



# THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGIST

JUNE 2009

Gaelindians

Death records sources

Agatha, mother of St Margaret

John Carment of Rosskeen

Chechez la femme!

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY

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Vol. LVI No. 2

# The Scottish Genealogy Society

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*Front Cover:* The Society's Coat of Arms

*Back Cover:* Gaelindians William McIntosh, John Ross and Osceola.

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## GENERAL INFORMATION

The Society is an academic and consultative body whose constitutional objects are to promote research into Scottish family history and to undertake the collection, exchange and publication of information and material relating to Scottish genealogy. Copies of our Constitution are available to members upon request. We assist members with modest enquiries, but do not carry out professional research. Private researchers are available, and we can also provide an ASGRA list upon request.

### Meetings

Monthly meetings of the Society are held September to April in the Augustine United Church, 41 George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, at 7.30pm around the 15th of the month, unless otherwise stated.

### Membership

Single membership £20; Family and Institutional membership £25.

The Society is recognised by the Inland Revenue as a charity. Members who pay UK income tax are thus encouraged to pay subscriptions under the Gift Aid Scheme so that the Society may recover the tax paid on these sums. Details of arrangements for the scheme can be obtained from the UK Membership Secretary.

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General correspondence should be sent to the Honorary Secretary and subscriptions to the Membership Secretary.

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Information about the Society's publications and back numbers of The Scottish Genealogist can be obtained from the Sales Secretary.

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### The Scottish Genealogist

Relevant articles are welcomed by the Hon. Editor preferably submitted in MSWord or rtf format via email or on a CD Rom. (Please, no formatting). Illustrations are preferred in .jpeg format. Members' queries are also welcomed for inclusion in the magazine: a £2 per entry charge is made to non-members.

Email: [editor@scotsgenealogy.com](mailto:editor@scotsgenealogy.com)

### Scottish Genealogy Society Website

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# David Carment and Margaret Stormonth of Rosskeen

by David Sulman Carment

David Carment was born at Keiss in Caithness on 21st September 1772, the son of James Carment (d. 1812), a schoolteacher, and his wife Elizabeth Dunnet (b. 1730). He was also the grandson of John Carment (1672-1733) and Jean Anderson (1676-1750) of Irongray near Dumfries.

He was educated by his father and at the parish school in Canisbay. Following in his father's footsteps, at the age of 17 he was appointed parochial schoolmaster of Kincardine, a small village on the south shore of the Dornoch Firth, where he was paid the meagre amount of five Pounds a year with board in the manse. After staying for a year, in 1790 he walked for over a hundred kilometres through rugged country to Carron in Moray to assist his brother John, who taught at a school there.



Revd David Carment

## Career choices

He was later described as 'a man of large bodily presence and almost Herculean strength', and when on a visit to his father, who by then had moved to Fochabers in Moray, his appearance so impressed the Duke of Gordon that he was offered a commission in the Gordon Highlanders. Instead of accepting this, he decided to enrol as a student in King's College, Aberdeen, from where he graduated as Master of Arts in 1795. To finance his studies he worked as a tutor in the family of the parish minister of South Uist, in Scotland's remote Western Isles, where he first learned Gaelic. After graduating, he was employed for four years as parish schoolmaster at Strath, in the southern part of the island of Skye, and attended sessions at the Church of Scotland's Divinity Hall in Aberdeen. In 1799 the Presbytery of Skye licensed him to preach.

In the same year, he gave up the parish school to become tutor to the family of a Mr Macdonald, the tacksman of Scalpa, a small island near Skye. He later recalled this as being one of the happiest times of his life. In March 1803, he became assistant to Rev. Hugh Calder, Minister of the parish of Croy, very close to Inverness. As Calder was in poor health, Carment assumed most of his duties, which involved preaching in both Gaelic and English. His

preaching soon proved so attractive that many people from neighbouring parishes came to hear him. His voice 'had a compass which enabled him, without strain or effort, to make himself heard in the largest open air gatherings'.

In January 1810, he was chosen as Minister of the Gaelic Chapel in Duke Street, Glasgow, established in 1798 to serve the needs of the rapidly-growing population of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in the city. His son James later wrote that the 12 years he spent there were perhaps the busiest in his life:

*Besides two Gaelic services, he had an English sermon on the Sabbath evening, which was largely attended by many who were not Highlanders. He took an active part in the management of the various religious and charitable institutions of the city; and formed the friendship of Dr Love, Dr Balfour, Dr Hamilton of Strathblane, and Dr Chalmers.*

As the historian Ian R. MacDonald also explains, however, the 'entertaining and hugely popular David Carment' was implacably opposed to the then strengthening movement for political reforms in Britain:

*In those days, when the whiff of revolution wafting from across the English Channel was very much in the air, there were some who identified radicalism with infidelity and impiety. To be a radical was to be an infidel and some churchmen saw it as their duty to oppose the radical movement. Carment, a man with a highly developed instinct for battle, was one of those. His pamphleteering so incensed the supporters of the new movement that his life was threatened and for his own safety he had to leave Glasgow until tempers cooled.*

This episode appears to have done nothing to reduce his popularity. So many people attended his services in a building with 1263 seats that boards were placed across the aisles to increase the seating capacity. His conservative views did not prevent him from showing compassion for those in need and he was instrumental in forming a charitable organisation in Glasgow called the Highland Strangers Society.

### **Family life**

In Dundee on 30th May 1815, Carment married Margaret Stormonth (1795-1874), who had been born in Airlie, Angus, on 15th February 1795, the daughter of Rev. James Stormonth (1753-1809) and his wife Isabella (or Isobel or Issobel) Wedderburn (1753-1795).

James Stormonth was the Minister of the parish of Airlie from 1780 until his death and the owner of the nearby estate of Kinclune. His wife Isabella's family was both distinguished and controversial. Her grandfather, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, Bt. (1765-1744), was from 1696 until 1717, when he was deposed as a Stuart supporter, the Clerk of Dundee and was later Governor of nearby Broughty Ferry Castle. An uncle, Sir John Wedderburn,

Bt. (1704-1746), was executed for treason following his involvement in the Stuart rebellion of 1745. A cousin, Alexander Wedderburn, Earl of Rosslyn (1733-1805), was Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. Robert Wedderburn (1708-1785), a writer and Isabella's father, augmented the family's fortunes by marrying Isobel Edward (1718-1788), heiress to the barony of Pearsie in Angus, which remained in the Wedderburns' hands until 1950. Margaret's sister Elizabeth (1788-1854) became the mother-in-law of Margaret's son James.

Margaret Stormonth was, as James Carment wrote, 'a woman of very superior mind and eminent piety'. A family friend, Dr Alexander Beith, later described her as 'gentle, quiet, tender-hearted...a lover of good men'. He also remembered the warm hospitality at the Carments' family home in Richmond Street, Glasgow, where 'there were wont to meet the best ministers in town and country'.

Margaret and David had 10 children, most of whom died far too young: James (1816-1880), for many years the Church of Scotland and Free Church Minister at Comrie in Perth county; John (1817-1901), a prominent Edinburgh solicitor; David (1819-1839); Isabella (1821-1835); Elizabeth (1823-1873); Samuel (1825-1834); Malcolm (1827-1842); Margaret (1830-1834); Joseph (b. 1832), a civil servant in India; and Jane (b. 1834).



Rosskeen Manse

## Religion and politics

In March 1822, Carment and his family moved to the parish of Rosskeen in Ross as assistant and successor to the incumbent Minister. He became sole Minister two years later. The parish was in a picturesque setting bordering the Cromarty Firth and included three villages, the largest of which was Invergordon. The population was about 2600, mostly Gaelic-speaking.

The parish was in a run-down state. Education facilities were rudimentary and many people did not have Bibles. Before long Carment had established five new schools and obtained large numbers of Gaelic and English Bibles for distribution. His preaching made a great impression. He had, as he explained before leaving Glasgow, a very direct view of his role that implied criticism of some other Ministers:

*I treat contemptuously that learned ignorance of Christ and of the human heart which tempts men to trick poor souls with tinsel, and who spend the precious time allotted for the service of God in attending to trifles, while the great object of Paul's teaching, to win souls to Christ, seems totally forgotten or lost sight of.*

As a member of the Church of Scotland's General Assembly, he condemned the appointment to a Highland parish of a Minister who did not speak Gaelic and the system of 'pluralities' that allowed Professors of Theology to be also Ministers of parishes.

By 1840 there was a considerable religious revival in Rosskeen which was attributed to his combative and energetic approach. The 'clerical patriarch Carment', one observer noted in that year, 'looks like a man able and willing to meet a malignant on a hillside with a word or a blow'. In 1841, his parishioners presented him with silver salver and a magnificent set of English and Gaelic pulpit books, which still belong to the Carment family in Australia, as a 'token of their respect for him'. Not all observers, though, were so impressed. A colleague from another Highland parish, Rev. Donald Sage, conceded that Carment was a powerful speaker but alleged that:

*he unhappily disturbed the gravity of his hearers by indulging no ordinary powers of humour and drollery in his public orations. His sermons and speeches teemed with anecdotes and quaint and ludicrous expressions, and whether he mounted the pulpit or stood on the platform, this was exactly what his audience expected. A broad grin settled down on the face of every one of them, plainly intimating that they had made up their minds, so long as Carment was speaking, to have some fun.*

Rosskeen's improved fortunes resulted in the building of an impressive new manse in 1825 and in 1832 the largest church in northern Scotland, seating 1600 people. Carment's manse, sadly now demolished, was, James Carment recalled:



Rosskeen Church

*situated in a lovely spot, with a lawn in front, fringed by a small stream, which in those early days contained wondrous trout. There was a sweet garden, which had all been laid out under his own superintendence. The churchyard was within a few hundred yards of the manse. Six of Mr Carment's children lay buried there. They were the flower of his flock. Often, as the twilight drew on, the old man stole out to the churchyard to visit the graves of his loved ones. Their very dust was dear to him.*

While the stone church is no longer in use, it is an 'A' listed heritage building and in reasonable condition. The Carment monument in the churchyard, though, is so covered with thick branches that its inscriptions are impossible to see.

In 1838, Carment compiled a particularly detailed description of his parish for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Now an invaluable historical source, it covers topography, natural history, civil history, population, industry and parochial economy. The Duke of Sutherland, he noted, was the principal landowner. The rural population had decreased while that of the villages had increased. This, he wrote, was because of the 'doing away of the middle class of tenants, and merging their small into large farms'. Almost all residents were within six kilometres of the parish church, 'which to the hardy Highlander is only a pleasant walk'. He reckoned attendance at the three church services each Sunday as being 1200 to 1400. Most preaching was in Gaelic but there

were also regular English sermons. While he felt that the parish's fortunes had improved over the previous 40 years, he deplored the destruction of an 'independent peasantry'. The 'morals of the people', he continued, 'are deteriorated by the loss of independence, and their spirits embittered by what they deem oppression'. The changes that he condemned were also then occurring in many other parts of rural Scotland, with the notorious Highland Clearances resulting in large numbers of crofters being forcibly evicted from their lands. In Rosskeen, the population declined from 3222 in 1841 to 2699 10 years later.

During the 1830s tensions between church and state in Scotland worsened as 'Evangelicals' in the Church of Scotland, of whom David Carment was one, strongly asserted the rights of congregations to choose their own Ministers. A key factor was hostility to aristocratic privilege as embodied in the widespread exercise of patronage in ministerial appointments. The crisis came to a head with the Disruption in May 1843, when most of the Evangelical wing in the Church's General Assembly, led by Dr Thomas Chalmers, walked out to form the new Free Church of Scotland. Over two-fifths of clergy and about 40% of the laity seceded. Amongst them were David Carment and his family. In the Highlands an overwhelming majority of Church of Scotland adherents joined the Free Church. The refusal of many Highlands landlords, who viewed the Disruption as a dangerous challenge to the existing social order, to release building sites for the new denomination forced many congregations to worship in the open air. The Disruption is often described as the single most momentous event in nineteenth-century Scotland. The historian Stewart J. Brown argues that in their rejection of aristocratic privilege and Crown patronage, the outgoing clergy and laity ultimately 'contributed to the development of a more pluralistic, more liberal, and more democratic Scotland'.

As a member of the Church of Scotland's General Assembly, David Carment took an active role in these events and, in spite of his earlier conservative political inclinations and his belief that the Evangelicals should have fought longer in the civil courts, he saw no option other than to join the Free Church. The congregation actively resisted attempts to replace him with a new Church of Scotland Minister in Rosskeen, with troops being summoned from nearby Fort George to restore order. His decision also involved sacrificing an income of between 300 and 400 Pounds a year and leaving the large manse for a much smaller house in the village of Invergordon. His son John later recalled some of the trauma that involved:

*To leave such a place, and to leave the church-yard where more than half their children lay buried, was a trial which none but those who have passed through it can rightly understand... My father never faltered in his allegiance to the good cause but, although a house was taken in Invergordon to which they were to remove, he seemed to be*

*putting off the removal from day to day. One day he went in the morning to attend a meeting... My noble mother seized the opportunity, got carts, and flitted to Invergordon a mile away. When the good old man came back in the evening, he found the house locked, and had to jog on in his little pony cart the other mile, and take up his abode in the Free Church Manse.*

All but about 50 of his congregation moved with him to the Free Church. After the Disruption, he initially held two Sabbath services, one in a small chapel in Invergordon and another on a moor. Within two years, a large church seating 1100 people was built in a central location and was regularly full. It was later demolished to make way for the present church, still in use, completed in 1900. In addition to working in his own parish, he travelled widely to advance the Free Church cause and was horrified at the ways in which aristocratic landowners attempted to prevent the Church from operating. A visitor to Rosskeen and companion on some of these journeys was his Free Church friend and colleague Dr Thomas Guthrie, who recalled Carment's fluency in Gaelic and good humour. While staying at the Carment home, on a Saturday evening he asked his host whether he could have some warm water the following morning. 'Whist, whist!', Carment replied with a twinkle in his eye, 'Speak of shaving on the Lord's Day in Ross-shire, and you never need preach here more!'

### **Later years**

Age finally caught up with Carment and in July 1852 his successor was appointed to the Free Church of Rosskeen. He continued, though, to preach every Sunday until 1855. He died, according to his death certificate, of 'old age' on 26th May 1856, leaving an estate valued at 965 Pounds, six Shillings and six Pence. In one of many tributes, his close friend Rev. Andrew Gray referred to his 'great sagacity, his decision of character, his public spirit, intelligence, extensive information, and uprightness' that gave him much influence in northern Scotland. Another friend, Dr Gustavus Aird, wrote of Carment's impressive expertise in Latin and history and of how his sermons were always memorable due to their 'striking anecdotes and illustrations'.

The much younger Margaret Stormonth survived him for many years, moving to the resort town and ferry port of Largs in the county of Ayr, where she lived with her unmarried daughter Elizabeth until the latter's death in 1873. Their 'very nice, beautiful' house, her grandson John remarked after a visit in 1863, was close to the quay with a view of the steamers coming from Glasgow. Margaret's surviving letters show her as having a wide range of interests, being an avid reader and sharing her late husband's strong Christian beliefs. 'There are', she wrote on a visit to Melrose in the early 1860s:

*several good books in the parish library here. I had some very good ones out of it. The life of Martin Moor [?] among the best – it is a*

*remarkable book. Many of the volumes were extremely dirty. The people get a years reading for one shilling... When you have so much leisure you have ample opportunity for attending to the Great concern. You were sent into the World for a noble end and even to Glorify and enjoy also the great Being who created us – and who is not willing that we should perish. God knows this.*

She died of paralysis at Edinburgh on 24th October 1874.

## **THE HOMECOMING**

### **Open Days at the SGS Library**

Friday 17 July 2009 • Friday 31 July 2009 • Saturday 1 August 2009  
10am to 4pm

Take this opportunity to see around the SGS Library, discover our activities and ongoing projects, see the resources & facilities, the books, CDs, microfilms & microfiches, the vast sales stock and meet the volunteer helpers, who may be able to resolve some your questions on the day!

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**For further details contact  
John D. Stevenson or Charles Napier  
at enquiries @ [scotsgenealogy.com](http://scotsgenealogy.com) or 0131-220 3677.**

# Series of the generations: genealogy and printing

by Donald Abbott

During 2008 various exhibitions and other events commemorated five hundred years of printing in Scotland. As well as providing an opportunity to reflect on the cultural, industrial and social influence of printing, this anniversary gave plenty of scope for genealogy. A good example was the family tree of Walter Chepman, one of the first Scottish printers, contributed to the June 2008 issue of *The Scottish Genealogist* by Maurice McIlwrick.

From work carried out by Queen Margaret University, it is clear that employees of printing firms like Nelson often had some family connection with the firm, but genealogy of firm owners is easier to trace. For example, the National Archives of Scotland has recently been making available for research the Bartholomew archive, a firm founded by John Bartholomew senior in 1826. His descendant John, who died in 2008, remained active in the firm until 1985 and also followed his ancestors in playing an important part in organisations such as the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and the Scottish Rights of Way Society. Another well-known family business beginning in the early nineteenth century and continuing through five generations is William Collins. One family member, Sir Godfrey Collins, was Secretary of State for Scotland from 1932 to 1936.

As is normal, genealogy can more easily be followed where someone becomes prominent, such as Lord McCorquodale, an Oxford contemporary of Lord Home who described him as "a most successful head of the Printing Industry". The MacLehose family was already known for its long association with Glasgow University Press and its connection with the prime minister Harold Macmillan and his publishing firm, before the diplomatic career of Lord MacLehose culminated in the Governorship of Hong Kong and the award of the Order of the Thistle. Some firms, like George Waterston which continued for six or seven generations, produced booklets recording the history of the firm.

Robert Smail's printing works at Innerleithen was managed by three generations of the family and is now preserved by the National Trust for Scotland. Often firms were involved in both printing and publishing, an example being Chambers, whose last family chairman Anthony Chambers died in 2007. There was also an overlap with booksellers, ownership of Thin's being shared with the Grant family of Oliver and Boyd. At Nelson's, a family friendship became well known as John Buchan, who had joined its staff, dedicated *The Thirty-Nine Steps* to Thomas Nelson, who was killed in 1917.

In some instances families flourished while businesses closed or were sold on to larger companies. On the other hand the firm of R. and R. Clark was gifted to the University of Edinburgh in 1946 under Edward Clark's trust deed. Eventually R. and R. Clark merged with T. and A. Constable, which held the appointment of King's Printer in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Constable's is another reminder of genealogical relationships, because it was established when Sir Walter Scott's publisher Archibald Constable inherited the printing business of his father-in-law.

## **Gaelindians: Scots and Indians in Early Alabama**

**by Jean Allan and Stuart McGregor**

Throughout the month of April (2009) at the Tuscaloosa Public Library, a display for the St. Andrew's Society of Tuscaloosa included information about several Early Alabama Indian leaders of Scots and Indian ancestry. Brief biographies, a map of the pre-removal tribes in the Southeast, and replica trade goods were featured, as well as a few Scottish items. The display was located in the entrance foyer of the Library. Display proposed by Stuart McGregor, President of the St. Andrew's Society of Tuscaloosa, and Jean Allan, District Archaeologist at the Bankhead National Forest, and was assembled with assistance from Linda Graham, Vice-President of the St. Andrew's Society. Caroline Gerard of Edinburgh, Scotland, editor of the journal *The Scottish Genealogist*, offered support and comments, as did Alabama State Archaeologist Stacey Hathorn. R. "Leh" Lehman of Ariton, Alabama, who portrayed an 18th Century Scots trader in "living history" performances, provided replicas of period trade goods and advice.

### **Alexander McGillivray**

**b. 15 Dec 1750 Little Tallasee, Alabama**

**d. 17 Feb 1793 Pensacola, Florida**

Alexander McGillivray was the son of the Scots trader Lachlan McGillivray and a Muskogee Creek woman named Sehoy. He grew up in matrilineal Creek society as a member of his mother's Wind Clan. McGillivray, a controversial Creek leader in the 1780s and 1790s, negotiated with European powers to protect Creek interests. He also initiated reforms within Creek society. In addition to the influence of his mother's people, McGillivray became comfortable in the colonial society of his father. Like his father, he used trading to increase his position. He spent time in Augusta, Georgia, received an education in Charleston, South Carolina, and held a business apprenticeship in Savannah, Georgia before returning to Creek society in 1777. He worked for British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Scotsman John Stuart (known to the Cherokee as "Bushyhead") and also worked for Stuart's successor, Thomas Brown. During the American Revolution, he served as an officer in the British army and orchestrated alliances between Creek and British forces. After the war, he became a leading spokesman for the Creek Nation.

**Scots Ancestry:** Alexander's father Lachlan McGillivray was born ca 1719 in Daviot Parish, Inverness-shire to William McGillivray and Janet McIntosh. By the mid-1740s, he was established as a trader to the Upper Creek Nation in what is now east central Alabama. Lachlan McGillivray died on 16 Nov 1799 at Dunmaglass, Inverness-shire.



Portrait by John Trumbull (1756-1843)

## William McIntosh

b. ca 1775 probably Russell Co., Alabama

d. 30 Apr 1825 Carroll Co., Georgia

William McIntosh, known as "White Warrior", was the son of Scotsman Captain William McIntosh and a Muskogee Creek woman named Senoya. William's



father recruited for the British in Creek territory during the Revolutionary War. During the War of 1812, when loyalties were divided, William McIntosh led a Creek force against other Creeks. In the Creek War of 1813-1814, he led General Andrew Jackson's Creek volunteer troops, making him an enemy of some of his fellow tribesmen. For his services at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and elsewhere, he was commissioned a Brigadier General in the United States Army. After the Creek War, McIntosh built a plantation on the Chattahoochee River called Acorn Bluff that was worked by 72 slaves. McIntosh also fought for the United States in the First Seminole War where he

Portrait by Charles Bird King (1785-1862)

played a major role in the capture of Fort Gadsden, located on the lower Apalachicola River. McIntosh signed the Treaty of Indian Springs on February 12, 1825, illegally transferring Creek lands to the United States. In retaliation, on April 30, 1825, around 200 Creeks, led by Chief Menawa, set fire to McIntosh's plantation and executed him.

**Scots Ancestry:** William's father Capt. William McIntosh born about 1749 in Georgia Territory was the son of John McIntosh and Margaret or Marian McGillivray. John is alleged to have been the son of Lt. Benjamin McIntosh. The McIntosh family from Inverness were settlers of the Scottish Darien Georgia colony which was founded in 1735. McIntosh Bluff north of Mobile Alabama was near John McIntosh's home.

## Osceola

b. ca 1804 Tallassee, Alabama

d. 30 Jan 1838 Fort Moultrie, South Carolina

Osceola was the son of a Muskogee Creek woman named Polly Coppinger who was the granddaughter of Scots trader James McQueen. Osceola's father may have been an English trader named William Powell. The Creeks traced clan membership through the mother so Osceola considered himself to be a Creek. In 1814, Osceola moved from Alabama to Florida with a group of Creeks who formed part of the Seminoles. Numerous escaped slaves also joined the group. One of Osceola's wives was among these African-Americans. He fiercely opposed enslavement. When the United States tried to remove the Seminoles from their lands, Osceola led a small band of warriors in the Seminole resistance during the Second Seminole War. Osceola was a supporter



Portrait by George Catlin (1796-1872)

of the Seminole chief Micanopy who refused the United States government's mandate for the Seminoles move to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. On December 28, 1835, Osceola and his followers shot and killed federal Indian agent Wiley Thomson and six others outside of Fort King, Georgia. Tricked into thinking he was negotiating a truce, Osceola was captured and imprisoned at St. Augustine. He and other Seminole prisoners were moved to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. He died less than three months after his capture.

**Scots Ancestry:** Osceola's great grandfather James McQueen, a Scotsman, was one of the first traders in Creek Territory. He was there by 1714 and remained there for over 80 years. James McQueen was believed to have been born ca 1683 in Inverness-shire.

## John Ross

b. 3 Oct 1790 Turkeytown (near Gadsden), Alabama

d. 1 Aug 1866 Washington D.C.

John Ross was the son of Scotsman Daniel Ross and Mollie McDonald, a Cherokee woman of Cherokee and Scots ancestry. In terms of heritage,



Portrait by Charles Bird King (1785-1862)

education, and economic pursuits, Ross had much in common with his political foes President Andrew Jackson and Georgia Governor George Gilmer. Ross grew up in both Cherokee and frontier Anglo-American environments. Educated in English, he spoke it better than he did Cherokee. He was one of the wealthiest members of the tribe. In 1816, his family founded Ross's Landing, on the Tennessee River in an area that later became part of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Eleven years later, he moved closer to the Cherokee capital, New

Echota, Georgia. The forced removal of the Cherokee to Indian Territory in Oklahoma, "Trail of Tears", began in 1838. Ross' support of the "removal" earned him the contempt of some Cherokee factions. Ross was Principle Chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1828 to 1866.

**Scots ancestry:** John Ross's father, Daniel Ross, was alleged to have been born 1 Nov 1760 in Sutherlandshire. This birthplace may have been suggested due to Sutherland's association with Clan Ross. Thus far, no record has been located for a Daniel or Donald Ross born about 1760 in Sutherland. Ross is a common surname throughout Scotland. Daniel Ross was a trader among the Cherokee. John Ross's maternal grandfather, John McDonald, was born abt. 1747, probably in Inverness-shire, and was an Indian agent among the Cherokee.

**William Weatherford**  
**b. 1781 Upper Creek Territory, Alabama**  
**d. 24 Mar 1824 Alabama**

William Weatherford was the son of British trader Charles Weatherford and a Muskogee Creek woman named Sehoy (not McGillivray's mother of the same name). William Weatherford was a nephew of Alexander McGillivray and a cousin of William McIntosh. In February 1813, during the Creek Civil War, Weatherford joined the Red Sticks, a faction of Creeks who believed in a prophecy that called for a return to native ways and the extermination of English settlers on lands formerly held by Native Americans. Late in August of 1813, he led a war party against Fort Mims on the lower Alabama River.



Engraving by W. Ridgway (fl. 1860-95) from a painting by John R. Chapin (1823-1904), depicting William Weatherford's surrender to Andrew Jackson.

He also fought against the Alabama Militia at the Battle at the Holy Ground near present day Lowndes County, Alabama where he escaped capture. At the climactic Battle of Horseshoe Bend, where, along with 200 other Creeks, he again escaped capture. He later surrendered at Fort Toulouse, near present day Wetumpka. President Andrew Jackson spared Weatherford and used him to bring other Creeks to a peace conference. After the war, Weatherford settled in the lower part of Monroe County, Alabama, where he became a wealthy planter. William Weatherford's grave and that of his mother, Sehoy, can be visited in north Baldwin County, Alabama.

**Scots Ancestry?:** William Weatherford's father Charles has been referred to as a "Scots trader." It appears upon further investigation that Charles was American born and his ancestry is probably English though the Weatherfords could have immigrated to America from the Scottish border area.

# The Ancestry of Agatha, Mother of St. Margaret of Scotland

by John P. Ravilious

Edmund 'Ironside', King of England, had among his misfortunes the aftermath of his father Æthelræd II's reign with which to commence his own rule. Fighting the tide of Danish power, he mounted an impressive campaign against the army of the Danish prince Cnut and brought much of Wessex under his power. However, an exhausted nation and a determined enemy make a poor foundation for the best of kings: the outcome may have been inevitable, but the treachery of Ædric Streona at the battle of Assandun made Danish victory certain. By the treaty of 1016 made with Cnut at Olney near Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, Edmund accepted the partition of England and the provision that the survivor of the two would succeed to the entire realm. It is possible that Edmund agreed to the treaty in part to prepare for a future campaign of reconquest, but any such hope was cut short by his assassination on 30 November 1016, resulting in the unification of the country under Cnut.

The treaty of Olney had a provision requiring the survivor to act as guardian for the sons of the other. Cnut was therefore charged with the safe-keeping of the deceased King Edmund's sons, Edmund and Edward Ætheling, but had no intention of raising up future opponents for his own sons. Acting as a prototypical King Claudius, he sent the young Æthelings overseas with the intent that they be put to death. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states in retrospect on the return of Edward Ætheling to England in 1057,

'This etheling King Knute had sent to Hungary, to betray him; but he there grew in favour with good men, as God granted him, and it well became him; so that he obtained the emperor's cousin in marriage, and by her had a fair offspring. Her name was Agatha.' [1]

This is one of the sources for the career of Edward Ætheling as it has been traditionally told. The earliest and the latest aspects of his life are generally agreed upon as fact: (1) Edward and his brother Edmund were spared, and at least Edward survived to adulthood; and (2) Edward, marrying Agatha and raising a family in Hungary, returned to England in 1057 where he came to a sudden death. The children of this marriage are well-known: the son Edgar, unsuccessful claimant to the English throne; Christina, a nun of the priory of Romsey; and Margaret, 2nd wife of Malcolm III, by which she became Queen of Scots, and ancestress of all future Kings of Scots (from 1097) and of England (from 1154), and many more besides.

Unfortunately, beyond the beginning and ending periods of Edward Ætheling's life, little else is certain. This has much to do with the identity of Edward's wife Agatha, whose land of birth and ancestry has been anything but



Queen Margaret, as depicted on the former Dean School, Edinburgh

universally understood. Reexamination of her being identified as the daughter of King Stephen of Hungary has found this to be untenable, both on chronological grounds and the history of the succession to the Hungarian throne after 1038. As a result, she has subsequently been most frequently identified by researchers as the daughter of the Emperor Henry III's half-brother Liudolf, or of Yaroslav, Grand Duke of Kiev [2]. The publications in question have sought to

reconcile the known evidence, but as yet no single solution has received general acceptance except as a definite possibility.

In order to solve the mystery surrounding Agatha's origin, it is first necessary to examine the background of Cnut, England's new King who had exiled her husband Edward. Cnut's father was Sweyn, king of Denmark (d. 1014), commonly called 'Forkbeard'. His mother has been frequently misidentified: her baptismal name [Gunhild or Gunhilda] is certain, and she was in fact a sister of Boleslaw 'Chrobry', duke of Poland (992-1025) [3]. Sweyn separated from her and banished her to Poland when he sought to marry the widow of Eric of Sweden. Cnut's life as a young man prior to his father's death is virtually unknown. He was baptized either as a child or a young man, and given the Christian name Lambert. This is evidence of a Polish connection, as both his mother's younger brother and his first cousin Mieszko (later Mieszko II of Poland) were named Lambert at their own christenings. Michael Hare observed,

"Nothing is known of Cnut's childhood and it is quite possible that at some stage, he was sent to the court of his successful Polish uncle, Boleslaw Chrobry. In such circumstances, he might have accepted Christianity and the baptismal name Lambert under the influence of the Polish court." [4]

Cnut is next noted fighting for his father in England. Following the death of Sweyn in 1014, Cnut and his brother Harald went to Poland and brought their mother back, presumably to Denmark [5]. It appears that Cnut was raised

under the influence of his mother and his uncle Duke Boleslaw, and that following his father's death in England Cnut sought to restore his mother to her due honor, and to maintain his good relations with his uncle.

It is in this context that we should consider the accounts of John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury with regard to the exile of Edward Ætheling and his brother. John and William provided essentially the same story regarding the departure from England and escape from death as part of a compressed account of the first 30 years or so of Edward's life:

"Dedit etiam consilium Edricus, ut clitunculos, Eadwardum et Eadmundum, regis Eadmundi filios, necaret; sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur ut in Anglia perimerentur, parvo elapso tempore, ad regem Suanorum occidentos misit; qui, licit foedus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Ungariorum, Salomonum nomine, misit nutriendos, vitaeque reservandos:..." [6]

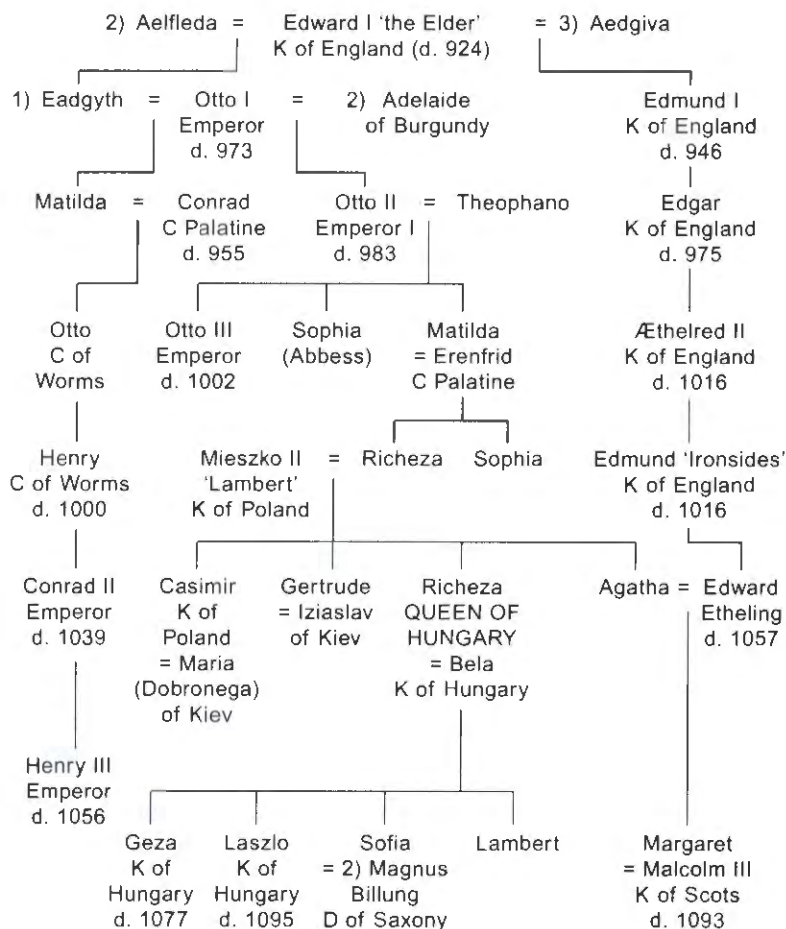
"Filii ejus Edwius et Edwardus, missi ad regem Swevorum ut perimerentur, sed miseratione ejus conservati, Hunorum regem petierunt;..." [7]

These accounts have been taken to mean that the two princes were sent to the king of the Swedes ('ad regem Suanorum') with the intent of meeting a swift end, but that the Swedish king relented and sent them to Hungary. The identification of Sweden as their initial destination - their final destination, according to Cnut's orders - was understood by Szabolcs de Vajay and subsequent authors as meaning their exile to the court of Olaf Skotkonung, king of Sweden [8]. This was seen as logical in part due to Olaf's alliance with Cnut, his half-brother. This is not quite correct, as they were step-brothers: Olaf's mother was Sigrid, the widow of Eric of Sweden, married by Sweyn (Cnut's father) after Eric's death as mentioned above. Beyond this, the only near-contemporaneous evidence concerning Olaf of Sweden's part in the exile of the Æthelings is the above record, provided by John of Worcester and taken up by William of Malmesbury.

The text above from John of Worcester is that used by Jetté, where the phrase 'ad regem Suanorum' was given. The phrase in the MS. is 'ad regem Suuanorum' [9]. Given the similarity of the accounts by John and William, and the variant destinations assigned to the Æthelings ['ad regem Suuanorum' according to John of Worcester, and 'ad regem Swevorum' per William of Malmesbury], it seems most likely that the original source used by these writers provided a different designation altogether. As Ingham noted, the use of the term 'Suevi' [gen. plural 'Suevorum' or 'Swevorum'] by William of Malmesbury is now known to be erroneous, if 'Swedes' was in fact the people meant [10]: a presumption that Sweden was intended is carried through in his article, but the underlying error created by the phrase 'ad regem Swevorum' still remains. ]

**Table I**

Agatha of Poland and her relations:  
England, the Western Empire, Poland and Hungary



The designation of a particular people as 'Suauorum' should be considered carefully, including the possibility of either geographic or scribal error. During this period 'Suauorum', 'Suavorum' or 'Swevorum' was used by continental writers to refer to the Swabians, inhabitants of Swabia in southwestern Germany. It is certain that Cnut did not send the Æthelings to Swabia: in addition to the challenges to both logic and geography, there was no 'king of the Swabians' in Cnut's day, as it was then a duchy, part of the kingdom of Germany. William of Jumièges, writing in the early-to-mid-11th century concerning the death of Sweyn and Æthelred II's return from Normandy in

1014, mentioned that Cnut 'sent messengers to seek the support of two kings, Lacman of the Swedes [sic] and Olaf of the Norsemen.' In the *Gesta*, William called the kings "Lacman equidem Suauorum et Olauum Noricorum" [11]. Elisabeth van Houts noted the error, either by the writer or the translator: "Lacman was not king of the Swedes. He might have been king of the Hebrides, as suggested by Adigard des Gautries, p. 69 n. 12, who proposes the emendation 'Sudrorum'." [12]

In 1882, the historian Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup noted that Florence [now known to have been John] of Worcester wrote of the Æthelings being sent "ad regem Suuavorum", using the same or similar copy used by William of Malmesbury who rendered this as "ad regem Swevorum". Steenstrup specifically stated that in the case of John of Worcester this was either an error in writing the account, or an erroneous usage of the term. Steenstrup held that where 'Suavi' was indicated by John, 'Sclavi' was intended, and that the children of Edmund were in fact sent to a Slavic land, and not to Sweden [13]. Steenstrup also showed that the letter of Cnut in which he is called 'rex totius Angliae et Denemarchiae et Norregiae et partis Suavorum' refers not to 'part of Sweden', but rather 'part of the lands of the Slavs', i.e. lands near Denmark south of the Baltic [14]. This would explain the variance between the two accounts: an earlier source may well have given the Æthelings' destination as 'ad regem sclauorum', with a subsequent transcription rendering the -cl- into a -u- (then 'suauorum') and yet another rendering the second -u- into an -n- (then 'suanorum'). William of Malmesbury's 'swevorum' would have been a phonetic rendering of the first error, and John of Worcester's a variant (whether 'suanorum' or 'suauorum') of the second.

It is then likely that Cnut sent the Æthelings directly to a Slavic land. At a glance, this would agree with the understanding that Edward Ætheling had gone to Russia prior to his eventual arrival in Hungary. It is understood that Edward evidently did reside for a period in Rus' (presumably lands subject to Kiev) [15]. However, Poland was the more likely Slavic destination for the Æthelings in late 1016 or 1017. Poland was then under the firm hand of Boleslaw Chrobry, while Russia was in the throes of a power struggle following the death of Vladimir of Kiev in 1015. His son Sviatopolk, ruler of Turov in Vladimir's lifetime, had several of his brothers killed in order to obtain and hold the principality of Kiev. Sviatopolk was in fact the son-in-law of Boleslaw. Yaroslav, a younger son of Vladimir, sought to seize power and expelled him from Kiev in 1016; Sviatopolk then obtained the assistance of Boleslaw, whose troops took Kiev from Yaroslav in 1018 and placed Sviatopolk and his wife back in power, if only temporarily [16]. Ruthenia (Red Russia) was annexed by Boleslaw, and was held by his son Mieszko II until Yaroslav of Kiev successfully drove the Poles out in 1031 [17]. At the time of the exile of the Æthelings, Boleslaw 'Chrobry' was the ruler of a stable Slavic state in Poland,

and effectively the 'king of (Red) Russia'.

The unsettled state of affairs east of Poland during the period from July 1015 to 1018 make it rather unlikely that Cnut would have arranged for the Æthelings to go to Novgorod, Kiev or any other Russian principality. The greater likelihood, given the political situation and Cnut's own relations with Poland, was that the Æthelings were sent to his uncle Bolesaw. There is evidence that appears to corroborate this in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, which states that Edward the Exile was received by a king named 'Malesclodus' or 'Malesclodus'.

*'Iste supradictus Edmundus habuit filium quendam qui uocatus est Ædwardus, qui mortuo patre timore regis Canuti aufugit de ista terra usque ad terram Rugorum, quam nos uocamus Russeiam. Quem rex ipsius terre, Malesclodus nomine, ut audiuit et intellexit quis esset et unde esset, honeste retinuit eum.'* [18]

The identification by the author of the *Leges* that 'Russia' was the destination to which Cnut sent Edward Ætheling is less than specific, and misleading at best. As noted above, 'Red Russia' was then held by Cnut's uncle Duke Boleslav; most of what is now western Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine were held by princes of the Rurikid dynasty under the nominal rule of Kiev. In addition, Imre, son of King Stephen of Hungary, was about this time called 'dux Ruizorum' due to either holding lands in the eastern part of the Hungarian kingdom, or (according to Paul Lendvai) being head of a Varangian-style bodyguard of the King [19]. Added to the several Rurikid princes, we then have the Duke of Poland and the King of Hungary who might be said at the time to rule in 'Russia'.

Ingham made a direct correlation of 'Malesclodus', or 'Malesclodus', with Yaroslav, which follows on a statement to that effect by Liebermann: however, this is apparently due to the perception that no eastern European ruler other than Yaroslav could have been 'Malesclodus' [20]. An extended argument was made to equate 'Malesclodus' with Yaroslav of Kiev, but before accepting this it should be remembered that the author of the entry in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* was likely a native speaker of French, and not of any Slavic tongue. 'Malesclodus' appears to be a Latin rendering by someone hearing the gallicized name "Mallescold" or "Maillescold" [with the -ll- having the same pronunciation as in "Guillaume"]. The Polish name Mieszko would be reasonably rendered into French as "Millesco". It would not be difficult to conceive of a French-speaking noble or cleric being told of a ruler named 'Mieszko' to have taken the name as 'Millesco', and to have communicated the same on to another party by whom the name was rendered as 'Maillesco' [21]. Ingham favored Yaroslav as the father of Agatha but acknowledged the possibility of a Polish connection, as he stated that 'Malesclodus' might recall Pol. Mieszko or E. Sl. Mstislav (the name of Yaroslav's brother) [22].

Following on the death of Boleslaw Chrobry, his son Mieszko II was duke of Poland (1025-1034) during the earlier period of Edward the Exile's stay in eastern Europe. As noted above, Mieszko's duchy included Ruthenia early in his reign, which he lost to Yaroslav ca. 1031: control was temporarily reestablished by his grandson Boleslaw II, who captured Kiev in 1069 for his sister Gertrude and her husband Iziaslav [23]. At the time the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* were written (ca. 1130-1140), it is certainly possible that a number of details, including the name of Mieszko II, the Polish governance of Ruthenia (1018-1031, and again ca. 1069-1077), and the kingship of Boleslaw II (crowned 1076) had become adequately confused as to be conflated by the author of the *Leges* into one person. Taken together with the geographic remoteness of eastern Europe, the political instability of Rus', and the relationship of Cnut to the Polish ducal family, the best possible explanation is that 'Malescoldus' was in fact 'Mieszko'.

Having identified Mieszko II of Poland as 'Malescoldus', the following observation by Ingham concerning the text of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* should be noted:

'That it was a daughter of "King Malesclodus" whom Edward the Exile married is evident enough from the juxtaposition of statements in the *Leges Edwardi*. The preceding phrase does not mention the name of an English king either. It was unnecessary: the names of Margaret's two grandfathers had been given just before that Edward and Malesclodus (Iaroslav). As the writer assumes we understand the first name, he appears to assume the second, and he gives no hint that some other, unspecified noble or royal parentage is intended for Agatha (whose own name, by the way, is likewise omitted here).' [24]

Taking the identification of 'Malescoldus' as set forth above, and placing it in the context of Ingham's statement, we arrive at a novel proposal: that Agatha, wife of Edward Ætheling, was the daughter of Mieszko II, duke of Poland. There are a number of facts which support this filiation:

1. A daughter of Mieszko II of Poland and his wife Richeza of Lorraine would have been (on her mother's side) a great-niece of Otto III, and also would have been a blood relation of both Henry II (2nd cousin 2x removed) and Henry III (3rd cousin 1x removed). This would match reasonably the understanding, drawn from the statement in John of Worcester, that she was the 'daughter of a kinsman of Emperor Henry' [25]. Duke Mieszko had no known blood relationship to any of the German Emperors, but by this solution he was related by marriage to all three [See Table I below].

The older record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that Edward "obtained the emperor's cousin in marriage" [26]. This is more of a general statement, and would be correct based on the parentage shown

herein for Agatha. It is possible that John of Worcester took this same information and gave it additional (if erroneous) detail.

2. William of Malmesbury is rightly accorded recognition as a creditable source concerning the family of Queen (formerly Empress) Matilda, maternal granddaughter of St. Margaret [27]. In his version, somewhat abbreviated from that of John of Worcester, William stated that of the Æthelings, 'the younger married Agatha, sister of the Queen [of Hungary]' ["minor Agatham reginae sororem in matrimonium accepit"] [28]. Agatha, as a daughter of Mieszko II and Richeza, was the sister of the Queen of Hungary: in this case, Richeza, Queen of Bela I (1061-1063). This would not have been the case when Agatha was in Hungary, as Richeza became Queen after Agatha and her family departed for England in 1057. It is not unreasonable for the reader to impute this, but there is no statement in Malmesbury or elsewhere that Edward Ætheling's wife was 'sister of the woman who was Queen of Hungary when Agatha was living in Hungary'. This chronological detail was likely not known to William of Malmesbury.

3. The relationship to the German emperor does not suffer from the disability of consanguinity associated with Vajay's theory. Had Agatha been the niece of Henry III, she and Edward the Exile would have been related in the 5th and 6th degrees of consanguinity: Liudolf (half-brother of Henry III) was descended from Otto I by his first wife Eadgyth of Wessex, half-sister of Edmund the Elder, King of England (d. 946), gg grandfather of Edward the Exile. More importantly, Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England and great-granddaughter of Agatha, was first married to the Emperor Henry V, grandson of Henry III. Matilda and Henry would have been related in the 3rd and 5th degrees of consanguinity if Agatha was a niece of Henry III [See Table III]. While many marriages might have escaped scrutiny or the benefit of recorded evidence of a dispensation, this marriage surely would not have gone without notice or comment from Rome. This particular Emperor was involved in the Investiture Controversy with the Papacy, and was excommunicated by both Pope Paschal II and his successor, Gelasius II. The lack of any evidence of a dispensation or of excommunication for lack of same is strongly indicative that such a close relationship between Matilda and the Emperor Henry V did not exist.

Questions also have been raised in this respect as to Agatha's name. In most discussions on the subject, most authors have suggested a Greek connection, or at least via the Orthodox Church, which has led to attribution to descent from a Byzantine princess. This was taken by Jetté to support a Russian origin for Agatha [29]. Richeza, wife of Mieszko II and alleged mother of Agatha, was the granddaughter of the (German) Emperor Otto II by his wife Theophano, long thought to be of imperial birth (i.e. a Porphyrogenita)

but identified as being most likely a daughter of Constantinos Skleros and his wife Sophia Phokaina [30]. Theophano was then related to Byzantine Emperors including John Tzimiskes, during whose reign she was married to Otto II of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the subsequent emperor Constantine X Ducas, and the descendants of Alexius Comnenus. This would provide an obvious source for the name Sophia, born by the grandmother, aunt, sister, and granddaughters (and beyond) of Richeza of Lorraine [31].

The name Agatha has also been attributed to a Greek derivation through the family of Yaroslav of Kiev, allegedly her father. While influence through the introduction of the Orthodox church into Russia could be argued, this provides no support for a Kievan ancestry for Agatha. Beyond the residency of Edward Ætheling in Russia, there is the phrase in a later (ca. 1200) version of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* in which the author extolls St. Margaret's English ancestry on her father's side, and "on her mother's from the race and blood of the kings of the Rugi": Lieberman showed this to be a later interpolation [32]. Given the overall confusion in the late 12th century as to Agatha and her ancestry, this should be seen as a further gloss on the subject.



St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh Castle  
From Grant's "Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. I"

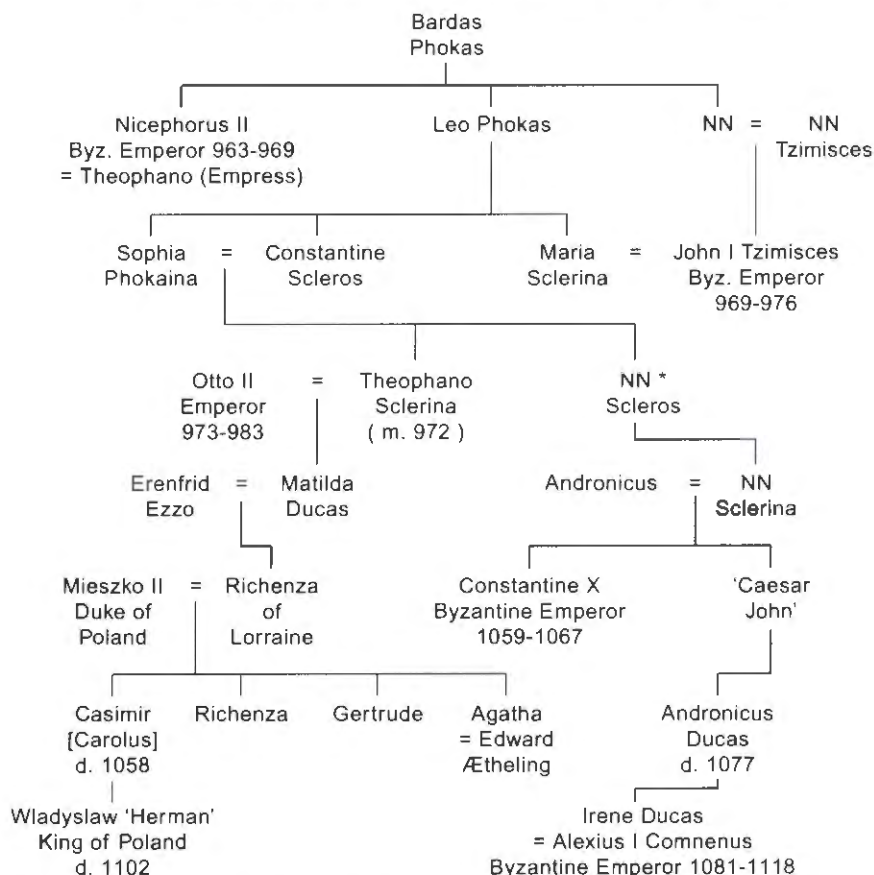
It is arguable that the name Agatha came into the family of the dukes of Poland from the same Byzantine source, but no direct evidence has been noted as yet. There was, however, a German source through the Ezzonid family. MichaelAnne Guido has found a close association of the Ezzonids with the Abbey of Nivelles. Richeza, sister of Erenfrid Ezzo and aunt of her namesake the wife of Mieszko II of Poland, was abbess of Nivelles, and was succeeded by her niece Adelheid, sister of the younger Richeza. Among noted individuals associated with Nivelles, Itta (d. 652), wife of Pepin of Landen and ancestress of the Carolingians, founded Nivelles: her daughter St. Gertrude (d. 659) was the first abbess of Nivelles. Further, one of the early saints associated with Nivelles was St. Agatha. There was a portico in the church of St. Mary's at Nivelles dedicated to St. Agatha: this is where St. Gertrude died. The two main chapels in the abbey of Nivelles were those of St. Gertrude and St. Agatha [33]. Based upon these associations between these saints, and the abbey of Nivelles and the Ezzonid family, Ms. Guido suggests that Mieszko II and his wife Richeza named their younger daughters Gertrude (wife of Iziaslav of Kiev, heir of Yaroslav) in honor of St. Gertrude, and Agatha (wife of Edward Ætheling) in honor of St. Agatha. This close association with Nivelles (a foundation of the early Carolingians) likely explains the choice of the baptismal name of Carolus [Charles] for Casimir, the son of Mieszko II and Richeza who succeeded to the duchy in 1034 [34].

The references to the family of Agatha are puzzling in part due to their lack of direct reference to her parents, especially given the prominence of her daughter Margaret. This is more understandable when the social order of the time and Margaret's own life are considered. While Agatha's father was the duke of Poland and her mother of imperial kinship, Margaret was born and raised in Hungary, the daughter of a royal English exile and his Polish-German wife. During her life in Hungary, her uncle Casimir of Poland was re-established as ruler of Poland (1039) through the influence of his kinsman the Emperor Henry III, and was careful to retain the title of Duke in subordination to the Empire. To the English annalists, Margaret's relationship to the duke of Poland, or the count palatine of Lorraine, may well have been known, but was of no great import: Agatha's sister was known to have been the Queen of Hungary, and she was herself near kin to the German Emperors as well as the Emperors of the Eastern Empire. A medieval writer such as William of Malmesbury would not have spent precious ink concerning comital or ducal kin when there were royal and imperial relationships to be extolled.

### **Chronology and Conclusion**

Mieszko II of Poland and Richeza were married in 1013. Their son Casimir (baptized as Carolus) was born 25 July 1016 [35], and their daughter Richeza allegedly born soon thereafter. It appears reasonable that Agatha, not being named for a mother or grandmother, was a younger daughter and most likely born during the period from 1020 to 1025, and possibly as late as 1030. This

Table II

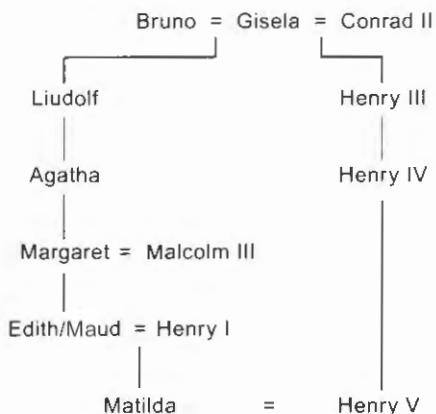
Agatha of Poland and her relations: the Eastern Empire and Poland

\* The noted genealogist Christian Settipani has stated that the Emperor Constantine X Ducas was either the grandson, or great-grandson, of Constantine Scleros and Sophia Phokaina. It appears the latter version is most likely and is reflected in the chart above.

comports well with her placement as wife of Edward Ætheling, given that he was born most likely in 1016, or early 1017 (if posthumously).

The reception which the Æthelings received in Poland was not that which Boleslaw's nephew Cnut had intended. Whether the two young exiles continued to be sustained in Poland into adulthood is uncertain, but it does appear that in the latter part of Boleslaw's rule or early in that of Mieszko II there was a divergence of interests between Cnut and the Polish dukes. Cnut came to deal amicably with the Emperor Conrad II and his son Henry III: he

**Table III**  
Consanguinity and the 'Liudolf Solution'



attended the consecration of Gisela, Conrad's queen, as Empress in Rome in 1027, and contracted his daughter Gunhilda to Henry III in 1035 [36]. Cnut's interests were well north and west of Poland: given his Danish border with Germany, he likely saw far more benefit in working with the Empire than against it.

Andrew, Bela and Levente of Hungary fled Hungary for Poland following their father's execution in 1037. Bela stayed in Poland at the court of Casimir, while Andrew and Levente went on to the court of Yaroslav of Kiev. During this period (ca. 1038-1047), Duke Casimir of Poland (successor to his father Mieszko II) was fighting against the duke of Masovia and his allies the Lithuanians. In alliance with Casimir, Yaroslav of Kiev directed attacks against Yatvingia (1038), Lithuania and Masovia (1040) and again additional attacks in 1044. The year 1043 saw a number of marriages which were evidently intended to cement the good relations between Casimir and Yaroslav, between Yaroslav and the exile Andrew of Hungary, and also between Casimir and his Hungarian guests. Casimir of Poland married Yaroslav's half-sister Dobronega, and Casimir's sister Gertrude was married to Yaroslav's son Iziaslav. The refugee Bela of Hungary married Richeza, sister of Casimir of Poland, at the same time or shortly before, while his older brother Andrew married Anastasia, one of Yaroslav's daughters. I suggest that the English refugee Edward, apparently part of Yaroslav's court ca. 1043-1046 and no stranger to Casimir, was married at the same time to Agatha, one of the sisters of Casimir of Poland, and sister-in-law of Casimir's ally, Bela of Hungary.

Andrew and Bela returned to Hungary in 1046 at the time of a revolt and ousted their kinsman Peter from the throne. Ingham noted, 'We can assume

fairly safely that Edward went to Hungary in 1046 as part of the army that helped put his fellow exile Andrew ... on the throne' [37]. Given the alliance between Kiev and Poland at this time, it is a reasonable assumption that Edward Ætheling took part in the return to Hungary in 1046 in support of Andrew and his brother-in-law Bela. Agatha likely followed soon thereafter; Margaret, daughter of Edward and Agatha, was born in Hungary soon thereafter.

#### NOTES

- [1] James Ingram and James H. Ford, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (El Paso: Norte Press, 2005), p. 148, sub A.D. 1057.
- [2] Agatha was long held to have been the daughter of Stephen I, King of Hungary (reigned as King, 1000-1038; better known as St. Stephen) by his wife Gisela, sister of the German Emperor Henry II (d. 1024). Szabolcs de Vajay published an article in which he argued that Agatha was the daughter of Liudolf, an elder half-brother of the Emperor Henry III (Szabolcs de Vajay, "Agatha, Mother of Saint Margaret, Queen of Scotland", in *Duquesne Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring 1962), pp. 71-80). This was supported by Gabriel Ronay in *The Lost King of England: The East European Adventures of Edward the Exile* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989). This was contested by Jetté in an article seeking to establish that Agatha was "very likely the daughter of Jaroslav I, Grand-Prince of Kiev, and of Ingegarde of Sweden" [Rene Jetté, "Is the Mystery of the Origin of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile, Finally Solved?" in *NEHGR* 150 (1996), pp. 417-431]. Subsequent publications have essentially supported either Vajay [e.g. David Faris and Douglas Richardson, "The Origin of Agatha - The Debate Continues: The Parents of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile", in *NEHGR* 152 (1998)] or Jetté [e.g. Norman W. Ingham, "Has a Missing Daughter of Jaroslav Mudryi Been Found?" in *Russian History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Fall 1998), pp. 231-270]. Summaries of the dispute have been published from time to time, including in 2002 by Gregory Lauder-Frost in "Agatha - The Ancestry Dispute", *The Scottish Genealogist*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Sept 2002), pp. 71-72.
- [3] Her name is understood to have been Swietoslawa; she was given the Christian name Gunhild[a] at her baptism. She was a daughter of Mieszko I, duke of Poland, and the sister of Mieszko's successor Boleslaw Chrobry. See Simon Keynes, Cnut's Earls, in Alexander R. Rumble, ed., *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), p. 64, [cites *Chronicon ex Chronicis* I:165]. That her Polish name was Swietoslawa is supported by the apparent use of this distinctly Slavic name in the next generation: 'Santslaue', the sister of King Cnut, is recorded as a benefactor of the New Minster Winchester in the *Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey*. See *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Longmans and Co., 1896), Vol. II, p. 309 [cites British Library, Stowe 944, f. 26].
- [4] Michael Hare, Cnut and Lotharingia: two notes, in *Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000) 29:268.
- [5] "Pariter uero Sclaunoniam adierunt, et matrem suam, quae illuc morabatur, reduxerunt" [Alistair Campbell and Simon Keynes, ed. *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), p. 18. Previous editions provide a 'traditional' spelling of "vero Sclavoniam" [see G. H. Pertz, ed., *Cnutonis regis Gesta sive Encomium Emmae Reginae auctore monacho Sancti Bertini* (Hannover, 1865), p. 12]. See also Laurence M. Larson, *Cnut the Great* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 31-32; Jon Stefansson, Ph.D., *Denmark and Sweden, with Iceland and Finland* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), pp. 7-9; and Rev. William Hunt, "Canute", *Dictionary of National Biography* (1887) IX:2.
- [6] Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex chronicis* (London: English Historical Society, 1848), I:181.
- [7] Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, atque Historia Novella* (London: English Historical Society, 1840), I:303. The editor notes, for Edwius: "We should probably read here 'Edmundus.'" The most recent critical edition [not seen in full] is R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom, eds., *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford Medieval Texts series, 1998-9). The editors note re: their rendering of 'Edwius et Eduardus', "'Edwius' is a slip for 'Edmundus', doubtless prompted by what has gone before." [Vol. II (1999), p. 168].
- [8] Vajay, *ibid.*, p. 72; Jetté, *ibid.*, p. 418; Ingham, *ibid.*, pp. 246-8.
- [9] Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 157, ff. 327-328. This manuscript source was brought to my attention by Nathaniel L. Taylor, who additionally pointed possible reading and scribal errors with regard to a pre-Malmesbury source.

- [10] Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 246 wrote concerning this and other errors by William of Malmesbury: 'He makes a mistake about Edmund's name (apparently confusing it with that of the father's brother), calls the Swedes "Suevi" and the Hungarians "Huns" (typical substitutions in that period), and like almost all the chroniclers omits the Rus' sojourn of the brothers.'
- [11] Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 20-21.
- [12] Gesta, *ibid.*, p. 20, note 1.
- [13] Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, Normannerne (Kjøbenhavn: Forlagt af Rudolph Klein, 1882), III:305. Steenstrup wrote in part: 'Herved er imidlertid at mærke, at "Suavi" af Florentius og af nogle andre Kilder - saaledes som det strax skal vises - paa et andet Sted er blevet brugt for "Sclavi", hvad enten det nu skyldes en Fejlskrift eller virkelig var en almindelig og fejlagtig Sprogbrug. Saaledes kunde det være, at der ved "Suavi" var ment "Sclavi" og at Børnene vare sendte til et slavisk Land.' [*ibid.*, III:306]
- With regard to the genealogical issues, Prof. Steenstrup did not note any change as a result of his findings. For example, he repeated the long-standing error of placing Agatha as the sister of Gisela, queen of King Stephen of Hungary [*ibid.*, III:307]. As noted above in the text, this has been shown clearly by Ingham and his predecessors as chronologically improbable at best, if not impossible.
- Prof. Steenstrup's findings were followed by the Rev. William Hunt took up Steenstrup's explanation in his article on Canute in the DNB: "It is generally asserted on the authority of Florence of Worcester that the sons of Eadmund were sent to Olaf of Sweden that he might slay them, but that they were saved from death and sent into Hungary. There is, however, good reason for believing that for 'ad rege Suuavroum' should be read 'ad regem Sclavorum,' that Cnut sent the children to his brother-in-law Boleslas, and that Mieceslas, his nephew, sent them safely to Russia (Steenstrup, Normannerne, iii. 305)." [*Canute*], in Dictionary of National Biography (1887), IX:3]. Prof. Labuda most recently reiterated this interpretation, but it seems to have disappeared from Western historical literature. See Gerard Labuda, Fragmenty dziejów Słowianszczyzny Zachodniej (Wyd. Poznańskie, 1965), pp. 178-180.
- [14] Steenstrup, *ibid.*, pp. 329-330.
- [15] The sources mentioning a Russian haven for Edward Ætheling include the Leges Edwardi Confessoris, Adam of Bremen, and Roger de Hoveden. Cf. Vajay, *ibid.*, p. 72; Jette, pp. 418 et seq.; Ingham, pp. 252 et seq.
- [16] For an overview of the state of Russia between the death of Vladimir and the resolution of Yaroslav's succession ca. 1026, see Janet Martin, Medieval Russia, 980-1584 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 44-45. See also Samuel Hazzard Cross, Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition, in Speculum, Vol. 4, No. 2 (April 1929) pp. 177-197, esp. pp. 180-181, and Norman Stone, The Russian Chronicles (London: Century, 1990), pp. 67 et seq.
- [17] Cross, Yaroslav, p. 180. See also David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, The New Cambridge History of Poland (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), IV(2):278-9.
- [18] Bruce R. O'Brien, God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, The Middle Ages Series, 1999). Jetté, p. 431, provides the text given by Ronay. "Malescoldus" is the rendering in William Stubbs, ed. Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden, in Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869), No. 51, Vol. II, p. 236.
- [19] Paul Lendvai, The Hungarians (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2003 (English translation)), p. 36.
- [20] Ingham, *ibid.*, pp. 253-255. He states in part, "Liebermann, Gesetze der Angelsachsen, I:664 n. b., says that this [Malesclodus] is Iaroslav I of Kiev and that his name can be seen in French sources (which he cites) also as Bullescloht, Jeriscloht, Jeresclaus, and Georgius sclaus." [p. 254, note 60] Among other observations and conjectures, Ingham wrote [p. 255, note 60], "Malesclodus might recall Pol. Mieszko or E. Sl. Mstislav (the name of Iaroslav's brother)."
- [21] There is the valuable record created in the early 12th century by the cleric Gallus Anonymus, whose own origins are unknown but is thought to have been a Benedictine monk from Venice [theory of Tadeusz Jasinski, elaborating on the early idea of Danuta Borawska]. In his "Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum", Gallus rendered the name into Latin as "Mescho". See Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles (New York and Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), pp. 28, 30, 72, 74. Mieszko was rendered into Latin as 'Misego' and 'Miseco' by German writers.
- [22] As cited above; Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 255, note 60.
- [23] Luscombe and Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, IV(2):278-9.
- [24] Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 255.

- [25] 'Eadwardus vero Agatham, filiam germani imperatoris Heinrici, in matrimonium accepit' [Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*]. As Ingham noted concerning this text, 'In revising my translation I have been somewhat influenced by Ronay's (183). Ronay renders "filia germani" not as "daughter of brother" but as "daughter of the kinsman" (and repeatedly in his own text), by which he evidently recognizes the possibility of "cousin-german" or another degree of relationship.' [Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 248, note 46].
- [26] Ingham and Ford, *ibid.*, p. 148 [see Note 1].
- [27] Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, *Gesta Regum Anglorum atque Historia Novella* (London: English Historical Society, 1840), I:303. Discussion of this, and another edition of this text [Clarendon Press, edited by R. A. B. Mynors (1998)] is found in Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 245.
- [28] Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, *ibid.*
- [29] Jetté, *ibid.*, pp. 425-6.
- [30] Johanna Maria van Winter suggested that Theophano was most likely a god-daughter of the Empress Theophano, hence her Christian name [van Winter, "The education of the daughters of the nobility in the Ottonian Empire", in Adelbert Davids, ed., *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and West at the turn of the first millenium* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), p. 90]. Constantine Skleros and Sophia Phokaina were identified as the probable parents of Theophano by Gunther Wolf ('Wer war Theophanu?', in Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, eds., *Kaiserin Theophanu, Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends: Gedenkschrift des Kölne Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000 Todesjahr der Kaiserin* (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), II 385-396. See also Judith Herrin, "Theophano: considerations on the education of a Byzantine princess", in Adelbert Davids, ed., *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and West at the turn of the first millenium* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 79-80.
- [31] John Tuzson, *István II (1116-1131): A Chapter in Medieval Hungarian History* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), p. 41.
- [32] Ingham, *ibid.*, pp. 253-4.
- [33] Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 178.
- [34] MichaelAnna Guido, "A Pearl of Great Price: The Ancestry of St. Margaret and Religious Reform in Twelfth-Century Scotland" (publication pending, 2010).
- [35] Knoll and Schaer, *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, *ibid.*, pp. 72-73.
- [36] Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2006 [orig. published, Munich, 2000]), pp. 103-4, 142-3. The marriage of Gunhilda and the Emperor Henry III was celebrated in 1036, after Cnut's death.
- [37] Ingham, *ibid.*, p. 235.

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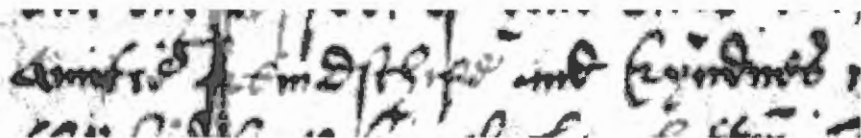
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# The Great Clan Chattan Band of 1609, and its renewal in 2009

**'that perpetual amity friendship and kindness  
may remain and abide betwixt them'**

**by Allan Maclean of Dochgarroch**



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*The Band of Union of Clan Chattan, signed in 1609, is not only a very interesting document, which gave 'form' to this unique clan confederacy, but is also of great interest to genealogists as the signatories show the development of cadet families and chieftains, and also how patronymics were being used, at a time when surnames were beginning to replace them.*

## **The Year 1609**

1609 is well known in the Highlands as the year of the **Statutes of Iona**. These nine statutes accepted by ten chiefs of the Western Highlands and Islands are generally regarded as a most important marker in the policy of the King and Central Government to bring 'civilisation' to the Highlands.

This policy of 'civilising' was not restricted to the Western Highlands. In the Central Highlands parallel, though slightly dissimilar, devices were being brought in. In this context the year 1609 is also well known as the year of the '**Great Clan Chattan Band of Union**' which was that clan's answer to the pressures being brought on the clans to be responsible for their actions. In so doing it was also definitive for the Clan Chattan.

## **The Clan Chattan**

The Clan Chattan was a Confederacy of Clans with a long tradition, but which from the fifteenth century, under the Captaincy of the Mackintosh Chiefs, had a more definite history. The Confederacy was made up of three distinct groupings; the Mackintoshes and their cadet lines; the earlier members of the confederacy; and the associates, who joined for protection. Intermarriage helped cement the relationships. The number involved varied up to about twenty. Over the years, there were many disagreements between the members, and this was exacerbated because the various clans, including the Mackintoshes, did not hold their lands personally, being feudally dependant on others. Membership was largely defined by those who acted as cautioners or who signed the various Bands of Unity, and none was more important, or more inclusive, than the Band of Union of 1609.

## The Background

There were several reasons for the signing of this Band. The Crown had been backing the Earls of Huntly and Moray as the keepers of rule and order in the area, and nearly all the members of the Clan Chattan were vassals to one or other of them. Acts of Parliament had made clan chiefs personally responsible for their clansfolk and required chiefs to produce legal evidence of their right to their lands. The Mackintoshes were, as a result, forfeited of some of their lands, for which they could not find title. It was also difficult for them, considering the nature of the Confederacy, to be responsible as Captains of Clan Chattan for their clansfolk.

The Mackintoshes position was weakened when their chief died in 1606, leaving, as a minor, a young grandson to succeed. His uncle, William Mackintosh of Benchar was appointed tutor [or guardian], and also Captain of Clan Chattan. A group of 'leading men' of Clan Chattan were charged by the Council for the good rule of the Clan Chattan, during the young chief's minority.

These cautioners represented the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons in Strathnairn, the Macbeans, the Macleans of the North, the Macqueens and the Macgillivrays. They had to attend and give caution between 28 March and 12 April 1609, and time was rapidly running out.

Meanwhile, and fortuitously from the point of view of the Clan Chattan, the Chief of the Macphersons, who often took an independent line, was also in the firing line, having fallen out with their normal protectors, the Huntly family. William, the Tutor and Captain took advantage of this to bring together a **muster of the 'haill kin of Clanchattan' at Termit**, near Inverness, which included all these cautioners, as well as the Chief and chieftains of the Macphersons along with many others, making thirty in all.

The Band of Union of the Clan Chattan was signed on 4th April 1609, just a week before the deadline!

## The Band

According to historians, the Band is a 'Contract of Friendship' or a 'Contract of Perpetual Amity'. It related that past controversies have been disastrous, it agreed to forget past differences, to work together in the future to support each other, and it allowed for any future disagreements to be settled by twelve leading men of the Clan Chattan along with the chief.

The Band was signed by the leaders of seven different clans; the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, the Macqueens, the Macbeans, the Macleans of the North, the Magillivrays and the Shaws of Strathnairn. The two larger families, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons, both brought in their two principal cadets [or chieftains]. The smaller clans were also given their Gaelic titles.

Various other leading members of the clans were mentioned by name, and signed the Band, as did nine others, not specifically mentioned in the text. The Band was important enough to be witnessed by the Provost of Inverness.

### **Those who did not sign**

It was clearly an act of solidarity in the face of difficult times, and probably for the only time it brought together the majority of the Clan Chattan. Some families, like the MacPhails and Davidsons, were not signatories, perhaps because neither had, at that point, tenure of lands, and neither had a recorded leader or chieftain. The Mackintosh kin of Farquharson, MacRitchie and MacThomas in Braemar and Glenshee were not signatories either, but they had signed a heritable band of manrent in 1595. The absence of these names, and others, is not in itself significant; the significance comes from the very banding in friendship of those who did, as representing the 'hail kin'.

### **After the Band**

The Band served its purpose, not least by various of the Clan Chattan families securing rights over their lands. The Macphersons were again to take their own line in support of Huntly, and acted separately in Montrose's army, while the Macleans of Dochgarroch received tenure of their lands from Huntly. The Farquharsons developed into an independent clan, but they signed the 'renewal' of the 1609 Bond on 19 November 1664, along with most of the leaders of the Clan Chattan clans, including various Macphersons, but not their Chief.

The Clan Chattan was still an entity in 1727 when, 'considering that, by the members of the Clan being so dispersed, they are under the greatest disadvantage of any clan in Scotland in regard to their mutual defence,' a **Clan Association** was founded, paid for by subscription headed by Mackintosh and Macpherson younger of Cluny, to raise a fund for the employment of "lawyers, agents and procurators" at Edinburgh, Inverness and Badenoch to attend to actions and causes by or against the Clan Chattan or any of its branches or members.

A later **Clan Chattan Association** was founded in Glasgow in 1893 and only lasted long enough to sponsor an important genealogical book on the 'septs' of Clan Chattan, by the historian, Charles Fraser-Mackintosh.

In 1933 a **new Clan Chattan Association** was started, prompted by an immediate need to try to save the Macpherson clan relics in Cluny Castle, which were about to be dispersed, with the sale of the estates. In 1937 the Chief of the Mackintoshes died and thereafter most of his estates also came on to the market. In 1947 the Lord Lyon ruled that the 'Chiefship' of Clan Chattan, with the title 'Gillichattan Mor', had separated from the Chiefship of Clan Mackintosh.

The same year, 1947, the Clan Macpherson Association was formed to look after the many separate interests of Clan Macpherson, but they are still an integral part of the Clan Chattan Association, of which 'Gillichattan Mor,' is patron.

### **The Clans in the Confederacy**

In 1934 the first Journal immediately tackled the problem as to which clans were considered to be part of Clan Chattan. Ten clans were named, who were the seven who signed the 1609 Bond, plus the Farquharsons, the Davidsons and Clan Cumin. Other Clan Chattan names were included among the 'septs'.

In 1960 'MacIntyre, Badenoch' was substituted for Clan Cumin; while Clan Maclean (Loch Ness) was renamed 'Maclean of Dochgarroch'. By 1968 the MacPhails were named as a clan in their own right, and in 1971, Clan MacThomas was added to the list, making the current recognised **twelve clans of the Confederacy**.

### **The New Band**

The 400th anniversary year of the 1609 Band is to be marked by the signing of a new Band of Union, written by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny, Chief of the Macphersons, and himself a well-known High Court Judge. The Chiefs and Clan Chattan Association Council, along with many members of the Clan Chattan, will sign this new Band at Eden Court, Inverness, on Thursday 6th August. It will be witnessed by the Provost of the City of Inverness, and others. Everyone with a connection with any of the clans of the Clan Chattan Confederacy will be very welcome to come and sign too. There will also be the facility for signing over the internet, any time in the month before the signing, and in the meantime an intention to do so can be recorded through the Clan Chattan Association, at [info@clanchattan.org.uk](mailto:info@clanchattan.org.uk), who will then make contact again nearer the time. The names of those who sign over the internet will be included with those who sign at Eden Court.

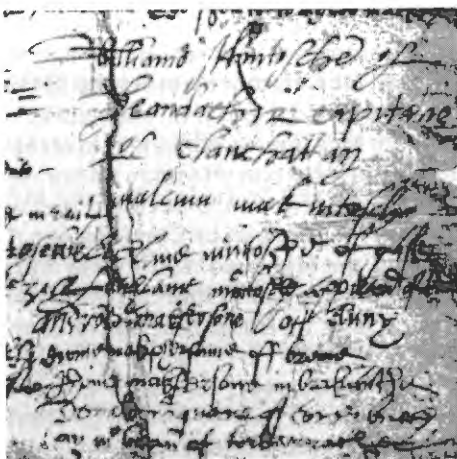
### **The Names and signatures of those who signed the Band in 1609**

The thirty chiefs, chieftains and leading men of the clans have all been identified. Thirteen signed for themselves; thirteen 'with our hands at the pen led by the notar .... because we can not write ourselves'.

The wording was probably carefully chosen. William Mackintosh of Benchar as 'Principall Capitane of the hail kin of Clachattan' along with the two principal Mackintosh cadets, and their close relatives signed for all those 'of that surname descended of that place and house'. Macpherson of Cluny with his close relatives signed for the remainder 'of that name descended of that race'; Macpherson of Pitmean for 'his kin and friends descended of his house'; Macpherson of Invershie for 'his kin and race of that house' [This reflected the fact that the Macphersons are divided into three different kin

groups]; Macqueen of Corribrough for his 'kin of that race'; Macbain of Kinchyle for his 'kin and name and race of Clann Vean'; Maclean of Dochgarroch for his 'kin and race of Clan Tarliche'; Macgillivray in Dalcrombie and other Macgillivrays for their 'haill kin and race of the Clant McIlivrae'; Shaw of Tordarroch 'for the race of Claine Ay'.

The principal Mackintoshes and MacQueens used **surnames** alone, as do the Macphersons of Cluny's kin, but the other two Macpherson kin, Pitmean and Invereshie, along with all the other clans, only use patronymics. This is particularly confusing as the person named 'McPhaill' was a Macbean, while the two people named 'MacBean' were a Macgillivray and a Shaw!



As well as being members of their clans, as shown in the following list, it should be remembered that they were all closely connected through constant marriage alliances between the clans and families.

Heavy type signifies how they were referred to in the Band, not necessarily as they signed themselves.

**William McIntosche of Beanechar** [William Mackintosh of Benchar] was the young chief's, uncle and tutor, and he was Captain of Clan Chattan until his nephew came of age. He was the first Mackintosh of Borlum

**Malcolme McIntosche of Hurlarust** [Malcolm Mackintosh of Urlarust] was an uncle of the young chief.

**Angus Mackintosche of Termit** [Angus Mackintosh of Termit] was a 4th cousin of the young chief and senior chieftain of the Mackintoshes.

**Lachlaine McIntosche** [Lachlan Mackintosh younger of Termit] was son of above, founder of the Kyllachy family.

**Lachlaine McIntosche of Gask** [Lachlan Mackintosh of Gask] was a 3rd cousin of the young chief, and the other chieftain of the Mackintoshes.

**William McIntosche of Rait** [William Mackintosh of Rait] was uncle of Lachlan Mackintosh of Gask.

**Andrew MacPhersone of Cluny** [Andrew Macpherson of Cluny] was the Chief of the Macphersons; senior representative of the 'Sliochd Choinnich'.

**Ewin McPherson in Bryne** [Ewen Macpherson of Brin] was a Strathnairn Macpherson, and probably 4th cousin of Cluny.

**John McPhersone in Breckachie** [John Macpherson in Breakachy] was 2nd cousin of Cluny's father, Ewan of Cluny.

**Thomas McAllister vic Tomas in Pitmean** [Thomas Macpherson of Pitmean] was a Macpherson chieftain; senior representative of the 'Sliochd Iain'.

**Donald McAllister roy in Fones** [Donald Macpherson in Phoiness] was 2nd cousin of Macpherson of Invereshie.

**William McAine vic William in Inveressie** [William Macpherson of Invereshie] was a Macpherson chieftain; senior representative of the 'Sliochd Ghilliosa'. Though a party, he did not sign, and was probably incapacitated.

**Donald Mackqueyn of Corribroiche** [Donald Macqueen of Corribrough] was chief of the Macqueens, the Clan Revan.

**Johne McQueyn in Littel Corribroiche** [John Macqueen in Little Corribrough] was brother of Donald of Corribrough, the chief. Though a party, he didn't sign.

**Sweyne McQueyn in Raige Beige** [Sween Macqueen in Raigbeg] was probably 1st cousin of Donald of Corribrough, the chief.

**Angus McPhaill in Kinkell** [Angus Macbean of Kinchyle] was chief of the Macbeans, the Clan Vean.

**Alexander McConil vic Ferchar of Davochgarreoche** [Alexander Maclean of Dochgarroch] was Chief of the Macleans of the North, the Clan Tearlach.

**Malcolme McBean in Dulcrombye** [Malcolm Macgillivray of Dalcrombie].

**Iver McEwin in Aberhallader** [Ewen Macgillivray in Aberchalder]. Though a party, he did not sign.

**Duncan McFerchar in Dunmaglaiss** [Duncan Macgillivray of Dunmaglass] was perhaps brother of **Alaster Macgillivray of Dunmaglass**, the deceased chief of the Macgillivrays, the Clan Macgillivray. Though a party, he didn't sign.

**Ay McBean vic Robert of Tordarrache** [Adam Shaw of Tordarroch] was chief of the Shaws of Tordarroch, the Clan Ay.

#### **Other signatories:**

**Johne Mkintosche of dallezill** [John Mackintosh of Dalziel] was the young chief's uncle.

**Duncan Makintosche** [Duncan Mackintosh] was the young chief's uncle; founder of the Aberarder family.

**Gillichallum makfarstone in owy** [Malcolm Macpherson in Ovy] was a 1st cousin of Cluny's grandfather, Donald of Cluny, and father of John in Breakachie [above]

**Alexander McIntosche of the Holme** [Alexander Mackintosh of Holm] was a nephew of Angus of Termit.

**Alexander McIntosche Hectorstone in Wester Largis** [Alexander Mackintosh in Wester Lairs] was son of Hector Mackintosh, Connage, and a 4th cousin of the young chief.

**Johne McIntyche Angusson in Moerel** [Alexander Mackintosh of Moril] was a son of Angus of Termit.

**John McAine duy vic Conil vic Nneill in Stramashie** [John Macpherson in Strathmashie, younger] was 4th cousin of Macpherson of Pitmean.

**Alexander McFerchar vic Tomas** [Alisdair Mor Macpherson] illegitimate elder brother of Macpherson of Invertromie, 1st cousin of Macpherson of Pitmean.  
**John du McConl** [John Macpherson of Strathmashie] father of John McAine [above].

#### Witnesses

**Jhone Cuthbert of the Auld Castlehill** [John Cuthbert of Old Castlehill] was Provost of Inverness.

**Mr Jhone Ross** [John Ross] was burgess of Inverness

**Donald Mackqueyn minister at Pettie** [Donald Macqueen, Minister of Petty] though a named witness, did not sign.

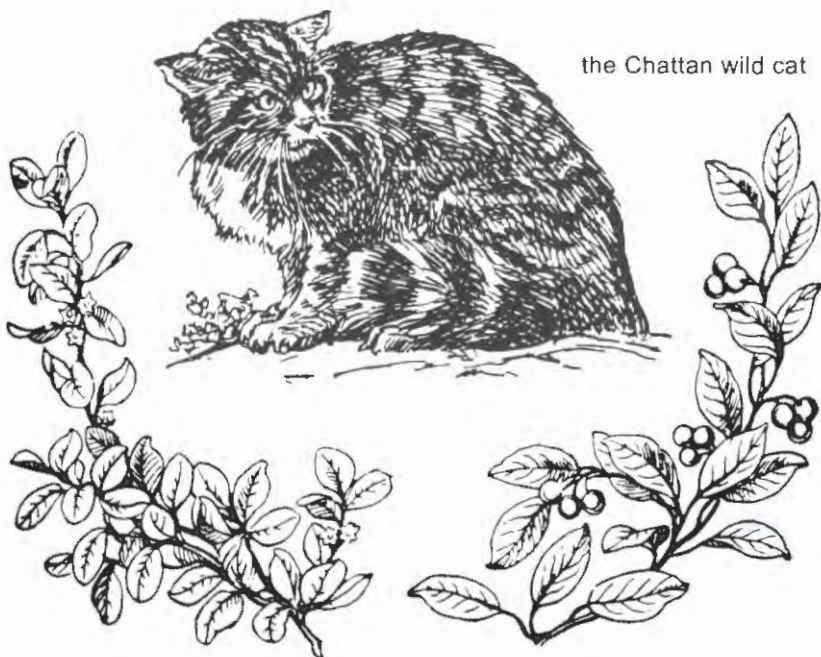
**Malcolme Ego** [Malcolm Ego] was servant to Agnes Mackenzie Lady Dunnachin the young chief's Mackintosh grandmother.

**Alexander Duff**, notary and Common Clerk of Inverness wrote the Bond

*Many thanks to Alan G. Macpherson, Seanachaidh to Sir William Macpherson of Cluny and Blairgowrie, for help with the identification of some of the signatories.*

*A much fuller discussion of the Band is to be printed in the next Journal of the Highland Family History Society Vol 27, No3. A full transcription of the Band, along with a commentary is printed in the current Clan Chattan Journal, Vol XII, No 3, 2009.*

the Chattan wild cat



## A Schoolmaster Whitsome, Berwickshire

That Mr. Thomas Inglis was elected Schoolmaster of the Parish of Whitsome on the twenty first day of June Eighteen hundred and Eight years and that he is unmarried is attested and signed at Chirnside the twenty Eighth day of July Eighteen hundred and ten years by

Thos. Inglis  
Geo. McLean Prases

That the foresaid Mr. Thomas Inglis was married to Mary Wildgoose on the seventh of June Eighteen hundred and ten years is attested at Chirnside the twenty eighth day of July Eighteen hundred and ten years by

Thos. Inglis  
Geo. McLean Prases

That the foresaid Mr. Thomas Inglis was translated from the Parish of Whitsomw to the Parish of Coldstream on        day of Sept. 1814 and that Mr. George Scott was elected Schoolmaster of Whitsome in his stead on the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of December 1814 and that he is unmarried, attested at Chirnside the 29 July 1815.

George Scott  
Will. Knox. P.

That the foresaid Mr. George Scott was married to Christian Walker on the twelfth June 1822 is attested at Chirnside this twenty seventh day of July 1822. Attested at a General Meeting of Schoolmasters of the Presbeytery of Chirnside by

Geo. Scott  
Thos. Ingram. P.

## A Schoolmaster Swinton, Berwickshire

That Mr. William Buchanan Schoolmaster of the Parish of Swinton did not accede to the Schoolmasters Widow Scheme qwithin the time limited by Act of Parliament and therefore is precluded from it in all time to come is attested and signed at Chirnside the twenty Eighth day of July Eighteen hundred and ten years by

Geo. McLean Proses.

That after the Death of Mr. Buchanan Schoolmaster of Swinton Mr. John Strauchon was elected to be Schoolmaster of that Parish in September 1814. That the said Mr. Strauchon was married to Cecilia Rae on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1801. That he has now Seven Children alive Viz Agnes born 28 March 1802, Margaret born 14 June 1803, William born 4 January 1805, John born 19 Decr. 1806, Cecilia born 14 June 1808, Mary born 23 July 1810 and George born 23 January 1813 is attested at Chirnside the 29 July 1815 by

Thos. Ingram. P.  
John White Pylch

Mr. Strauchon reported on the 26 July 1823, that he was not certain of his age, but believed that he was then 60 or rather above it and that Mrs. Strauchon would be 41 in December next.

N.B. In addition to the above there were born to Mr. John Strauchon & Cicilia Rae

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| On 23 May 1816   | Mary Ann           |
| 20 May 1818      | Caroline           |
| 13 February 1820 | Hunter             |
| 28 October 1822  | James              |
| 26 October 1824  | Elisabeth Isabella |

# Deaths beyond the OPRs

By Gordon Johnson

With the arrival of deaths/ burials/ mortcloth records on the scotlandspople website, the search parameters available online now include those persons mentioned in the OPRs (Old Parochial Registers).

However, these OPRs are neither complete nor comprehensive: most parishes, if they include deaths at all (and I use the word "deaths" to mean any indication of a death date), are only for a limited number of years.

We are still faced with a major problem in identifying when our relatives died. Is there some other means of determining this information?

The answer is a multiple, "Yes", but with an equally dispiriting, "with a lot of problems attached to the information".

Perhaps I should explain further, and this is not easy.

Firstly, in the pre-civil registration period, when someone died, not many people were too bothered about making any sort of record of the fact, for the deceased was clearly gone – anyone around could see that, and were probably at the funeral.

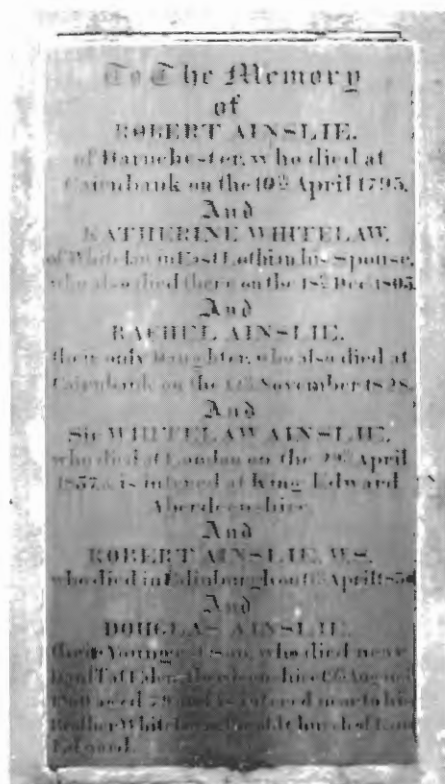
That would be the attitude throughout any small community. They could not perceive how, in a couple of hundred years' time, some relative would be searching for this fact, to sort out evidence to pin down the life of the deceased. They would have thought this weird!

As a result, most documentary evidence for deaths of named persons tends to be minimal or else relate to the upper classes, particularly the nobility (see: *Burke's Peerage*, and *Burke's Landed Gentry*), though certain occupational groups are well covered – ministers of the Church of Scotland (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae*), Free Church of Scotland (*Free Church Fasti*), Scottish Episcopal Church, United Free Church, Congregational Union, etc., and while there is not a Fasti-equivalent, there are many sources for Roman Catholics (the annual Catholic Directory, for instance, which includes many non-clerical Catholics; as well as directories of Secular Clergy).

## Directories

Many trade or professional bodies maintain historical registers of their members. A number of trades in Glasgow have published works containing membership details, some of them including death dates or a note of a new member being the "son of the late XX."

There are directories of Edinburgh furniture makers; Scottish arms makers; Scottish clock and watch makers; SSPCK schoolmasters and a biographical dictionary of painters in Scotland, 1301-1700. These are just a few examples



In Dunse Kirkyard

of directories which often include death dates. In the largest libraries you might also find the British Biographical Index (4 vols) which can be searched by surname if you think some relative merited inclusion in one of the many biographical dictionaries published. Don't forget to try the multi-volume UK-wide *Dictionary of National Biography*, though it has strong leanings towards people in England rather than in Scotland.

### Published Obituaries

The same leaning towards the better-off strata of society exists in newspaper reports of deaths. Until the First World War, most deaths appearing in newspapers were the notable persons, both national and local, though if a commoner died in an accident or a crime incident, it might merit a mention of the name and possibly an age. Some newspapers can be searched online or on microfiche indexes. The *Am Baile* Highland Council website ([www.ambaile.org.uk](http://www.ambaile.org.uk)) provides an

online index to a number of newspapers published all over the Highlands since the early 1800s, and often a death will be noted, at least giving you a date. In local newspapers your ancestor's death had a better chance of meriting a mention.

If you have a reasonable idea of when an ancestor died, he may have left a will, and so you can make use of the FREE index on the *scotlandspeople* website to Scottish wills up to 1901. Remember, though, that because registering a will used to be very expensive, most families kept the will in the family and did not register it, so it may not appear in this index. Of interest in the same context is the *Retours of Services of Heirs* (or as it was first called: *Inquisitionum ad capellam domini regis retornatarum abbreviatio*). This is a series of documents, first grouped by county or type from 1544 till 1699, then in 10-years groups to 1859. 2 CD-roms covering all these are available to purchase from the Scottish Genealogy Society.

Magazines took to recording obituaries – or at least notices of death – and

these can sometime be found by using a published master index called *Musgrave's Obituaries*, which directs you to the periodical where the death data appeared. This can be the *Scots Magazine*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, or the *London Magazine*, for example. Musgrave's books provide the name, date of death and the published source. While predominantly English in content, there are quite a number of Scots to be found there. Musgrave is also available on CD-rom nowadays.

## Property

Americans seem to imagine that everyone owned the land their house was on (as is frequently the case there, but landowning in Scotland was restricted to a relatively small number of people). However, as these landowners (including local councils) sold pieces of land for small business and for house-builders, there is a chance that some relative did own a piece of land. The more urban communities have a higher incidence of this. The documents you need to access are the *Sasines*, which record the transaction of handing over tracts of land – not only sales but handing over land to relatives. Today, such transactions (as in house-buying) are entirely electronic, but in the old days it was paperwork stating who the previous owners were, as far back as the paperwork survived, usually including a plan of the land so that you knew where your boundaries lay. Some of these will involve trustees or executors for a deceased person, giving a rough date for the death.

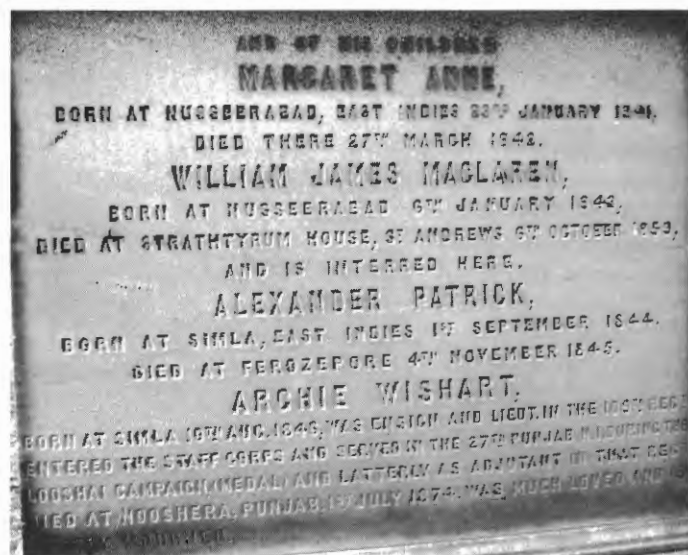
Getting further back, there are the 10 volumes of the *Register of the Great Seal*, which covers land transactions up to 1668, and for many local deeds there are protocol books from the 1500s and 1600s. Protocol books were the notebooks of writers (local lawyers who drew up deeds), and these often contain documents passing property over to other people, plus marriage contracts and other legal documents, some of which name deceased persons. Very few protocol books have survived, and most of these are in the National Archives of Scotland. Some can be found in local transactions of antiquarian societies (e.g. Ayrshire & Wigton/Galloway), or published by the Scottish Record Society.

Court books, recording legal proceedings in a local community, also cover matters such as one would find in a protocol book, but including criminal matters such as murder. Mention of relicts of named men can also be found there. Examples include the Court Books of Orkney & Shetland in the early 1600s. ( 26<sup>th</sup> August 1615: claim "at the instance of Marjorie Fermour, relict of umquhill James Sinclair of Crosbuster... and Andro Mortoun, now her spouse", which not only tells you that James has died, but that his widow has remarried).

## MIs

Most readers will be aware of the existence of inscriptions on gravestones in

cemeteries, better known in genealogical circles as monumental inscriptions (M.I.s) in kirkyards. Many of these have been published, either the SGS series, some of which are based on pre-1855 inscriptions, or those published by local Family History Societies and other groups. Unfortunately, the cost of putting up a stone meant that many of the less well-off did not have a gravestone, so you should check with the local authority which runs the cemeteries in the area, to see if any of their burial registers include your relatives who may not have a stone. You sometimes find that even where there is a stone, the burial register mentions one or more extra people in the grave.



One side of Major-General William John Gairdner's gravestone in Edinburgh's Dean Cemetery

The local councils also have many records which either give a date of death or imply it. Where a person is a ratepayer, or house renter, or is a voter, their eventual disappearance from such lists can imply their decease – but not always. Curiously, the poorest in society are often as well recorded

as the richest! The local council archive may have volumes of the records of the Parochial Board from 1843 – the body for each parish which looked after admissions to the Poors Roll and otherwise helped the poorest in society, provided they could prove birth or family residence in the parish. Minutes, applications register, etc. may exist: check with the archivist. The death of a pauper, either one on the Poors Roll or as an applicant dying before his/ her case was decided, will merit a mention., as this disposes of a possible charge on the parish. At times, a printed list of those on the Poors Roll was circulated to ratepayers for comment (either for objection or to suggest some deserving case), but few of these printed circulars have survived. Before 1843, it was the parish church that dealt with the poor, and so Kirk Session minutes usually have the details, if any.

## Archives

We still haven't covered the many manuscript documents held in collections, as varied as estate papers, charters in muniment rooms, plus the national-level collections in the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, the many lists compiled by the National Register of Archives (Scotland), and there are various university collections such as the Laing Collection at the University of Edinburgh. Some of the material is correspondence, and there are published volumes of correspondence as well, such as that of Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch and The Clan Campbell letters. Published collections of archive documents include the 2 volumes of Shetland Documents taken from many sources – the second one covers 1580-1611, with an excellent index which unfortunately fails to mention death, despite there being many mentions of deceased persons.

Among various books of family archives, several were published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, such as the Buccleuch papers (2 vols), the Athole and Home papers (composite volume), and Home manuscripts, as well as the Hamilton papers and those of the Earl of Eglinton. Being family oriented, there is much to do with inheritance in these. A retour of inquest at Renfrew, 7 Oct. 1477, in the Earl of Home's papers, has a bunch of witnesses declaring that John Montgomery is the nearest and lawful heir of his father, the late Hugh Montgomery, in the lands of Thornton, county of Haddington. It mentions that the late Hugh died about 5 months before the date of the inquest. That gives a fairly good date of death, considering it is the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Clerical records of secular affairs can also be helpful, with charters and calendars from monasteries and abbeys. The Calendar of Fearn (1471-1667) is a very good document, especially with the additional data added for the Scottish History Society edition. Many donations of land and property to clerical establishments were in memory of a deceased person and often describe them in relation to other family members. The pre-Reformation period shows this best.

Sometimes you have to use a bit of strategy to establish a death. One of my ancestors was a poor fisherman in the 18<sup>th</sup> century who, after being unable to work, received a small pension from the parish church every three months. Eventually the church records stop showing his name and his widow's appears instead, so I was able to discover that he had died in that 3-month interval, but nothing more exact. Using a bit of lateral thinking, if your ancestor attended an important school or university, their records may include his/ her date of death. Edinburgh schools are particularly good at this.

If you use the available documentation it is probable that you will similarly be able to pin down an approximate date of death for one or more of your own ancestors who were not listed in the parish registers of deaths.

## Accounts

Here's a snippet of a worthwhile report, from *The Old Scots Navy, 1689-1710*, edited by James Grant (Navy Records Society, 1914): 7<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1689 – a petition from Elizabeth McGibben, relict of the deceased Uchter Herbertson, mariner in Glasgow, for financial help, as his ship the *Janet* of Glasgow had been on govt. service when he was killed during the capture of the *Janet* and the *Pelican* by three French ships on 10<sup>th</sup> July. The Privy Council granted her, and two other widows, two-and-a-half months' pay due to the deceased men. Generous!!

Finally, don't neglect financial accounts. Vol. 2 of the Accounts of the Master of Works for building and repairing Royal Palaces contains at least two references to workmen being killed. One is Alexander Small who died at work, and a payment is made towards burial costs (27<sup>th</sup> May 1633). The other is to Thomas Haddoway's burial. He was killed by a cannon at Edinburgh Castle between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> March 1624. As there were two Thomas Haddoways in the accounts, one a bell-ringer at the castle and the other a tailor, it is unclear if either was the victim or some other of the same name. Both are mentioned before that date but not after, so no clues in the accounts.

I could go through many other source books to find death names and dates, or at least something close enough to be usable, such as the Register of the Privy Council and the Register of the Privy Seal.

Explore the possibilities in archives and libraries!

*The Society stocks around 550 published MI and Burial Index books, as well as other material mentioned in the article. Check the online Sales at [www.scotsgenealogy.com](http://www.scotsgenealogy.com)*

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# Cherchez la femme!

by Irene Townsley and Liz Watson

"Let's go to Paris for our annual Christmas shopping expedition. I've got loads of loads of Airmiles to use up so it won't cost much!"

What has this to do with genealogy? I hear you say. Well, when we mentioned to fellow member Russell Cockburn that we planned to go to Paris at the end of November, he said, "That's great; I've got family buried near Paris in a little place called Chatou. Maybe you could go and look up their grave". Hmm, not sure about that, Russell, we are only used to the Metro and have never ventured much outside Paris.

It seemed that having researched this side of his family a few years ago, Russell had discovered that his great-great uncle James Russell had been a merchant in Scotland in the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He married a French lady Marie Astasie Gigon and they set up home in Chatou. At that time Chatou was well known as the residence of the artist Renoir (his famous painting *The Boating Party Lunch* was set at the rowing club in Chatou). As James Russell and his wife didn't have any children of their own, they wrote to his sister back in Scotland and asked if one of her large family could come and stay with them in Chatou. Eventually their daughter Marjory Cockburn went to live with them in Chatou. However, she wasn't there too long, as she died in 1878 aged only 18 years old. So it was their graves that Russell wanted us to visit.

Anyway after much discussion and a bit of research on the internet we found maps showing us the location of the cemeteries in Chatou and we decided to give it a go.

So, came the day we set out from our small hotel in the Marais district of Paris – rush-hour Metro and then the RER A-line to St Germain-en-Laye which passes through Chatou – and after one false start (right train, wrong route) we eventually arrived in Chatou. Needless to say the maps we had printed off the internet didn't bear much resemblance to the streets we arrived at. However, it's not a very large town and with our schoolgirl French we managed to make ourselves understood and found the *Vieux Cimetière 'des Landes'* without too much trouble. What a surprise was in store, as not only was it exceptionally well cared for, with flowers and pot plants on almost every grave, but there were gardeners in attendance.

It didn't take us too long to be understood (they even had a card filing system for their records) and we were shown to the family grave of James Russell (see picture below). It was very overgrown with large conifers blocking the door, but this was not a problem for our new best friend the gardener – he quickly returned with an armful of cutting tools and proceeded to chop down



the trees for us! We managed to take a few photographs inside the vault which looked as if it hadn't been opened since the last burial about 100 years earlier!

There was one small mystery, however, as we found a fourth person buried in the sepulchre – a lady by the grand name of Melle Louise du Rivière de Puget. Who she is and how she came to be in the same grave as Russell's relatives is something Russell will have to investigate as he says he has never heard of her!

We must say that all in all it was quite a pleasant day out and, we suppose, a wee bit of an adventure which gave us the chance to view suburban France close up. The cemetery in Chatou was a revelation as the contrast with most of those in Edinburgh was amazing. The care and respect shown to its residents was of the highest order.

## MARION CORSTORPHINE

*Corstorphine Kirk, Thursday January the Third, One Thousand and Seven Hundred and Fifty Four.*

The Moderator informed the Session that Marion Corstorphine, one of their foundlings whom they had educate and bred up from her infancy, had been for some years Servant to Henry Trotter of Mortonhall, that he had in the End of July last most barbarously and cruelly beat her, tying her hands & feet and beating her with Sticks and Horse whips to the effusion of her blood and then bound as she was he put her into a dark cellar, stripped naked and kept her all night there without allowing any person to come near her until ten o'clock next morning. The said Marion as soon as she was able came to the Moderator for her protection & relief and that he had kept ever since in his house, and the Moderator further informed the Session that he once intended to pursue Mortonhall before the Lords of Justiciary for that horrid and inhumane crime, but they had come to a agreement by which Mortonhall has already paid down One Hundred pound Sterling, Fifty of it to the said Marion and the other Fifty Pound for Charitable uses which by the agreement was left to the Moderator to Dispose of as he pleased, and he had disposed of the said fifty pound as follows: Twenty five pound of it to the poor of this parish, and Ten pound of it to the poor in Libberton parish where the crime was committed and Fifteen pound of it to the Infirmary in Edinburgh and that the Treasurer to this Session might receive the Twenty five pound for the poor of this parish whenever he pleased upon his Granting Discharge for it. The Session thanked the Moderator for what he ordered for their poor and appointed their Treasurer to receive the money and give Discharge for it in their name, the Session further appointed their Treasurer to give Five pound Sterling of the above money to the said Marion Corstorphine to buy cloathes to her.

The Moderator further informed the Session that by the said agreement Mortonhall was obliged to pay to Marion Corstorphine Ten pounds Sterling yearly until she be married and at her marriage he is obliged to pay her One Hundred pound Sterling.

The Treasurer reported that he had received the Twenty five pound Sterling of Mysie Corstorphine's money which the Moderator had ordered to be given to the poor of this parish and had given a Discharge for it and he had according to the Sessions orders given Five pound Sterling of that money to the said Mysie Corstorphine to buy cloathes for her.

*Corstorphine Kirk, Sabbath Decr. Fifteenth, One Thousand Seven Hundred & Fifty Four.*

The Moderator acquainted the Session that he was informed that William Turnbull and Marion Corstorphine both living in Corstorphine town were

irregularly married. He had ordered them to be Cited to this Diet and they being called in, compeared and onned 'emselves married together and produced a Testificate of their marriage bearing that they were married in Corstorphine town the Twentieth day of September last by one Patrick Douglas, and they were rebuked.

NAS Reference CH2/124/4/429, 431, 439

*Contributed by Russell Cockburn*

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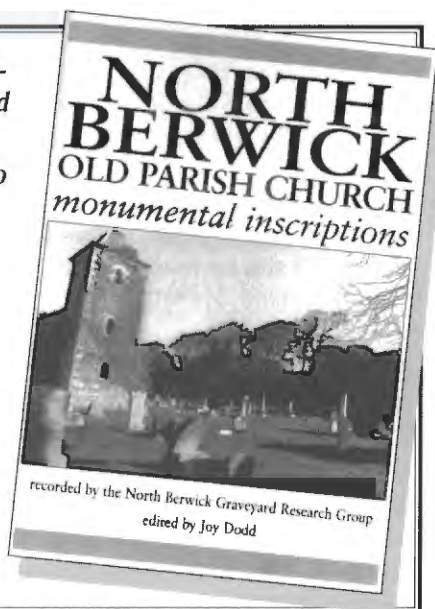
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## Book Reviews

### ***All men are brethren: prisoners of war in Scotland, 1803-1814,***

Ian MacDougall. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2008, 905pp.,

ISBN: 978-1-904607-72-4, paperback £25.00.

In this volume Ian MacDougall has moved away from his best known work in chronicling the spoken memories of Scottish people in the late century to the activities of the traditional historian in describing and analysing the experience of the thousands of prisoners of war, who found themselves captives in Scotland for up to thirteen years after the collapse of the Peace of Amiens in 1803. The prisoners nominally described as French actually represented a large number of different nationalities and who served either as soldiers, sailors or merchant seamen of France and her allies, which included Belgians, Dutch, Germans, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Swiss and Americans, to name only the main national groups represented. The prisoners were held in over a hundred locations from Shetland to the English border. Some prisons were improvised from a number of existing buildings: military establishments at Fort George and Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, an old mansion house at Greenlaw in Midlothian, hulks moored in the Forth and Moray Firths, the Bridewell in Edinburgh, paper mills in Midlothian and, for those officers deemed worthy of parole, lodgings in ancient towns like Peebles.

British official sources provide MacDougall with much detail on the everyday lives of the prisoners, though these have been augmented by the memoirs of individuals. The issue of sleeping space is an example which is graphically illustrated by the account of Paul Andreas Kaald, a Norwegian seaman, from his journal of conditions at Greenlaw, where 28 prisoners were confined in one room for periods of up to 17 hours at a time. Kaald noted that some of the personal habits of his fellow inmates were less than desirable and that the arrangements for cleaning the room were practically non-existent. MacDougall uses the sources to weave an extensive tapestry of many aspects of the social history of the prisoners, covering aspects such as food and drink, letters to and from home, philandering, gambling, forging and working. Punishments for breaches in discipline, including attempts to escape, comprised solitary confinement in 'cachots' or 'black holes' and the use of handcuffs and leg irons. More drastic punishments were limited by the knowledge of possible retaliation by the French on British prisoners. Prisoners were rarely released to work outside their prisons though the author notes a few instances when this was allowed. At least one Dutch detainee was encouraged to pass on his knowledge of improved techniques in curing herrings. Most of the work, however, involved labouring tasks in and around their prisons. Skilled prisoners produced artefacts, some of which are in the possession of Scottish museums and are illustrated in the book, and reached Scottish purchasers through middle men. Other prisoners used their skills to

counterfeit Scottish banknotes, which were passed on by means of local agents. At the ensuing trials some sentences of death and transportation were handed down. None of the prisoner forgers were ever convicted but were moved to hulks in England until the end of the war and their ultimate release.

1814 saw the beginning of the repatriation of prisoners of war. 12,000 out of a total of 75,000 for the United Kingdom as a whole were released during that year. MacDougall's evidence is that few prisoners remained in Scotland after the war. Occasional genealogical enquirers with apparently non-British names seek to find ancestry from these individuals. This book provides valuable background for that search, though little detailed information.

*Jim Cranstoun*

### ***Poolwe: Londubh Burial Ground & Pictish Stone***

Wester Loch Ewe Community Council

While not an MI book in the genealogical sense, this little volume would enrich the personal library of anyone researching in this area.

It recounts the history of the Londubh Chapel, describes the Pictish and Font Stones and narrates "pagan" and burial customs. Some local tragedies have been selected for especial notice and the tales re-told. As these post-date 1855, the relevant gravestones are not listed in the existing MI book (*Wester Ross pre-1855*). Also included is a short ecclesiastical history – this may be helpful! There are numerous short sections relating to local history. Whether this is an area of particular interest or not, the book is an enjoyable and fascinating read. The material is all clearly and beautifully presented, with original drawings and photographs old and new. From Picts to ministers, from crofters & fishers to industrialists, plus a few Commonwealth War Graves, it could be viewed as the West Highlands in microcosm.

£4.50, plus £1 UK p&p, from Amy MacDonald, Cove, Inverasdale, Ross-shire

*Caroline Gerard*

### ***Transcript of the Minute Book of the Baillie of the Burgh of Barony of Dunse from 31st March 1753 to 4th December 1800;***

transcribed by Ronald Morrison; Borders Family History Society  
& Dunse History Society, 2007. ISBN 978-1-847232-13-1 £8

As its title implies, this volume concerns itself with the day-to-day running of the Burgh of Dunse, as well as being a record of its commerce and of some of the minor misdemeanours committed there.

It's fascinating stuff! Some of the citizens are recorded more than once in the course of their duties, but we learn also that one Barbara Crawford in the 1790s seemed to fare so well as Collector of the Iron Customs that she could

bid for items sold by Public Roup. Also there are several records in the 1750s of the sons of William Paterson, latter, behaving badly, as young men always do. Henry was worse than John, apparently, being named 3 times in 9 months.

The book has the desired Index of names, but with the addition of the persons' occupations and (sometimes) residences. There's an Index too of names by occupations, as well as a Glossary and an Index of Place-Names.

Mr Morrison intends to tackle the earlier section of the first Book, from 1732, which is not so easily deciphered. However, there's plenty in the pages to keep researchers occupied for some time, especially cross-referring some of the names through familial or commercial networks. For anyone interested in the commercial activities of a small Scottish burgh in the latter 18thC, there's lots of material. Who would have thought, for example, that Dunse could support a full-time wigmaker?

*Caroline Gerard*

***North Berwick St Andrew's Old Parish Church Monumental Inscriptions,***

recorded by the North Berwick Graveyard Research Group, edited by Joy Dodd, Scottish Genealogy Society, 2009. ISBN 1-904060-45-5 £4.50

North Berwick is an historic East Lothian coastal town situated some 20 miles from Edinburgh, and St Andrew's Old Parish Church lies within the town boundary just south of the High Street. As the excellent introduction to this booklet tells us, it dates from 1664, but was in fact the second such church of this name: it replaced a much earlier one situated closer to the harbour, abandoned in 1656 after severe storm damage. Eventually, however, this second St Andrew's was also given up, as by 1874 it had been outgrown by its congregation who moved to the present parish church on the High Street.

The graveyard, however, continued to be used, and today is a very pleasant spot with its ancient ruined church, its large areas of neatly mown grass, its assortment of stones and its backing of mature trees. Burials took place here from July 1664, the earliest surviving stone being dated 1682, and continued right up until the opening of the new cemetery on the Dunbar road in 1903, after which only those who already owned lairs in the St Andrew's cemetery continued to be buried there.

The booklet is organized in four sections, shown on a clear scale map at the front. Each section contains the details of between 70 and 90 inscriptions and each has its own detailed map to aid the finding of individual stones. The fact that each stone is not only numbered but has a small picture of its shape is particularly helpful. There is also a cumulative index at the back of the booklet so one can quickly check if any name of interest is present.

Anyone whose family history research leads them to North Berwick will find here an excellent source of information. To begin with, as is usual in such graveyards, the inscriptions paint an evocative picture of a society long gone.

Men are blacksmiths, builders, engineers, farmers, masons, merchants, and soldiers, whereas women are wives and mothers. Most families lose children in infancy and many also in childhood or young adulthood. As a coastal town, there is also, of course, a higher than usual number of seafarers of various types and more than one drowning. For my own part, I was delighted to find unexpectedly a grand-daughter of one of my own 3x great-grandmothers, whose distinctive name, Euphemia Smeaton Brownlie, leapt out of the page at me. Perhaps the most interesting stone, however, is that of Rev. John Blackadder, Minister of Troqueer, Galloway, who died on the Bass Rock in 1688 after five years imprisonment as a Covenanter, and whose stone is topped with more than 20 lines of poetry extolling his great piety and commitment to the cause.

Kirstine Baxter

### Boy Drowned

On the afternoon of Saturday the 19th current, Adam Bertram, son of Mr Peter Bertram, baker, North Berwick, one of the boys of George Heriot's Hospital, went to bathe in a pool at the west end of the village of Water of Leith, immediately under the fall of the river which is distinctly seen from the Dean Bridge, and, having gone beyond his depth, was unfortunately drowned. He was accompanied by another boy, who, on finding his companion disappear, immediately gave the alarm to the friends of the deceased who reside in the village. Though instant search was made, a considerable time elapsed ere the body was discovered. Two medical gentlemen were promptly in attendance, and humanely used every effort to restore animation, but unhappily without success.

*The Scotsman, Wednesday 23rd June 1841*

In *North Berwick: Burial & Mortcloth Records*, transcribed and edited by Joy Dodd, an entry dated 23rd June 1841 states that Peter Bertram's son Adam, aged 10 years, was interred.

In *North Berwick MIs* (reviewed above), the 10-year-old Adam Bertram, son of Peter Betram and Elizabeth Edington, is commemorated in entry no. 20. His parents had already lost a 5-year-old son Peter in 1824, then another three children during the 1840s: Elizabeth in 1844; George in 1845; Jessie in 1846. Peter Bertram died in 1849 aged 52 and his relict lived until 1874.

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## The Gathering 2009

24th-26th July 2009

Visit the SGS stall at the Homecoming Fair in Holyrood Park, Edinburgh!  
[www.homecomingscotland2009.com/whats-on/events/the-gathering-2009](http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com/whats-on/events/the-gathering-2009)

# RECENT ADDITIONS to the LIBRARY

Compiled by Joan Keane

- Berwickshire: 1861 Census: Indexed transcriptions:  
 Legerwood, Longformacus, Mertoun,  
 Nenthorn, Swinton, Westruther, Whitsome      Graham & Emma Maxwell  
 Tracing Your Scottish Family History      Anthony Adolph  
 We'll Send Ye Tae the Mars –  
 The Story of Dundee's Legendary Training Ship      Gordon Douglas  
 Croft History, Isle of South Uist, Vol 4      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of North Uist, Vol 4      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of North Uist, Vol 5      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of Lewis, Vol 10      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of Lewis, Vol 11      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of Lewis, Vol 13      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of Lewis, Vol 14      Bill Lawson  
 Croft History, Isle of Lewis, Vol 15      Bill Lawson  
 Genealogie en de Canon Deel 1      Central Bureau voor Genealogie  
 North Berwick Old Parish Church MIs      Joy Dodd  
 James Wilson, Journal      Peter Hillis (ed)  
 Lewis Families and How to Trace Them Part 1 – Ness      Bill Lawson  
 Lewis Families and How to Trace Them Part 2 – Lochs      Bill Lawson  
 A Fine Romance      David W Meale  
 Surnames and Ancestry in Scotland      Gordon Donaldson  
 The People of Forfar 1700-1799      David Dobson  
 Chapeltown Churchyard  
 & Tombae Churchyard      H Mitchell, KL Mitchell, Bruce Bishop (eds)  
 The Griamachary Papers      A S Gordon  
 The Lands and People of Moray:  
 Part 36, Parish of Edinkillie      Bruce B Bishop  
 Doune Kirkyard, MacDuff  
 (Parish of Gamrie)      Aberdeen & North East Scotland FHS  
 The Kirkyards of Kinneff & Catterline  
 (Including St Philip's Episcopal)      Aberdeen & North East Scotland FHS  
 The People of Monifieth 1600-1799      David Dobson

## Library Volunteers Needed!

Do you have a couple of hours to spare once a week, particularly of a morning? Would you like to come and help run the Library, assist members and visitors use our resources, become involved in producing our various publications? Training is provided, of course.

If so, please come in and talk to Jim Cranstoun or Moira Stevenson,  
 or call 0131-220 3677 or e-mail in to [librarian@scotsgenealogy.com](mailto:librarian@scotsgenealogy.com)

## **DATES FOR YOUR DIARY - 2009**

**All SGS ordinary meetings take place at 7.30pm in the Augustine United Church, 41 George IV Bridge, Edinburgh (unless otherwise stated). Admission free to all.**

- 14 September "Ancestral Tourism and the Homecoming", by Peter Wadley, NAS.  
12 October "Impact of Empire on Scots Heraldry: Quest and Conquest", by Mark D. Dennis, BA, Chairman of the Heraldry Society of Scotland.  
16 November To be confirmed.

### **New Register House Research Evenings:**

Please contact the Library for 2009 dates.

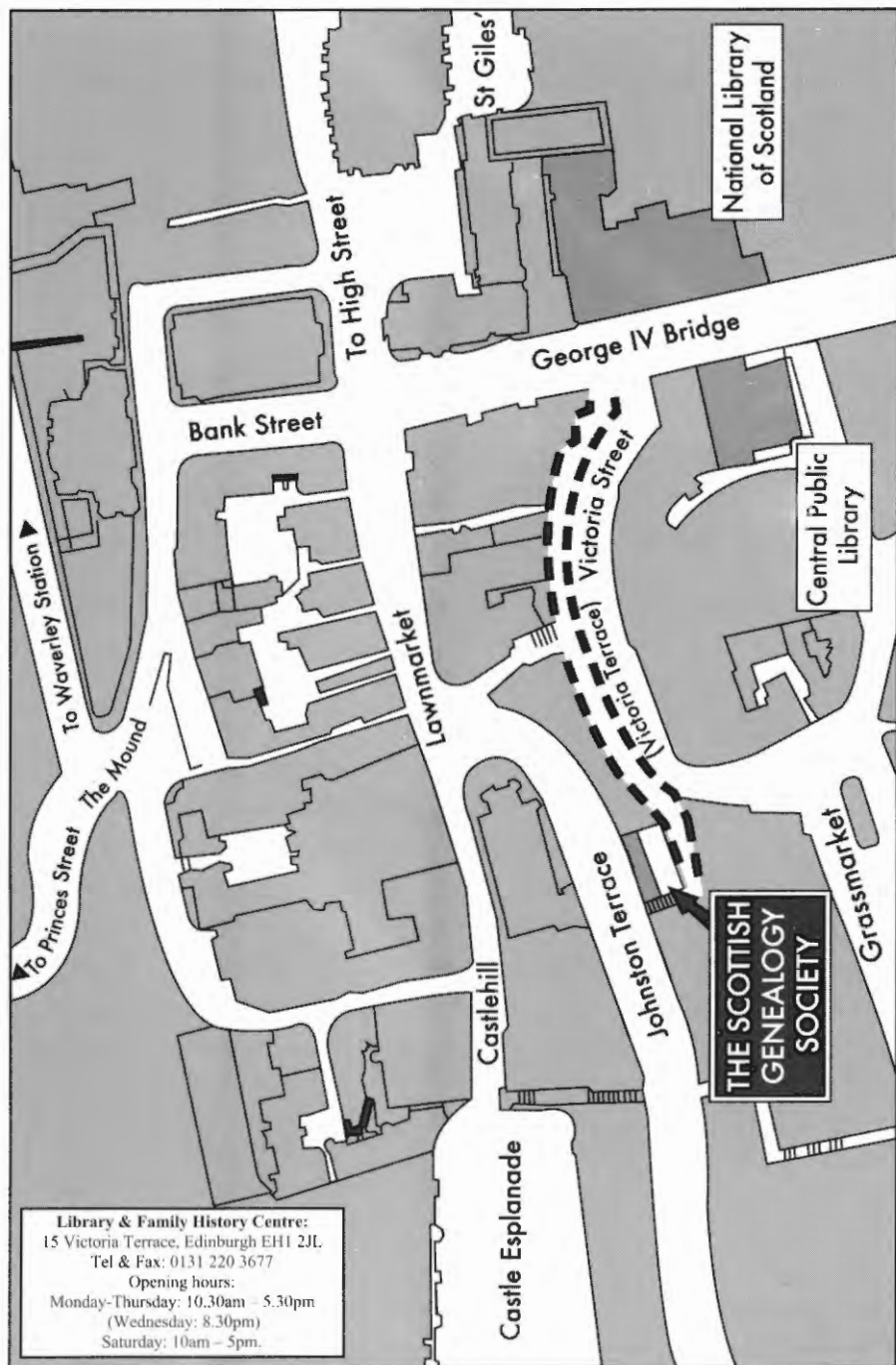
### **Scotslot**

- 12 July "Tracing the life of a Shoemaker using Estate Papers" by Richard McGregor:  
22 August "Land Records as a Research Tool" by Gregory Lauder-Frost:  
4 October "Sources for weaver and farmer ancestors"  
14 November To be announced

Scotslot meets in Harpenden, Hertfordshire. Guests are welcomed at our meetings. Contact [stuart.laing@virgin.net](mailto:stuart.laing@virgin.net) or Scotslot, 16 Bloomfield Road, Harpenden, Herts, AL5 4DB.

### **Family History Fairs and other events:**

- 6 June Leith Festival Fair.  
19-21 June Routes to your Roots Conference, Albert Halls, Dumbarton Road, Stirling. Lectures/ evening events, themed daily by local authority material, occupations or graveyards. [www.stirling.gov.uk](http://www.stirling.gov.uk)  
27 June Dumfries & Galloway FHS Homecoming Event, Dumfries Academy, Academy St, Dumfries DG1 1DD [www.dgfhs.org.uk](http://www.dgfhs.org.uk)  
2-24 July International Genealogy Festival, hosted by the University of Strathclyde. Lectures, exhibitions, events, with each day themed by a geographical area of the world. [www.strathclydegenealogy.co.uk](http://www.strathclydegenealogy.co.uk)  
24 July Local History Fair, hosted by the Edinburgh & District Local History Forum, at the Augustine United Church.  
25-26 July "The Gathering 2009", Homecoming Fair in Holyrood Park, Edinburgh. [www.homecomingscotland2009.co.uk/whats-on/events/the-gathering-2009](http://www.homecomingscotland2009.co.uk/whats-on/events/the-gathering-2009)



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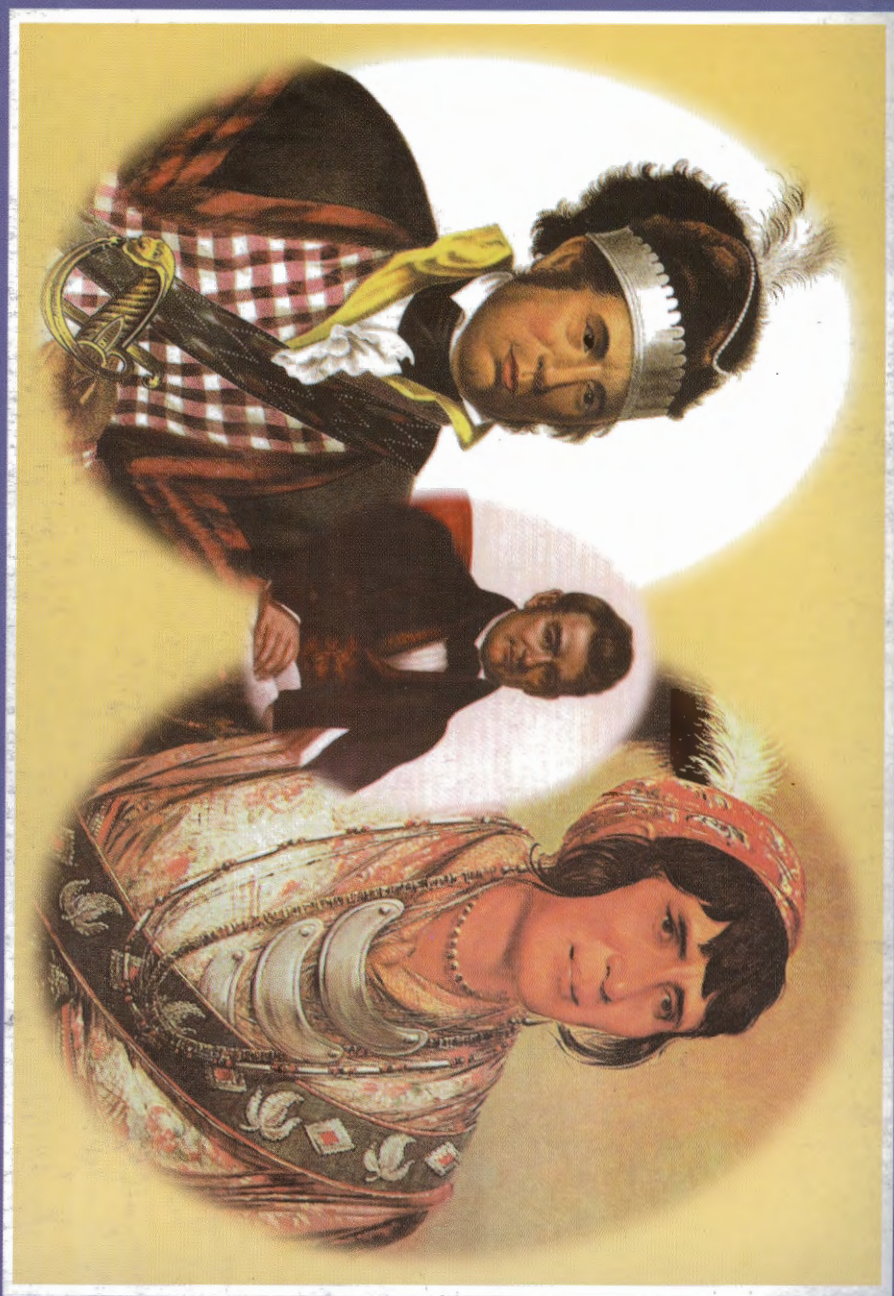
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