

#### THE CLARIELY SOUMAL OF THE SCOTTER GENEALOGY COMEN'

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# AMERICAN LINKS WITH THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD

DONALD WHYTE, F.S.A.(Scot.).

"I know of nothing in the world so distressing as the last sight of a fine industrious, independent peasantry, taking the last look of their native country, never to be behold it more." So wrote James Hogg in his prose works. "It is long since emigration from the Highlands commenced.... but never till now did the brave and intelligent Borderers rush from their native country, all with symptoms of reckless despair." The Ettrick Shepherd continued: "My own brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces, are all going away; and if I were not the very individual that I am, I would be the first to depart. But my name is now so much identified with Scotland and Ettrick Forest, that though I must die as I have lived, I cannot leave . . . "

Perhaps it was with the same sentiments that James Hogg, when contemplating leasing a farm on the island of Harris, wrote Farewell to Ettrick, the opening lines of which seem appropriate to the present study:—

Fareweel, green Ettrick, fare-thee-weel!

I own I'm unco laith to leave thee;

Nane kens the half o' what I feel,

Nor half the cause I hae to grieve me.

Apart from some short genealogical notes compiled by the: Rev. Thomas Thomson, and printed in Works of the Ettrick Shepherd, little has been written about those "brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces," who left their native Border country, where, since the days of William Hogg, the "Great Boar of Fauldshope," their ancestors had lived useful lives, for the most part peacefully tending their flocks.

It is not the writer's intention to enter into a discussion on the literary merits of James Hogg. nor to inquire into the social and economic circumstances because of which his relatives emigrated. The Ettrick Shepherd has found a worthy champion in Professor Louis Simpson, of the University of California, whose book, James Hogg: A Critical Study,<sup>2</sup> is undoubtedly the best introduction to Hogg's work which has so far appeared. Emigration from the Scottish Borders—though no doubt of historic interest—would, like the Highland clearances, prove a very thorny subject, and foreign to the purpose of this paper, which is purely genealogical. While researching for The Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants (in preparation) an opportunity arose to secure information relating to the families of Robert and David Hogg, brothers and the Ettrick Shepherd, and considering the approaching bi-centenary of

the poet, together with the fact that his works are strewn with direct and indirect references to kinfolk, it seemed desirable to record what may serve as a basis for a family history.

For the sake of clarity it is necessary to begin with the parents of the Ettrick Shepherd. His father, Robert Hogg, was born at Bowhill, Selkirkshire, about 1720, and was descended from vassals of the Scotts of Harden. a feudal relationship noted in folk ryme:—

If ye reive the Hoggs of Fauldshope,

Ye herry Harden's gear.

Robert was a shepherd, but late in life became tenant of the small farms of Ettrickhouse and Ettrickhall. He m. Margaret, eldest dau. of William Laidlaw, who was a shepherd at Overphaup for more than half a century. Laidlaw was a celebrated athlete, and his grandson the Ettrick Shepherd—himself a man of splendid physique—has left an interesting sketch of his career. A stone in Ettrick Churchyard bears the following inscription:—3

Here lieth William Laidlaw
the far-famed Will o' Whaup, who
for feats of frolic, agility and strength,
had no equal in his day; also Margaret, his
oldest daughter, spouse to Robert Hogg,
born at old Overphaup 1730, and died in the 83rd
year of her age; also Robert Hogg, her husband, late
tenant of Ettrickhall, born at Bowhill, 1720, and
died in the 93rd year of his age: and three of their sons.

According to tradition—and the Ettrick Shepherd—William Laidlaw was the last man in Scotland to converse with the fairies, and his dau. Margaret was a mine of information regarding Border lore. We know that Will o' Whaup was fond of a drop of French brandy, and as he lived in a very isolated place, it is not too difficult to visualise the "little people." There is certainly no doubt about the influence of Margaret Laidlaw on her son, who has been called "The Poet Laureate of Fairyland." She was well-known for having by heart several old ballads in a more complete form than any other inhabitant of the Vale of Ettrick, and Sir Walter Scott recovered from her—among others—the ballad Old Maitland, which he published in his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

Robert Hogg, who d. in August, 1813, and Margaret Laidlaw. who d. in October, 1820, had four children who survived infancy, namely:—

1. William, who for some time previous to his marriage to Mary Beattie, of Birkhill, Moffat, on 28th February, 1798, occupied the farm of Ettrickhouse with his parents, but gave up the lease in favour of his brother James,

who continued until 1803, when the farm was taken by a wealthier neighbour. William moved to Mukra, beyond the Loch of the Lowes, and afterwards to Stobo, in Peebles-shire, where he d. about 1859. He is mentioned as having—in his youth—taken part in a poetry contest with his brother James and another shepherd, Alexander Laidlaw, who was probably a cousin. Apparently he did not excel at verse, but he contributed to agricultural journals, papers on the breeding and management of sheep, and was awarded several essay prizes by the Highland Society. William and Mary had issue:

- (1) Margaret, b. 4th May, 1800.
- (2) Robert, b. Mukra, 8th May, 1802, who merits a certain recognition in Border literature. Like his father and uncles he was a shepherd, but became a reader for the Ballantynes, Edinburgh's famous printers, distinguished for their connection with the Waverley novels. He contributed to periodicals, including Blackwood's Magazine, and in 1825 was assistant editor of the Quarterly Review, under John Gibson Lockhart. In 1827 he was employed as Sir Walter Scott's amanuensis, while the Life of Napoleon was being written. Robert returned to the service of the Ballantynes and was, moreover, employed for a period with Oliver & Boyd. Dogged by ill-health, he was obliged to leave for the hills, but d. unm. on 9th January, 1832, and was buried at Stobo.
- (3) William, 1803-1888, was a shepherd at Stobo-Hope, and m. Christian Lawrie, who predeceased him, with issue:—

  (3a) Robert.
- 2. James, the Ettrick Shepherd, was baptised at Ettrick on 9th December, 1770, though curiously, he maintained during a great part of his life that he was b. on the 25th January—the natal day of Robert Burns—1772. The main events of his life are well-known, but his stature as a writer may not become fully apparent until there is a general reassessment of Scottish literature. James m. at Mouswald Mains, Dumfriesshire, on 28th April, 1820, Margaret, youngest dau, of Peter Phillips, a respectable farmer of Langbridgemoor, Ruthwell, whose wife's maiden surname was Carruthers. Margaret met the Ettrick Shepherd in Edinburgh at the home of James Gray (1770-1830), classical master of the High School.8 Thomas Thomson, in his biography of James Hogg, says, "no choice which he ever made was so wise, and at the same time so fortunate." Sir Walter Scott and others spoke of her in the highest terms. Margaret shared her husband's farming disappointments at Mount Benger, and after his death on 21st November, 1835, continued at Altrive Lake until 1837, when she moved to Edinburgh, where her children were educated. She joined the Free Church in 1843, with her family, and in

1854 retired to Linlithgow, where she d. on 15th November, 1870, aged 81 years. She was buried at Warriston, Edinburgh. The children of James and Margaret were:—

- (1) James, b. 1821, who obtained an appointment with the Oriental Bank at Bombay and was later an accountant with the same company in Madras and Ceylon. His health failed and he returned to Scotland, but about 1860—probably after the inauguration of the monument to his father at St. Mary's Loch—he went to Australia, where he was engaged in banking and other business. James returned to Scotland about 1866 and d. unm.
- (2) Jessie Phillips, who d. unm., lived in Edinburgh and had a small pension from the Government.
- (3) Margaret Laidlaw, who m. in 1847, James Samuel, Civil Engineer, of London, but d. soon afterwards without issue and was buried in Tottenham Churchyard. This is the dau. whom Sir Walter Scott, on departing from Mount Benger, took into his arms and said "God Almighty bless you, my dear child!" Probably the great writer—permanently lame from infantile paralysis—sensed the delicacy of the child. Mrs Hogg was overwhelmed with emotion, and her husband, after escorting Sir Walter to his carriage, asked "What ailed you, Margaret?" "Oh!" said she, "if he had but just done the same to them all, I do not know what in the world I would not have given." "Oh!"
- (4) Harriet Sydney, to whom the Shepherd penned A Bard's Address to his Youngest Daughter, was named after Harriet, Duchess of Buccleuch, to whom, when Countess of Dalkeith, James Hogg dedicated his Forest Minstrel, and whose interest secured him the small farm of Altrive Lake, on the braes of Yarrow. Harriet m. at Linlithgow in 1855, Robert Gilkieson, junr., merchant and sometime cotton-manufacturer, of Glasgow, and had issue:—11
  - (4a) Margaret Phillips, b. 9th May, 1856.
  - (4b) Eleanora Brown, b. 29th July, 1857.
  - (4c) Harriet Sidney, b. 4th November, 1858, d. at Linlithgow in 1859.
  - (4d) Mary Gray, b. 22nd March, 1860.
  - (4e) Harriet Sidney, b. 12th July, 1861. .
  - (4f) Robert, b. 6th October, 1862.
  - (4g) James Hogg, b. 6th January, 1864, d. in infancy.
  - (4h) Janetta Webb, b. 25th April, 1865.
  - (4i) Richard Sydney, b. 11th July, 1866.

- (4j) Effie Gray, b. 20th September, 1867.
- (4k) Norah Kilmeny, b. 4th February, 1869. The second Christian name derives, of course, from the beautiful episodal tale of Kilmeny, in the Ettrick Shepherd's finest poem, The Queen's Wake.
- (5) Mary Gray, b. 1832, m. at Linlithgow in 1866, William Garden<sup>12</sup> (1823-1904), J.P., Aberdeen, sometime tacksman of Braco Park, and the only son of Francis Garden, advocate in Aberdeen, by his wife Helen Young. The Gray in her name is most probably derived from James Gray, in whose house her parents first met. Mary, who d. in 1911, wrote *Memorials of the Ettrick Shepherd*, first published at London in 1885. She had no children.
- 3. Robert was a shepherd at Upper Pawhope, and in 1823 he moved to the island of Arran. He m. Elizabeth Oliver, with issue nine children, Two of them. William and James, emigrated to Otsego Co., New York State, in 1830, and were joined in 1832 by their brother Samuel. Robert and his brother David had been in communication with an old neighbour, Dr Rose, who had emigrated to Pennsylvania, and who believed there were good prospects in sheep rearing in that state. In 1833 he decided to emigrate, and with his wife Elizabeth, and children Margaret, Robert, David, John Oliver and Elizabeth, crossed from Lamlash to Greenock in a little steamboat, then boarded the sailing ship Romulus, which reached N.Y. after a voyage of six weeks and three days. Robert Hogg did not survive the journey, and was buried at sea. The remaining dau., Isabelle, m. William Paisley, and emigrated in 1845. Mrs Hogg joined her sons, William, James and Samuel, and the family settled near Silver Lake, Pa., but about five years later returned to N.Y., where William Hogg-known as "Squire"—purchased a farm and log house at Union Hill, in the town of Maine. The farm was renamed Mount Ettrick, and it is now part of the Broome County Airport. The children of Robert Hogg and Elizabeth Oliver were:—
  - (1) William, 1807-1895, who cared for his mother and other members of the family at Mount Ettrick. He m. a Scots girl, Mary Ann Young, who bore him two children:—
    - (1a) Robert, b. N.Y. State, 1845, m. Amelia Fuller, with issue:.—
    - (1b) Thomas, b. N.Y. State, 13 1847, m. Jennie Drake.
      - A. Mary.
      - B. Jennie.
      - C. William Otis.

- (2) Isabelle, 1809-1900, m. William Paisley, 1803-1890, and emigrated on the sailing vessel *Belfast Independence*. They lived for a period at Mount Ettrick, and had issue:—
  - (2a) Mary, b. 1836.
  - (2b) Margaret, b. 1838.
  - (2c) Jane, 1840-1928, m. Lathan Osterhout, and had eight children:—
    - A. William, m. and had issue:—-
      - 1. Harriette, m. L. G. Battle, with issue:
        - a. Leander.
        - b. William L.
      - 2. Jacob, m. Miriam Naney, and had issue:--
        - a. Alta Elizabeth.
        - b. Jacob William.
      - 3. Nicolas, m. Naomi Albury, with issue:--
        - a. William L.
        - b. Ruth Naomi.
        - c. Harry Charles.
      - 4. Arthur, m. Catheryn Stuerd and settle in Florida.
      - 5. Josephine S.
      - 6. Mary Esther.
      - 7. Jessie Kate, m. Roy Purkins.
    - B. Arthur N.
    - C. Robert S., m. Cassie Dorrity and had issue:—
      - 1. Dorothy, m. James Welch, and had issue:—
        a. Ivan.
      - 2. Cornelia, m. Frank Jackson, with issue:
        - a. Robert Joseph.
        - b. Richard Paisley.
    - D. Ernest, m. Mary Leadbetter, and had issue:--1. Hazel.
    - E. Wesley, m. Edna Adriance, with issue:—

- 1. Christine, m. Edgar Hess, with issue:—
  a. Alma Jean.
  - b. Allen Douglas.
  - c. Clare S.
  - d. Norman K.
  - e. Wilbur N.
  - f. Alice M.
  - g. Sheldon.
- F. Grace, m. first, Roscoe Jackson; second, Purley Holcolm. Issue by Roscoe:—
  - 1. Anita, living in Binghampton.
- G. Jeanie, m. Glen Lindsey, and had issue:---
  - 1. Jeanie Augusta.
  - 2. Carl Edward.
- H. Katherine, m. Floyd Rozelle, and had issue:—
  - 1. Thelma.
  - 2. Frances.
- (2d) Jemima, b. 1842.
- (2e) Frances (or Frank), m. Helen Bronck, and had issue:—
  - A. Belle.
  - B. Linette.
  - (2f) Elizabeth, d. 1928, m. Moses St. John, and had issue:
    - Á. May.
    - B. Alta.
    - C. Sarah, m. Elmer Green, with issue:—
      - 1. Ezra Cameron.
      - 2. Alta Mae, m. Shirley Brooks.
      - 3. Moses Paisley, who lives on the old family estate near Binghampton, m. Margaret North.
      - 4. Margaret E., m. George Fay Kolb, with issue:-
        - a. Leola Fern.
        - b. Barbara Jean.
        - c. George Fay.

- 5. Nellie, m. Avery Swift, with issue:
  - a. Donald Avery.
  - b. Douglas Eugene.
  - c. Marion.
- 6. Hugh Donald.
- 7. Paul Douglas, who lives on the old St. John estate, m. Esther Jones, with issue:
  - a. Norman.
  - b. Helen.
  - c. Margaret Marion.
  - d. Glenn.
- D. William, m. Elizabeth Davis, with issue:---
  - 1. Beatrice, living with her mother near Binghampton.
  - 2. Walter, m. Francis Philips.
  - 3. Cameron, m. Erma Huntley, and had issue:
    - a. Caroline Udora.
    - b. Phyliss.
    - c. Rebecca.
  - 4. Elizabeth.
- E. Henry, m. Kitty Grey, with issue:—
  - 1. Marion.
  - 2. Ruth, m. Fred Smith, and had issue:—
    a. Mary Ellen.
  - 3. Mary, m. Robert Kilmer.
- F. Nellie.
- (2g) Helen, 1846-1928, d. unm.
- (2h) Olivia, b. 1849.
- (2i) John, m. Grace Howard, and had two children:—
  - A. Mary, living in the Binghampton area.
  - B. Mildred.
- (3) Samuel, 1811-1888, m. Rebecca Smith, and had five children:—
  (3a) Robert, who d. in Libby prison during the American Civil War.

- (3b) John, who m. Ida Brooks, settled in Franklin, Pa., and had issue:
  - A. Herman, m. Nellie Elizabeth Laffer, with issue:-
    - 1. John Collier, m. and had issue:—
      a. John Marshall.
    - 2. George Callendar, m. Jessie Chase.
    - 3. Helen.
  - B. Donald, in Pa., m. Florence Robinson.
  - C. Anna Elizabeth, m. M. R. Dickenson.
- (3c) Samuel Sheppard.
  - (3d) Elspeth.
- (4e) Agnes.
- (4) James, 1813-1877, m. an English woman, Judith Trucky, and had four children:—
  - · (4a) Robert, b. 1843.
    - (4b) James George, b. 1845, m. Mary Green, with issue:--
      - A. Lena Margaret, m. Edmund Hand, and had issue:—-
        - Floyd Emery, m. Blanch Cary, with issue:—
           a. Jane Margaret.
        - 2. Lucy Elizabeth, m. John Walters.
      - B. Minnie Francis, m. George Miner, and had four children:-
        - 1. Mary Elizabeth, living near Binghampton.
        - 2. Henry Wellington.
        - 3. Lena Margaret, m. Lawrence Bradshaw.
        - 4. George, m. Edith Harding, and had issue:—
          a. Jane.
      - C. Aimee Elizabeth.
      - D. George E., m. Minnie Dedrick, with issue:—
        - 1. Edwin C., m. Addie Phelps, and had issue:
          - a. Ruth Louise.
          - ъ. Edwin.
            - c. Jean.
        - 2. George Myron, living near Binghampton, m. first, Jean Hunter, without issue; second, Madelene Merrick, with issue:
          - a. Constance Ruth.

- E. Anna Belle, m. Burt Brown, with issue:—— 1. Orlow C.
- F. Mary Pauline, m. Claude Howard, and had issue:--
  - 1. Claude Raymond.
  - 2. George Robert.
- (4c) Mary Elizabeth, 1848-1916, m. Edward Van Wagner, and had two children:—
  - A. Harry.
  - B. Lila.
- (4d) John Oliver, m. Ida Carver, with isue:—
  - A. James, who settled in Denver, Colorado, m. and had four children:
    - r. Alice.
    - 2. Jean.
    - 3. George.
    - 4. Lila.
- (5) Margaret Laidlaw, 1815-1892, m. Albert L. Crain, 1806-1870, a native of :Massachusetts, who farmed at Maine, N.Y. They had eight children:—
  - (5a) Robert W., b. N.Y. State, 1840, who m. first, Lucy Moore; second, Mary Stringham. By his first wife he had four children:—
    - A. Lottie, m. Ora Gates, with issue:—
      - Kenneth, m. Gladys Wilcox, and had issue: —
         a. Kenneth.
      - 2. Margaret, m. first Robert Tracy; second, Wade Farr; and third, Ralph Kittle. By her first husband she had a dau.:
        - a. Charlotte, who m. John Reeder.
    - B. Georgia.
    - C. Virgie, m. Van Warner, with issue:—

      1. Martha.
    - D. Ellery, m. first Belle Graff; second, Edna Reynolds, and by the former had issue:
      - r. Olive.
      - 2. Justus, m. Adelaide Ryerson, and had issue:—
        a. Justine Mildred.

- (5b) William Henry, b. 1842.
- · (5c) Elizabeth, b. 1844.
  - (5d) Samuel, b. 1847.
  - (5e) Harriet, b. Maine, 1850.
  - (5f) Georgiana, m. Viro Richardson, and had issue:—
    - A. Paul.
    - B. Viro, m. first, Evelyn Solsburg; second, Florence Mary Reece; and by his first wife had four children:—
      - 1. Lewis Viro, m. Mercedies Foweler.
      - 2. Eugene Munro, m. Evelyn Mary Young, and had issue:—
        a. Mary.
        - b. Lois.
      - 3. Alan Francis, m. Alice Williams, with issue:—
        a. Susan Florence.
      - 4. Howard.
  - (5g) Wallace, m. Sarah Patchin and d. 1914 leaving isue:—
    - A. Bertha, m. Frank Wright.
    - B. Albert, m. Georgiana Tillotson, with issue:—
      - 1. Winston.
      - 2. Gordon.
      - 3. Buddy.
      - 4. Patricia.
  - (5h) Mabel Isabella, m. Orville S. Bishop, and had one son:—
    - A. Leon Crain, m. Edith Alberta Dean, with issue:---
      - 1. Dorothy Mildred.
      - 2. Harold Orville.
      - z. Barbara Jean.
  - (5i) Sarah.
- (6) Robert, 1818-1910, dairyman at Mount Ettrick, m. Malinda Griffin; 1825-1910, and had four children:—
  - (6a) William, b. 1845.
  - (6b) Clarissa.
  - (6c) Mina, m. James Brooks, with issue:—
    - A. Mable.
    - B. Robert, m. Lena Dewey, and had issue:—
      - 1. Gerald.
      - 2. Kenneth.

- C. Shirley, m. his second cousin once removed, Alta Mae Green, and had six children:—
  - I. Wilbur.
  - 2. Esther.
  - 3. Lester.
  - 4. Malcolm.
  - 5. Elizabeth.
  - 6. Melvin.
- (6d) Emma.
- (7) David, 1823-1910, m. Sophronia Bancroft, and by her who d. in 1905, had five children:—
  - (7a) Wealthy Ann, m. Nelson J. Rulison, with issue:—
    A. Otisena, who lives near Binghampton.
  - (7b) Andrew J., m. Anna M. Clory, with issue:—
    A. Arthur Garfield, m. Alice Hogg.
  - (7c) Helen Elizabeth, m. Fred C. Harding.
  - (7d) Charles Newell, m. Elizabeth Michelback.
  - (7e) Lewis Oliver, lived in N.Y. City and m. Lilly Rhoades, with issue:
    - A. Lewis Harry, m. Emily M. McPhee.
    - B. Lelia, m. Andrew Allen.
- (8) John Oliver, 1825-1917, settled in Hannibal, Missouri, about 1858. He m. Jemima Thompson, and had issue:—
  - (8a) James Oliver, m. Neilie M. Gill, and settled in California. They had five children:—
    - A. Arthur Rudolph, m. Mary Mable Moore, with issue:—1. Mary Margaret.
    - B. Zachariah Gill, m. Loriane Beatrice Derry, and had issue:—
      1. Robin Hardin.
    - C. James Oliver, m. Jane Burgess Brown, with issue:—
      - 1. Fannie Ellen.
      - 2. James Oliver.
      - 3. Walter Robert.
    - D. John Edwin, m. Ruth Ashbrock.
    - E. Katherine Louise, m. Seelye W. McGehee, with issue:—
      1. Eugene Wright.
  - (8b) Arthur William, m. first Nannie Gertrude Pilts; second, Agnes Brashears Rector. By the first wife there were three children:—

- A. Robert Vincent, m. Frances Isabelle Storrs, and had issue:—
  - 1. Robert Vincent.
  - 2. Mary Virginia.
- B. Jessie Francis, m. Cyrus Lilburn Anderson, with issue:-
  - 1. Nancy Lulu.
  - 2. Frances Lilburn.
- C. Frederick William, m. Rebecca Brisco.
- (8c) Maggie Belle, m. John B. Shephard.
- (8d) Edwin Ruthvin, m. Maude McHenry, and had issue:—
  - A. Edwin Ruthvin.
  - B. John McHenry.
- (8e) George Robert, m. Frances Shacklett, with issue:—
  - A. Oliver Frederick.
  - B. Frances Margaret, m. Raymond R. Anderson; second, Walter Bogle; and by her first husband had issue:—
    - 1. Raymond.
    - 2. Jane.

George Robert m. second, Annette Paul, and had further issue:—C. George Robert.

- (9) Elizabeth, 1828-1918, youngest dau. of Robert Hogg and Elizabeth Oliver, m. Daniel Wilson, who d. in 1914, and had three children:—
  - (9a) Delancy, m. Emma Bell.
  - (9b) Eugenia, m. Andrew Holland.
  - (9c) Julia, m. Lavelle Blanding, and had issue.
    - A. Leland, m. Sarah Drasher, and had four children:—
      - 1. Ruth.
      - 2. Leland, m. Grace Stuart, with issue:
        - a. Ruth.
        - b. Leland.
        - c. Harold.
        - d. Glen.
      - 3. Sheldon.
      - 4. Jeanie.
    - B. Eugenia, m. Robert Ackerman, with issue:---
      - I. Elizabeth, who lives in Binghampton.
      - 2. Lorna, who lives in Binghampton.
    - C. Donald, m. first, Maria Congdon; second, Iva Manning; and third, E. Beatrice Warren. By his first wife he had a son:—

       Donald.
    - D. Harold, m. Florence Kinther.

- 4. David, b. 1774, youngest brother of the Ettrick Shepherd, followed the family occupation at Kaeside, and m. Helen (or Elinor) Oliver, sister of Elizabeth, who m. his brother Robert. He decided to emigrate in 1833 and, according to family tradition, spent the Sabbath previous to leaving the Borders with his brother James and his family at Altrive Lake. The Ettrick Shepherd is believed, moreover, to have paid the fares of David and his family to America. They settled near Silver Lake, Pa., in 1834, but after a winter there moved to Greene Co., N.Y. State. Four years later David moved to Mount Ettrick and resided there with his son William. He had six children:—
  - (1) Robert, a carpenter, emigrated some months before his father. He never married and lived at Mount Ettrick with his brothers William and James...
    - (2) Samuel, 1824-1866, went also to N.Y. State, but moved to Galt, Ontario, Canada, where he worked as a book-keeper. He returned later to N.Y. and purchased a farm near Binghampton. Samuel m. jane Hare, and by her who d. in 1902, had two children:—
      - (2a) Effie, m. first, Charles St. John; second, William Place; and had by the former a son:—
        - A. Foster, who m. Ethel Moore, with issue:---
          - 1. Georgia Louise.
          - 2. Wellington.
          - 3. Edna Belle, unm.
      - (2b) Wellington D.
    - (3) William, 1815-1887, purchased a farm at Union Hill, afterwards Mount Ettrick, Maine, adjoining that of his cousin "Squire" William Hogg. He m. first, Mary Watson, with issue one son:—
      - (3a) William David, 1843-1882, who m. Tilda Ogeston, and had issue:
        - A. William, who settled in New Jersey, where there are probably descendants.
        - B. Percy.

William m. second, a relative, Elisabeth, b. at Phawhope, Ettrick parish, Selkirkshire, on 26th February, 1817, dau. of James Hogg and Elisabeth Scott. By her who d. in 1886, he had further issue:—

- (3b) James, 1850-1906, m. Geraldine Hall, with issue one dau.:--
  - A. Grace, who m. Will Kromer, and had issue:—-
    - 1. Norman.
- (3c) Samuel Oliver, 1852-1910, m. Lucy Doran, and had three children:—
  - A. William, m. Grace Tyler, with issue:—
    - 1. Lawrence William.

- B. Ethel, m. —— Anderson.
- C. Glen.
- (3d) Laidlaw, m. Carrie Couse, and d.s.p. in 1936.
- (3e) Christine, 1855-1934, m. first, Jacob Bronk; second, Joshus Murch; and by the former had three children:—
  - A. Cora, m. Ernest Henley, with issue:—
    - 1. Edith Louise, m. Ralph Hunter, California, with issue:
      - a. Joyce.
      - b. Sandra.
    - 2. Robert Norman, m. Ellen Bullock.
    - 3. Elizabeth, who lives in Ohio.
    - 4. Lawrence Edwin, who lives in Minnesota.
  - B. Charlotte, m. Clarence Murch, Binghampton, with issue:—
    - 1. Lester Leon, m. Alice Bell.
    - 2. Herman Joshua, m. Wynona Woodmansee.
  - C. Nellie, m. William Pierson.
- (3f) Andrew, 1859-1880.
- (3g) Walter, 1864-1943, m. Mittie Harris, with issue three children:—
  - A. Lola, who is unin., lives at 52 Exchange Street, Binghampton.
  - B. Andrew, 1902-1918.
  - C. Amos, who farmed at Mount Ettrick until 1947, when the land was purchased for part of the Broome County Airport, ten miles north of Binghampton. At present he has a dairy farm near Vestal, N.Y. Amos m. Dorothy Cummings, and they have six children:—
    - I. Alice.
    - 2. Thelma.
    - 3. Clifford..
    - 4. David A., is m. and has a son;—
      a. Lawrence, b. 1964.
    - 5. Evelyn Z.
    - 7. Roger C.

- (4) Isabelle, b. 1819, m. Uriel Parker, and settled in the town of Maine. They had one son:—
  - (4a) David Oliver, b. 1848, m. Sarah Singleton.
- (5) Margaret, m. about 1849, her second cousin, James Hogg Dalgleish, b. 1817, and settled in Galt, Ontario. The Ettrick Shepherd is traditionally stated to have placed his hand on her head on the Sunday before the Hogg family emigrated, and to have said, "Let me gie ye an auld uncle's blessing; ye were named eftir my mither, Margaret Laidlaw." Dalgleish emigrated at the same time, and afterwards wrote, "In my boyish days it was my delight to visit our relative, David Hogg, at Kaeside, in the neighbourhood of Abbotsford, David being a full cousin of my mother, and who in America became my father-in-law." James and Margaret had two children:—
  - (5a) Helen, m. David King.
  - (5b) Elspeth.
- (6) James, 1827-1914, lived for a period with his cousin, "Squire" William, and m. Selina Louisa Hough, with issue:—
  - (6a) David, who m. first, Mary Tyne; and second, Anna Moore.
  - (6b): Nellie, m. William North, with issue:—
    - A. Belle, who m. Harry Johnston, and d. in 1962, leaving issue:
      - 1. Nellie, m. Adrian Yelle, with issue:
        - a. Norbert Lamont.
      - z. Isabella, m.: Elvin Fuller.
      - 3. Georgiana, b. 1916, m. Earl Brooks.
      - 4. Gordon.
      - 5. Anthony.
    - B. Margaret, m. Moses Paisley Green.
  - (6c) Alvin.
  - (6d) Margaret Belle, m. Will A. Johnston, with issue:—
    - A. Rhoda, who is unm., and lives at Binghampton.

Descendants of Robert and David Hogg, by the Oliver sisters, met at the residence of Robert Hogg (1818-1910), dairyman, Mount Ettrick, on 25th January, 1872, to celebrate the centenary of the birth of the poet James Hogg. For the past fifty years an annual family re-union has been held. The Ettrick Shepherd has been called "Scotland's most neglected genius," and not without justification, but his American relatives are proud of their links with a man whose indomitable pluck, perseverance and industry, has rarely been equalled in the annals of literature.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1. Thomson, Rev. T., Works of the Ettrick Shepherd, centenary edition, 2 vols., London, 1874. Tales and Sketches, p. 426.
- 2. Published by Oliver & Boyd.
- 3. Craig-Brown, T., Selkirkshire or Chronicles of Ettrick Forest, vol. i, p. 338. Edin-burgh, 1886. The inscription does not accurately record Margaret Laidlaw's year of birth.
- 4. Shanks, H., The Peasant Poets of Scotland and Musings under the Beeches, pp. 45-110. Bathgate, 1881.
- 5. Ettrick Old Parish Register of Marriages, New Register House, Edinburgh. Mary Beattie is mentioned in James Hogg's sketch entitled Storms: Incidents Connected with Remarkable Snow-falls in Scotland, as serving at Entertrony, a shieling at the head of Ettrick Water, in 1794. In the same sketch he tells us that his brother, probably William, afterwards occupied this place, but no date is given.
- 6. Letter from James Hogg—son of the Ettrick Shepherd—to Robert Blackie, publisher, dated 9th December, 1873. MS. No. 1869, National Library of Scotland.
- 7. Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, vol. xxi, p. 373 (1939).
- 8. Steven, W., The History of the High School of Edinburgh, pp. 103-107. Edinburgh, 1849.
- '9. Gilkieson, Mrs Harriet Sydney, in Recollections of Mrs Hogg, MS. No. 1870, National Library of Scotland.
- 10. Hogg, James, Domestic Manners of Sir Walter Scott, p. 49, Edinburgh, 1834.
- 11. For extracting from the Glasgow Register of Births, the particulars relating to the children of Robert Gilkieson and Harriet Sydney Hogg, the writer is indebted to David C. Cargill, treasurer of the Scottish Genealogy Society.
- 12. Henderson, J. A., History of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen, p. 194. Aberdeen, 1912.
- 13. Information kindly communicated by Mrs Shirley Woodward, historian of the town of Maine.
- 14. Mrs Paisley afterwards said, 'I mind me of the time when we came to America and had nothing to do with, and it was a wilderness all around and the bairnies were small and my four of them sickened and died and it was hard times." This most probably refers to children Mary, Margaret, Jemima and Olivia. The anecdote and genealogical notes by James Hogg Dalgleish were preserved by Geraldine Hall, wife of James Hogg (1850-1906), and copied from a scrapbook by Miss Lola Hogg, Binghampton, who has given invaluable assistance with the compilation of this paper.
- 15. From a sketch preserved in the scrapbook referred to above.
- 16. By critic Alexander Reid, in a review of Professor Simpson's book, *Iames Hogg:* A Critical Study, in the Edinburgh Evening News, 4th November, 1962.

### FAMILY RESEARCH

Some Research has been done by Major-General Douglas Wimberley on the following families and he is prepared to make the information available to others interested in these particular families. Those interested should get in touch with him at Foxhall, Coupar Angus, Perthshire.

Campbells of Achalader, Perthshire.
Campbells of Tofts, Berwickshire.
Campbells of Kilmartin, Argyll.
Campbells of Melfort, Argyll.
Campbells of Leckguarie, Argyll.
Campbells of Combie, Argyll.
Campbells of Escart, Argyll.
Campbells of Escart, Argyll.
Cordons of Lesmoir, Aberdeenshire.
Ogilvies of Auchiries, Banffshire.

Ognivies of Auchines, Bannshire.

Scotts of Dunninald, Angus.

Livingstons of Middfield, Midlothian.

Robertsons from Inverness, believed Cadets of Inshes.

## QUERIES

SCOTT.—Joseph Scott of Danieltown, son of George Scott (d. 21 February 1787 at age of 81) and of Isabel Taylor (d. 7 January 1768 aged 59), was baptised at St. Cuthbert's Church, Melrose, on 7 June 1752. He emigrated to America in 1801 and lived near Charleston, South Carolina. His daughter Mary married in 1823 Andrew Crawford and moved from Charleston to Georgia about 1830; and his other daughter, Joicy, married John Laird.

Any information about Joseph Scott would be appreciated by Roy L. Crawford, P.O. Box 5, Winters, Texas 79567.

- STODDART'S MANUSCRIPT.—Information is sought about this Manuscript which deals with Campbell family history and was much referred to at the end of the nineteenth century.—A.R.
- SPITTAL.—Is Spittal a name of Teutonic origin? Can any member trace the origin of the name, and the part of Britain where the name occurs most frequently.—Paul F. Spittal, 308 S. Briggs St., Joliet, Illinois.

## CLAN MACTHOMAS. I.—THE ANCIENT CHIEFS

ROGER F. PYE.

In early times the name MacThomas was frequently abbreviated to McThom or McThomie, pronounced in Gaelic McHom and McHomis and written in such diverse ways as McColm, McComb, McOmie, McComie, etc. It is partly because these corrupt forms almost completely supplanted the name MacThomas from which they were derived, and partly due to the fact that the Chiefs lost their lands before the end of the seventeenth century, with the consequence that the clan was scattered and the very chiefship itself fell into abeyance, that Clan MacThomas is almost completely unknown today, except to a few people who, for one reason or another, are interested in its history and associations.

In the following genealogy I have used the form McComie throughout, as this was the most common variant, although most of the individuals mentioned were also referred to by other forms of the name at different times.

Unfortunately scant attention has been given to the history of this small clan, and a great deal still remains to be clarified. Much that has already been published is inaccurate and not to be relied upon.<sup>2</sup> For the present account I have relied almost entirely upon A. M. Mackintosh's "Mackintosh Families in Glenshee and Glenisla," supplemented by the oral tradition committed to writing by Peter Latto in the second half of the eighteenth century, the manuscript of which is in the possession of Captain P. W. MacThomas of Aberlemno, and I earnestly invite any information or advice tending to improve or supplement this brief and very imperfect summary, especially with regard to the identity of the eponymous and the line of succession of the early chiefs.

The MacThomases are a sub-clan of Clan Mackintosh, traditionally sprung from Thomas Mor Mackintosh who, according to Kinrara's MS history, was descended from Adam, natural son of William, 7th Chief of Mackintosh and 8th of Clan Chattan.<sup>4</sup> Adam is stated to have dwelt first in Atholl, afterwards passing over to Garvamore in Badenoch. It is not known when Thomas Mor lived, but he has been tentatively identified with the grandfather of that Aye MacAne MacThomas who was one of the parties to Clan Chattan's band in 1543. Shortly after that date the clan is found in Glenshee, the first of the chiefs recorded as having dwelt there being:

I.—ROBERT McCOMIE, wadsetter, and later feuar, of the lands of the Thom (situated just to the East of Shee Water, opposite the Spittal of Glenshee), who in 1595 was one of several who gave a heritable bond of manrent to Lachlan, 16th Chief of Mackintosh and 17th of Clan Chattan, promising . faithfully to serve and defend him as their "natyff chief." It was probably during his chiefship that "Clan MacThomas in Glenshe" was mentioned in the Act of Farliament of 1587 as one of the "Clannis that hes Capitanes, Chessis and Chistanes quhom on they depend," and the MacThomases are again mentioned in the Act of 1594. Robert married Barbara Rattray, presumed to be sister of Alexander Rattray of Dalrulzion (who afterwards married Alexander Farquharson, 1st of Allanaquoich), and died about 1600, apparently leaving an only daughter, Elspet, who became the first wife of John Farquharson, 1st of Tullycairn, a younger brother of her step-father. She was infeft in the Thom as heir to her father on 8th August 1616, and transferred the feu to her stepfather the same day with her husband's consent. Robert was traditionally succeeded in the chiefship by:

II.—JOHN McCOMIE of Finegand. It is not certain, however, whether this was Robert's brother or the latter's son and namesake.<sup>5</sup> The elder John married Janet, daughter of John Rattray of Dalruizion, and in 1568° they and their son John received a feu charter of Finegand and the shealing of Glenbeg, confirmed by a new charter in 1571 adding, in favour of the younger John, the land and shealing of Cronaherrich in Glenbeg. The elder John may have had younger sons. The younger John married Janet, only child of William Farquharson, eldest son of Finla Mor, probably in or not long before 1582, in November of which year he had two charters of three-fourths of the town and lands of Binzean Mor, and is traditionally supposed to have had issue: (1) Alexander, who succeeded as Chief, (2) John, who traditionally settled in Fife, and five others.

#### The next Chief was:

III.—ALEXANDER McCOMIE of Finegand, presumed son or grandson (depending on which of the two Johns was his predecessor) of the previous Chief, is found described as "of Faninzean" in a sasine to him and his spouse, Margaret Small, "in the town and lands of Coridone" in the barony of Balmacrewchie. They are traditionally supposed to have had issue (1) John, who succeeded his father, (2) Angus, (3) Thomas, (4) William, traditionally tenant in Ardonnachie, Fife, (5) Colin, and (6) David, traditionally father of David Thomas or MacThomas in Hilton, near Monomail, Fife. Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son:

IV.—JOHN McCOMIE<sup>6</sup> of Finegand, who seems to have been far more frequently known by the alias of Mackintosh than were his predecessors. The most famous of his line, his well documented life can here only be described in the barest outline. Described as "of Fairnyzain" by 1637, in 1644 he had wadset of the lands of Carrow. Shortly after Tippermuir (1st September 1644) he joined Montrose, and was with him at the Law of Dundee (4th Sept.). He "behaved very worthily in the King's service"; is traditionally held to have captured Sir William Forbes of Craigievar in the fighting at Aberdeen, serving throughout the rest of the campaign up to the descat at Philiphaugh in 1649, when he made his submission to the Covenanters. After the war he was , prepared to accept the government of the day, and waxed prosperous as a cattle dealer, adding considerably to his lands. In 1648 he took sasine of the remaining fourth part of Binzean Mor, which made him possessor of the whole. In 1651 he purchased from Lord Airlie the lands and barony of Forter (comprising practically all that part of the county of Angus on the West bank of the Isla North of Forter) and the same year he purchased in life rent the lands of Wester Dalnacabock. In 1652 he sold his ancestral lands of Finegand and Cronaherich, with the shealing of Gormell, to Donald, third son of William Farguharson, 2nd of Brouchdearg. In 1655 he took sasine in life rent of the lands of Wester Inverharity, and in 1660 he built himself a house at Crandart, on his Forter estate. It seems that his Royalist neighbours and erstwhile comrades in arms, the Farquharsons and Ogilvies, regarded him as what, in the terminology of the last war, we should call a "collaborator," and after the Restoration he was heavily fined for his alleged dealings with the rebels. In 1665, with his following, he joined the Chief of Mackintosh against the Camerons, on which occasion the three century old feud between those two clans was bloodlessly settled. About this time a serious feud grew up between the McComies and the Farquharsons of Brouchdearg, which may have arisen from the ill feeling aroused by their political differences, although there is a tradition of Brouchdearg having jilted McComie's daughter. From 1669 to 1672 the two families periodically raided one another's lands, seized one another's cattle and brought legal proceedings against each other until, in January 1673, four of John McComie's sons, viz. John, Alexander, James and Robert, with their followers, fell in with Brouchdearg, his brothers and followers, at Drumgley about three miles from Forfar. In the ensuing skirnlish John and Robert McComie were killed, as was Brouchdearg; the latter's brother John being seriously wounded: The subsequent costly litigation went far towards ruining the McComies, but even before its conclusion John of Forcer, already an old man, had died. He married Elizabeth Campbell, held to have been the daughter of Colin Campbell of Easter Denhead, having by her, with a daughter Elizabeth, seven sons, viz.:

- . 1. John, 10 killed in the Farquharson seud, unmarried.
  - 2. Alexander, ", who held Wester Delnacabock (now Doldy) and part of Inverharity under his father's life rent. He later had some interest in Kirkhillocks. He was passed over in the succession upon his father's death, and again at the death of his brother James. He traditionally married Margaret Hill, having had, with a daughter Elizabeth who married Captain Duncan Mackintosh, brother of Borlum of "Fifteen" fame, an only son Alexander, who lost his interest in the Kirkhillocks lands to James Rattray of Ranagullion in 1695, and traditionally drowned in the Tay, near Erroll, in 1697, unmarried. Alexander died in October 1687.
  - 3. James,12 who succeeded his father as Chief.
  - 4. Robert, killed in the Farquharson feud, unmarried.
  - 5. Thomas,13 who succeeded his brother James in the Chiefship.
  - 6. Angus, from whom descend the Thoms or McThomases of Aberlenno.
  - 7. Donald, from whom descend the Aberdeenshire McCombies.

John McComie was succeeded in the Chiefship, not by his eldest but by his next surviving son:14

V.—JAMES McCOMIE (more frequently known by the surname of Mackintosh), 2nd of Forter, who had been a party to the skirmish at Drumgley. He survived his father by less than two years and, dying without issue in 1676, was succeeded by his next brother:

VI.—THOMAS McCOMIE (more frequently surnamed Mackintosh), 3rd and last of Forter. He was a merchant of Montrose by 1670 and so did not become embroiled in the Farquharson feud. He was served heir of line of his predecessor in 1677, and is mentioned in the Proclamations of 1678 and 1681 amongst the subordinate Chiefs required to give bond for the good behaviour of their followers. In the latter year he was included in the Royal Commission of Fire and Sword granted to Lachlan, 19th Chief of Mackintosh and 20th of Clan Chattan against the Macdonalds in Keppoch (which was not put into effect). In 1681 he formally disposed of the Forter estate in favour of David, Lord Ogilvy, but retained a wadset of Burnside until 1694. The date of his death is not known. He seems not to have married and, the family lands having been lost, his heir, who ever he may have been, did not trouble to press his claim to the Chiefship, which thus fell into abeyance.

#### NOTES

1. The name McCombie, now the most common of this group of names, is of course itself a later corruption of McComie. Clansmen settling in the lowlands also anglicised their surname as Thomas, Thom or Thoms.

- 2. The pedigree of Thoms of Aberlemno in Burke's Landed Gentry (1952) is particularly unreliable, and names and dates seem to have been inserted wherever they were wanting with little or no regard for historical fact. A connected pedigree is given from Angus, 6th Chicf of Mackintosh and 7th of Clan Chattan, down to the present century, but in fact the oral tradition preserved in the Latto MS only begins in the second half of the 16th Century, and research has so far done little to establish the earlier history of the clan.
- 3. The document was examined in 1960 by Miss H. E. Peck, Keeper of the Cambridge University Archives, in whose opinion the MS was written during the period claimed. As might be expected of an account handed down by word of mouth over a long period, minor inaccuracies occur in the oral tradition and many of the dates given are clearly little more than approximations. The earlier dates especially are not to be relied upon.
- 4. Frank Adam (Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 1960), derives the MacThomases from a younger son of Angus, 6th of Mackintosh and 7th of Clan Chattan, but I have never been able to discover what was his authority for this statement or how reliable it is, and I should be particularly grateful for any information on this point. John McComie, 1st of Forter, told Sir Aeneas Macpherson that he was descended from the Garvamore line, which would appear to confirm Kinrara's version.
- 5. The Latto MS confuses the two, stating that Robert was succeeded by his brother John, but going on to make the said John husband of Janef Farquharson and father of the next chief, Alexander. The last record of either of these Johns known to me is the summons of 30 July 1584, referring to "Johnne McChomay younger in Fonykynd," from which it would appear that both father and son were alive at that date. On the authority of the oral tradition I am inclined to believe that it was the father who s. Robert, and that the son predeceased him.
- 6. Where the McComies are stated to have been tenants and occupiers of the lands "ab antiquo."
- 7. Latto MS.
- 8. He is frequently referred to by amateur family historians, misled by his obvious prominence in the history of the clan, as "McComy Mor," as though this name were peculiar to himself. Obviously, however, if it were John's own greatness which were being referred to he would have been called "Iain Mor McComie" (i.e. great John McComie). There is in fact good reason to suppose that the Chiefs of this clan were all styled McComie Mhor (i.e. great Tommy's son) in precisely the same way as the Campbell Chiefs have from time immemorial been styled MacCailein Mhor (i.e. great Colin's son). (Mhor is of course a genitive form of Mor.)
- 9. Sir Aeneas Macpherson (Loyal Dissuasive, p. 43).
- 10. "son and apparent heir to John M. of Forter"—sasine 1655, Forfar sas. 17.
- 11. "second lawful son" in same document, and in a deed dated at Alyth 30 May 1676.
- 12. Served heir male of tail and provision to "Robert Mackintosh, portioner of Cambok, his immediate younger brother" 12 Jan. 1676.
- 13. Served heir of line to James "his immediate elder brother" 2 Jan. 1677.
- 14. This is clearly an example of a Chief invoking the law of tanistry to divert the succession from an unsuitable heir to one more worthy, and the double passing over of Alexander leaves little doubt that he was deemed unfit to assume the chiefship.

# HIGHLANDERS FROM SKYE, IN NORTH CAROLINA AND IN NOVA SCOTIA: 1771 - 1818.

#### ROBERT ARCHIBALD LOGAN

Scottish Highlanders began settling in North Carolina in the early 1730's, particularly in the upper basin of the Cape Fear River. Land grant records show James Innes, Hugh Campbell and William Forbes as the first persons with Highland names to settle on the Cape Fear River. James Innes, later a Justice of the Peace, received grants in 1732 and 1734. Forbes and Campbell were granted lands in 1733. The greatest immigration seems to have taken place in the years 1760 to 1774; the peak year being 1744.

Among those who settled in this region of North Caroline in 1771 was the step-father of the celebrated Flora MacDonald of 1746 fame. He was known in Skye as Captain Hugh MacDonald and by his Gaelic nickname "Uisdean Cam" (One-eyed Hugh). In North Carolina, he was known as Colonel Hugh MacDonald.

He was accompanied by, or soon followed by, his son-in-law Archibald MacQueen, husband of his daughter Florence, and by his son-in-law Alexander MacDonald, 5th of Cuidreach, husband of Hugh's daughter Annabella (Flora's half-sister) and by at least part of their family.

In December, 1773, an Angus MacDonald arrived and settled immediately on land transferred to him by Alexander MacDonald 5th of Cuidreach. In the latter part of 1774, arrivals from the Isle of Skye included Flora MacDonald and her husband, Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and their sons Alexander and James, and their daughter Anne and her husband, Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan, Isle of Skye; Donald MacDonald, son of Alexander MacDonald 5th of Cuidreach, and Miles MacInnes.

In an article of this kind, one of the first things to untangle is the spelling of names. In relatively recent years the name of the descendants of Flora MacDonald's husband has been matriculated in the Court of the Lord Lyon of Scotland as "Macdonald," but during the period about which this article is dealing the name was spelled in several forms, with preference given to an abbreviated form of MAC followed by Donald with a capital D. The Gaelic name was Mac Dhomhnuill. In English, it was written Mac Donald, McDonald, MacDonald and Macdonald, with the then frequently used abbreviation of the word Mac in the form of the initial letter followed by the last letter usually written a little higher, with or without a dot under it, thus

in documents of the period now in the Public Record Office, London, the name usually appears as: M'Donald, M':Donald, M'.Donald, M'Donald or M'Donald, although sometimes it appears as Mcdonald or as mcdonald.

If we consider that the most likely place to learn the true facts about the names actually used to designate persons when they were alive would be in documents signed by them, there is one fact that should not be overlooked. Persons often signed two kinds of documents; documents actually written by the signer, and documents actually written by others for the signature of the person who merely appended his or her signature. Legal documents and "Memorials" to high government officials were usually written by professionals, who, habitually, tried to revise and to condense any dictation received from the person who was to sign. In the case of documents prepared by others, we have ample evidence that quite a few errors were made in spelling names. We often find that a name in the text is not exactly the same as the name actually signed. The name MacDonald was sometimes written in two, three, or four, different forms in one document. For instance, in Flora MacDonald's Marriage Contract, as quoted in The Truth about Flora, MacDonald, her husband's surname is shown in the text as MacDonald and as Macdonald, but he signed it M'.Donald.

The name of Flora MacDonald's husband was frequently written as "Allan" by others, but, in all American Loyalist Claims and supporting documents signed by him, either on his own behalf or when signing declarations or certificates on behalf of others, he used the form "Allen" for his first name and MDonald or M: Donald for his surname.

In American Loyalist Claim papers (hereinafter referred to as "Loyalist papers"), the Highland Scottish surnames now usually written as one word beginning Mac or Mc were generally treated as consisting of two words, the first of which was Mac. This was usually shown in its then standard form of abbreviation as M°. There was usually a space between the M° and the capital letter that followed it. Thus, in documents dealing with the names now usually written as Macdonald or MacDonald, McLeod or MacLeod, or as MacInnes or McInnes, the names usually seen in the Loyalist papers are M° Donald, M° Leod, and M° Innes, respectively. In this article, such names will be written as one word, beginning with the Mac followed by a capital letter, when general reference is made to a person bearing such a name, but, in quotations from publications, including book-titles and names of authors, such names will be repeated as they appear therein. For this reason are shown the following differences:

Flora MacDonald in America, by J. P. MacLean.
The Life of Flora Macdonald, by Alexander Macgregor.

In this article, it is intended to use the names of the persons involved, in the forms which they themselves most frequently used. Therefore, the husband of Flora MacDonald will be referred to as Allen MacDonald. In his signatures Allen usually abbreviated the Mac but the abbreviated form will not be used here, except in direct or indirect quotations.

Soon after the serious trouble began in New England between the American colonists and the British Army, two Scottish officers of the British Army were sent to North Carolina to organise a part of a regiment of Highlanders to help support the British cause. One of these men was Major Donald MacDonald. The other was Captain Donald MacLeod. Both were given temporary "effective rank" higher than their Regular Army ranks, while in North Carolina, and as a result of this many writers of books and stories have referred to Donald MacDonald as *General* MacDonald, but his rank in the Regular Army, and in 1783-85, was only that of Leiutenant Colonel, as evidenced by his many signatures in the Loyalist papers.

In the year 1775, many of the Scottish settlers of North Carolina had been born in America or had become so Americanized that they favoured the rebelling American cause, or may have wished to remain neutral, being familiar with the treatment they or their parents had received from the English government forces in Scotland. But many of those who had arrived only a few years before 1775 were not free to do what many of them might have preferred to do. They had taken an oath, on or before arrival in North Carolina, not to take up arms against the British government, and, having lost so much in Scotland did not wish to risk losing their possessions in America by joining the rebels so soon after their arrival.

The British government knew about this and tried hard to round up all the Highland men and transport them to known loyal territory as quickly as possible, before they could be persuaded to join the rebels. It was for this reason that Major Donald MacDonald and Donald MacLeod were sent to North Carolina. Actually, about fifteen hundred Highland men, under Donald MacDonald, began marching to the sea-coast where they expected to be picked up and taken by ship to Halifax, Nova Scotia, for training and arming, and in due course to return to North Carolina to subdue the rebels.

Unfortunately for the marching Highlanders, less than half of whom were armed and of those classed as "armed" few had anything other than swords, they were met by a smaller but well armed force of rebels at a place known as *Moore's Creek Bridge*, on February 27, 1776. Many were killed and more than half of the Highlanders were taken prisoner. There were so many prisoners that the rebels had not nearly enough men to guard them, so, many of the younger men were released and told to go home and think about things so that at some future date they might join the American cause. Many of

these men remained neutral until the British Army approached North Carolina, in 1780, when the apparent defeat of the rebels made it relatively easy for British recruiters to persuade them to join the active forces of the British.

The people who supported the British cause came to be known as "Loyalists" or "American Loyalists." Much has been written and much more could be written, about the way these people were treated by both the rebelling Americans and by the defeated British. It is not a very proud story for either side.

The British used every means possible to have the Highlanders serve the Crown. The Americans, naturally, confiscated the lands of those Highlanders who left their plantations to serve with the British forces fighting against them. When the war ended these men could not return to North Carolina, so the British government helped them to move north to Nova Scotia, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. It is to be remembered that for nearly one hundred years after the American Rebellion Nova Scotia was not a part of Canada.

The British Government set up what was officially called The Commissioners Appointed by Act of Parliament for Inquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists. At first, it was necessary for Loyalist claimants to be present in London for hearings, but in 1786 a travelling commission was sent to hold hearings in various parts of Nova Scotia, Upper and Lower Canada, because many of the men who had suffered losses in the "American States" could not afford to go to London to present their claims.

Much information may be found in the printed condensed reports on claims and hearings in the two-volume "Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario" by Alexander Fraser, 1904; published by the Kings Printer, Toronto, Canada, 1905.

With few exceptions, the claimants were compensated for only a small part of their losses and received very small allowances of pensions, if any, for their services. Many loyalists suffered losses for money expended on behalf of the British government; claims for compensation for such losses were submitted to the Treasury Board. Theoretically, all the records of claims submitted by American Loyalists to the Treasury Board and to the Commissioners for American Loyalists Claims are kept in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.

Some years ago, the State of North Carolina, with the co-operation of the Public Record Office, attempted to sort out all papers in the Public Record Office dealing with claims of Loyalists who had been former residents of North Carolina. Longhand transcripts were made of many of these papers and negative photostats were made of others. Transcripts or photostats of all papers that could be found, dealing with a claimant, were placed in a file bearing the name of such claimant. These files are now stored in the State Archives of North Carolina, in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, where, under certain conditions, they may be inspected or copies on microfilm or photostat paper may be obtained. The number of such files on former residents of North Carolina totals 134, of which at least 47 bear names beginning with M° (or Mac)—eleven of these names are M° Donald, two are M° Innes, and thirteen are M° Leod.

To aid in the research into my own ancestry, I obtained from the State Archives of North Carolina microfilm or photostat copies of all papers in the files of the following "Loyalist Claimants":

		Pages - Trans- Photo- Sum			Carra	Pension	No. of children			
Nam	e	rans- cripts	stats	Sum asked	Sum allowed	4	nentioned			
M° Donald,	Alexander	26	IO	1093	<i>5</i> 68	60	5			
,,,	Allen	18	0	1341	440	?	6			
27	Angus	10	8	1909	91 <i>5</i>	?	5			
,,	Donald	12	12	940	500	40	,O			
(of Cuidreach)										
**	Donald '	4	0	721	?	20	<del></del>			
,,,	Isabella	18	0	840	140	?	Several			
, ,,	John (Q. M.)	32	8 .	752	350	40/30	4?			
, 99	John (Merch.)	6	0	38 I	?	?	?			
39	Murdoch	14	0	604	264	18	?			
. 25	Murdoch	?	0	460	?	20	2			
*	Soirle	<b>5</b> ,	5	2047	616	?				
M <sup>o</sup> Leod, M	ajor Alex.	88	0	2280	500	96	4			
M° Innes, N	files	26	Ο	424	200	20/16	<b>o</b>			
M° lnnes, D	onald	26	Ο	414	100	?				

Alexander MacDonald was 5th of Cuidreach' and the son-in-law of Hugh MacDonald, step-father of Flora MacDonald. He went to America with his wife and at least part of his family, in 1771. He had money and effects worth about 1100 pounds sterling. He was residing in Cumberland County, North Carolina, in 1775, and was a Justice of the Peace. He was offered a majority by the rebel Assembly but would not accept. At the beginning of 1776, or earlier, he raised a company of Highlanders and headed it, acting under the orders of the Governor of North Carolina, Josiah Martin. He was captured by the rebels at Moore's Creek Bridge and was a prisoner-of-war until exchanged in August, 1778, in New York. He served with the British forces until the

end of hostilities in South Carolina, and then took his family to Britain. They arrived in London in February, 1783. He was then 55 years of age. He was the father of Lieutenant Donald MacDonald who was also a Loyalist Claimant.

Allen McDonald of Kingsburgh, husband of Flora MacDonald, arrived in America in 1774 with his wife and two sons, Alexander and James, and probably with his daughter Anne and her husband Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan, Isle of Skye. Allen purchased two plantations in North Carolina. He was residing in Anson County when the Highlanders were called to the colors. He was given the rank of Captain in the regiment of Highlanders known as the ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS REGIMENT, later known also as the "84th Regiment of Foot." His commission was dated 14 June, 1775, although the regiment was not actually placed on establishment until 25 December, 1778. His sons, Alexander, Ranald, and Charles, eventually held commissions in the same regiment, Charles being the last to join the regiment, with a commission as Lieutenant dated 18 May, 1776.

Allen was appointed by the Governor of North Carolina to command the Anson Battalion, with the effective rank of lieutenant colonel, at the beginning of 1776. A short time thereafter, while in command of that battalion at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, he and his sons Alexander ("Sandy") and James were taken prisoner by the rebels. James, being young, was allowed to return home but Allen and Alexander were held in captivity for nearly a year and a half before being exchanged for American officers held by the British. Allen's experiences in North America (North Carolina, New York and Nova Scotia) will be dealt with in more detail later herein.

Angus MacDonald arrived in North Carolina in December, 1773. He settled at Crane's Creek, Cumberland County, North Carolina, on land purchased by him from Alexander MacDonald 5th of Cuidreach. He purchased several other tracts of land and by the time when the Highlanders were mobilized at Cross Creek in February, 1776, he owned a total acreage of some eighteen hundred acres. He had a commission as Captain from the governor of North Carolina and was in command of his company when taken prisoner at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. After being exchanged, he continued to serve with the British forces and was given a commission as Captain by Lord Cornwallis. After hostilities ended he rescued his wife and five children and took them to Nova Scotia where he received a grant of Crown Land and established a new home. In late 1785 he went to London to press his claims for compensation for losses in North Carolina. He reported losses amounting to over nineteen hundred pounds sterling but received, in compensation, only nine hundred and fifteen pounds. He returned to Nova Scotia and was paid "half pay of Captain." The official records show that the last year in which such payment was made to him in Nova Scotia was 1813.

Unofficial records show that three of his daughters married, lived, and raised families in the Musquodoboit district of Halifax County, Nova Scotia. One of these, Christiana, married Miles MacInnes, a Loyalist from Anson County, North Carolina, and had a family of three sons and six daughters.

Lieutenant Donald MacDonald was a son of Captain Alexander MacDonald 5th of Cuidreach, and a grandson of Hugh MacDonald of Armadale and North Carolina. In his Loyalist claims, he stated that he arrived in America "about Christmas, 1774" but it is possible that the year given is in error and he may have arrived with Angus MacDonald, mentioned above, who arrived in December, 1773, and established a home on land acquired from Donald's father. In 1775, Donald was given five hundred acres of land by his grandfather Colonel Hugh MacDonald. On this land he built a grist-mill and he lived on the land until the British appeared to be over-running North Carolina, in 1780, when he joined the British forces and served until after the evacuation of South Carolina. He arrived in London in April. 1783, and submitted a claim for losses but his case was still unsettled in September, 1786, when he was called to London, from Skye, for a hearing which was held in October, 1786. At this time he declared his intention of emigrating to Nova Scotia. For reasons unrecorded, he changed his mind and he and his wife, the younger daughter of Flora and Allen MacDonald, eventually went to Australia. 10

There was another American Loyalist Claimant named Donald McDonald. He was born in Scotland and emigrated to America about 1772. Although 64 years of age and married, when the Highlanders were raised at Cross Creek in February, 1776, he joined the army and was taken prisoner at Moore's Creek Bridge while serving under Allen MacDonald. He owned considerable land property in Cross Creek, North Carolina, and was in business there as a tailor.

Isabella MacDonald was a daughter of the Rev. Donald MacQueen, Minister of the Gospel in the Isle of Skye. She was the widow of Captain James MacDonald. James MacDonald, with his wife and family, had settled in North Carolina "some time before the dissentions in America." When the North Carolina Highlander force was being organized, James was appointed a Captain by Governor Martin. He raised a company that took part in the action at Moore's Creek Bridge. He was taken prisoner and was held by the Americans for about two and a half years before he was exchanged. He returned to service with the British forces and served in various parts of the country until he died of a fever in September, 1780. During the whole of the rebellion, Isabella and her children, and her mother-in-law "whose three sons were in the King's service," were permitted to occupy her husband's plantation, although several times plundered of part of her cattle, crops and furniture, but, when the rebels heard that peace had been arranged they plundered her estate of everything and she was forced to flee to friends for refuge.

John Macdonald (as spelled in his Loyalist Claim) was born in Scotland and went to America in 1761. He kept store in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for some years but went to North Carolina in 1775 and lived on a farm he purchased there. He was appointed Quarter Master with the Highland battalion and was taken prisoner at Moore's Creek Bridge. Upon release, in 1777, he rejoined the British forces but was again taken prisoner and was held for a year. Again released, he continued to serve with the British forces until he was badly wounded and his left arm was made useless. In 1776 when he was taken prisoner he left behind a wife and three children. Two of the children were not mentioned as alive (or dead) after the war, but it was stated in one of his Memorials that his wife and one child arrived in London with him in 1785 and that another child was born in August, 1786. He had lived for a time in East Florida before returning to Britain, in 1785. In his Memorial dated October, 1786, it was stated that his oldest daughter was twelve or thirteen years old.

Another John MacDonald submitted Loyalist Claims. He had been living in Pennsylvania and North Carolina "the space of 20 years prior to the late war in America." He was a merchant at Cross Creek but became a "lieutenant in the Royal North Carolina Regiment of Infantry" and consequently lost all his property in North Carolina.

The file of Murdoch MacDonald seems to consist of papers dealing with claims of two men of the same name. One was a brother of one of the company commanders at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. One arrived in Britain with his wife (no children are mentioned) and one reported that he had a wife and two children in America. One claimed property losses of £460 but another claimed losses of ££604 12s. One Murdoch was awarded a pension of twenty pounds per annum but one Murdoch was paid eighteen pounds per annum from, at least, 1786 to 1831.

Soirle MacDonald was a land-owner in Anson County, North Carolina. He served through the war and went north, as a Loyalist, to Shelburne, Nova Scotia. In 1786, he submitted a claim for property losses amounting to £2047. He was then receiving half pay of Lieutenant for service in "the late British Legion." He returned to Skye, where he spent the rest of his life. At the age of 93 he married a girl of 22 and, according to The London Times of 7th November, 1830, when he died at age 106 he left three children under ten years of age.

The Loyalist Claims file of Major Alexander MacLeod, in the State Archives of North Carolina, contains 88 pages, much of which is information of historical value, because it includes statements by men who took an active and important part in the formation of the ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS REGIMENT and the activities of the Highlanders in North Carolina.<sup>11</sup>

Alexander MacLeod had served His Majesty for more than 22 years, in many parts of the world, before he emigrated, with his wife and family, to North Carolina, in 1774. His wife was Anne MacDonald, elder daughter of Flora and Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh. When he went on active service in North Carolina, he left behind a pregnant wife and three children. He wasclosely associated with Major ("General") Donald McDonald and with Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina. Major Donald MacDonald wrote that Major Alexander MacLeod joined him at Cross Creek with "450 men regularly formed and officered." Alexander was absent from home, with the army, from February, 1776, until April, 1778, when he was permitted to rescue his wife and family and his mother-in-law from rebel territory and to take them to New York, where they remained until October, 1778, when he secured passage to England for himself and family. He was granted a pension of two hundred pounds and he was recommended for Staff duties. After taking his wife and family back to Dunvegan in the Isle of Skye, he returned to America on Staff duties with Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton. He eventually returned to Dunvegan. Isle of Skye. He submitted Loyalist claims for a total of 2280 pounds sterling but was paid only five hundred pounds.

Miles MacInnes arrived in North Carolina in 1774 with sufficient funds to purchase, stock and operate a plantation in Anson County. He was a lieutenant under Allen MacDonald at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. He was taken prisoner by the rebels but escaped, or was released, and returned to his plantation, where he remained until 1780 when he again went on active service with the British forces. He served in the Carolinas, Georgia, and East Florida. After the war, he went from Florida to London to present his claims for losses in North Carolina. After nearly a year's delay, he was awarded a pênsion of twenty pounds per annum (later reduced to sixteen pounds per annum) and he was given permission to emigrate to Nova Scotia "where he has friends and connections." He was a single man when he arrived in Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1784. He was immediately promised a grant of 200 acres of land but had to wait over a year before it could be surveyed, owing to the rush of Loyalist settlers and the shortage of qualified land-surveyors. His land was on both sides of the Musquodoboit River about thirty miles from the place where Captain Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh had spent the summer of 1784 trying to establish a home. Miles had claimed losses amounting to 424 pounds sterling but was paid only 200 pounds. He and other Highlanders -some who were Loyalists from the rebel provinces, and some who had arrived in Pictou, Nova Scotia, from the Highlands on the ship "Hector" in 177312—established a settlement at what became known as Meagher's Grant, Halifax County, Nova Scotia. He was a Captain of the local Militia and a Justice of the Peace.. On 19 September, 1789, he was married to Christiana

MacDonald, reported to have been one of the five children of Captain Angus MacDonald who arrived in Nova Scotia from North Carolina in 1783. He died in 1818 but official records show that his pension was paid to his widow, Christiana MacInnes, until 1831. Miles and Christiana had nine children and at least sixty grand-children, nearly all of whom lived to be adults and had large families. Their descendants are now widely scattered all over Canada and the United States and have included men and women who became lawyers, educators, bankers, engineers, explorers, publishers, army and air force officers, doctors, nurses, and writers.

Donald MacInnes. No relationship between Donald MacInnes and Miles MacInnes is known. Donald was born in Scotland in 1759 and went to North Carolina with his parents in 1773. He joined the Highland force raised at Cross Creek early in 1776 but, like so many others, was taken prisoner at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. Being young, he was released and allowed to return home. In 1780 he joined the British forces as an Ensign in a Militia regiment but later held a commission as Captain in the Anson County Regiment. After the evacuation of Charlestown, South Carolina, he served for a time in East Florida. He went to London and in February, 1785, submitted claims for losses in North Carolina and Florida amounting to £345 10s. He received nothing for his losses in Florida but was awarded a total of one hundred pounds sterling.

Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh and North Carolina and Nova Scotia. On the 12th day of June, 1775, the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, General Gage, at Boston, issued orders for the formation of a corps of two battalions to consist of ten companies each to be called the ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS. The 1st Battalion was formed, chiefly, of men from New York and "Canada" (now the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec). The 2nd Battalion was intended to consist chiefly of men from Nova Scotia (which then included what are now the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) with its headquarters in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Early in the summer of 1775 a Major Donald MacDonald, accompanied by a Captain Donald MacLeod, was sent to North Carolina empowered to select and appoint officers for the formation of three companies of the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment in North Carolina. Much information on this subject is to be found in the Loyalist Claims file of Major Alexander MacLeod.

Before the arrival of Major Donald MacDonald in North Carolina the Provincial Governor, Josiah Martin, had tried to set up his own militia and to enlist the services of the North Carolina Highlanders in it. He applied to London for its authorization and for himself to be placed in command of it,

but before he received a favourable reply Major Donald MacDonald arrived and began the organization of the companies of the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment.

Both Martin and MacDonald were anxious to have the services of Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh and his relatives. Governor Martin offered higher ranks than Major MacDonald was authorized to offer, with the result that several officers accepted, temporarily, both offers, on the understanding that if Governor Martin's force was authorized by the authorities in London, the officer concerned would be free to accept whichever offer he might choose.

Governor Martin wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in part as follows:

"I would most humbly beg leave to recommend Mr Allen McDonald of Kingsborough to be Major, and Captain Alex McLeod of the Marines now on half pay to be first Captain who besides being men of great worth and good character, have most extensive influence over the Highlanders here, great part of which are of their own names and families . . . . there are three or four Gentlemen of consideration here, of the name of McDonald, and a Lieutenant Alex McLean late of the Regiment now on half pay, whom I should be happy to see appointed Captains in such a Battalion, being persuaded they would heartily promote and do credit to His Majesty's Service." (Colonial Records of North Carolina X 46-47.)

The Captain Alexander McLeod mentioned by Governor Martin was Alexander MacLeod of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Isle of Skye, son-in-law of Allen and Flora MacDonald. His wife was their eldest daughter, Anne, who, with her three children, was living on a plantation owned by her husband in North Carolina.

According to his own statements on record in the American Loyalist Claims file of "Alexander M<sup>o</sup> Leod," Major Donald MacDonald spent much time at the house of this Alexander MacLeod immediately after his arrival in North Carolina. When the list of selected officers prepared by Donald MacDonald and Donald MacLeod was ready to be sent to the Commander in Chief at Boston, for confirmation, Major Donald MacDonald detailed Captain Alexander MacLeod to carry it, with other dispatches, to Boston.

Governor Martin resented this as depriving him of his most experienced officer. Near the mouth of the Cape Fear River, Captain MacLeod was met by Governor Martin who ordered him to turn around and to return to "the back country" where, the Governor claimed, there was more urgent need of his services. Governor Martin promised to arrange to have Major Donald MacDonald's dispatches delivered immediately to the Commander in Chief, but

there must have been some delay, as MacDonald later claimed that his plans were seriously hindered by Governor Martin's action in delaying delivery of his report and, in particular, the list of officers he had appointed.

White awaiting confirmation of his appointments, Major MacDonald proceeded to assist Governor Martin. When the Governor ordered the mobilization of the Highlanders at Cross Creek, in mid-February, 1776, Donald MacDonald was placed in charge of the force that was intended to march to the sea-coast and then to be taken by ships to Nova Scotia to be trained and supplied with arms.

Allen MacDonald (of Kingsborough or Kingsburgh) was in command of the Anson County Battalion of the Highlanders, at Cross Creek. with the Militia rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Eventually, his appointment to be a Captain in the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment, made by Major Donald MacDonald, was confirmed and back-dated to 14 June, 1775, as was the appointment of his second son, Alexander, to be a Lieutenant in the same regiment.

On the way from Cross Creek to the coast, the Highlanders, half of whom where unarmed, were met at Moore's Creek Bridge by Americans who were better armed and more skilled in American methods of fighting. In the ensuing engagement, the Highlanders were outmanoeuvred and decisively defeated, with over eight hundred of their number being taken prisoner. Included among the prisoners-of-war were Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh, his sons Alexander and James, and his plantation-owner neighbour, Miles MacInnes, great, great grandfather of this writer. Allen's young son James and Miles MacInnes either escaped soon after capture or, like many others who were young and, therefore, might be persuaded to join the rebelling Americans, were allowed to return to their homes, but Allen and Alexander were held as prisoners-of-war for nearly a year and a half.

While Allen MacDonald was a prisoner of the Americans he wrote letters to Congress asking for better treatment as a prisoner and asking that he and his son Alexander be exchanged for American prisoners of equal rank. In one such letter, written in the summer of 1777, he stated:

"I am a Captain in the Regular Service and my son a Lieutenant. I rank as Lieut. Col. of Militia in North Carolina."

In one letter he stated that he would not insist on being exchanged for an officer equal in rank to the rank that he (Allen) held in the North Carolina Militia. He stated that although his rank in the Militia was that of lieutenant colonel he also held the rank of captain in the Regular Service and would be satisfied to be exchanged for an American captain.

The American Congress eventually agreed to allow Allen and his son to be exchanged but advised him that nobody on the British side appeared to be interested in him or in trying to arrange for his exchange, and that until there was some formal request from the British authorities for such an exchange there was little the American authorities could do about it.

Strange as it may seem in this day and age, Allen MacDonald was given permission, by the American authorities, to go, on parole, to the British Army Headquarters in New York, to attempt to arrange for the exchange of himself and his son. The exchange for both officers was arranged and effected.

In a letter written by Flora MacDonald to the Duke of Atholl, dated 23 April, 1774, before her departure for America, she stated that her son Ranald was "in the Mareen Service a Lieutenant." I have seen no mention in official records of his ever having been in North Carolina, or any record of his having left the Marine Service. It has been claimed by some writers that he took part in the Battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston, Massachusetts, and was wounded there. This, if true, may be one of the reasons why his father's cousin Captain Alexander MacDonald arranged for Ranald to join him and to serve as his Adjutant when the Captain was sent to take charge of the headquarters unit of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants, in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Captain Alexander MacDonald had been an officer of the British Army for over 29 years. When his regiment (the 77th) had been reduced, in 1766, he had been put on half pay and had settled in America. Before 1775 he had acquired several large tracts of land and business interests in the Province of New York. His place of residence was on Staten Island, New York. He arrived at Halifax, Nova Scotia, shortly before 1 September, 1775, accompanied by Lieutenant Ranald MacDonald, third son of Flora and Allen MacDonald.

Captain Alexander MacDonald kept a book of copies of the many letters he wrote between September, 1775, and January, 1779. This famous letter-book was published in 1883 by the New-York Historical Society. "The Letter-Book of Captain Alexander MacDonald" is to be found in "Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1882." It contains copies of many letters written to his cousin Captain Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and many letters containing references to Allen and his three sons in Nova Scotia—Ranald. Charles, and "Sandy," in the order of their appearance in the records of Nova Scotia.

Stories written about the life of Flora MacDonald usually repeat the tale that Ranald was a Marine officer from before the war until he was "lost at sea" shortly before the end of the war, but there can be no doubt about his being on military duty in Nova Scotia in 1775-1779. His commission in the 2nd Battalion, Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment, was dated 25 June, 1775. He did hold a commission as a captain in the Marines from 1780 until he

mysteriously disappeared. It was reported that he was drowned in the sinking of a ship captured from the French which was being sailed to England as a prize: "La ville de paris." This was the belief of his father in January, 1785, when he wrote in a "Memorial" to the American Loyalists Claims Commissioners:

"... what added to the utter misery of your Memorialist was the loss of his third son, Captain Ranald M'Donald of Marines in La veill de paris having served under Lords Rodney and Hood all the time of their Glorious Victorys."

Another report was that Ranald had been wounded while serving as Captain of Marines on the war-ship "Princessa" in a battle with the French in the West Indies in 1782. Search of the official records of the time has shown that he definitely was not Captain of Marines on the "Princessa," and there is no known record of his having been at any time on board the prize-ship with which he was supposed to have been lost. To this date, 1965, no documentary record of his actual fate has been found, although it has been officially presumed that he drowned.

It is not known, at this time, how or when Charles, the oldest son of Flora and Allen MacDonald, arrived in North America, but it is believed that he arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, from England, in the spring of 1776. In orders of General Sir William Howe, British Army Headquarters, Halifax, Nova Scotia, for 18 May, 1776, appeared the following: 11

"PROMOTIONS—Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment— Charles MacDonald, Gentleman, to be Lieutenant, 18th May."

Soon after Allen MacDonald was exchanged, in 1777, he was detailed to serve with the British army in New York, detached from his regular unit; which was in Nova Scotia. His cousin, Captain Alexander MacDonald, repeatedly wrote to him urging him to come to Nova Scotia as soon as possible, "to be at the head of your Company" and to be a good influence on "your sons Charles and Ranald . . . . one thing I am sure of it is absolutely necessary that you should be as near them as possible to overawe their conduct and assist them with your good advice." He pointed out to Allen: "I think y' three sons extremely well provided for considering their age especially if the Regt be established . . . ." Alexander informed Allen that Charles was

"a fine fellow when sober but rather unhappy when he is in any way disguised in Liquor" . . . and with such "Propensity to Extravagance that the income of a General Off would be rather small for him, if he could get it."

By August. 1778, Captain Alexander was getting impatient with Allen and in a letter dated 21 August, 1778, to one of the civilian authorities in the New York pay office, he stated:

"If Capt. Murd. or Capt. Allan McDonald should be there tell them as I have said before its very surprising wt keeps them there I will certainly stop their Credit from receiving any more money if they dont join the regiment or Assign Sufficient Reasons to the contrary."

In a Memorial to the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Claims of American Loyalists, signed by "Allen M° Donald" and notarized at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on 3 January, 1784, it was stated that he "was ordered to join his Regiment in Nova Scotia in October 1778 with which he did duty until its reduction in October last." (October, 1783.)

Allen's son Alexander ("Sandy") must have arrived in Nova Scotia several months ahead of his father. On June 9th, 1778, Captain Alexander MacDonald wrote a letter to one of his officers in which he mentioned Alexander in the following manner:

"Lieut. Alex McDonald lies very ill of his former ailment in his side for which he has undergone an operation. His Brother on that account and because he expects his parents every day whom he has not seen for years . . . . (desires to remain here) . . . ."

Captain Allen MacDonald and his wife spent the winter of 1778-1779 and at least part of the following summer at Fort Edward, Windsor, Nova Scotia. In the early autumn of 1779, Flora MacDonald crossed the Atlantic for treatment for her continued ill-health. She remained in London during the following winter before returning to her old home in the Hebrides.

Promotion in the British Army was very slow for those officers unable to purchase commissions. Allen MacDonald continued as a Captain in the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment or "84th," but his sons Charles and Ranald in some way acquired higher commissions in other regiments. Ranald became a Captain in the Marines and Charles became a Captain in Lord Cathcart's regiment of the British Legion. The younger son, James. who had been left behind with his mother in 1776, became a lieutenant in Tarleton's section of the British Legion. Alexander was sent from Nova Scotia to England for his health, but the ship carrying him disappeared without trace.

In the Crown Land Office records, Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a "General List and Returns" of the different companies of the 2nd Battalion of His Majesty's 84th Regiment as they stood when disbanded in Windsor, Nova

Scotia, in October, 1783, specifying, among other things, those men who meant to avail themselves of the offer of Crown Land in Nova Scotia. Heading the list of those men of the 6th Company wishing to avail themselves of such land is the name of Captain Allen MacDonald.

A blanket grant of some 105,000 acres of "Crown Land" (wild, ungranted land owned and controlled by the government) in what, in 1965, is Hants County, Nova Scotia, and covering what are now this districts of Nine Mile River, Kennetcook, and Gore, was made to the Colonel of the 84th Regiment in trust for himself and the officers and men under him.<sup>15</sup>

Land on the Kennetcook River was assigned to Captain Allen MacDonald and, contrary to popular belief but according to his own statements in his "Memorials," he remained in Nova Scotia for a year after his regiment was reduced. During that time he worked on his "Regimental Grant of Land," building a dwelling and clearing several acres, until lack of funds compelled him to discontinue his labors, in October, 1784.16

In the early autumn of 1784, Lieutenant Miles MacInnes, Allen's former neighbour in North Carolina and one of the junior officers in his Anson County Battalion at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, arrived in Nova Scotia from London and was able to report to his former commanding officer that by his personal appearance in London to support his "Loyalist Claims," he (MacInnes) had succeeding in collecting, at least some, compensation for the loss of his plantation in North Carolina, and had been awarded an annual allowance or pension of twenty pounds sterling. Soon after this Allen MacDonald set out for London in the hope of having similar success by a personal appearance before the Commissioners.

Allen MacDonald's hopes for an early and satisfactory settlement of his claims for losses in North Carolina were not realized. Although he eventually was awarded the sum of four hundred and forty pounds sterling as compensation, age and lack of funds resulted in his inability to return to Nova Scotia to reside on his "Regimental Grant of Land on the River Kennetcook."

Because Allen did not return to Nova Scotia, no formal "grant" of the land was issued in his name. Disappearance of official records has resulted in there being no known record of the exact location of Allen's land in Nova Scotia.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

- 1. Duane Meyer, The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), page 72. Hereinaster cited as Meyer, Highland Scots.
- 2. Donald and Mairi MacDonald, Massucre at Moore's Creek (Glasgow, Scotland: Scotland's Magazine, Vol. 58, No. 8, August, 1962).
- 3. American Loyal Claims (hereinafter cited as Loyalist Papers) file of Donald MacDonald.
- 4. Robert O. DeMond, The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1940), p. 90. Hereinafter cited as DeMond, Loyalists.
- 5. Meyer, Highland Scots, p. 159.
- 6. DeMond, Loyalists, Appendix C, pp. 251-255.
- 7. Reginald H. Macdonald of Kingsburgh, O.B.E., Notes on the House of Macdonald of Kingsburgh and Castle Camus (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1961). Hereinafter cited as, Macdonald, Macdonalds of Kingsburgh.
- 8. George Patterson, "History of the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment," in More Studies in Nova Scotian History (Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Imperial Publishing Company, Ltd., 1941), p. 24. Hereinafter cited at Patterson, History of the 84th.
- 9. Loyalist Papers, file of Allen McDonald, Memorial dated February 8, 1785, Allen stated that he "was with his two sons and three indented servants among the prisoners." He also stated in his Schedule of Losses. "... to the value of five horses taken from me and two sons when made prisoners...," and, "... to my own and two sons baggage...."
- 10. Macdonald, Macdonalds of Kingsburgh, Family Chart.
- 11. Patterson, History of the 84th, p. 10, and Alexander McDonald, "The Letter-book of Captain Alexander McDonald," in Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the year 1882 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1883, II, 223, 467.
- 12. Alexander MacKenzie, "Hardships Endured by First Emigrants," in History of the Highland Clearances (Glasgow: Alexander Maclaren & Sors, 2nd Ed., 1946), p. 264.
- 13. Church Records in the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia.
- 14. Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1883, p. 359.
- 15. Patterson, History of the 84th, p. 33.
- i6. Loyalist Papers, file of Allen McDonald.
- 17. Records of the Crown Land Office of Nova Scotia and the Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

#### THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY

At a General Meeting of the Scottish Genealogy Society, the following Constitution was adopted on Saturday, 4th July, 1953:—

- 1. The objects of the Scottish Genealogy Society are:—
  To promote research into Scottish Family History.
  - To undertake the collection, exchange and publication of information and material relating to Scottish Genealogy, by means of meetings, lectures, etc., etc.
- 2. The Society will consist of all duly elected Members whose subscriptions are paid. A President and one or more Vice-Presidents may be elected at the Annual General Meeting.
- 3. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council consisting of Chairman, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Editor, Honorary Librarian, and not more than twelve other Members. A non-Council Member of the Society shall be appointed to audit the accounts annually.
- 4. Office-Bearers shall be elected annually. Four Ordinary Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, but shall be eligible for reelection. At meetings of the Council, a quorum shall consist of not less than one-third of the members.
- 5. An Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held at or about the end of October, on a date to be determined by the Council, at which reports will be submitted.
- 6. Members shall receive one copy of each issue of The Scottish Genealogist, but these shall not be supplied to any Members who are in arrears.
- 7. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, when a two-thirds majority will be required.

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