during the span of his lifetime met most of his basic needs, as well as his psychic needs (cf. Linton 1945). By marrying and raising families and associating with their ethnic group, the
Scots satisfied the need for emotional response. The satisfaction for security came with the ability to work, the acquisition of land and achievement of prosperity as citizens in the New England towns. The need for "novelty of experience" was satisfied many times over.

The Scots probably were no more imbued with the quality of mutual aid than many other ethnic groups. Mutual aid prevails in society in general as a necessary element to its existence. It is a fact, however, that the Scots were a determined, scrappy group who took care of themselves when no other assistance was forthcoming. The free Scottish families were closer and more concerned for the welfare of each other than many ethnic groups.

Alexander Stewart, although enduring unbelievable hardships and trauma, was a fortunate individual. He was surrounded during the entirety of his life by people who cared and provided him with mutual aid and support to develop confidence and the ability to succeed. The domestic setting and context of his family in medieval Edinburgh were the most important source of mutual aid he was to receive. The other was the Scots' Charitable Society in the New World, which took the place of family, friends and country left behind in Scotland. The selective but mandatory mutual aid provided in Marlborough as a necessity for its survival as a town, and the mutual aid provided by Alexander's new families, were all supplemented by the support of the Scots' Charitable Society in the form of economic, moral and ethnic assistance.

Alexander put forth the effort to integrate into his new society. He was supported in his effort by the social networks
that surrounded him. As Kluckhohn (1953) and Gorer (1948) noted in their studies, Alexander acquired a New England character largely through mutual aid organizations that demanded appropriate values.

The research for this paper has revealed the strong injection of Scottish national character into the development of the American colonies. It has continued its influence to the present time.

Alexander Stewart has become a friend for whom I have developed great fondness, respect and admiration. His fundamental qualities of determination, curiosity and will to succeed have persisted through generations. The "extended family," which he founded, is grateful.
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