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Ogilvie

Brownlow

MacDonald

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The Scottish Genealogy Society

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Front Cover:

The Society's Coat of Arms

Back Cover:

Photograph of

Florence Brownlow

in the author's collection

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Sales Secretary

After many years of dedicated service Rhona Stevenson has stepped down from the position of Sales Secretary. Anyone who would be interested in becoming Sales Secretary should contact the Library. There would be plenty of support and guidance given to any interested person. It's both an essential and an interesting part of our operations.

Treasurer required

So far, John Ellis is proving to be irreplaceable! Due to his ill-health, the Society needs a new Hon.Treasurer to keep and maintain our accounts. Members with financial experience are encouraged to consider this role. The Society is run entirely on a voluntary basis and co-operation and help from our Council will be given at all times.

Dorothy Tweedie has generously volunteered to perform this office, but on a temporary basis only.

Please contact chairman@scotsgenealogy.com

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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.

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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.

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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.

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Little Brown Brownlows: Race, Shame and Genealogy

David MacAdam

Family History is a dish of selected cuts, sliced thin, served cold, bloodless, halal.
Salman Rushdie: *Midnight's Children*

Most genealogists will have come across various species of shame in the families they investigate, those individuals or groups firmly stuffed into closets and shut away from the world and future generations. Homosexuals, murderers, paupers and those cast into workhouses, the insane, the mentally feeble, drunks, bigamists and the criminal classes.

Most of these categories have been long since redeemed, absorbed back into polite society. Australians now revel in their descents from people transported there for felonies, homosexuality is thankfully no longer a taboo and even insanity and mental frailty can be discussed in the open.

However, one class of difference is still stuck in the cupboard. Those who have a history of mixed-race family, or “miscegenation” as it is so delicately termed, rarely discuss it even within the family, far less broach the subject openly. It is a final shame, a last taboo and warps the narrative of the family investigated.

My mother, her mother and my great grandmother came to Britain from India in the summer of 1936. It was no holiday visit, nor some long-deserved furlough, they were here to stay, even though none had been born here, nor ever been here before for more than a couple of weeks. They may even have convinced themselves they were coming home.

But they would have not had any problems entering Britain as they travelled on British Empire Passports.

When I was young and first interested in family history my mother showed me a letter from Nina Brownlow, old aunt of hers in Australia, dated in 1951. This seemingly gave a history of her family as far as the old girl could remember. But I could also see it was clearly in answer to a question and written for a specific purpose and so carefully crafted. It was a document with a capital “D”. Decidedly a foundation writ and family myth source specifically directing attention to one line only and a very English line at that.

This unlikely and dubious old tale purported to state that my ancestor Charles Brownlow was the child of the Earl of Lurgan and an un-named Clergyman’s daughter, but that the Earl tired of her, cast her and their child from Lurgan, and their marriage documents were conveniently destroyed in a fire at the church. Charles eventually goes out to India with the East India Company to seek his fortune. Totally spurious and none of this stood much investigation as the Earldom of Lurgan was not even created until long after Charles’s birth. But it read well.¹

The inaccuracies in it were dismissed by some relations as due to Nina’s

impending dementia. I never bought that line. If there were errors or falsehoods I felt they were deliberate and purposeful.

Discovering the purpose of Nina's document had to wait until after my mother's death when I came across correspondence with the Home Office dated 1951.

After Indian Independence in 1948 all those born in India, and living there, were deemed to be Indian citizens. Those born in India but living abroad like my mother and her family, would require to review their arrangements with the Home Office, showing how they qualified as British if they wanted British Citizenship. Mother had completed the said forms and, I assume, used the information sent by Aunty as proof of being unequivocally British.

Clearly the Home Office did not agree, considering mother much more likely to be Indian. Mother was mortified, and as she was always given to catastrophise everything, claimed for years after she had been rendered stateless until she married my father in 1955. This was not what the letters said, but in family myths when did facts ever matter?

Mother's uncle Herbert Llewelyn Jones, was also applying for British nationality in 1951. Maybe aunty Nina was providing documents for a number of her family.²

Could I build on this? I sent emails round those family I could find. Certainly, reaction initially within my mother's family was both definite and resistant. Clearly this was not a subject fit for discussion. After a period of radio silence, when I did get a reaction it was negative, and strangely, since we were both speaking within the family, - racist. One relative, now deceased, simply would not speak with me because, as his son-in-law sheepishly explained to me on the 'phone, the Brownlows were "too Country" for him. "Too Country" was a term for mixed race Indian and British. Terms like "Chutney Mary", "Half n half", "Chutcha Butcha (half baked bread)", "eight annas" abounded.

Frank Hardy, author of two of the works cited in the endnotes, recalled his grandmother who married Frederick Laughton Cattell, being openly derogatory of her husband's Indian relatives for their background and "chee-chee" accents.

The roots of this attribution of the family being at least in part Eurasian or Anglo-Indian, went back as far as the late 18C and the arrival in India of Francis Tydd, a soldier of the 16th Regiment of Foot who came to India and was at one point in barracks north of Calcutta in Cachar. There he met one Margaret Scotcher and they married. She was probably the mixed-race daughter of one of his comrades in the regiment. My family descended from this woman. Foot soldiers did not marry English women for two sensible reasons. First there were few English women in the country, and second those there certainly had not travelled all that distance to marry a mere trooper. Troopers "made do" with native girls or the mixed-race girls from other people's previous relationships.

One curiosity (and difficulty) was that if you accept Maria Tydd, his daughter as being one quarter Indian and thus Florence Llewelyn-Jones as one eighth, and

her daughter, my grandmother Muriel, as one sixteenth, then my mother dropped out of the extent of being considered “coloured” as it was termed then. In the USA the same one-sixteenth “one drop rule” extinguished at this level.

Unless of course *both* Frank Tydd and Margaret Scotcher were mixed-race. This would make their daughter Frances Tydd half, Florence a quarter, Muriel an eighth and mother one-sixteenth, and the sums then make sense. However distant this might seem today, back in the 1960s one-sixteenth coloured ancestry was quite enough to condemn you to the back seat of the bus of life. Was there a way I could find a source or some proxy to help here?

Mother’s repeated stories that the Tydds had come out originally with Clive might help establish this assertion.

One fact I came across was that in the East India Company army it was the habit of the Commanding Officer to gift the mother of a child born to a soldier a gold coin – a moidor, about the same value as a sovereign. A sort of baby-box. A wee start in life. Many families held onto these as a token of social acceptance.

In amongst all the odds and ends my mother’s family had chosen to bring over from India and sitting at the bottom of her little box of treasures, were two gold moidor coins. Maybe the sums did then make sense.

One way round the road blocks being placed in my genealogical route was to take a DNA test. Now I would never try to tell you that these DNA tests will find your ancestral Viking village in the fjords, or a direct ancestry to Charlemagne, far less establish your ethnicity, but for the cost of a call-out for your washing machine they flush out cousins a treat. And so it was with me!

My new-found cousin was a descendant of my great grandfather Robert Llewelyn Jones’s brother Thomas. Thomas, family orthodoxy had told me “*had moved to Burma and died in 1942*”. DNA told me different. Thomas had married an Indian woman Kathleen Lota Shoma, and had a large family of mixed-race children. Far from moving to Burma he remained firmly in Sylhet close to all his other relatives who would have been very well aware of the real situation. And I now had a large number of cousins in Toronto!

Mixed Indian and European family and descent mattered little in the late eighteenth century, certainly in India. Then those interested in dividing society into hierarchies were far more concerned with “class”. So being “shamed” by these relationships is said to have begun with the establishment of the Raj following the mutiny of 1857. Out went the East India Company and its easy pragmatism and in came the mores of a metropolitan, bourgeois London-based evangelical scornful Raj. Clearly the new regime was concerned about the development of a parallel ethnic group in a position of prominence. They sought to discourage the creation of further such individuals by denying positions of influence to Anglo-Indians and domestic-born British. Jobs were limited and promotions non-existent, with the Anglo-Indian being corralled into specialised

(and poorer paid) areas of employment. They had been transformed into a new type of secular caste and a form of Apartheid developed.



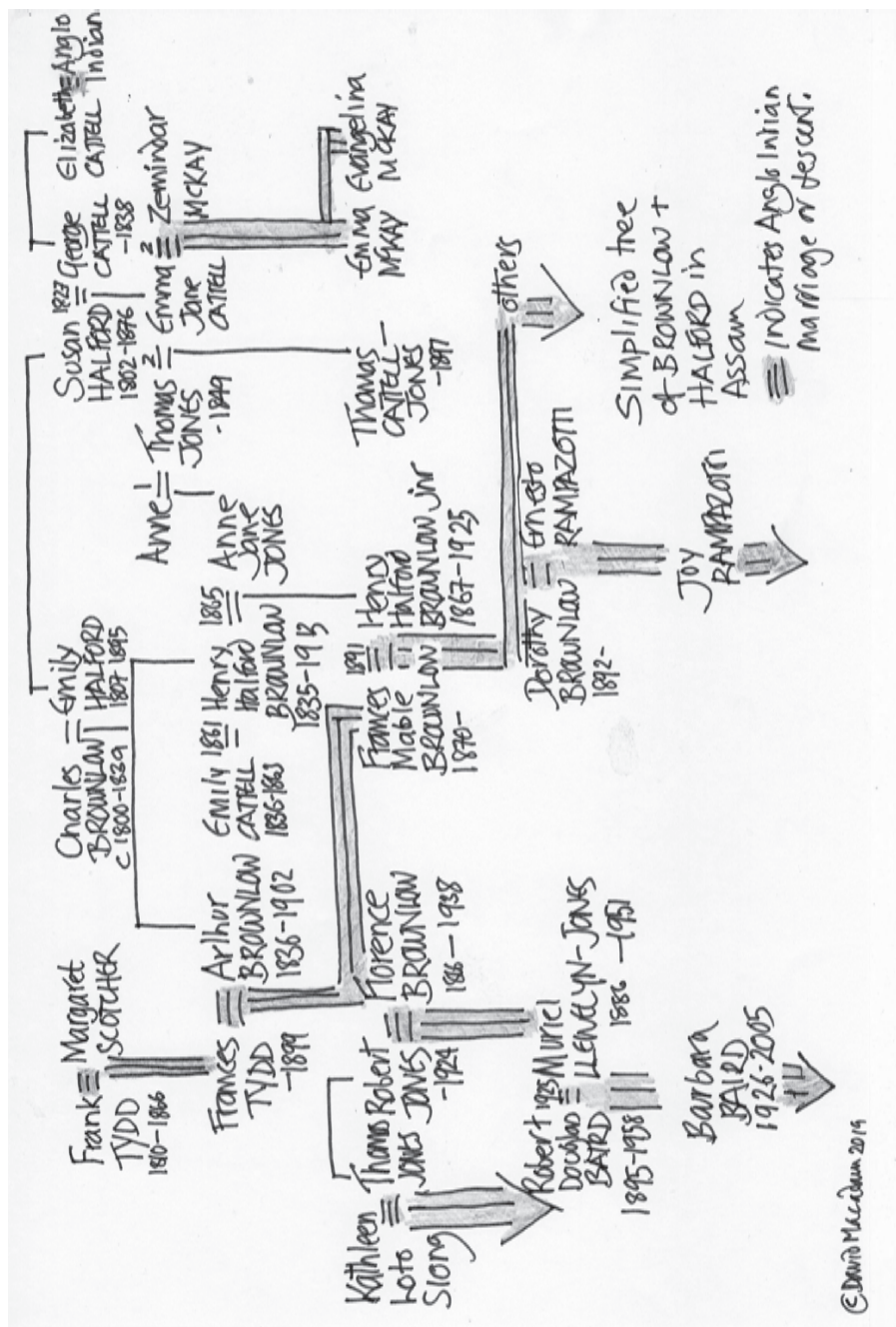
Robert Halford

My own family seem to have taken only partly to the new thinking as various members continued openly marrying native women and raising families well into the twentieth century. Indeed, they would maintain clearly public links with their mixed-race children. Robert Halford, the child of one of the planters in the family, was engaged by many locally as an agent obtaining contract labour for the tea gardens. He appears as handsome, self-confident and exceptionally well turned-out.

Perhaps this was because these planters were stuck out in mofussil Assam, removed from the centre of things, and planters had a reputation for expressing strong independent opinions. The need for keeping matters quiet seems only to arise at their time leaving India.

Marriage, though, would also be more constrained as the Raj closed its social grip even out in the hinterlands. Some Anglo-Indian families hoping to disguise native descents would claim they were Dutch, or Portuguese. To little success. Indeed, claims of Dutch descent became so common as almost certain to mark one's family history as "suspect". Anglo Indian families began to become marginalised and semi-detached from mainstream British society. In Frank Hardy's family trees one notices how much the family now starts to marry Europeans who were in India. These were Italian, Swiss, German, Belgium and Jewish.³ At this time fully one-fifth of the families being married into were Continental European.

Britain in the late thirties, through the War and after was socially very conservative with a small "c" and any deviation from the accepted norm might be met with resistance. Even then rental properties would openly display signs saying things like "No Blacks or Irish" or "No dogs or Chinese". Perhaps the best policy was not to rock one's boat unnecessarily. Later, in the Britain of the late sixties and early seventies following a sudden influx of East Asians from Idi Amin's Uganda, there was the rise of "paki-bashing", and the political poison of Enoch Powell inflamed racial politics. Neither would have encouraged "coming-out". Rather such secret histories were going to remain just that – secret. If your branch of the family could pass white, then it was likely all traces would be excised. For genealogists this means that facts are utterly distorted, and even official documents cannot be relied on. My mother who was adept at all the skills of the half-truth, misdirection and blatant lie was essentially genuinely scared of the social implications of being "outed" as half-caste. My own grandmother always put it about that she had never ever been issued with a birth certificate, (slack sloppy Indian Officialdom was blamed). Indian birth certificates indicated race



so we can see why that was dropped, and she chose to rely on the more malleable baptismal documents instead.

After updating family on my new findings, I asked the questions again. This time the reactions were slightly more positive. One query I had long wondered about was how, if the family were indeed Anglo-Indian, my great-grand-mother Florence's sister Mabel Brownlow had obtained entry to Australia in 1934 when they still operated a strict colour bar. One relative, simply in passing, had mentioned that he had always wondered about his granny Dorothy Brownlow's olive coloured skin. Prompted I investigated Australian Immigration records and turned up the Investigating Officers' notes. Mabel Brownlow (the granny) had simply said she and her daughter Dorothy were "Irish" and this had been accepted. So that solved that one. The family simply lied⁴.

Other branches, more bullish about their Anglo-Indian roots and seeing marrying out as mere sense in a country where the only women were the local girls, showed me evidence of the salacious joy that the local English press latched onto any tales of adultery with a racial element. Even yet one feels slightly soiled reading this.⁵

The matter of race divided children too. We can see on the attached tree that Susan Halford⁶ who married George Cattell, had a daughter Emma who ran off and married Thomas Jones a Welsh Missionary of some charm and no small notoriety⁷. After his death, and now with a child also called Thomas, her mother needed to find a suitable husband. Clearly the stories regarding her husband had reduced her marketability so Susan passed Emma onto her new husband, one Zemindar McKay a mixed-race "barrister" who was able to sit as Principal Sudder Ameen of Ferreedpore, a second class of native Judge. This alone tells us he must be both mixed-race and probably Muslim. They had two daughters together, Emma and Evangeline. When Susan felt the time had come to return to England, she chose to take Thomas with her and funded his training as a medical Doctor in Guy's Hospital London. However, she chose not to make any such offer to her two mixed race grand-daughters.

So, at the end of this investigation how do I feel? Delighted by their individualism, strength, character and sly humour. Their determinism not to be bottled up, categorised as what they did not wish to be, or overwhelmed by an unsympathetic Government unaware of local circumstances shines through. In a couple of words – resilient and bloody-minded. It explained a resistance to engaging with authorities and their forms – not wishing to give a handle to those who might expose you. And, perhaps most important, I also became more understanding of mother's concerns, and why she was constantly blowing hot and cold about her deep background. The lessons for the genealogist must be that if you too have family who lived in India, or Burma or all points east any time from the late 18C and your facts don't fit your stories, or documents go strangely missing, like my Granny's birth certificate - or you feel you are being lead up the garden path, then at least consider the possibilities of your having Indian blood too!

Charles Francis Macdonald (1823-1901)

Terry Jenkins

The biographies of famous men usually include a brief mention of other members of the family during the course of the narrative. The information is likely to be fragmentary, but often will be the only details that we possess about a particular person. It is easy then to characterize someone from a handful of throw-away remarks. Such is the fate of Charles Francis Macdonald, elder brother of the Victorian author, George Macdonald (1824-1905).

Charles Francis has suffered the added indignity of having incorrect information about him published online. Many genealogical “name-chasers” have investigated the life of George Macdonald - understandably so, as he was an influential figure in literary history. As an adjunct they have also posted information about his siblings and other members of his family. Their research into these side-branches is invariably perfunctory and superficial, and leads to incorrect assumptions and results. Unfortunately, these are then posted online for posterity to view. One such site states that Charles had eight children (he had three!) by conflating him with another Charles Macdonald. This error has subsequently been copied unquestioningly by other people, and thus the incorrect information proliferates. It is very easy to post such errors online - far more difficult to persuade the perpetrators to correct them. The interloper is a shepherd who was married in Huntly at a Roman Catholic ceremony held at the Bogie Inn on 6 August 1856. It is not immediately apparent why he should have been married in Huntly, and in the local inn! The Catholic church of St Margaret's was built in the town in 1834. This other Charles Macdonald was born in Crathie, Aberdeenshire, about forty miles south-west of Huntly, and he subsequently lived for a time in Dull, Perthshire, where his first children were born. Anybody who has done any research into the author George Macdonald will know that you are not likely to find a Roman Catholic amongst the members of his family. Certainly not in the nineteenth century. The family abandoned that religion after Culloden, and George and Charles Francis's grandmother Isabel (who died in 1848) was a strict Calvinist - a follower of the Seceders, the Revs. George Cowie and John Hill, as the names of her grandchildren (below) testify.

Charles Francis was born in Huntly, Aberdeenshire, in 1823, the eldest son of George Macdonald and his first wife Helen McKay. He was followed by brother George in 1824, and other brothers who died young: James MacKay (1826-34), Alexander Cowie (1827-53), John Hill (1830-1858).² The details of their mutual ancestry can be found in any of the biographies of the author. Although George Macdonald is remembered now as an author and poet, his first vocation was to the church and he trained as a Congregational minister in London. Charles Francis, like his father and grandfather before him, went into business. Not in Scotland, however, but in England - neither George nor Charles ever lived in

Scotland as adults. By the 1850s Charles Francis was married and working in Manchester as a commission agent in the cotton business - buying and selling cotton goods and making his profit.

All we have really known about Charles thus far, as a person, comes from a handful of disparaging remarks in Greville Macdonald's biography of his father, *George Macdonald and his wife*, published in 1924. For example, Greville quotes a letter written in 1857 by George Macdonald from Algiers to his father in Huntly: "... I feel with you in the fact that your sons have needed so much to be done for them". This carries a footnote: "My Uncle Charles was leaving for Sydney after his father had settled his heavy debts".³

Note that George Macdonald wrote "sons". There were three sons in the family at this time who were still alive: George, Charles Francis and John Hill (who died in 1858). What authority does Greville have for implying, by this footnote, that his father was referring solely to Charles's finances? I cannot believe that George had no debts of his own. In 1857, when he wrote this letter, ill-health had forced him to give up the ministry.⁴ He was not earning any money, and was residing in Algiers thanks to the philanthropic benevolence of Lady Byron. All he had published thus far was a dramatic poem, *Within and Without*. This was published privately in 1855, and his first book, *Phantastes*, did not appear until 1858. He was heavily reliant on financial support from other people simply to stay alive and to feed his family. It seems invidious, therefore, to imply that Charles Francis was the only son to have debts. I think all three sons needed 'much to be done for them' - and it is not unusual for a parent to be put in this position!

I detect an inbuilt antipathy to Charles from Greville throughout his biography - all the references are disparaging in one way or another. Elsewhere in the book he writes: "In Charles the ambition to get rich without labour seemed most easily indulged by exploiting patents and gold-mines or other men's money" (p. 161). This is a very strange accusation. Being an author is hardly the most 'laborious' of careers, and the biography clearly shows that George Macdonald relied heavily on 'other men's money' throughout his life. An over-riding impression given by Greville is his father's continual lack of money, and all George Macdonald's more recent biographers also record how he constantly struggled with poverty. In his early days, for example, he did not even have the money to take his wife Louisa to Scotland to introduce her to his father until 1856, by which time they had been married for five years. Later in life, we find he was down to his last £50 in 1877 and grateful for a gift of £200 from a friend. In 1878, he received a bequest of £500 that "went far to clear off his accumulating debts", and in 1885 was "spending borrowed money now, and see no way but to borrow more."⁵ He would not have been able to live the life that he did without the continuing financial support from wealthy patrons.

Greville, meanwhile, gives the impression that Charles was the black sheep of the family. As I will show, this opinion does not bear close scrutiny, and I suggest it is advisable to be wary of a biography written by a close family member. It

may contain first-hand information, but is likely to be biased in favour of its subject. Unfortunately, Greville's remarks have been quoted and even embellished by later writers and, I fear, give a distorted, and incorrect, picture of the man. However, newly available archives now allow us to correct this, and to obtain a proper understanding of Charles's life and achievements.

Newspapers show that Charles took an active interest in local politics in Manchester. He was a Liberal supporter and particularly interested in the social aspects of politics. In this he was unlike his brother George, who had little interest in such matters. Greville writes, "Though my father upheld the Liberalism of Cobden and Bright, he was little of a politician" (p. 191). George appeared to be only concerned with a person's spiritual well-being; Charles was interested in the realities of their life here on earth.

In January 1855, Charles was a member of the Executive Committee that organised a 'Soirée' for Manchester's two MPs - an event at which businessmen could meet their Members of Parliament and raise local issues.⁶ The chairman of this committee was George Wilson (1808-1870), a Manchester businessman much involved in political reform.⁷ And it was Wilson who recommended Charles to the Master of the Royal Mint when extra staff were needed to deal with the withdrawal of the old copper coinage in 1861. The government had decided that it was no longer possible to maintain the issue of pure copper coins (a penny was supposedly made with a penny's worth of the metal),⁸ and all the copper coinage in circulation was withdrawn and replaced by new bronze coins. These coins, bearing the head of Queen Victoria, remained legal tender until decimalisation in 1971. It's interesting that we still call low-denomination coins 'coppers', although they have been made of bronze for over 150 years.

The Master of the Mint sought authority from the Treasury for this appointment in December 1861, and wrote:

"Owing to the constant expansion of the new Service, it becomes necessary to provide more fully for it and to separate it more completely from the ordinary business of the Mint. I have to propose at present

1. The appointment of another Temporary Senior Clerk . . . to be employed chiefly on the correspondence and out door duty of the service. It is in my power to suggest the name of a Gentleman whom I consider highly qualified for this office, Mr C.F. Macdonald of Manchester.

Mr Macdonald was recommended to me strongly by Mr George Wilson who has a good idea of the qualifications required for the Office. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also when lately in Lancashire obtained information respecting Mr McDonald, & writes that he "is described to me from a trustworthy source as a person of high intelligence & unexceptionable character".⁹

Then follows the proposed salary and other financial arrangements for the appointment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer who endorsed the recommendation was none other than William Ewart Gladstone, who became Prime Minister in 1868. He was at the time the Liberal M.P. for South Lancashire, and this shows that Charles was well-known in political circles in the north-west of the country. Charles worked for the Royal Mint until 1864, when the work was deemed to be complete.¹⁰ While he was there, he became a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society (all members were called 'Fellows'). This seems an unexpected move - nothing about his life thus far has indicated that he had any interest in statistics. But the Society was formed with the object of "... procuring, arranging and publishing facts to illustrate the condition and prospects of society", and this was clearly of great interest to him. He also attended a meeting in London during his employment at the Mint that led to the formation of the Emancipation Society - emancipation, that is, for the negro slaves of the USA. In October, President Lincoln had made a proclamation that the Federal Government would make all slaves unconditionally free on 1st January 1863. This policy was not universally welcomed in the U.K., and the meeting in November 1862 noted the sympathy of this country with the Southern Confederacy, and resolved to support the North in its efforts to end slavery. A list of the General Committee of the Society was published, and includes the name of C.F. Macdonald.¹¹

By 1866 Charles and his family had permanently moved to London. Despite the move, he continued to attend political events in Manchester. When he attended a banquet at the Free Trade Hall promoted by the National Reform Union on 20 November 1866, he was listed as 'C.F. Macdonald, London'.¹² The National Reform Union was a pressure group working to force the government into extending the suffrage to working men, and most of the leading Liberals from the north-west of the country were present at the banquet. Gladstone had actually introduced a Reform Bill in 1866 but this was initially defeated, leading to massive country-wide riots and demonstrations. It was re-considered in 1867, and there was a further public meeting at the Free Trade Hall on 6 August 1867, to consider amendments to the Bill. Charles also attended this meeting, and was distinguished enough to be seated on the platform with the other notables.¹³

The Free Trade Hall in Manchester, where all these large meetings took place, opened in 1856. It was built on land in St Peter's Fields, the site of the Peterloo Massacre, given by the Liberal statesman Richard Cobden. Cobden was originally a Manchester businessman, but retired to live in Midhurst, Sussex, where he died in April 1865. His funeral was attended by large numbers of people from all over the country who travelled to the town by special train from London. The names of the passengers were listed in the newspaper reports of the event, and one can find the name of Mr. C. F. Macdonald amongst them.¹⁴ And the name immediately preceding his in these reports was that of Mr. J. Noble.

After he left the Royal Mint in 1864, Charles immediately went into partnership with John Noble. They set themselves up as 'financial and general agents' with

offices in Bridge St. Westminster - just across the road from the Houses of Parliament. Noble was a great proponent of free trade and in 1865 founded the Free Trade Association. He wrote several books on the subject, and his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* describes him as “active in lecturing on the free breakfast-table programme”(!). This was a popular title given to the efforts to remove the still-existing tariffs on tea, coffee and sugar.

One of the first projects undertaken by the partnership involved the somewhat insalubrious subject of sewage disposal. The Government had sought to alleviate the hardships caused by the collapse of the cotton business in Lancashire during the American civil war by facilitating schemes for improvements to public utilities - thus providing alternative employment for those out of work. One area to profit from this initiative was the provision of a modern system of sewers. The rapid expansion of industrial cities throughout the country had meant that the existing sewers, some dating back to medieval times, were totally unable to cope. London had suffered the ‘Great Stink’ in 1858, when the stench from the river Thames finally caused Parliament to act and appoint Joseph Bazalgette to build a modern network of sewers. The same problems existed in every other major town and city, and the whole subject was debated in October 1866 at a Congress in Leamington. One of the speakers at the Congress was Charles Francis Macdonald who explained plans for the proposed utilization of sewage in Liverpool.¹⁵

Charles and John Noble intended to build a new sewer to take the effluent northwards out of the city, where it would be sprayed on farmland as fertilizer. And they formed the Liverpool Sewage Utilization Company for the purpose.¹⁶ Naturally, as with any new idea, there were many people who objected to the scheme. The Earls of Derby and Sefton, both major landowners in the area, objected to the sewer passing through their land. There were others who foresaw hideous smells and pollution. Nonetheless, a pilot scheme was set up and a farm was purchased north of the city. The sewer was built, the waste was sprayed - and the Directors claimed increased crop yields were obtained as a result. Many local farmers expressed interest but the costs could not be reduced to a profitable level, and the company was in financial difficulties by 1871. Although Liverpool Council had purchased a substantial number of shares, it was not prepared to take the company over as a going concern, and it eventually closed in 1876.¹⁷ Once again sewage was simply discharged into the Mersey. It is worth commenting that the disposal of sewage sludge on farmland - after treatment and with certain restrictions - is nowadays the EU’s preferred option. Charles and Noble were simply ahead of their time.

The next project to occupy them in Liverpool was an urban tramway. In 1860, an American entrepreneur (with the appropriate name of George Francis Train) had opened several short sections of tramway in different parts of the country. They were speculative ventures, and most were soon ripped up following objections from other road-users. The one place where they survived was

Birkenhead, just across the Mersey from Liverpool. The horse-drawn trams clearly offered a much smoother ride to the passengers than the existing omnibuses, and considerably reduced the work-load on the horses that pulled them. Charles and Noble set about the process of obtaining parliamentary authority for a tramway in Liverpool, and on 12 December 1865 the Liverpool Tramway Company was registered, with Charles Francis Macdonald, John Noble and three others as Directors.¹⁸ They started the procedure to obtain the necessary Act of Parliament.¹⁹ It was not an easy task and took three years - their Bill was defeated in 1866 and 1867, and it was not until 31 August 1868 that the Liverpool Tramways Act successfully passed through both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Construction work began immediately and trams started to run on 1st November 1869. The omnibus companies did everything they could to disrupt the service, but the trams were immediately popular and within weeks the Company was seeking powers to extend the lines.

By the time the tramway opened in Liverpool, Charles was actively involved in the final stages of obtaining parliamentary authority for tramways in London. He and Noble had formed the Metropolitan Tramway Company for the purpose in 1865,²⁰ at the same time as forming the Liverpool company, but it took them a whole year longer to get the necessary approval. Eventually success came in September 1869, when three separate Acts for tramways in London received the Royal Assent.²¹ The first of these, the *Metropolitan Tramways Act*, gave the promoters authority to build a line in East London from Whitechapel out to Bow, and the North Metropolitan Tramways Company was incorporated to carry out the project. The Act specified that the Company should have six directors, and Charles Francis Macdonald was one of the three specifically named in the text. The Minutes of the Board fortunately still exist, and are the only such records of these early tramway companies to survive. The first directors' meeting was held on 16 September 1869 and various reimbursements were authorized, including one of £1,098 to Charles himself, which was expenditure incurred in getting the Bill through Parliament.²² The first trams ran in London at the beginning of May 1870²³ and, as in Liverpool, there was an immediate application to extend the system. At an extraordinary meeting of the company on 12 October 1870, it was resolved to raise a further £240,000 for the purpose. Charles was no stranger to large sums of money! The company thrived and eventually became the largest of the tramway companies in the capital.

The granting of these specific Acts of Parliament led to the *Tramways Act, 1870*. This clarified the legal position and, importantly, gave local councils the authority to grant concessions to tramway companies. Very soon every town and city in the country had a tram network. And for this we have to thank the pioneers: Charles Francis Macdonald and his associates. The sewage scheme might have been a failure, the trams certainly were not.

None of this appears in Greville's biography of George Macdonald. This is understandable: the book is about his father after all. But none of the projects

described were 'get-rich-quick' schemes either. All appear to have been genuinely motivated by humanitarian concerns, and a desire to improve society - and all of them took years of dogged work and determination to bring to fruition. They also needed investors to finance the costs ('other people's money' in Greville's phrase), but that is the very nature of business projects. The costs of building a new brick sewer through the heart of Liverpool must have been considerable. And *The Times* newspaper hazarded that the cost of laying the London tramway would 'not exceed £12,000 per mile'.²⁴

The final mention of Charles in Greville's biography reports his return from Australia in 1858. He writes: "About this time my Uncle Charles returned home from Sydney, apparently with schemes for making his fortune and that of his many friends. He assured my mother that in a few months he would be able to write her a cheque for a thousand pounds, and never miss it. Though his intentions were honest and generous, his brother throughout his long life had constantly to supplement his precarious supplies." From the descriptions of George's own finances, I don't think he would ever have had the money to supplement his brother's 'precarious supplies'! However, he might have been invited to invest in one of his brother's projects.

The trip to Australia in 1857-58 is a curious episode. The shipping records show that Charles arrived in Sydney on 30 June 1857, accompanied by his five-year old son, George.²⁵ We also know that he was back in Manchester by 16 March 1858. A letter in the Sutton collection at Nottingham University shows that he wrote to a friend on that date from a new address in Salford.²⁶ The journey to and from Australia took over three months in each direction, and so he can have spent barely six months in the country before returning. We can thus discount out-of-hand the fanciful embellishments found in Rolland Hein's *George MacDonald, Victorian Mythmaker*, where he writes: "Charles, having had significant business reversals, had gone so heavily into debt that his father must now assume responsibility for his bills. Charles's inclination to make somewhat risky business investments had caught up with him. Unable to right himself in England, he was preparing to embark for Sydney, Australia, leaving Jane behind. The family no doubt were haunted by memories of his uncle Charles's having absconded twenty years earlier and cringed from the irony."²⁷ I consider this to be all pie-in-the-sky supposition. If Charles Francis had been fleeing from creditors, he would not have returned to Manchester within the year. More importantly, I think it highly unlikely that he would have been recommended, and accepted, for a post at the Royal Mint if there were any doubts about his financial probity, or hints of problems in his professional life. I think we have to look elsewhere for the reason for the trip.

In February 1855, Charles is recorded in the Manchester newspapers as attending a lecture given by George Thompson on 'The Origin and Probable Issues of the War'.²⁸ The American Civil War did not officially break out until 1861, but it had apparently been clear for years that it would happen sooner or later, and there

was growing alarm in Lancashire at the disruption in the supplies of raw cotton that this would bring. There were people in the cotton industry who had been concerned for years about the reliance on a single source in North America for their supplies. Alternative sources were being considered, and I think it was in this climate that Charles decided to go to Australia. I suggest that he saw an opportunity to get ahead of the game, and travelled there to establish contacts, and to set up a supply chain in preparation for importing cotton from 'down-under'. This can only be speculation, but it seems a sensible suggestion and how I believe an entrepreneur in the cotton industry might have reacted to the looming crisis. And, for all I know, he may have had some success. But, I fear Australia was too far away to make the supplies financially viable. In fact, when the American Civil War did break out, the cotton industry in Lancashire totally collapsed, leading to the 'Lancashire Cotton Famine' of 1862, mentioned earlier. Charles was fortunate to be working for the Royal Mint by then, and so was personally unaffected.

Greville's biography *George Macdonald and his Wife* was published in 1924, sixty-six years after the events of 1857-58. Greville was only born in 1856, and can have had no first-hand knowledge of them. He also implies that George and his brother had little contact with each other after their father's death (which also occurred in 1858). A letter in the Nottingham collection disproves this, and shows that the two families holidayed together in Broadstairs in September 1869.²⁹ I believe Greville gives a false impression of Charles, and one wonders why...

An obituary published in *The British Weekly: a Journal of Social and Christian Progress* on 7 February 1901 gives a different idea of the man, and describes Charles as "one of the greatest admirers and students of his brother's works", and comments that "probably no one was so qualified to comment upon them". The author who knew Charles personally, continued: "His was a mind exceptionally gifted and well-furnished. He had a large, charitable, tender nature, and spoke evil of no one". I think it is time for Greville's calumnies to be corrected.

References

- ¹ The 1911 census @118 Adelaide Road, Hampstead shows that Charles's wife Jane M Macdonald (b. 1824) bore him three children.
- ² There was possibly one other child. Their mother died in 1832, and father George remarried Margaret McColl in 1839 by whom he had three further daughters.
- ³ Macdonald, Greville: *George Macdonald and his Wife* (London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1924), p. 272
- ⁴ He resigned as minister in Arundel in 1853, and preached privately until he was offered a post in Bolton early in 1857. He was unable to fulfil these duties to ill-health. He never held any further positions in the church.
- ⁵ Macdonald, Greville: *George Macdonald and his Wife*, pp. 479 & 531. Also Raeper, William: *George Macdonald* (Tring, Lion Publishing, 1987), pp. 340 & 343.
- ⁶ Charles was similarly involved in organizing the soirée in 1856. see *Manchester Times*, Wednesday 10 January 1855, and Saturday, 5 January 1856.
- ⁷ see *Wikipedia* etc.
- ⁸ "An Act to extend the Enactments relating to the Copper Coin to Coin of mixed Metal" received the Royal assent in 1859.
- ⁹ National Archives: MINT 8/36, pp. 274-75; MINT 21/7, pp. 257-58.
- ¹⁰ National Archives: MINT 8/37, Doc. 2026 dated Sept. 21, 1864.
- ¹¹ *The Caledonian Mercury*, 1st January 1863. George Wilson was also a member, as was J. Noble (see later).

- ¹² see *Leeds Mercury*, Wednesday 21 November 1866.
- ¹³ see *The Manchester Weekly Times*, Saturday 10 August 1867.
- ¹⁴ see: *The Sussex Advertiser*, 11 April 1865.
- ¹⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, Thursday 25 October 1866.
- ¹⁶ see *The London Gazette*, 28 Nov, 1865; and *London Daily News*, 31 July 1866. Surprisingly, the Board of Trade files at the National Archives do not contain any records of the company. There are some documents in Liverpool, which I have not seen.
- ¹⁷ The progress and decline of the Company can be followed in the Liverpool newspapers. These confirm that C F Macdonald was a Director of the Company, and regularly attended the half-yearly meetings.
- ¹⁸ The National Archives: BT 31/1197/2680C
- ¹⁹ This followed the method by which all railways had been authorised since the 1840s. See also *Tramway Companies in Liverpool, 1859-97* by S Alasdair Munro, available on hslc.org.uk.
- ²⁰ The National Archives: BT 31/1194/2659C.
- ²¹ see *London Gazette*: 21 November 1865, pp. 5634-35; 26 November 1867, pp. 6393-96; 16 July 1869, p. 4006.
- ²² London Metropolitan Archives: ACC/1297/NMT/01/001, Minutes 1869-73.
- ²³ see *The Graphic*, 14 May 1870.
- ²⁴ *The Times*, 26 May 1869.
- ²⁵ see: New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826-1922 on Ancestry.co.uk; and *The Empire* newspaper, Tuesday 30 June 1857 (accessed on trove.nla.gov.au).
- ²⁶ Nottingham University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections: The Briggs Collection of Literary Papers and Correspondence from the Sutton family, Nottingham, 1818-1915. Ref: Bg 39 (the date has been mis-transcribed in the index as 16 March 1856). These letters appear to have been unknown to earlier researchers,
- ²⁷ Hein, Rolland: *George MacDonald, Victorian Mythmaker* (Nashville, Star Song Publishing, 1993), pp. 128-29.
- ²⁸ *Manchester Times*, Wednesday 21 February 1855.
- ²⁹ Nottingham University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections: The Briggs Collection of Literary Papers and Correspondence from the Sutton family, Nottingham, 1818-1915. Ref: Bg 78.

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Ogilvie of Inchmartin Siblings

Part One

Richard Ian Ogilvie

Siblings of Sir Andrew Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1392c-1463c »71)¹

The Ogilvie family descended from the third son of Gillebridgde Earl of Angus (1110c-1187/8c »78), Gilbert de Oggilluil (1135c-1210c »75), who received *Ogguluin* (Glen Ogilvie south of Glamis), *Kynnethin* (in Auchterhouse) and *Purin* (Powrie, NE of Dundee) from William I for the services of one knight in 1172c. A descendant, Sir Andrew Ogilvie of Inchmartin, was the third son of Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Auchterhouse (1362c-1421/2 »60), Sheriff of Angus, by an unknown spouse (m 1388c).

1. **George (1390c-1411 Harlaw »21)** Heads of clan Donald adopted the title of *Lord of the Isles* around 1354. Henry IV of England wished to weaken Scotland by promoting rebellion, so encouraged Donald to assert a claim to the earldom of Ross. The Duke of Albany, then Regent and uncle of Robert III, wanted the earldom for his nephew Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar (son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, who had forced Isabel Douglas, Countess of Mar, to marry him in 1404c). Mar used *caterans* for his personal advancement but was now following Regent Albany. On 27 February 1411 Lowlanders under Mar gathered some 1,500 men to fight perhaps as many as 5000 Highlanders under Donald of the Isles who had invaded Ross from the north moving towards Aberdeen. Nicholson, using *Highland Papers* for the MacDonald side of the story, has MacLean routing Sir Alexander Ogilvie who commanded the left side, while the central battalion under Mar was over-run, forcing his retreat.^{2a} The right wing was also forced back but then advanced when the center collapsed while Donald's troop pursued the retreating center under Mar. Eventually Donald retreated into Argyll and the Isles. Losses included George, eldest son of Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Sir James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee, Maule of Panmure, Irvine of Drum, Sir Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, Sir John Sinclair of Findlater (father of Elizabeth who married Walter Ogilvie of Auchleven) and Sir Alexander de Moravia (Murray). A tombstone for Gilbert de Greenslade can be found in Kinkell Kirk. Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk survived.

The Ballad of Harlaw

*Of the best amang them was, The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,
The sheriff-principal of Angus, Renownit for truth and equity-
For faith and magnamity, He had few fellows in the field,
Yet fell by fatal destiny, For he nae ways wad grant to yield.*

This ballad was 'collected' by Alexander Laing, an itinerant chapman and printer in Aberdeenshire, who printed a portion in 1820. Other versions appeared with much discussion in the literature concerning veracity and possible conflation with the Jacobite uprising in 1745.^{2b} Subsequent research proved Sir Alexander

sheriff-principal of Angus survived Harlaw and became a negotiator to release James I from London, having received safe-conduct to England on 15 May 1412 and 16 April 1422.

2. Patrick (1391c-1429/30 »37) became heir apparent of Auchterhouse and the sheriffdom of Forfar (Angus) in 1411. In 1413c he married Christine, heiress to Sir Alexander de Keith of Grandon. In 1412 he had a charter for Pittlyell in the barony of Lundin from Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas, '*for service due and to be done*'.^{3a} Perhaps he took part in Border raids or mustering men for Douglas who was justiciar south of the Forth, keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and warden of all three marches, Bailie of Coldingham castle and Protector of Melrose and Holyrood Abbeys. Thus Patrick was in the patronage pocket of Douglas who was a close advisor to Albany, but also a rival. As Vice-Earl of Angus Patrick's father, Sir Alexander had been a staunch supporter of Robert III and now of his son, James I, as an adherent to Regent Albany. Much later, on 13 November 1454, Patrick's son and heir, Alexander, gave a charter of these lands to William de Hay, Earl of Errol.

At the 21 May 1424 coronation of James I at Scone, 18 prominent nobles and 26 barons were knighted including Patrick of Auchterhouse and his uncle, Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, who had been in London in 1423 negotiating the king's release.^{3b} The newly-dubbed Sir Patrick was auditor of tax to pay the ransom for James, and in 1425 he was, along with his uncle Sir Walter, on the jury for the trial of Albany. On 14 April 1426 James confirmed a grant made by him of an annua lrent to the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin of Garioch.^{4a} By 1427, Patrick, in addition to his hereditary office as Sheriff of Angus, was justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth. These positions brought income as well as influence. Alexander MacDonald of Islay, Lord of the Isles, allied with James against a common foe, the Albany Stewarts, but now he was acting as an independent magnate over his northern territories of Ross. Sir Patrick and his uncle Sir Walter, along with Walter's son, Alexander, accompanied James on his mounted expedition to Inverness in August 1428, designed to bring the Lord of the Isles under royal control and thus gain income from his territories.

From 1418 Charles VII of France had a personal *garde écossaise* of 24 Scots *archers de la garde du roi* as part of the *auld alliance*. This body was increased during times of war with England and disbanded only in 1850. In 1428 James sent Sir Patrick and the Bishop of St. Andrews as ambassadors to the French court. Patrick's secretary, Master Alexander Guthrie, had been educated in Paris, so spoke and wrote *Middle French* as used on Île-de-France. After the death of John Stewart of Darnly at the Battle of Herring in France in February 1429, Sir Patrick was made Constable of Scots in France fighting the English. On April 27 he commanded a Scottish force of 100 men-at-arms and 400 bowmen which guarded the relief column of food and weaponry from Blois accompanied by Joan of Arc, with the aim of raising the English siege of Orléans. She was dressed in white armour and carried a banner painted by the Scots and was preceded by a group of chanting priests. On July 17 Sir Patrick attended the

coronation of Charles VII in Cathédral Notre Dame, Rheims, and on returning to Paris knighted Alexander Barclay, Lawrence Vernon, Walter Leckie, John Turnbull, William Rossy, Thomas Lovell, Gilbert Hay and Nicholas King, demonstrating that knights could dub other men.^{3b} He drowned at sea near Penmark, off the coast of Bretagne, on his way home to Scotland later that year or in early 1430. Sir Patrick was described by Walter Bower Abbot of Inchcolm as being ‘*very highly regarded by the king and his subjects*’ and ‘*was a man of acute mind, distinguished speech, manly spirit, small in stature but notable and trustworthy in every kind of upright behaviour.*’^{4b}

The *Armorial de la Toison d’Or* from 1433 documents the Heraldic Arms of members of this French Noble Order of Chivalry created in 1430.^{5a} In the Scottish section folio 131, the Arms (*Ogilvie quartering Ramsay*) of Sir Patrick Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, ‘*le vycomte d’angus*’, has precedence over ‘*le maréchal d’écossais* (Keith), *le connestable d’écossais* (Hay), *le Sieur de Gordon*, *Le Sieur d’Arghil* (Argyle) and *le S de Chricton* (Crichton)’, but follows the Earls of ‘*goriach, linax, moray and orkenay.*’ He was only a Vice-Earl, former justiciar north of the Forth and Constable of the Scots in France, but had precedence in this Armorial! No other Scottish sheriff appears in the list.

Issue of Sir Patrick:

i) **Alexander** became Sheriff of Angus on reaching his majority, succeeding his father, Sir Patrick, who died 1429/30 and used the same sigliographic seal as his father in 1440 but his own in 1446.^{5b} By 1453 Sir Alexander was ‘incapacitated’ so his brother Walter was appointed tutor.^{6b} Walter was Sheriff-Depute of Angus and Banff from 24 April 1450, and styled Sheriff on 20 May 1455. Alexander may have married Janet, daughter to Sir Andrew Gray of Fowlis and Janet Mortimer, and was succeeded in Auchterhouse by their daughter, Margaret, who in 1466 married James Stewart (1642c-1499) brother-in-utero to James II. His uncle, James III, granted him the Earldom of Buchan as well as being Lord of Auchterhouse. They resigned the Sheriffship of Angus into the King’s hands on 19 October 1466 and David, Earl of Crawford, afterwards Earl of Montrose, was made Sheriff-Principal. After the death of James III at Sauchieburn in 1488, Buchan, Huntly and Lennox were pardoned of treason for supporting James, and Montrose was replaced by Andrew Lord Gray as Sheriff-Principal of Angus. In 1494 William Monorgan of that Ilk was Depute.

ii) **Walter of Oures** married (mc 1439) Margaret Fenton but divorced without issue.^{5c} He had a natural son, Walter, mentioned 24 January 1477.^{4a} By an indenture on 7 July 1445 between the King’s council and Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort and Oures, Walter bound himself on oath to defend the minor James II in all his actions and quarrels and to defend the council in the King’s name and promised not to consent nor to counsel their harm but to warn them of any threat, while the councillors bound themselves to Walter.^{6a} Lord Chancellor Crichton of Midlothian and Alexander Livingstone of Callender were two powerful men in this period controlling respectively Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, who had conspired in

the assassination of William 6th Earl of Douglas at the '*Black Dinner*' held in Edinburgh Castle in November 1440 when James *the Gross* Douglas became his heir. Historians point out other circumstances requiring the bond by Walter Ogilvy since there were marriage ties between the Ogilvies and the Livingstone family.^{7a}

iii) **Margaret (b 1425c)** married Sir John Oliphant (d 1446 Arbroath) with issue: Lawrence 1st Lord Oliphant (and others) who received on 6 November 1468, a charter of the lands of Oures from Walter Ogilvy, his uncle.

3. **David (1395c-1439/40c »45) of Kinneff & Balmutto by 1423** was one of many hostages (*pledges*) for James I held in England, but was released before 26 January 1426, when he witnessed a charter of his uncle Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen.^{4a} Survival was not assured as a pledge in England. The first set of hostages in 1421 was to be exchanged in 1424 with another exchange in 1427. At least 8 died (most by plague) in England and 5 '*disappeared*'. Malise, Earl of Menteith, was not released until 1453! The choice of pledges was supposedly based on annual income of the family. Any hostage who sent his heir as substitute had to guarantee his behaviour, return him if he escaped, and not disinherit him. They had to pay their own expenses for upkeep while in custody.^{7b}

David married (1422c) Christian Glen becoming a portioner of Inchmartin. On 1 June 1437 a confirmation of an earlier charter granting David the lands of Inchmartin, Strathardil, Kynnarde, Elchoke, Ardargi, Dron and Achlasky in the Sherifffdom of Perth; the lands of Glen in the Sherifffdom of Peebles, lands of Wemyss, Balmuto and Petconnoch within the Sherifffdom of Fyfe, and Glenslandis, within the Sherifffdom of Roxburgh.^{7c}

Issue:

i) **Alexander of Kinneff** (b 1423c) held a charter on 20 December 1440 for a portion of Inchmartin from his mother Christian Glen and her second husband David de Aberchirder, so his father had died before 1440, probably as a result of his incarceration in London.^{8a} David de Aberchirder married Margaret de Strathauchin by 13 April 1464.^{8b} Patrick, Master of Gray, first son and heir apparent of Andrew, second Lord Gray, was one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber for James II. He acquired the lands and barony of Kinneff from Alexander de Ogilvie dated 1st April 1458 subsequently styled as Sir Patrick Gray of Kinneff.^{4a} He gave his portion of Inchmartin to his uncle in return for marriage arrangements for his three sisters.

ii) **Margaret** married Silvester de Rattray of that Ilk, and had issue.

iii) **Christian** married [?John] Lindsay and had a son, John Lindsay, who gave consent to his mother granting the lands of Duntroon/Duntrune and his portion of Inchmartin to David Ogilvie of Inchmartin on 13 May 1485.^{8c}

iv) **Marjory** married Walter Tulloch of that Ilk who was bound to Sir Andrew by a bond of manrent.^{6a}

4. **Margaret/ Marjorie** married Alexander Lindsay 2nd Earl of Crawford with issue: David (d 1446 Arbroath)

Battle at Arbroath Abbey Gate, Sabbath 23 January 1445/6

Arbroath Abbey was founded by William the Lion in 1178 to honour the saint and martyr, Thomas à Becket, who he met and admired at the English court before his death on 29 December 1170. William I was buried in front of the high altar in 1214. An older brother of Gilbert, founder of the Ogilvie family, Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, was buried earlier in 1207/8c (»75) in front of the altar dedicated to Saint Catherine the Virgin in the south transept under the rosette window opening high in the gable, called the '*Round O*' that acted as a (red light) beacon for mariners for centuries.^{8d} Ten miles south of Arbroath and 13 miles east of the Buddonness there is a 1500 foot-long and 300 foot-wide reef that poses as a significant shipping hazard, being exposed only to 4 feet at low tide and hidden by only 12 feet of water at high tide. Earl Gilchrist had witnessed many acts of William I and gifted several properties to the abbey before his death in 1206. My ancestor Gilbert (1135c-1210c) probably attended his burial. In 1187/8c Gillebrigte, Earl of Angus, established a hospital (hospice/ inn) at Portincraig in Monifeith with fishings assigned to Arbroath Abbey.^{9a} In April 1189 William I granted to Arbroath Abbey the church of Foethmuref (Barry) in Angus, witnessed by comite Adam de Anegus (eldest son of Earl Gillebrigte) and others.^{9b} In 1201x1205 the Angus churches of Strathectyn, Kirriemuir, Monifieth and Murroes were granted to Arbroath by Gilchrist, Earl of Angus (d 1207/8c), brother to Adam, the previous earl.^{9c}

The Lindsays and Ogilvies were foes over many centuries. The Lindsay family held 73 castles ranking 11/764 families in Scotland while the Ogilvies had 68, ranking next at 12/764 families.^{9d} On 15 April 1443 the abbot granted the church lands of Breko to Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen and on 23 January 1446 removed Alexander de Lindsay, son of the Earl of Crawford, from the lucrative post as Bailie of the Abbey of Arbroath, replacing him with Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar, son to John Ogilvy of Inverquhar (third son to Sir Walter of Auchterhouse). Sir Andrew of Inchmartin was a witness to the charter of Inverquhar to Alexander. The Lindsay-Ogilvy feud flared.^{10a} David, son of the late Alexander Lindsay 2nd Earl of Crawford, who had been at a meeting in Dundee, rode in haste to stop the fighting between his men drawn up before the gate, and the approaching Ogilvy force. Unfortunately he was speared as he rode towards the combatants by an Ogilvy who thought he was calling for an immediate attack, prompting a furious response by the Lindsays, who killed several hundred Ogilvies and their supporters. The battle and slaughter continued to the Loan of Leys some 3 miles away. The 3rd Earl of Crawford was carried to Finhaven along with his wounded foe, Alexander Ogilvy. Marjory/Margaret Ogilvy, Countess of Crawford, cared for the two wounded men, but both died; some assert she had murdered her cousin, Alexander of Inverquhar, in revenge for the loss of her son, David. Her father was Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Forfar, so Marjory was the sister to Sir Andrew Ogilvie of Inchmartin.

Two ditties survive from this period:

In green the Lindsays should never be seen.

(The Ogilvy tartan is green and Lindsay is red.)

Ugly you lived, and Ugly you die, And now in an Ugly place you lie.

(One pronunciation of our name is *Ugilbee*.)

I suspect the feud spilled over to the Inchmartin branch as on 3 July 1464 the 5 merk annualrent on land in the barony of Drem in Haddington paid to Patrick Ogilvy, second son of the deceased Sir Andrew of Inchmartin, was challenged by John Lord of Lyndisay of le Brys, who held superiority.^{10b} Ogilvy of Inverquhar and Ogilvy of Clova continued their animosity into the next century when a land dispute was settled only by intervention of other family members, including James, Lord Ogilvy, Anthony Ogilvie, Parson of Inchbraikie, and my ancestor, Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin (father to David of Templehall and his brother-german Andrew/ Andro in Balgay). Ogilvy of Inverquhar and Ogilvy of Clova, under pain of eternal damnation to their souls, swore their oaths upon the Holy Evangels and the crucifix, binding them to live in perpetual kindness, concord and love in times coming, at three o'clock in the afternoon of 26 March 1524.¹¹

Siblings of David Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1419c-1504c »85)

Sir Andrew of Inchmartin (1392c-1463c »71) married (1419c) Marjorie (b 1394c), eldest daughter to Sir John Glen of Inchmartin and Margaret (alive 1425)^{12a}, daughter to Sir Alan Erskine of Inchtute and Isabel, daughter to Sir John of Inchmartin, who was a grandson of Henry of Inchmartin, natural son to David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William I. (Marjory/ Mariote/ Margaret are alternative spellings for Marjorie.) Sir Andrew and his heir David spent decades recovering all of the lands of Inchmartin on the Carse of Gowrie west of Dundee.

1. **Patrick (b 1422c)** was a witness in 1449 to a charter to his father for Templelands.^{12b} He was identified in 1464 as a son to the late Sir Andrew when in receipt of disputed rental income from lands of Strathfentoun and Puray in Drem near Haddington from Isabella of Fentoun, relict of Alexander of Nairn.¹³

2. **Janet (born 1423c)** married Walter Ramsay, son and heir apparent of Archibald Ramsay of Balbugie in Inverkeithing, Fyfe, who, with sons of Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Alexander of Auchterhouse and Walter of Oures & Beaufort, held a charter contract in 1452, to which are attached the seals of Walter Ramsay and Sir Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin. The text reads '*in witness of qhilk thying my sele....togyder with the seal of my gud fadr Sir Andrew Inchmartyn knight....*'¹⁴

3. Speculation [without evidence]: **a daughter** who married (1399-1412c) John Fotheringhame and acquired Wester Powrie. Superiority was granted by David Ogilvy of that Ilk in 1428.

Siblings of James Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1450c-1513 Flodden »63)

David Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1419c-1504c »85) married (1455c) Mariota, daughter to Edmund Hay of Leys. In 1443 his father made a contract of marriage to occur

within 40 days for his son David, Fiar of Inchmartin, to Euphemia, daughter to the deceased David de Wemyss, but this was not upheld.^{15a} David, Fiar of Inchmartin, sired at least two sons before he married Mariota about 27 April 1455, when David, age 36, with his father Sir Andrew granted a discharge for Mariota's tocher (dowry) to his father-in-law.^{15b} James (b 1450c) became heir to Inchmartin in spite of probably being younger than his brother german, David, and since Alexander (b 1556c), son lawful to David of Inchmartin, probably died 1581c.^{16a} On 22 May 1467 '*James Ogilby natural son of David Ogilby of Inchmartyn*' held sasine from John Cornvale of the '*Caldicotis of Balgally*' alias Balgay.^{16b} There is no evidence of David being knighted.

1. **Alexander (b 1456c)**, Fiar of Inchmartin, ratified a charter by his father to his brother-german, David, for the lands of Duntroon and others on 6 Aug 1480 and apparently *dsp vitae patris* soon after, or, was passed over in succession to the lands of Inchmartin.^{15b, 16c}

2. **Christian (b 1460c)** was contracted (25 April 1476) to marry Patrick, Master of Gray, who succeeded his father, Andrew, as Lord Gray in 1514. David of Inchmartin granted a renunciation of the contract much later on 17 Jan. 1503.^{15b} In 1492/3 Patrick Gray married Janet, daughter of Alexander Gordon, 1st Lord Huntly, relict of Alexander, Master of Crawford, and succeeded his father Andrew as Lord Gray in 1514, but had no male issue before he died in April 1541.

3. **Egida (b 1462c)** married (mc 3 May 1482) John Moncreiffe of that Ilk.¹⁷ David, her father, paid £100 Scots as dowry in January 1483, then made an action before the parliamentary committee of *lords auditors of causes and complaints* in October against his father-in-law, John Moncreif elder, for withholding 12 merks of annualrent owed yearly to him from the Barony of Moncreiffe.¹⁸

4. **Janet (b 1464c)** married Sir Michael Balfour of Muquhanny & Strathure; issue: Michael Balfour, 1st Baron of Munquhanny (d 1513 Flodden).^{19a}

Natural Issue David probably delayed his marriage while waiting for resolution of exchange of Inchmartin lands with Wemyss and the contract of marriage with Euphemia Weymiss dated 1443.^{19b} In the interval he had two or perhaps three sons out of wedlock.

5. **David (1448c-1513c »64)**, a natural son, was given Duntrune by his father on 6 August 1480.^{15b} He had a charter from his father for 12 oxgangs of the lands of Inchmartin on 12 May 1465.^{20a} David was principal witness to the infeftment on 15 January 1510/11 of David Barclay of Cullerny in his lands of Cullerny, described as David Ogilvy eldest son of the deceased David Ogilvy [d 1504c], nepos of the Laird of Inchmartin.^{20b} He died by 24 October 1513, '*probably k. with his half-brother James Ogilvy of Inchmartin at the battle of Flodden fought the previous month.*'^{15b, 21b}

Issue: Andrew of Duntroon inherited 12 oxgangs of Inchmartin as heir of his deceased father in 1513 which on 29 August 1522 he resigned to Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin.

Issue:

a) **David of Duntroon** styled as heir of Andrew Ogilvy of Duntroon on 24 February, 1535.

Issue:

i) **Henry of Duntroon** succeeded his father and died between 8 June 1590 and 18 December 1591.^{15b} He held part of Balschando in Lundy parish as witnessed by a brother, George, and Balgamo from his aunt Elizabeth.^{21b} He was a witness of sasine for John Lowell on 18 Aug 1575.^{21c}

ii) **George** married Christian Moncur with whom he had a wadset from David Gardyne of Leys of an annualrent from the lands of Teilton of Guthrie on 25 April 1584, being then styled as brother to the Laird of Duntroon.^{15b, 22a}

iii) **Fr William SJ** a '*confessed Jesuit*' banished by Parliament on 26 November 1593.^{22b, 23}

b) **Elizabeth** was relict of Alexander Kinnaird in Balgarno, a property she transferred to Henry Ogilvie of Duntrune and his son, John.^{24a} As '*Henry's father's sister*', she has to be a daughter to Andrew of Duntrune and sister to David of Duntrune.

Henry of Duntrune (d 1590c) had issue:

i) **Euphame** married (mc 1583 31 Oct) John Stirling fiar of Brakie. Her life-rent was out of the lands of Rymuir, Cockhill & Burnside in Forfarshire.^{24b}

ii) **John of Duntrune** (succeeded his father prior to February 1612) married Margaret Keith

Issue:

a) Elizabeth

b) **Agnes** married Patrick Langlands ygr of Collace, brother to Elizabeth Langlands who married William Ogilvie elder of Balgay, my ancestors. Agnes and Patrick held a charter for quarter part of Collace on 20 Feb 1612.^{24c} Her liferent came out of the lands of Buttergask, Brydestoun, and Little Dunkeld.^{24d}

iii) **Margaret** married Robert Cant portioner of Pitskellie.^{25a}

iv) **Henry** held a tenement in Dundee with his father from John Scrymgeour of Glasswell on 8 June 1590, which he afterward disposed to Captain Alexander Wishart and his spouse Margaret Dundfort on 18 December 1591.^{25b}

Margaret Keith relict of John Ogilvie of Duntroon married secondly (mc 16th June 1598) James, son of Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin.^{25c} In 1607 Margaret Keith and her daughter, Elizabeth, by her first spouse, John, were given provision to acquire the lands of Duntrune.^{25d} James, son of Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin, is styled of Duntrune on 22 April 1611 as a witness to the liferent for Agnes, daughter of John Ogilvie of Duntrune.^{26a}

6. Cadet Branch - Ogilvie of Pitmiddle:

Pitmiddle lies between Kinnaird and Abernyte north of Inchmartin Chapel at Westtown. William I gave Ralph Rufus the Barony of Kinnaird in 1174 with the exception of *Petmeodhl*, which was held by Richard the Clerk until 1178-82 when William gave his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, many properties including Dundee, Longforgan and Pitmiddle.^{26b} Earl David then gave Inchmartin and Pitmiddle to his illegitimate son, Henry of Stirling, who was then styled Henry of Inchmartin. It remained as part of the Barony of Inchmartin when Sir Andrew Ogilvie acquired the lands. In September 1557, William Ogilvie of Inchmartin gave a liferent from the lands of Westertown of Inchmartin, Craigdallie, Calward and Pitmiddle to Patrick Ogilvie in Pitmiddle without defining relationships.^{26c} In 1630 a descendant, Patrick, was served served heir to David Ogilvie of Inchmartin, his great-grandfather (paternal) ancestor.^{26d} There is no documented issue of David of Inchmartin named Patrick leading to speculation:

i) Antecedent was the lawful son to David and Mariota, daughter of Edmund Hay of Leys, named Alexander ^{16c} active 6 Aug 1480 and *dsvp* or passed over in succession with possible issue named Patrick (1480c-1540 »60), with possible issue.

ii) Antecedent was another natural son of David perhaps also named Patrick (1452c-1604c »52) with possible issue: Patrick (1480c-1540 »60) with possible issue as documented:

Patrick elder (1510c-1577c »67) held liferent out of Pitmiddle and other lands in 1557, active 1558-1569, with issue: Patrick ygr (1530c-1589c »59) active 1581 – 1583 with issue^{27b}: William (1550c-1609c »59); active 1589-1608; Thomas & James in Pitmiddle may be cousins^{27c}, 1590-1605 and 1605, with issue^{28a}: David (1570-1629 »59); active 1605 – 1621, with issue:

i) unnamed daughter (b 1590c) married (1606c) John Mortoun in Pitmiddle who rented the brewhouse near Inchmartin Chapel (1645)^{28b}. The Mortoun family lived in Pitmiddle from 1480-1690c.

ii) Patrick (b 1600c) with issue: a) Elizabeth (b 1632) b) Jeane (b 1635).^{28c} Along with Gilbert ygr fiar of Monorgans & Gilbert Monorgan in Seyside, Patrick was '*in rebellion*' against the Grays and the sheriff of Fife in 1620 and in 1621 he was a witness with his father.^{28d} In 1630 was served heir to David Ogilvie of Inchmartin, his paternal ancestor.^{26d}

Siblings of Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1486c-1554c »69)

James (1451c-1513 Flodden » 62), natural son to David Ogilvy of Inchmartin, had a charter for the lands of Balgally (Balgay) from John Cornwall of Balgally on 13 October 1467, in which he is styled as second son to David Ogilvy of Inchmartin.^{15b, 29a} Trying to keep in the good graces of James IV from 1500 to 1504, David '*laird of Inchmertyne sends to the king: fruit, wild geese and plovers*

and a hawk.^{29b} He was alive in 1503/4 but may have been incapacitated, since James of Balgally already had a charter for the lands of Inchmartin from his father who reserved liferents for himself and his spouse on 13 August 1500, but legally succeeded only in 1506.^{30a} James IV knighted 41 men in August 1503 during celebrations following his marriage to Margaret Tudor and a jousting tournament at Holyrood Palace. James was not one of those dubbed. He married (1485c) Isabella Oliphant, perhaps a natural daughter to Laurence 1st Lord (1434c-1489) who married (1472c) Isabel, daughter to William Hay 1st Earl of Errol. Lord Oliphant held a bond of manrent from David of Inchmartin; his mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, uncle to David.^{6a}

1. **David** (1485c-*dsp vita patris*)^{15b}

2. **Thomas of Nether Durdie (b 1488c)** who I speculate was the ancestor of Thomas of Trottock (*vide infra*) with an alternate possible progenitor, Thomas (1542c-1609c »67), son of William of Inchmartin. Before age 64c Thomas was renting a portion of Durdie-Inglis alias Nether Durdie from Scone Abbey.^{30b}

3. **Janet/ Jonet (b 1489c)** married (1508c) John Kinnaird of Inchtute and Kinnaird (1485c-1547) who died at Pinkie Cleugh.^{30c} In 1548 Patrick of Inchmartin granted his sister, Jane, and her son, Patrick Kinnaird, liferent out of a quarter-part of the lands of Kinnaird with orchard.^{31a} Patrick of Inchmartin purchased Drymmie from this nephew, Patrick Kinnaird of that ilk, and granted these lands in 1548 to his legitimate son, Andrew, brother to my ancestors, David of Templehall and Andrew/ Andro in Balgay.^{31b. 36}

4. **Andrew 1st of Migvie/Mygvie (1490c-1574c »84)** became the tutor and guardian of his nephew, my Y-DNA ancestor Andro/ Andrew, natural son to Patrick of Inchmartin. Between 1558 and 1562 William of Inchmartin had summons written against my ancestor, Andro, and his guardian, Andrew of Migvie, in a dispute over liferents made earlier by the deceased Patrick, out of 12 oxgangs of land in Westoun of Inchmartin.³² Andrew, 1st of Mygvie, married, probably as his second spouse, Elizabeth [Ogilvie], and died without issue in 1574c. In 1575c Lady Ogilvie relict of Andrew, 1st of Mygvie, married a son to William of Inchmartin, Andrew (1544c-1602c »58), who by 1575 was styled 2nd of Mygvie and by 1579 of Drymmie.³³

5. **Margaret** married John Robertson (alias Tarlachson) 6th of Lude, who, in 1518, resigned Lude to my Y-DNA ancestor, Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartine. Their son, John (d before 1565), married secondly Beatrix (b 1495c), daughter to George Gardyne of Gardyne and Banchory and Isabel, daughter to a cadet of Keith, the Lord Marischal. Beatrix, a noted harpist, was a maid of honour for Queen Mary, and had married first, Sir Findla Mor Farquarson, 1st of Invercauld, who died at Pinkie in 1547. Queen Mary gave a harp to Beatrix which is now preserved in Edinburgh. The last harpist in the family, John Robertson of Lude who died 1729c, was the older brother of Alexander, whose daughter Kathrene married my Y-DNA ancestor, Henry Ogilvie vintner of Dundee, in 1721.³⁴ The harpist John and Alexander were descended from John 6th of Lude and Margaret

Ogilvie (m 1518c), a sister to my ancestors, Andro in Balgay and David of Templehall.³⁵

Cadet Branch - Ogilvie of Trottock

David I (1124-1153) granted to Bishop Andrew of Caithness (d 1184) Ouchtircommon in the Barony of Longforgan, comprising the lands of Littleton, Laureston and Trottock, the grist mill for Longforgan. Bishop Andrew was the brother of Ewen of Monorgan, Sheriff of Scone under Malcolm IV (1153-1165).³⁶ Sir Andrew Gray received Longforgund from Robert I in 1314-15. Between 1515 and 1540 Lord Gray alienated the Laurenston and Trottock to Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin (d 1554) for a loan of 400 merks.

Thomas (b 1488c active 1552 »64) brother to Patrick of Inchmartin (1486c-1554c), held Nether Durdie and may have sired sons named Thomas and James.^{37a} The elder, Thomas in Trottock (1523c - 1593 »70), married Helen Gardin, daughter to Andro Gairdin in Louristoun and Elizabeth Kinnaird.^{37b} Their eldest son and executor was Andro Ogilvie in Trottock (1548c - 8 July 1613 » 65).^{37c} His relict, Helen Gardyne, was probably related to Jonet Gardyne married to James Ogilvie in Abernyte/Balgay. Helen was daughter to William Gardyne and Agnes Ogilvie (d 1592)^{37d}, sister to Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin (1486c-23 May 1554). Patrick's heir, William of Inchmartin (d 1562/3c), disposed Craigdallie, Trottock and half-lands of Laurenston to his son, John of Newton, probably in 1562 when John was 16 years old.^{37e} In 1601 John renounced possession of these lands in favour of his brother, Patrick of Inchmartin.^{37f} Also in 1601 Patrick of Inchmartin (1540c-1621c »81) and his brother John of/ in Newton (1546c-1626c »81) released Patrick, Master of Gray, of all obligations after the loan was repaid.^{38a} John of Newton died 1626c without a male heir. Sir Patrick of Inchmartin (1583c- 30 March 1651) embarked on a series of land transactions in anticipation of his son being designated heir to the Earldom of Findlater & Deskford. In 1640 he gave sasine for Newton and Ballinden to Andro Ogilvie ygr in Trottock followed by sasine for Trottock in 1649.^{38b}

Thomas (b 1488c active 1552 »64), brother to Patrick of Inchmartin (1486c-1554c) sons to James Ogilvie (1451c-1513 » 62) and Isabella

Issue: (speculation)

Oliphant (m 1485c) [? natural daughter to Laurence 1st Lord]

Thomas in Trottock (1523c- Dec 1593 »70) = unknown spouse.

Issue:

Andro in Trottock (b 1548); James

Andro elder in Trottock (1548c-8 July 1613 » 65) and Helen daughter to Andro Gairdin/Gardyn of Lauristoun

Issue:

(d 1593 Dec) and Elizabeth Kinnaird (d 1583 February)

Andro ygr; James (maltman in Dundee; d February 1649)^{38c}

= Katharine Gardine (no issue);

Isobell; Margaret; Marion

Andro ygr of Trottock (before 1662 28 May)
= (m1) Geillie (Jillian) Abercrombie (a 1617)^{38d}
= (m2) Isobella Gibb (d 1654)^{38e}

Issue:

Thomas (mason); James^{38f}; Robert (b 1636); Elizabeth; Jonat/Janet (b 1639) = (m 1665 9 Feb) Francis Graham in Inchtute/Lumlethan; Agnes = (mc 1667c) Samuel Agnew in Laurecetoun servitor to the earl of Kinghorn.^{38g}

Thomas (d March 1693)^{38h}
= unnamed spouse

Issue:

Elizabeth (Robert Gibb of Lochton as tutor in 1693) = Gilbert Coupar merchant in Dundee.³⁸ⁱ

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- ¹⁴ Gamis archives courtesy of Jack Blair (2015 08 25) who interprets *gud fadr* as father-in-law so assumes the spouse of Walter Ramsay, Janet Ogilvy, is a daughter of Sir Andrew and his spouse Mariot/Margaret Glen
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The Leith Hall Connection

Keith Otto

Leith Hall is a large country House at Kennethmont, not far from Huntly. It was the seat of the Leith-Hay family for 10 generations until after the Second World War, when the property and its contents were passed to the National Trust for Scotland.

The Otto family alternatively named sons William or Henry going back 6 generations. Thus Henry Otto (1798- c1850s), William Otto Snr (1833-1915), his son Henry (1874-1939), his son and my father, William Jnr (1916-2010). These names were not applied to myself or brother.

The Family Story

The story passed down from my father went along the following lines. Margaret Clark, my father's grandmother had gone into service with the Leith-Hays. She had become pregnant. The family stable boy, William Otto, was encouraged to form a relationship with her, and the two were despatched to friends in the South of England to bring up the resulting child, saving possible scandal all round.

The Otto family occupied a property in 75 Cumberland Street in Edinburgh's New Town for close to two decades, opening a grocer's shop and by all accounts trading well. The couple married in Edinburgh in 1872, with an only son, Henry Otto, being born thirteen months later. The story goes that the Cumberland Street property was provided by the Leith-Hays. The Ottos vacated Cumberland Street in 1892 to buy their own property in Dunedin Street. An obvious question at this point would be how a couple in domestic service could have afforded to live in a fashionable part of the New Town and set up a grocer's shop.

The story might have rested there, but for a strange family reunion in the 1920s. My father was born in 1916, at the height of the Great War, and narrowly survived the great Spanish Flu outbreak of 1919. The family bought a small Newsagent and Tobacconist business in Beaverhall Road, Edinburgh, in 1921 with the family moving into the rooms behind the shop, renting out the vacated flat and a second in Dunedin Street, which was just round the corner.

Circuses proved to be very popular in the Inter-war years, and, presumably with numbers of fatherless children around, it was an inexpensive form of entertainment. When my father was about 7 or 8 (so around the early to mid 1920s), an American Wild West Circus came to Edinburgh and pitched up at Leith Links. My father (William Otto jnr) was introduced to his 'Uncle Jim' from the United States, who came in full cowboy costume. This included 2 pearl-handled six-shooters which had to be lodged in a safe deposit box at the local police station when not actively in use at the circus. My father as an inquisitive 8-year-old started asking questions on the nature of the relationship between his father, Henry Otto, and 'Uncle Jim', but was quickly taken to another room and told to curtail this line of questioning.

Contact was maintained by infrequent letters, first by Henry Otto and then from after the Second World War, by my father. The Clarks had been based on the East Coast of the USA (possibly Massachusetts), but moved over in the mid- to late-1960s to California on the West Coast. Photographs arrived of low bungalows and large swimming pools. My father took a view that he was no longer interested in maintaining contact, and the relationship fizzled out.

The Newsagent's business in Beaverhall Road remained in the family for close to 60 years. The shop was sold in the early 1980s, but throughout the 1970s, both my brother and I were regular visitors. My brother remembers handling a small rectangular-shaped Indian box kept in a built in lid-box at the back of the shop. The story goes that the box had been brought back from India by Alexander Leith-Hay – and it is possible that William Otto (Snr) had accompanied him. Subsequently there had been some disagreement between the two and the box had been thrown at William who then kept the box. It appears to have been thrown out prior to the shop finally being sold.

My father served in the shop throughout, save during the Second World War. He joined the Royal Engineers and supported both the Morocco (Operation 'Torch') and the D-Day landings, the clear-up after the carpet-bombing of Caen, and the liberation of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. He was prone neither to exaggeration nor outright lies, so I have no reason to doubt the veracity of the Cowboy story. He married Doris Bain in 1960 and passed away in 2010.

The Research

As well as a family Bible dating from 1865, my father left a dusty deed box full of family papers and this winter (2018/19) I finally got around to sorting them out and taking a closer look at them. There are 3 physical items that link the family with Kennethmont and Leith Hall. The first is a note stating that the Banns for marriage between Margaret and William were read 3 times in the parish church. A second is a small note from Alexander Leith-Hay, dated November 1873, by way of a reference for William and confirming that he had been a coachman in his employ for 12 years. The final item is a newspaper cutting with an obituary of Alexander Leith-Hay which must date to 1900. So with some evidence of a link between the Leith-Hay family and mine, I decided to press on with the research, making use of both 'Scotland's People' and 'Ancestry.co.uk'.

William Otto (Snr) was born in Edinburgh in 1833, and clearly decided at an early age to follow his father, Henry (Snr), by becoming a coachman. At the age of 14 he was employed as a stable boy to Sir James Milles Riddell (1787-1861), possibly a distant relative on William's mother's side. Riddell was 2nd Baron of Ardnamurchan and Sunnart, and was famous as the co-discoverer of Strontium, linked to the Argyllshire village of Strontian. The 1851 Census shows William sharing a house there with a group of other domestic servants. As well as the Argyllshire estate, Sir James also had a townhouse in Abercrombie Place in Edinburgh's New Town, which appears to have been named 'Leamington'. He was a member of The Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the London-based Grillion

Club. A portrait of him hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London, part of a set commissioned by the club and with his own signature. He died in September 1861 and is buried in St John's Churchyard, Edinburgh.

William rose from stable boy to coachman around 1852, but left Sir James's employment the next year. He moved to Bath and there is a reference from an Elizabeth MacDonald in February 1860 from a townhouse there – describing William as 'sober, honest and obliging'. She was a widowed housekeeper originally from Edinburgh. There is no entry for him in the 1861 Census so he might well have been abroad at this juncture, possibly with a wealthy family.

Margaret Clark was the eldest daughter of David and Anne Clark (nee Jack) of Glenisla, Angus, and was born in April 1830. David is variously described as a farm servant, schoolmaster and 'Minister's Man'. It could be in the latter capacity that he secured a job for Margaret as a domestic servant at the Manse of Kingoldrum, a neighbouring parish to Glenisla, where she is shown as being a 20-year-old member of the domestic staff in the 1851 census.

In the 1861 Census, Margaret is again shown as a domestic servant, but this time in no. 7 Forres Street, Edinburgh, part of the Moray Estate in the New Town. The townhouse was owned by George Ross, a successful advocate. The family was enjoying a spring break in Torquay (2 Lisburn Crescent) – George, his wife Mary Jane (39) who passed away a couple of years later, and the couple's three daughters, Ellen (16), Clementina (14) and Georgina (13). Three servants were left behind in Edinburgh: Margaret, a cook from Edinburgh, and a Prussian Governess. Margaret and the cook were both aged 30, the Governess was just 21. Forres Street had strong legal connections, with the Sherriff and Advocate George Fordyce next door, John Montgomerie-Bell, Sheriff for Kincardine, across the street in No.4, and various retired Army Captains and Surgeons listed. A very well-to-do street in Victorian Edinburgh. Sometime after April 1861 Margaret moved to the employment of the Leith-Hays.

The biography of Alexander Sebastian Leith-Hay is rather better known. He was born in Grenada in the West Indies in 1818, the eldest of a number of siblings and the son of Sir Andrew Leith-Hay. He secured a commission in the 93rd (Sutherland) Highlanders and served with distinction at the Battle of Balaclava in the Crimean war under Sir Colin Campbell – the famous 'Thin Red line', immortalised in the painting by Robert Gibb – in October 1854. After a brief return to the UK in 1856, the 93rd Highlanders were sent to China. However the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny resulted in the regiment being diverted to Calcutta and they were involved in raising the siege at Lucknow and chasing down the rebel army afterwards.

Alexander became a Colonel and was made Commander of the Order of the Bath and Knight Commander by Queen Victoria. He resigned his commission in late 1860. In June of that year he had married Christina Grace Agnes Hamilton, then 33, the daughter of a well-known Borders family, in a society wedding at St James' Church in Westminster, London. The 1861 Census shows the Leith-

Hays staying with the in-laws at Craichlaw Mansion, Kirkcowan, Wigtownshire. However he had lost his brother Norman in a maritime accident off Queensland in 1857, a 3-week-old nephew the same year, and in 1861 his brother William passed away, with a further baby nephew dying the following year. With the death of Sir Andrew Leith-Hay in 1862, Alexander became more actively involved in the management of the estate and in the tenancy. He became a Justice of the Peace, took an active interest in local politics, was a member of the local school board and a supporter both of the Garrioch Farmer club and the Kennethmont Agricultural Association. There were no children from his marriage with Christina. She pre-deceased him in 1897, with his passing away in 1900.

On July 5th 1864, Margaret Clark (domestic servant) at the age of 34, gave birth to an illegitimate boy at Aberdeen, and gave the baby the name James Clark.



William Otto outside his shop at Beaverhall Road, Edinburgh, ca 1923
 Photograph in the author's possession.

My great-grandmother appears to have been staying subsequently with a family in Aberdeen, as the following year she was given a family bible by 3 sisters for looking after their terminally-ill mother at Denmore House, Bridge of Don.

The 1871 Census shows Margaret back at Leith Hall, together with her sister Elizabeth plus the coachman and her subsequent husband, William Otto. They are listed as the only three occupants of Leith Hall at this date. James Clark, now aged 6, is being cared for by Margaret's elderly parents in Glenisla. Margaret and William tied the knot in December 1872, with banns read both at Kennethmont, and St Cuthbert's Parish, Edinburgh.

William appeared to resume his duties as a coachman moving to Kincaid House near Kirkintilloch, but this lasted for only 10 months until November 1873. In January 1874 Henry Otto was born with the address given as 8 New Broughton, Edinburgh. The 1881 Census records the family living in a shop at 75 Cumberland Street, Edinburgh, and similarly they were also recorded as living there in the 1891 Census. The valuation rolls of 1885/86 indicate that the landlord was John Chesser, an architect, whose address was 21 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh. He also owned and rented out nos. 77 and 79 Cumberland Street.

James Clark appears in the 1871 Census as being the youngest of four young lads working as agricultural labourers at a farm outside Ruthven near Alyth in Angus. No clear record of him appears in the 1881 census.

On the 11th April 1891, the 'Aurania' sailed from Liverpool to New York, with 1200 passengers the crossing estimated to take 37 days. Among the passengers was a James Clark together with a Scot named John Munro. David Clark, Margaret's father, passed away aged 86 in Glenisla in 1881, Margaret Clark in 1913, and William Otto in 1915.

Conclusions

There remains, as ever with such events, a number of unanswered questions.

The most obvious is whether James Clark, was a 'love child' from a relationship between Margaret Clark and Alexander Leith-Hay? It is certainly possible, and if so, to what extent was Alexander's wife Christina aware of the relationship – after all she had only been married for 4 years when the boy was born.

It would be interesting to know when Margaret moved into the employment of the Leith-Hays, and whether this was based at least initially in Edinburgh.

Finally we are missing Census returns for William Otto in 1861, and for the Leith-Hays in 1871, presumably abroad when the census was taken. The Leith-Hays do not appear at Leith Hall in any of the Victorian Census returns – April was obviously not the month for Kennethmont.

Did the Leith-Hays act as the guarantor for the lease of the property in Cumberland Street and provide finance? Where two former domestic servants come by the money required to set up a grocer's shop?

There is a strong possibility that the American Wild West circus came to Edinburgh in October 1923 – but this is yet to be confirmed.

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- 21 October "Spanish 'Flu and Infectious Diseases in Edinburgh" by Louise
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