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Sugar, Slave-Owning, Suriname and the Dutch Imperial Entanglement of the Scottish Highlands before 1707

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Abstract

This article uncovers the Scottish Highlands' earliest-known overseas slave-owning circle and the imperial entanglement with the Dutch Empire and its sugar on which this depended. It thus provides a case study of the transnational, Dutch-influenced nature of commerce in a non-metropolitan part of northern Europe in the later seventeenth century. The article highlights two interconnected contemporary developments: the engagement of Highland migrants or exiles in the sugar-based enslavement of African and indigenous populations in Suriname; the region's heavy reliance on the importation of sugar with origins in the Dutch Atlantic plantations. In this way, the article illuminates both north Highland agency in the oppressions of the "triangular trade", and its merchant community's opting for Dutch- over Lowland Scottish-refined sugar when supplying and encouraging local demand at that time. Taken together, this demonstrates the early enmeshment of the region in transnational "circuits" of slave-owning and the interconnected seepage of sugar across broader sections of the northern European economy than previously considered. A Scottish Highland-led circle is shown to have grown prior to the formal creation of the British Empire, simultaneous with the commercial activity of Dutch Suriname-based sugar planter, Henry MacKintosh, who developed strong ties linking the colony with New England, Rotterdam, and his home burgh of Inverness.

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Biographical note

Dr David Worthington is an historian of Scottish (and wider British and Irish) connections with central Europe (c.1500-c.1700). He researches and publishes also on the history of the firthlands of mainland northern Scotland from within a coastal history context. He completed his PhD in the Department of History, University of Aberdeen, in 2000, and, prior to taking up his position at UHI, held the following posts: Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences Postdoctoral Fellow at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth (2001-2002); Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow at the University of Aberdeen (2005-2007); Visiting Professor on two separate occasions at Polish universities, in the cities of Kielce (2004-2005) and Wrocław (2007-2008). On arriving at the Centre for History as a lecturer in July 2008, he led on the development and launch of both the university's first joint honours degree, and was responsible for validating a suite of four online masters degrees in history from 2011-17. Dr Worthington has been head of the Centre for History since 2011, and was awarded a readership in 2015.

Keywords

Scotland, empire, Dutch Empire, slavery, sugar, Suriname

Wordcount

With endnotes and all references (9,339 words)

I

Knowledge of the continental and Atlantic dimensions of Scotland's imperial entanglements before the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 is emerging. Through this, the country's involvement in sugar-based slavery prior to the creation of the British Empire is becoming clear and, indeed, the significance of the Dutch connection in this process has been the subject of some scrutiny in recent historiography.¹ Nevertheless, research to date has entirely failed to account for the part of the north and west Highlands in this enmeshment.² David Alston's contribution to a 2018 special issue of *Northern Scotland* aside, this region of Scotland has been given short shrift in the relevant work on the seventeenth century, albeit it provides a case study of the multi-ethnic nature of the Dutch Empire and the local, regional and inter-imperial networks on which this depended. By employing a range of cartography, colonial office records, estate papers, legal records, diary accounts, customs and burgh records, this article redresses the problem. It overturns previous assumptions that the Highland engagement with empire is a phenomenon of the eighteenth-century and later, instead outlining the Dutch Imperial background to the region's earliest-known overseas slave-owning circle and the significant influence of sugar from the Dutch colonies on the region's economy before the union.³

The first section of the article will trace first-hand, direct involvement of Highland merchants in the Dutch Atlantic sugar-based slave trade by illuminating a circle led by a Scottish Highland planter, Henry MacKintosh, of the Borlum branch of that family, near Inverness.⁴ This grouping, centred around 1680s Suriname, on the north-eastern coast of South America, conveys new evidence regarding Highland and Scottish engagement in empire and slavery in the Atlantic. The article will show how a slave-dependent element to this imperial participation was not, in this case, reliant on ties to the Scottish or British regal courts, but led by a Highland planter operating within a Dutch imperial framework. Simultaneously, the

burghs of the Moray Firth and its associated “firthlands” were tied into networks linking Rotterdam with sugar-producing Suriname, as will be outlined in the article’s second part, through the occasional sending of horses from Inverness to there and, more widely by the ascendancy of Rotterdam or other Dutch-imported sugar in the region’s customs records relating to that product. “Sugar biscake” (1663), “confections” (1682), “ball of sugar” (1683), “candied bread sugar” (1683), “pouder sugar” (1684), “panellis sugar” (1685) and “confected candie” (1686): these comprise some of the more exclusive Dutch Atlantic-sourced items that were coming in to the north Highlands during the key period associated with the slave-owner circle and their dates of first appearance in the region’s written records. Thus, the article’s final part moves on from Suriname to expose a broader Dutch influence on the distribution and early effects of sugar consumption within the north Highlands (defined here as Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, Sutherland and Caithness, with evidence brought in also from adjacent Moray since its ports were included in the Inverness “customs precinct”). It also identifies comparisons with other northern European locations then importing this commodity, similarly, in increased amounts.⁵

The historiography of the early modern Scottish Highlands has often suffered from suppositions of it being a “realm apart,” a mistaken assumption frequently being that it existed in an historical vacuum during the centuries between the annexation of the late medieval Gaelic polity, the Lordship of the Isles, in 1493, and the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The society, culture, economy, language and *dùthchas* (heritable trusteeship of land) that typified most of the region was, indeed, distinct within Scotland, while memory of a more physically-rooted Gaeldom has been supported in the historiography due to the problems of identifying Gaelic-speakers, when abroad, in the available sources. But an east-facing, burghal, coastal society existed in the region too.⁶ Historians who work on the early modern Highlands, and this is certainly a burgeoning field, need to develop their linguistic skills, to focus their lenses on

trans-imperial contexts.⁷ A related goal must be to account for the degree of early association with slavery and in the Caribbean and other parts of the Atlantic, a location comprising, in Hilary Beckles' words, a "salient stage on which the drama of ethnic conflict and cohesion, nationalist tensions and contentions, and sideshows of religious and cultural abrasions and attachments are played out before a majority audience of enslaved Africans and dispossessed natives."⁸ In the context of Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the Atlantic, the work of Esther Mijers - which identifies how less prominent ethnicities could "exploit the space left between the English and the Dutch settlers" and "negotiate" either of those empires - has particular relevance. There is the added factor of the north Highland population being, to some extent, marginalised, even in Scotland's mercantile life and colonial enterprise.⁹ Certainly, Dutch-connected Highlanders assisted significantly with bringing sugar and other colonial commodities into the lives of increased numbers of people, a process built on slavery, and established prior to the "Glorious Revolution," the beginnings of Jacobitism or Scotland's act of union with England.¹⁰

II

If our understanding of the English connection with Suriname has "languished outside of national and regional historiographies and has remained marginal to the interests of historians of the English or Dutch Atlantics," it would be safe to say that this colony's part in the beginnings of Scottish, and even more so, Highland entanglement in slavery has been almost been invisible.¹¹ It is thus pressing to explore the means by which Henry MacKintosh's circle emerged. While Scotland had long-established mercantile, intellectual and military connections with the Dutch Republic, a key challenge is to consider whether MacKintosh sided openly with the Dutch authorities. Did he act primarily as a Scot in an imperial contest against

England, or did he and his circle “negotiate” their way between the rival Dutch and English empires there without any particular adherence to one or other national or imperial power?¹²

Both English and Dutch imperial contexts are pivotal to comprehending MacKintosh’s presence and activities in Suriname. The earliest Europeans to gain a significant foothold in that part of the Atlantic were English. Charles I granted rights in parts of the Amazon and Guiana on the “Wild Coast” from 1627, which led to an English physical presence by 1638 while, in fits and starts, Francis Lord Willoughby ensured the development of an active, multi-ethnic colony there from 1650. Indeed, George Warren’s account suggests as many as five hundred plantations in the 1660s, with forty to fifty sugar works.¹³ The Dutch, under the auspices of the Zeeland Company, took control of Suriname from 1667. Yet they retained many of the earlier, English settlers initially, this leading to a period down to the 1680s, and arguably even the end of the century, when the colony’s contribution to British and Irish “four nations” history remains meaningful.¹⁴ Waves of onwards or return migration, in 1671 and 1675, reduced the English element to the community, a process sped up from 1682 when control passed from the Zeeland Company to the Dutch West India Company. In 1683, they, in turn, passed proprietorship on to the private, Suriname Company, which would keep it until 1795, exporting not just sugar, but coffee, cacao and much else, a process requiring an evolving, multicultural planter society and the exploitation and oppression of a substantial African slave population. Nevertheless, in terms of chronology for Suriname’s history, historians have faced challenges. Enthoven and Games have focused their gaze on the 1667-82 period, Games viewing these years as defined by “cohabitation” in which the former “English” colonizers’ contributions remained crucial. Zijlstra has taken a different tack, using a combination of 1651-82 and 1660-80 as her timeframes, allowing for perspectives which focus, equally, on transnational fluidity as a defining feature, and which, even more than in Games’s work, shine a light on commonalities of English and Zeeland Company control.¹⁵ After 1683, Fatah-Black

argues that “regional, intercolonial and often interimperial supply lines were fundamental to sustain colonization efforts,” with Barbados and New England developing a particularly strong connection to the colony, supplying, often via non-Dutch shipping, horses, flour and fish in exchange for rum and molasses.¹⁶ This chimes with Games’s assertions that, despite the pressures of mercantilism, and the gradual decline in English-born population during the 1680s, Suriname actually attracted ever more marginalised Protestants, so that the European-descended population’s linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity and associated networks may have even expanded.¹⁷

Henry MacKintosh’s circle in Suriname would be flexible enough to transcend the Zeeland Company, Dutch WIC and Suriname Company periods, even, potentially, extending as far back as the English era. Although the earliest evidence of MacKintosh’s presence in Suriname comes only from 1674, cartography reveals that he was not the first north Highland planter in the colony, there being a presence from his home region in the settlement in 1667, at the very moment the Dutch were taking it from the English. Two 1667 maps are revealing in this regard. The first, *A Discription of the Coleny of Surranam in Guiana Drawne in the Yeare 1667*, a section of which is shown in Figure One, identifies a plantation termed “Scotsmen” on the southernmost, inland edge of the colony, at a riverside location just to the north of “Armadille Hill.”¹⁸ This is highly unusual since, in the absence of recognized English-language toponymy, the map otherwise purports only to provide “the planters names as they are Settled in their Plantations in several parts of the country.” Indeed, the only additional attribution of nationality, ethnic or religious identity in the text is a plantation named “Jews,” the vast majority of others being denoted by the surnames of individual English (or perhaps Welsh or Irish) planters.



Fig. One *A Discription of the Coleny of Surranam in Guiana Drawne in the Yeare 1667* (1667) Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

Figure Two (considered likely to be a Dutch copy of the above due to its unusual spelling of certain of the same English-language surnames) pinpoints two adjacent households in place of the location “Scotsmen”: “Magalfin” on the south side and “Macfarson” to the north.¹⁹ While the provenance of neither appellation can be confirmed, a strong case can be made for both being phonetically-Dutch versions of Scots Gaelic names, “Mac Ailpín”/“MacAlpine” and “Mac a’ Phearsain”/“MacPherson” respectively, the latter family having their base just to the south of the MacKintoshes of Borlum. From this map one gains an inkling of the ethnically-complex nature of English Suriname at its end point and, furthermore, a glimpse of how the colony’s networks did not terminate in the Dutch period, but evolved to display greater international and regional diversity, this including an element connected, at some level, to the Scottish Highlands.



Fig. Two *Surinam and Commewijne rivers*, (Amsterdam?, 1667?) Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

Although the two names in question are the only potentially Highland or, indeed Scottish, ones from the over one hundred shown on the second 1667 map, four years into the Dutch period, with pressures on English planters living there increasing, another primary source provides a glimpse of initial Scottish Highland input. The “humble Petition and Address of his Majesty’s Most Loyall Subjects now resideing In Surinam under the Government of the United Netherlands” was a document written-up by forty-seven Stuart subjects who had become “weariet by delays” in terms of their request for shipping to leave the colony and set up instead in Jamaica. Neither “Magalfin” nor “Macfarson” signed this petition, as with numerous other planter residents who had appeared on the 1667 map. Others of Highland background offered their signature, however, including two or three suggesting, once again, Gaelic names rendered into Scots or English: “Dennis Mackloud,” “Henry Mackenhass” and, possibly Irish, “Daniell Monroe.”²⁰

In these references, an initial Scottish Highland presence in Suriname is apparent. However, evidence of a north Highland-led slave-owner circle begins to coalesce only in 1674. State Papers from that year reveal the “Agreement between Rowland Simpson and William

Pringell and Henry Mackintoshe for the sale of two Plantations containing 1,600 acres of land for 600,000 lb muscovado sugar” this “to be paid in specified yearly portions within four years from the 1st of April 1674.”²¹ MacKintosh and Pringle seem not to have adapted quickly to plantation life: at the end of 1675, following a second wave of evacuations, this time of 250 “English” planters, they were accusing Simpson - with whom they had “a contract made” to provide “half-yearly payments” - of forcing them to remain in Suriname rather than move on to Jamaica.²² Evidence does not allow for an assessment of how big a proportion the Highland element was of the broader “Scotch & Irish” element to the colony referred to in separate documentation relating to Jewish departure from the colony that year.²³ But Henry MacKintosh’s connection to Suriname would prove to be of greater durability than those of the pre-1674 Highland or any other Scottish sojourners in the colony. By 1680, MacKintosh was the third largest plantation owner from the Stuart kingdoms there, in terms of numbers of slaves (in his case, thirty) as outlined in “A List of the Kings Subjects Now in Surrinam with the Numbers of their Slaves.”²⁴ Four years on from that, he had ceased working alongside Pringle and, along with a new business partner, Englishman, Samuel Lodge, owned seventy-three slaves, seventy of them African and three indigenous people (there being seven other adults, five men and two women on their plantation, all presumably Europeans), a higher number than that claimed by any English settler there. Furthermore, with 1,400 acres of land, MacKintosh and Lodge possessed the third largest, geographically, of the remaining plantations labelled as “English.”²⁵ As Games has indicated, MacKintosh had become “a considerable landowner” and not a “Poore Surrinammer” of the type associated with the remaining English-speaking community there.²⁶ His 1680s Suriname connection contrasts with that of the stereotypical, “English” planter then, by surviving and even growing under the different regimes, as the colony began to take on the characteristics of a “regional economy.” It also outweighs and

overshadows that of any other Highland slave-owner identified to date in the Atlantic in relation to the pre-1690s period.

It was not all plain sailing for MacKintosh. From 1684-91, a controversy to dwarf that with Rowland Simpson led to his involvement in a seven-year legal case relating to another English planter, Jeronimy Clifford, the subject of a forthcoming monograph by Jacob Selwood.²⁷ Useful here are the papers provided by Clifford himself, involving his own transcriptions of original documents.²⁸ The dispute with MacKintosh revolved around a “negro man named Ceasar” whom Clifford claimed to have sold to him for 6,000 lbs of sugar, and to have brought to MacKintosh’s property in the presence of witnesses. According to Clifford, MacKintosh had complained to the governor that he had expected his purchase to be of another enslaved man of the same name, in the possession of the now deceased Samuel Lodge.

In terms of MacKintosh’s side of the story, the key source is a 220-page 1760 book, *The conduct of the Dutch*, which is suggestive of how the Highland planter allied with the Suriname Company against Clifford. Evidently, and unlike in the mid-1670s, MacKintosh did not wish to leave Suriname. As he put it, in a petition from 1691 to the governor-general and council of the colony:

That Jeronimy Clifford had sold him [MacKintosh] a negro slave, named Caesar, for 6000 lb. of sugar; which slave was to be delivered to the petitioner as soon as the sugar was cured for payment. *That* the petitioner desired Mr. Clifford to deliver him the said negro, and to receive the 6000 lb. of sugar in full satisfaction for him, which he promised to do: but since that time, he found he could sell the said negro for a greater sum, and sought to annul and make void the bargain. *That* Mr. Clifford came on the petitioner’s plantation with the Schoot John Starphortius, and, without any order from the governor, arrested all the petitioner’s sugars then standing in his

boiling-house, under pretence, that the same were for the use of the heir of Samuel Lodge, deceased, to whom the petitioner was not bound to deliver above eight hogsheads of sugar. *That* Mr. Clifford made this arrest out of spight, only to acquit himself of the side of the said negro: *therefore* the petitioner prayed, that his sugars might be acquitted from the arrest, and that Mr. Clifford might be condemned to deliver the said negro to the petitioner as agreed on, with costs.²⁹

The council sided with MacKintosh's interpretation. A 1699 publication accounts for Clifford's death sentence, transmuted to seven years imprisonment, and, for the English planter, the case would rumble on.³⁰

A further, significant account of MacKintosh's activity in Suriname during these years comes in the diary of a Scottish sojourner, Rev. Francis Borland (1661-1722), Presbyterian minister of Glassford. Borland's diary highlights that MacKintosh's transnational connections continued in these years and were markedly Protestant in nature. According to Borland's account of his own life, he spent five years ministering in Suriname. Having arrived in New England in 1682, it was two years on from that when Borland's brother John (later a key figure in the Darien expedition) had enquired "in Surrinam what encouragement here might be there for a Young Man to be as a Chaplain to some families there." Borland had, at that time, dismissed the possibility. Yet, by early 1685, he had decided to set sail there, embarked shortly after and arrived in Suriname on 23 March. Borland recorded that "I had not been long here till I mett with an invitation from severall English families & some Dutch also in this place, calling me to remain here and preach the word unto them."³¹ As an unordained minister, he lodged, initially, with the Dutch planter, Nicolas Snelman, who "understood English well," before being invited by "Mrs Clifford at Curricabo".³² Certainly, the Clifford connection did not stop Borland from becoming friendly with Henry MacKintosh, however. He reported that "the

places where most ordinarily I preached in this country were here in Curricabo, at Cornelius and Nicolas Snelman's, at Mr MacIntoshes, at Mr Darby's [Darbe's] in Cumatewana [?] and at Mr Van Hentens and Mr Dickinsons in Pirico." Evidently, Borland engaged with a range of Scottish, English and Dutch planters and their families. Most intriguingly, on 26 June 1687, he reported having "removed my quarters from Nicolas Snelman's to Mr. McIntoshes and Captain Lodge's plantation in Succico." As regards what would become two years of residence with MacKintosh, Borland tells us:

Here I had a pretty convenient study, and had some Christian society & here in this family was the biggest Residence that I had, of any one place, while I was in Surrinam & I had most opportunity here of following my Judge. Providence also provided me with a competent number of books from Holland. I continued in this family the Remainder of this year, the whole next year 1688 and part of 1689.³³

It was only in 1689 that Borland moved from the MacKintoshes "Christian society" to "Mr Clifford's in Curricabo," since his "comfort was much abated in Succico, Mr McIntosh was gone of the country, Capt Lodge and his wife were both dead (they died in October last year) & Mr Clifford invited me to his house." This was to be the last few months of Borland's residence in Suriname, and, in 1690, he returned to Barbados, thence New England and Scotland, where, unlike MacKintosh, he would become involved in the ill-fated Darien expedition, for which he considered his Suriname experience key.³⁴

III

The connection of MacKintosh and Borland's families with the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston (founded in 1657), as well as the contents of MacKintosh's will, confirm strengthening

ties to kith and kin in New England and Scotland in the late 1680s.³⁵ Horses provided a mercantile link for both, to the Rotterdam-based Scottish factor, Andrew Russell, in Borland's case.³⁶ In 1705, John Spreull, Glasgow merchant, recalled "Highland Galloway" horses having been exported from Port Glasgow, fifty-per-boat, to Suriname and "an great price by Sugars got for them" there. This fits with Fatah-Black's assessment that horses with origins in Norway, Scotland, Ireland, New England, Curaçao, St. Jago and Northern Brazil, as well as the Netherlands, arrived in Suriname as imports during this period.³⁷ The Highlands had a distinct role in this area too. Dutch ships, unusually, stopped off on at least two occasions in MacKintosh's home burgh of Inverness en route to Suriname in the 1680s: they picked up fifty-six horses in the Highland capital on a Rotterdam-registered ship in August 1683 and a further thirty-nine on a Flushing-registered vessel in March 1684.³⁸

At this stage, it is impossible to confirm whether these Highland horses arrived as a direct exchange for Surinamese sugar. However, this, final part of the article will turn to the growing presence of that product, in Dutch-refined form, in MacKintosh's home region, simultaneous to the growth of his slave-owner circle. Material culture reveals that, as the seventeenth century advanced, sugar began to spread itself, in many parts of Europe, beyond the confines of the elite.³⁹ The first appearance in early modern documents of terms like the "sugar-box," "sugar pot" and the Delft pottery "sugar dish" highlight its growing appeal and availability in England and the United Provinces especially. Indeed, one might add "tea pot" to this list: the intersection between tea and sugar became crucial for the development of the trade in Europe by the end of the century.⁴⁰ Moreover, early modern English and Dutch contemporaries began to use sugar not only as a luxury additive to tea, coffee, or cocoa, but in distillation, preservation, and for decorative purposes.⁴¹ Yet, this process of diversification and increased consumption of sugar by the century's end was not unique to imperial metropolises. Susan Flavin has shown how West Indian sugar followed an inter-imperial itinerary to early modern Ireland, towards augmenting

or even replacing fruits, berries and honey for richer consumers there.⁴² In northern Finland, it entered the local economy and diet via the Dutch and Swedes, reaching, by the start of the eighteenth century, communities not engaged directly in the world of overseas trade.⁴³

In the Scottish Highlands, sugar was one of a range of products which, in the decades before 1707, seeped into lairdly and burghal households, being bought and consumed from Dutch and, to a much lesser extent, English sources. Unlike in the Scottish Lowlands, no refineries were established in the far north or Moray Firth area, as far as is known, and a distinct approach remained in place of importing from the Dutch through the ports of Findhorn and, especially, Inverness, and, from there, distributing widely around the region. Amongst the rural elite, as early as 1553, Alexander Ross of Balnagown in Easter Ross had secured, via John Ross of “ye toun of Dunskyt [?],” “suicur cande [sugar candy]” and “twey laaiffe cannered suicre [two loaves of candied sugar].”⁴⁴ By the end of the period assessed here, a close relative, George Ross of Morangie, possessed a “pewter sugar box.”⁴⁵ Simon Fraser, Sixth Lord Lovat (c.1572-1633) and his family displayed, by the late 1610s, a propensity for “sugar and all manner of spices”, albeit Lovat’s benevolence to his kindred was sometimes more limited in this regard, the poorest in the clan having to make do with “boales [bowls] off wine, and snowballs cast in for sugar” at some festivities.⁴⁶ On leaving Inverness for his “grand tour” in 1657, a close relative, James Fraser (1634-1709) and his uncle, Alexander, marked the occasion with a pint of claret and sugar.⁴⁷ Moreover, further north, a 1683 recipe book from the household of the Gordon Earls of Sutherland at Dunrobin in east Sutherland, indicates the use of sugar as a preservative for fruit, in jams, marmalades, tarts and pancakes.⁴⁸

Moving from landed estates to the slightly less exclusive social setting of the burghs, in the first decades of the seventeenth century, Inverness and, further east, Elgin, provide us with the scene for sugar-related urban crime, the cases petering out thereafter. It is suggestive of how, in the region’s urban enclaves, following the rural elite, sugar transformed gradually from

being an exclusive, prized product to something slightly more commonplace by the century's end. John Ross was sentenced to be hanged in Inverness, on 19 November 1611, after hiding in burgess Donald Young's home "behind his press" and stealing "ane leiff [loaf] succour candie" along with "ane quantitie off browne succour," money, bonnets, knives, garter, horse trapping, London cloth and other items.⁴⁹ Six years later, one of Sir Rory Macleod of Harris's tenants stole £550-worth of goods, including white sugar and sugar "candie," from a shop in the burgh.⁵⁰ In Elgin, in a 1593 case, local merchant, David Gawdie, confessed that he "sauld xvi d. of sukir upoun Sondag last be licence of William Gibsoun" while, in the same town, in January 1644, Andrew Dick, "wes decernit to mak payment to Margarat Burnet of fyve croce dollars at 53 s. the peece borrowit be him with 18 s. for ane pund of sugar."⁵¹

One assumes this was as an addition to enhance the taste of foodstuffs. Still, the sugar Lady Mary Grant [née Stewart/Stuart] (d.1662/3) of Freuchie Castle in nearby Strathspey consumed in her last days should be considered in light of the development of "cynical marketing techniques" that, would, by the 1690s, connect the new luxuries of sugary chocolate, tea and coffee with good health.⁵² In terms of the negative effects one would expect from this, archaeological analysis on dental records and towards considering early cases of diabetes in the region could be useful. Certainly, some rather skeptical references in the Gaelic world can be found.⁵³ The Beaton medical kindred warned their readers against the use of "drageta" or sweetmeat immediately after a meal. Furthermore, according to Martin Martin (d.1718), in parts of the Gàidhealtachd, parents advised against giving newborn infants sugar or cinnamon, while, elsewhere in the region, climate militated against a positive experience of the product. Martin told his curious audience that humidity was such that "a Loaf of Sugar is in danger to be dissolv'd, if it be not preserv'd by being near the Fire, or laying it among Oatmeal, in some close place."⁵⁴

Evidently, sugar was, by the early eighteenth century, a known if by no means universally accessible source of nutrition in the north Highlands, both on landed estates and in the burghs. It remains important to understand the routes by which it arrived. Until the 1660s, crude or partially-refined versions of the product from the Spanish, Portuguese and, increasingly, the Dutch Atlantic, were transformed by these same powers (in their own ports or sometimes via Bristol or Whitehaven in England) into loaves and “candie” before reaching Scotland. This was a situation that changed in the Scottish Lowlands with the founding of four sugar refineries between 1667 and 1701 (three in Glasgow and one in Leith) although, even then, the Dutch and North-West Germans (at a time when their own processing industry was going into decline) provided earthenware molds, sugar-boiling and rum-distilling techniques, and experienced staff.⁵⁵ As regards the Highlands and Islands, Smout has mentioned that the Dutch hold on the refined sugar market remained much firmer, to the extent that the United Provinces “had the north to itself” when it came to its provision of the commodity down to 1707. The Northern and Western Isles are not the focus of this article.⁵⁶ However, Smout is correct to assume that the ports of the north Highland mainland retained a greater dependence on Dutch-processed sugar during those decades than the south of Scotland.⁵⁷ Transnational connections to Rotterdam and thus to the Dutch Empire, were developed and exploited in the Inverness precinct in the last decades of the seventeenth century by the entrepreneurial agency of local merchants.

The Inverness customs accounts give us patchy coverage of this trade. Commencing from 1665, they provide minimal information on the 1670s, are almost complete for 1682-91, but for the years thereafter do not survive. They also give no information on smuggling. These deficiencies aside, the accounts convey that Rotterdam provided the vast majority of the region’s regulated sugar imports over nine years from 1682, this being bought up readily by the burgesses of Inverness, Forres and Elgin, who, thereby introduced increasing numbers to

the commodity and its by-products. Indeed, the Inverness customs accounts for 1682-91 are the paramount single source in helping us to trace this consumption and diversification, backed up by the 1685-93 account book of Inverness merchant, William Dallas, and also the “Bullion Books”, which provide a partial view of the trade from 1697-1705.⁵⁸ Of the total of fifty-nine cargos recorded to have brought sugar (and sugared products) into the Inverness customs area (which included the major Moray port of Findhorn) in the 1682-91 period, twenty-five sailed from Rotterdam, twenty-five others from “Holland”, and nine from London. At least 1,000 lbs of sugar arrived per annum to the precinct on vessels sailing from Dutch ports, significant amounts although much less than via Edinburgh’s port of Leith in its peak years, as might be expected.⁵⁹

This 1682-91 presence was not solely down to Dutch commercial prowess but relied also on north Highland agency and entrepreneurship. It is evident that Highland people were forced to the Caribbean, and settled there, due to expulsions following the battles of Dunbar (1650) and Worcester (1651) and in the wake of the Argyll rebellion (1685).⁶⁰ Historians know next to nothing about the fate of most of these exiles. Yet, as has been shown in the first part of the article, rather than being submerged within the Scottish, English (or, indeed, French, Spanish or Portuguese) Atlantic, there could then occur a familial and regional entanglement which drew on northern Scottish positioning within the multi-ethnic inter-imperial, transatlantic space allowed for by the Dutch. Certainly, MacKintosh’s circle had grown to an extent that, until the end of the century, dwarfed that of his Highland competitors in the pre-1707 slave trade elsewhere, most prominently, Colonel John Campbell from Inveraray (who arrived in Jamaica in 1700). It had also occurred simultaneously to the first documented sugar-based slaving carried out by Lowland Scots, in the Leeward Islands, as covered recently by Stuart Nisbet.⁶¹ While this article has not provided ultimate proof of the MacKintosh circle’s direct link with the presence of Dutch imperial sugar on north Highland tables, it has, it must be hoped, made

clear that the Highlands developed and retained a strong association with both the production and distribution of Dutch Atlantic-derived sugar in the 1680s.

IV

This article has sought to achieve three things. First, it has brought to light and interrogated the earliest-known circle of Highland slavers in the Atlantic world, and the most detailed and varied primary source set yet uncovered relating to a pre-1707 Scottish sugar planter community: Henry MacKintosh has been illuminated as being at the heart of a circle of planters in Suriname with a commercial and religious complexion, this linking the colony with Jamaica, Barbados, New England and, most obviously, the Netherlands. Second, it has traced the simultaneous encouragement of, and demand for, sugar, that ensured the ongoing ascendancy of the Dutch Atlantic, via Rotterdam and the United Provinces, as a supplier of refined versions of the product to the north Scottish Highlands and Moray. Linking both parts, the article has shown how, under Dutch and Dutch Imperial influence, the north of mainland Scotland, its migrants, exiles and merchants, exhibit the region's distinctive commercial character in the decades prior to the horrendous famines of the 1690s, the union with England and the formal creation of the British Empire. There was a period of increased transnationalism in the region's economy that would be truncated by the "seven ill years", albeit finding its last pre-1707 expression in the Scottish colonial project at Darien on the isthmus of Panama. In this way, the article has highlighted a Scottish Highland contribution to those "creative paths" and "circuits" that the Dutch relied on to support their multi-ethnic empire and its products.⁶²

MacKintosh's "Succico" plantation would survive, becoming known eventually as Fairfield, and was visited as such by John Gabriel Stedman (1744-97) in 1774, who claimed that "both the master and his slaves were perfectly happy and contented," and that "few plantations in the West Indies could boast of greater prosperity, either in point of produce or

population.”⁶³ One century earlier, MacKintosh and his cronies may have lived under a similar illusion as they oversaw their produce’s transformation via the “eco-cultural networks” of empire into the loaves or, less frequently, “licorish ball,” aniseed and other confectionery, that would reach, through complex routes, his richer friends and family members around the Moray Firth.⁶⁴ By the end of the 1680s, a circle with its base in the Highlands - part of a region that had been the recent subject of “planting” from the Scottish Lowlands and what would become, in later centuries, the most underdeveloped part of Scotland - had set an example of a stark kind. Sadly, any evidence of the “subjugated knowledge” of those enslaved and oppressed by MacKintosh and his circle is notable by its absence. Yet, the Dutch-connected late seventeenth-century north Highland planters, and their merchant relatives back home who imported in such significant proportions from the Netherlands, leave a troubling legacy. Despite representing a poor and, to some extent, marginalised region and culture, they sometimes became effective at developing a strongly imperial approach to their entrepreneurial activity, one built on sugar and slavery.

Acknowledgements

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Figures

Fig. One *A Discription of the Coleny of Surranam in Guiana Drawne in the Yeare 1667* (1667) Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

Fig. Two *Surinam and Commewijne rivers*, (Amsterdam?, 1667?) Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

¹ Stuart M. Nisbet, “Early Glasgow Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean,” *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 31, no.1/2 (2009): 115-136; “Sugar and the Early Identity of Glasgow: Glasgow Planters in the Leeward Islands, c.1650–1750,” *Scottish Archives*, 19, (2013): 65-82; “Early Scottish Sugar Planters in the Leeward Islands, c.

1660-1740,” in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 62-81; “Clearing the Smokescreen of Early Scottish Mercantile Identity: From Leeward Sugar Plantations to Scottish Country Estates,” in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680–1820*, eds. Allan I. Macinnes and Douglas J. Hamilton (Abingdon: Pickering & Chatto, 2016), 109-122; David Dobson, “Seventeenth Century Scottish Communities in the Americas,” in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105-131. For an examination of the contribution that wills and testaments can make in this area, see Steve Murdoch, “The Repatriation of Capital to Scotland: A Case Study of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Testaments and Miscellaneous Notarial Instruments,” in *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecomings from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. Mario Varricchio (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012), 34-53. For accounts of Scotland and slavery in the Caribbean, see, Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Allan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). For Scottish imports of sugar, see T.C. Smout, “The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660 – 1720,” *Economic History Review*, 14, no.2 (1961): 240-253; Martin Rorke, “Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597,” 2 vols. (PhD diss, University of Edinburgh, 2001); Jennifer C. Watson, “Scottish Overseas Trade, 1597-1645,” 2 vols. (PhD diss, University of Edinburgh, 2003); Phillip R. Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700-1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008).

² The Highlands was itself, arguably, a laboratory for plantation and empire in the post-Reformation period and is not usually considered to have shown agency in the Imperial environment until well into the eighteenth century. See, however, David Alston, “Scottish Slave-Owners in Suriname: 1651 – 1863,” *Northern Scotland*, 9, no.1 (2018): 17–43; “A Forgotten Diaspora: The Children of Enslaved and “Free Coloured” Women and Highland Scots in Guyana before Emancipation,” *Northern Scotland*, 6, no.1, (2015): 49-69.

³ S. Karly Kehoe and Chris DalGLISH, “History, Heritage and Sustainable Development: A Position Statement on the Scottish Highlands,” *Northern Scotland*, 9, no.1 (2018): 8.

⁴ Alexander MacKintosh Shaw ed., *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan*, (London: Clay, Sons and Taylor, 1880), 515-16.

⁵ For recent works on the “layered”, “uneven”, transnational nature of later British imperial networks, which have been helpful for this article, see, Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Tamson Pietsch, “Rethinking the British World,” *Journal of British Studies*, 52, no.2 (2013): 441-63. On multiple metropolises and peripheries, as well as “circuits” in empire, see Alan Lester, “Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire,” *History Compass*, 4, no.1 (2006): 124-41; “British Settler discourse and the Circuits of Empire,” *History Workshop Journal*, 54, (2002): 24-48.

⁶ David Worthington, ed., *The New Coastal History: Cultural and Environmental Perspectives from Scotland and Beyond*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁷ Thomas Brochard, “The Integration of the Elite and Wider Communities of the Northern Highlands, 1500–1700: Evidence from Visual Culture,” *Northern Scotland*, 6, no.1 (2015): 1-23; “The Socio-Economic Relations between Scotland’s Northern Territories and Scandinavia and the Baltic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries,” *International Journal of Maritime History*, 26, no.2 (2014): 210–234; Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World: The Case of the Northern Hebrides, 1570–1639* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship, 1451–1609*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Barry Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland, 1603-1690*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011); Allan Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: the Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660-1688* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); “Reducing that Barbarous Country: Centre, Periphery and Highland Policy in Restoration Britain,” *Journal of British Studies*, 52, no.3 (2013): 597-614; “‘A Heavy Yock Upon their Necks’: Covenanting Government in the Northern Highlands, 1638-1651,” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 30, no.2 (2010): 93-122; “The Urban Community in Restoration Scotland: Government, Society and Economy in Inverness, 1660–c.1688,” *Northern Scotland*, 5 (2014): 26-49; David Worthington, “A Northern Scottish Maritime Region: the Moray Firth in the Seventeenth Century,” *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23, no.2 (2011): 181-210; “The Settlements of the Beaulieu-Wick Coast and the Historiography of the Moray Firth,” *The Scottish Historical Review*, 95, no.2 (2016): 139-163.

⁸ Hilary Beckles, “Preface,” in A. Donnell, M. McGarrity and E. O’Callaghan, *Caribbean Irish Connections: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2015), x. As a case study of the role of smaller European ethnic groups in global networks, it follows the kind of approach recommended as regards the Irish in Montserrat where, as a putative national body, they were “neither homogeneous nor predictable” and certainly “not a single bunch,” but instead at least four sub-groups. See Donald. H. Akenson. *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630–1730*, (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997), 95, 171-2. See also Natalie A. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670–1776*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁹ Esther Mijers, “Scotland, the Dutch Republic and the Union: Commerce and Cosmopolitanism,” in eds. Macinnes and Hamilton, *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire*, 93-108; “Between Empires and Cultures: Scots in New Netherland and New York,” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33, no.2 (2013): 169. As shall be seen, the coverage of Dutch historiography in this article is, unfortunately, limited to works published in English or German. Only a wider regional-transnational approach, which seeks comparisons extending further out to Courland, Denmark-Norway, Sweden, Spain or Portugal and their colonies, will uncover the full range of mercantile and slave-owner networks that the north Highlands and other north European regions became enmeshed in before 1707. Regarding the late seventeenth-century Danish West Indies, the Dutch “established an early cultural hegemony”, and there were significant populations of English, Flemish, and French slave-owners too. See, N.A.T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St Thomas, St John and St Croix*, (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992), 10-11. See also A.R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*. 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); J. Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern*, (London: Verso, 1997).

¹⁰ Dobson, “Seventeenth Century Scottish Communities,” 125-8; Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, “Traditionalizing Empire: Imperial Commodities in Gaelic Popular Culture,” lecture, Centre for History, Dornoch 26 October 2016: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vUEJmEt1sBI> (accessed 30 December 2018).

¹¹ Alison Games, “Cohabitation, Suriname-Style: English Inhabitants in Dutch Suriname after 1667,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 72, no.2 (2015): 199.

¹² Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 162, 178; Games, “Cohabitation”; Suze Zijlstra, “Competing for European Settlers: Local Loyalties of Colonial Governments in Suriname and Jamaica, 1660-1680,” *Journal of Early American History*; 4, (2014): 149-66; “Anglo-Dutch Suriname: Ethnic Interaction and Colonial Transition in the Caribbean, 1651-1682” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2015); Karwan Fatah-Black, “Suriname and the Atlantic World, 1650-1800” (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2013); “Paramaribo as Dutch and Atlantic Nodal Point, 1640-1795,” in *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680–1800*, eds. Gert Oostindie and Jessica V. Roitman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 52-71; Jacob Selwood, “Left Behind: Subjecthood, Nationality, and the Status of Jews after the Loss of English Surinam,” *Journal of British Studies*, 54, no.3 (2015): 578-601; Cornelis Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Wild Coast, 1580–1680*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971); *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1985); Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven eds, *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585–1817*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

¹³ Sarah Barber, “Power in the English Caribbean: The Proprietorship of Lord Willoughby of Parham,” in *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World, 1500–1750*, eds. L. H. Roper and B. Van Ruymbek (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 189-212; Games, “Cohabitation.” Meanwhile, when English forces invaded the Dutch-controlled islands of Saba and St Eustatius in 1665, they found settlers from England, Scotland, Ireland and France. See, Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 73.

¹⁴ Justin Roberts, “Surrendering Surinam: the Barbadian Diaspora and the Expansion of the English Sugar Frontier, 1650–75,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 73, no.2 (2016): 225-256.

¹⁵ Games, “Cohabitation,” 241; Zijlstra, “Competing for European Settlers”; “Anglo-Dutch Suriname.” Fatah-Black’s work views the multi-ethnic situation over the longue durée, from 1650-1800. See, Fatah-Black, “Suriname and the Atlantic World”; “Paramaribo as Dutch.”

¹⁶ Fatah-Black “Paramaribo as Dutch,” 55, 60, 71.

¹⁷ Games, “Cohabitation.” 241.

¹⁸ *A Description of the Colony of Surranam in Guiana Drawne in the Yeaere 1667* (1667), published to the Internet at: <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/cvui6>.

¹⁹ *Surinam and Commewijne Rrivers*, (Amsterdam?, 1667?) published to the Internet at: <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/b8034v>.

²⁰ The National Archives [hereafter TNA], Colonial Office [hereafter CO] 1/26, no. 61, undated, “The humble petition and address of his majties most loyall subjects now resideing in Surinam under the Government of the United Netherlands.” Scots Gaelic used patronymics rather than surnames, but it is assumed that the abovementioned “Mackenhass” is a Macinnes/MacAonghais and not the Henry MacKintosh to be considered later in the article.

²¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, also Addenda, 1574-1674*, 291, 402. The connection with the Pringles seems to have been significant, with previous analyses suggesting William to have been MacKintosh’s brother-in-law. MacKintosh provided for a Mary Pringle, his daughter-in-law, in his own will. See, *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1892* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1893), 178-9.

²² *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, 291, 402.

²³ J.H. Hollander, “Documents Relating to the Attempted Departure of the Jews from Surinam in 1675,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 6 (1897): 9-29.

²⁴ TNA, CO 1/44, no.14, 23 January 1680, “A List of the Kings Subjects Now in Surinam with the Numbers of their Slaves.” For a 1680 case relating to an otherwise unidentified Scottish merchant, “Pieter Roys,” see: <http://files.archieven.nl/239/f/GIDS102/2035-transcripties.pdf> (accessed 31 July 2018).

²⁵ MacKintosh and Lodge’s plantation was by the Sukika Creek in Commewijne. See the Nationaal Archief (hereafter NA), Sociëteit van Suriname (1.05.03), Hoofd en akkergeld 1684, inv. no. 213. Thanks to Dr Suze Zijlstra for this reference. See also Games, “Cohabitation,” 241. For a further reference to MacKintosh’s Commewijne plantation, see NA, C.4.3., inv. no. 593 “Kaart van een stuk land aan de Commewijnerivier, links in het opvaren, beginnende vijf kettingen boven de Sukikakreek, groot 2153, 3 akkers, uitgegeven bij warrants van 16 Juli 1681 en 6 Mei 1708 aan Henry Mackintosh en Paul Hamsing.”

²⁶ Games, “Cohabitation,” 239.

²⁷ Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, 162.

²⁸ “Papers submitted to Sunderland on 18 July 1707 by Jeronimy Clifford, planter of Surinam, concerning his claims against the Governor and Council of Surinam and the West India Company of the United Provinces, or damage to his estate there,” BL Add. MSS. 61644 B-C: [1685-1707], fols. 189, 100.

²⁹ Anon., *The conduct of the Dutch*, (1760), 41-3

³⁰ Anon., *The case of Andrew and Jeronimy Clifford*, (1699).

³¹ “Diary of Mr Francis Borland, Minister of Glassford, 1661-1722,” The Laing Collection, La.III.262, Edinburgh University Library [hereafter EUL], 8, 13.

³² She was presumably Jeronimy’s wife, albeit there are a number of mentions of ‘Mr Clifford’ over coming years which suggest that either the incarceration was temporary, or that another family scion was being referred to.

³³ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁴ The two men’s respective personal correspondence with Russell reveals, for example, that the abovementioned Snelman was MacKintosh’s attorney. *Ibid.*, 15. See, also, Rev. Mr. Francis Borland, *The History of Darien*, (Glasgow: John Bryce, 1779), 19; Jack C. Ramsay Jr, “Francis Borland: Presbyterian Missioner to the Americas,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 62, no.1 (1984): 1-17. Scots had been in Barbados since the 1630s, at least. In terms of that population’s north Highland element, Dobson has shown, using a Barbados probate register, how this included Thomas McAllister from Inverness in 1684. He has also highlighted the fruitfulness of the colony’s parish registers, which, from 1678-80, for example, show several Highland names. See, Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 70-1.

³⁵ Justine Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a London Charity, 1603-2003*, (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003) 255-61; Dobson, *Scots in New England, 1623-1873*, 131. This has a Henry MacKintosh admitted to the society in 1702, along with Lauchlan MacKintosh. The same writer records Henry MacKintosh, the Surinam planter, as having died in 1690. See Dobson, “Seventeenth century Scottish communities,” 128. Henry MacKintosh’s will, from 28 August 1688, was contracted in Port Royal, Jamaica, with his wife-to-be Elizabeth Le Hunt, the couple intending shortly “to take their departure for Surinam” where “most of the estate of said Henry Mackintosh is situated.” He left much of his legacy to her and his brother, Angus, who had also arrived in Suriname. See, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 178-9.

³⁶ For an interpretation which links slave labour with the development of mercantilism, see, David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, “Introduction” in *Slavery in the Development of the Americas*, eds. David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis and Kenneth L. Sokoloff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18.

³⁷ Borland brought forty-one horses from New England to Suriname in 1685. See, 7 May 1685, Surinam, Francis Borland to Mr Andrew Russell, RH15/106/567, National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS]; 31 July 1687, Surinam, Henry Mackintosh “for Mr Andrew Russell, Marchant at Rotterdam,” RH15/106/631; 20 January 1689, Surinam, “Henry McIntoshe from Surinam to Mr Andrew Russell merchant in Rotterdam,” RH15/106/683, fol.1; 25 April 1689, Surinam, The Same to The Same, fol.2; T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963), 114; John Spreull, *An accompt current betwixt Scotland and England* (Glasgow, 1705), 18-19.

³⁸ NRS, Exchequer Records: Customs Books, Second Series, E72/11/7, Exportations (Inverness), 1 Nov. 1682 to 1 Nov. 1683; E72/11/9, Exportations (Inverness), 21 Aug. 1684.

³⁹ B.W. Higman, “The Sugar Revolution,” *Economic History Review*, LIII, no.2 (2000): 213–236; J.R. Ward, “The Profitability of Sugar Planting in the British West Indies, 1650-1834,” *Economic History Review*, 31, no.2 (1978): 197–213; C.A. Wilson, *‘Banqueting Stuffs’: The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986); Elizabeth Abbot, *Sugar: A Bittersweet History*, (Toronto: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 2008); Andrew F. Smith, *Sugar: A Global history*, (Reaktion: London, 2015); Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild C. Ornelas, *The Cambridge History of Food*, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Andrew Mackillop, “A North Europe World of Tea: Scotland and the Tea trade, c.1690–c.1790,” in *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia*, eds. Maxine Berg, Felicia Gottmann, Hanna Hodacs and Chris

Nierstrasz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 294-308; Anne E.C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 61, no.1 (2008): 172-200; Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past & Present*, 198, no.1 (2008): 71-109; Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23, no.2 (1992): 259-78; James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (NYU Press: New York, 1997), 118-21.

⁴¹ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (Continuum: London, 2006).

⁴² Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk*, (Woodbridge: Ashgate, 2014), 185-9; "Consumption and Material Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland," (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2011.)

⁴³ Rosa Vilkkama, Ritva Kylli & Anna-Kaisa Salmi, "Sugar Consumption, Dental Health and Foodways in Late Medieval Iin Hamina and Early Modern Oulu, Northern Finland," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 41, no.1 (2016): 2-31.

⁴⁴ William Macgill ed., *Old Ross-shire and Scotland, as seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents*, 2 vols., (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspapers, 1909), no. 673.

⁴⁵ Macgill ed., *Old Ross-shire and Scotland*, no. 341; *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Part 1*, (Historical Manuscripts Commission: London, 1877), 686.

⁴⁶ William Mackay ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw Manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu policratica temporum' or 'The true genealogy of the Frasers', 916-1674*, (Scottish History Society: Edinburgh, 1905), 245.

⁴⁷ Mackay ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, xi.

⁴⁸ "Ane Book of Receipts May 3: 83," Sutherland Papers, Dep.313, 503, . See also Olive Geddes, *The Laird's Kitchen: Three Hundred Years of Food in Scotland* (National Library of Scotland: Edinburgh, 1994), 17-18, 28; Alexander Fenton, *The Food of the Scots: Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 374-5.

⁴⁹ William MacKay and Herbert C. Boyd eds, *Records of Inverness*, 2 vols., (New Spalding Club: Aberdeen, 1911-24), II, 85.

⁵⁰ Rev. Canon R. C. MacLeod of MacLeod ed., *The Book of Dunvegan, being Documents from the Muniment Room of the MacLeods of MacLeod at Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye*, 2 vols., (Spalding Club: Aberdeen, 1938), I, 116-8. Thank you to Dr. Thomas Brochard for suggesting this source.

⁵¹ William Cramond ed., *The Records of Elgin*, 2 vols., (New Spalding Club: Aberdeen, 1903), I, 178 and II, 34.

⁵² One of the key customers for the Elgin merchants had been Liliias Grant [née Murray] (d. 1643/4), who is recorded as receiving sugar loaves from Elgin in 1618 and again in 1642. Yet she experienced supply problems, both in 1635 when there was "not a sugar loaf in the place apart from one broken one," and, in 1640, due to the recent outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, "because the succour [sugar] is growin skaircer nor itt wes befoir, for thair is no traffect [traffic] be sea now as wes befoir to Scotland quhilk god send better." She sent the family chamberlain to Edinburgh, in 1660, to obtain prices of sugar, "spyceries and sweet meatts" for the house. See William Fraser ed., *The Chiefs of Grant*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: William Fraser, 1883), I, 419; 29 June 1618, Elgin, W.L.? to the Lady Grant, Papers of the Ogilvy family, Earls of Seafield (Seafield Papers), NRS, GD248/69/4, no. 18, 12 May 1635, Elgin, Alexander Lesley, merchant in Elgin, to the Lady Grant, GD248/166/1, nos. 31-2; 10 June 1640, Elgin, Alexander Lesley, Elgin, to the Lady Grant elder, GD248/46/3, no. 4; "Account of money paid for Lady Grant at martinmas 1642," GD248/448/12, no. 7. See also Alexander Fenton, "The Sweet, the Hot and the Frozen," in *The Food of the Scots*, 104-14.

⁵³ For initial insights into the broader features of late medieval diet in the north Highlands, using skeletal evidence, see Shirley Curtis-Summers, Janet Montgomery and Martin Carver, "Stable Isotope Evidence for Dietary Contrast between Pictish and Medieval Populations at Portmahomack, Scotland," *Medieval Archaeology*, 58, (2014): 21-43. This research was inconclusive about sugar intake, but further work is being undertaken.

R. Martensen, "Willis, Thomas (1621-1675), physician and natural philosopher," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (2018), from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29587>. Willis wrote extensively on urine and was influential on later thinking regarding diabetes.

⁵⁴ Martin Martin, *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland: Containing a full account of their situation, extent, soils, product, harbours, bays, tides, anchoring places, and fisheries. The ancient and modern government, religion and customs of the inhabitants, particularly of their druids, heathen temples, monasteries, churches, chappels, antiquities, monuments, forts, caves, and other curiosities of art and nature* (1703), 74, 194, 227. For further reference to sugar on Harris at the end of the seventeenth century, see, Frances J. Shaw, *The Northern and*

Western Islands of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 162, 170, 194.

⁵⁵ Sue Mowat, *The Port of Leith: Its History and its People*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994), 203, 220, 223, 342; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 76, 104; Smout, "The Early Scottish Sugar Houses," 240, 241, 250, 253.

⁵⁶ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 162, 170, 194

⁵⁷ Catherine M. Brooks, "Aspects of the Sugar Refining Industry from the 16th to the 19th Century," *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 17 (1983): 1-14; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 193.

⁵⁸ "Account Book of William Dallas, 1685-93," HCA/D241/1, fols. 1-29, Highland Archive Centre; Laing Collection, II, 491, Edinburgh University Library.

⁵⁹ E72/11/1, 1 November 1665 to 12 October 1667, NRS; E72/11/2, 1 November 1668 to 1 November 1669; E72/11/3, 1 November 1672 to 1 November 1673; E72/11/4, 1 November 1681 to 1 November 1682, imports; 1; E72/11/6, "Copie of the Book of Importatione of Invernesse, 1 November 1681 to 1 November 1682"; E72/11/7, 1 November 1682 to 1 November 1683; E72/11/8, November 1683 to February 1684; E72/11/9-11, March 1684 to October 1684; E72/11/10, 1 November 1684 to 1 November 1685, imports; E72/11/11, 1 November 1684 to 1 November 1685, exports; E72/11/12, 1 November 1685 to 1 November 1686, imports; E72/11/13, 1 November 1685 to 1 November 1686, exports; E72/11/14-15, 1 November 1688 to 1 November 1689; E72/11/16, 1 November 1689 to 1 March 1690; E72/11/17, 1 March 1690 to 1 November 1690; E72/11/18, 1 November 1690 to 1 November 1691, imports; E72/11/19, 1 November 1690 to 1 November 1691. Inverness was also importing licorise, aniseed and other sugared products from the Dutch regularly on the same vessels, registered in a mix of local and other east coast Scottish ports.

⁶⁰ David Dobson, *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America: Caribbean Supplement 1611-1707*, (Genealogical Publishing Company: Baltimore MD, 1999), 83, 120; *Scots in Jamaica, 1655-1855*, (Genealogical Publishing Company: Baltimore MD, 2011); *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785*, (University of Georgia Press: Athens GA, 2004).

⁶¹ Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775*, (University of the West Indies Press: Kingston, 1974), 28, 369; Eric J. Graham "The Scots' Penetration of the Jamaican Plantation Business," in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*, 82-98; T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 229; Nisbet, "Early Scottish Sugar Planters"; "Clearing the Smokescreen."

⁶² Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713*, (NYU Press: New York, 2011), 174

⁶³ John Stedman, *Narrative, of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam: in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America; from the year 1772, to 1777*, 2 vols., (1796), II, 222.

⁶⁴ James Beattie, Edward Melillo and Emily O'Gorman, eds., *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire: New Views on Environmental History* (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2015).