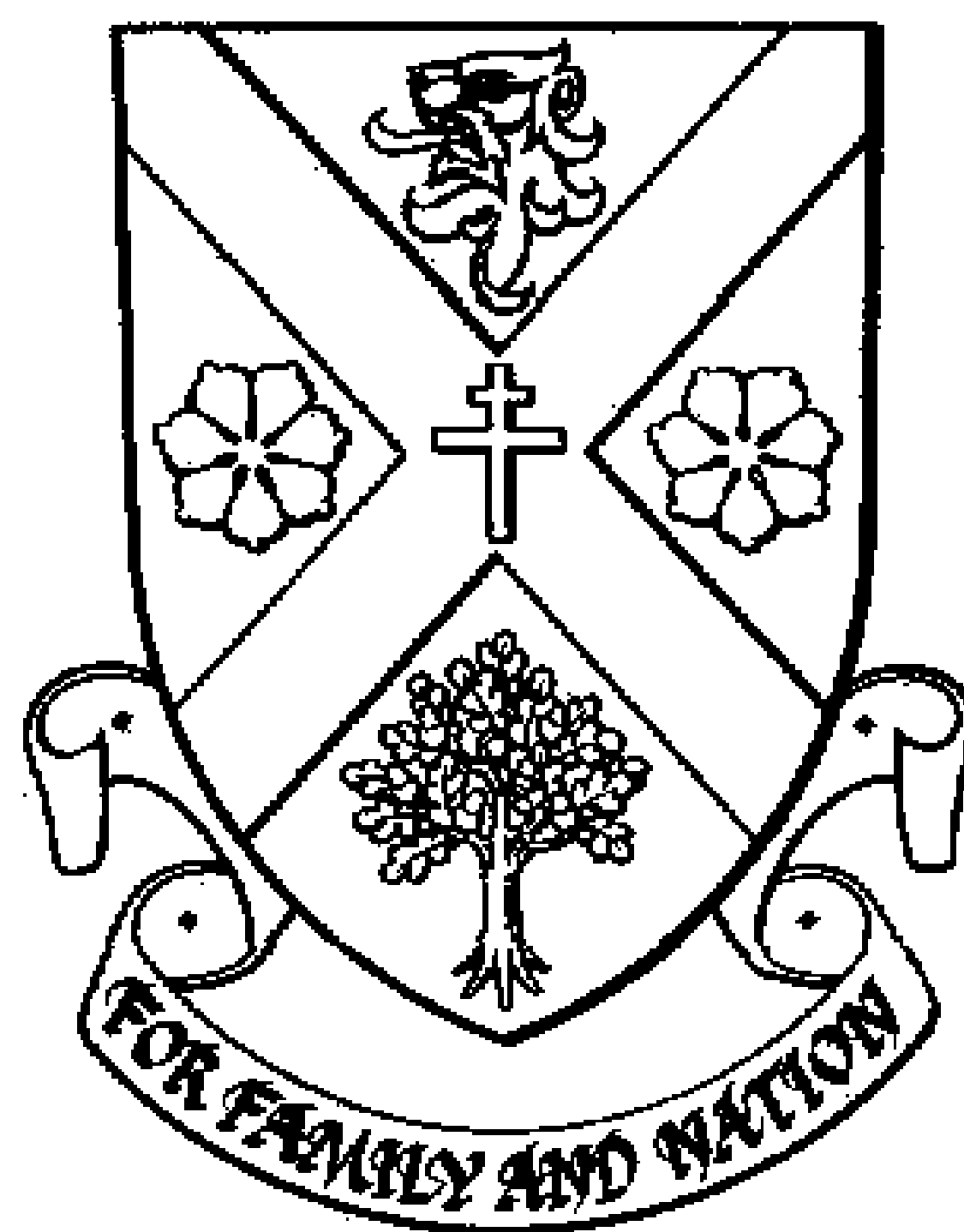


THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGIST

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY



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1. **BY ITS CONSTITUTION**, the Scottish Genealogy Society exists "to promote research into Scottish Family History", and "to undertake the collection, exchange and publication of information and material relating to Scottish Genealogy by means of meetings, lectures, etc." By the expressed desire of the original members, the Society was to remain an academic and consultative body, and was not to engage itself professionally in record searching. Arrangements will be made by which the Society can supply a list of those members who are professional searchers, but any commissions of this kind must be carried out independently of the Society.
2. Monthly meetings of the Society are held from September to April in The Royal College of Physicians, 9 Queen Street, Edinburgh, at 7 p.m. around the 15th of the month. In the event of the 15th falling on Saturday or Sunday, the meeting is held on the following Monday.
3. Membership of the Scottish Genealogy Society is attained by election at an annual subscription of £2.50 (\$7.00) inclusive of The Scottish Genealogist, which is issued quarterly to fully paid up members. Subscriptions should be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. David C. Cargill, senr., 20 Ravelston Garden, Edinburgh, EH4 31E. Renewals are due on 1st October. Subscriptions may be paid by Banker's Order or by Deed of Covenant. Overseas members may have the magazine sent airmail on payment of an additional £1.50.
4. Correspondence of a general nature should be addressed ONLY to the Hon. Secretary, Miss Joan P.S. Ferguson, 21 Howard Place, Edinburgh, EH3 5JY. The annual lecture programme will be arranged by a Syllabus Secretary.
5. Inquiries regarding publications of the Society, including back numbers of The Scottish Genealogist should be addressed to c/o Mr. Robert M. Strathdee, Hon. Librarian, 89 Craighleith Road, Edinburgh, EH4 2EH. Single copies of The Scottish Genealogist are obtainable at 65p (\$1.50) including postage.
6. Material intended for publication in The Scottish Genealogist should be submitted to the Hon. Editor, Mr. Ivor R. Guild, 16 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, EH2 4YS, in a form ready for use, and accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope (or other means of return). MSS. must be typed (double spacing), fully referenced, and signed by the contributor. Publication does not imply that views expressed are necessarily those held by the Society, and authors are alone responsible for the accuracy of their statements. Published MSS. will not be returned. Reproduction from The Scottish Genealogist, in whole or in part (except for brief passages for the purposes of review), must not be made without permission.
7. Queries for insertion in The Scottish Genealogist should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, and are free to members. Non-members will be charged £2 for queries, which in all cases must not exceed 120 words.

THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY

25th ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE

25th—27th August, 1978

Participants in the 25th Anniversary Conference held at the Pollock Halls of Residence, Edinburgh, were welcomed by Vice-President Duncan McNaughton, who referred to the growth of the Society, which had "probably exceeded the expectations of the original members." The Society literally had members all over the world, and this international appeal was reflected at the Conference, with participants from Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A., France, Germany and England. Mr. McNaughton explained that as the programme showed, the Conference would not be confined to lectures, but would include visits to places of historic interest, and a film show.

VISIT TO SIGNET LIBRARY

On the afternoon of Friday, 25th August, the delegates were taken by bus to the Signet Library, Parliament Square, Edinburgh, where they were met by the Librarian, Mr. George Ballantyne, who outlined the history and architectural features of the building, and exhibited books and MSS. of interest to family historians. The Society of Writers to H.M. Signet (established before 1532) had built up a valuable collection of books, but portions of the collection had been sold, partly as a result of inflation and the rising costs of maintaining and staffing the Library. The law books and volumes of Scottish interest had been retained.

Not the least of interest to the visitors was the stately Upper Hall of the Library, designed by William Stark, of Glasgow, and approached by a noble staircase, magnificently enriched by portraits and busts of famous men of law. The Upper Hall, with its arched ceiling crowned by a painted cupola, is claimed by many to be the most beautiful interior in Scotland.

PROFESSOR BARROW'S ADDRESS

Following dinner at the Pollock Halls, Mr. Donald Whyte, Chairman of Council, introduced the distinguished mediaevalist, Professor Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, now of the University of St. Andrews, author of **Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland**, and other learned works, who spoke on **Some Problems in 12th and 13th Century Scottish History: A Genealogical Approach**. As the lecture is to be printed in **The Scottish Genealogist**, it is not proposed to review it here, but we must say it commanded attention and stimulated an interesting discussion period, in which Sir Iain Moncrieffe, Senior Vice-President of the Society, took a leading part.

Professor Barrow was warmly thanked for his address on the proposal of Mr. R. W. Munro, author and historian.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ARCHIVIST

After breakfast on the Saturday, the conference members heard an authoritative talk by Mr. Colin McLaren, Principal Archivist and Keeper of the Records of the University of Aberdeen. Mr. McLaren, who is moreover, secretary of The Scottish Records Association, founded in 1977, lectured on **The Archivist, the Archives and the Public**, and discussed the priorities. At a period when records are receiving more attention

than at any previous time, this frank talk was much appreciated. Because of its relevance to many of today's archival problems, it will also be printed in **The Scottish Genealogist**.

Record scholar Dr Jean Munro presided at this presentation, and the vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Patrick Smythe-Wood, a Member of this Society and of the Council of the Association of Genealogists and Record Agents.

FOUR STUDY GROUPS

Following a coffee break, the participants divided into four pre-arranged study groups: one relating to **Heraldry in Scotland**, conducted by Mr. Malcolm R. Innes of Edingight, Marchmont Herald and Lyon Clerk; another concerning **Oral Tradition in Scotland**, by Mr. William McF. Lawson, of Paisley College of Technology; the third by Miss Alison Mitchell dealt with **Monumental Inscriptions**; and the fourth, by Mrs. Norma E.S. Armstrong, was about **Library Resources for Scottish Genealogy**. The classes were chaired respectively by Mr. Ivor R. Guild; Mr. David G.C. Burns; Mr. James R. Seaton and Mr. Lawrence Burness.

The study groups were an integral part of the conference theme – **FAMILY HISTORY IN SCOTLAND TODAY AND TOMORROW** – and the discussion papers for all four were distributed to every participant. It is hoped to print these in full in **The Scottish Genealogist**.

VISIT TO FIFE

On the Saturday afternoon, immediately after lunch, the conference members travelled to Culross, in Fife, to take part in a 'walk-about,' and visit places of historic interest. The National Trust for Scotland have restored numerous buildings in Culross under their 'small houses' scheme, and the place is now Scotland's most complete example of a 17th century town. Sunshine there was to heighten the colours of the tiled roofs and crow-stepped gables of the vernacular architecture and of the steep cobbled streets. Guides from the Trust were in attendance.

Next the conference members drove to picturesque Pittencrieff Glen, Dunfermline, into which Andrew Carnegie peeped fearfully as a boy, and later purchased to present to his native town. Here the party had tea in the Pavilion, and saw a sound film about **The Bruce Family**, narrated by author and broadcaster Ian Grimble, who skilfully traced the fortunes of the family from Normandy into England, and then into Scotland by the western borders. Pride of place was given to the warrior King of Scots, Robert the Bruce. Grimble related how the family settled on the shores of the Forth and produced diplomats, statesmen and famous explorers. The present head of the family, Andrew, 11th Earl of Elgin and 15th Earl of Kincardine, whose seat is at Broomhall, near Dunfermline, gave an introductory talk, and was thanked on behalf of the participants by Mr. Duncan McNaughton.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS

Back in Edinburgh, and following dinner at the Pollock Halls, a Plenary Session was held in Turner House. The Highlight of the evening was the formal presentation to Mr. Donald Whyte, Chairman of Council, and Miss Joan P.S. Ferguson, Honorary Secretary of the Society, of armorial bearings for the Scottish Genealogy Society, devised and assigned by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir James Monteith Grant. The presentation was made by Mr. Malcolm Innes, Lyon Clerk, who said it was right and proper that a highly successful national body such as the Scottish Genealogy Society should be granted arms by Letters Patent. The vellum scroll reads as follows:

To All and Sundry Whom These Presents do or may Concern

WE Sir James Monteith Grant, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Writer to Her Majesty's Signet, Lord Lyon King of Arms, send Greeting: Whereas, Donald Whyte, Chairman, and Joan Primrose Scott Ferguson, Honorary Secretary of the SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY, 9 Union Street, Edinburgh, having by Petition unto us of date 3rd February, 1978, for and behalf of the said Society, Shewn; THAT the said Society, which was founded at Edinburgh of date 30th May, 1953 by a group of historians and genealogists as a non-profit-making academic and consultative body, was constituted to undertake the collection, exchange, and publication of information and material of genealogical value, and to promote the study of Scottish family history by means of meetings and lectures; THAT the said Society, which this year celebrates its 25th Anniversary, has steadily increased in size and importance, having over one thousand members in various countries of the world, throughout which they regularly publish material of genealogical and heraldic interest; AND the Petitioners having prayed that there might be granted as for the said Scottish Genealogy Society such Ensigns Armorial as might be found suitable and according to the Laws of Arms, **KNOW YE THEREFORE** that We have Devised, and Do by These Presents Assign, Ratify and Confirm unto the Petitioners, for and on behalf of the Scottish Genealogy Society, the following Ensigns Armorial, as depicted on the margin hereof and matriculated of even date with These Presents upon the 108th page of the 59th Volume of Our Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, videlicet:— Azure, on a saltire Argent between in chief a lion's head erased Or, langued Gules, in base an oak tree fructed Or, and in each flank a septfoil Argent, a patriarchal cross Gules, and in an Escrol below the same this Motto "FOR FAMILY AND NATION," by demonstration of which Ensigns Armorial the said Society is, amongst all Nobles and in all Places of Honour, to be taken, numbered, accounted and received as an Incorporation Noble in the Noblesse of Scotland; **IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF** We have Subscribed These Presents and the Seal of Our Office is affixed hereto at Edinburgh this 12th day of July in the 27th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth the Second, By the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern

Ireland, and of Her Other
Realms and Territories,
Queen, Head of the
Commonwealth, Defender
of the Faith, and in the
Year of Our Lord One
Thousand Nine Hundred
and Seventy-Eight.

[Seal]

[Sgd.]

J. Monteith Grant
Lyon.

The Chairman expressed thanks to the officials of Lyon Court and to Herald Painter Miss Jenny Mitchell, for their courtesy and consideration, and in the introduction to a short talk — the title of which was the Society's new motto — explained the symbolism.

On behalf of the Society of Genealogists, Mr. L. W. Lawson Edwards, their Librarian, congratulated the Scottish Genealogy Society on the grant of armorial bearings. The London based Society, while older (founded 1911) and larger, had no coat-of-arms, and he hoped the grant to the Scottish organisation, which they greatly admired, would encourage his colleagues to make application to the College of Arms on an appropriate and comparable occasion.

VOTES OF THANKS

In the Plenary Session, short talks were given on their family origins by Frau Karin Ross, from Sandkrug, West Germany, and by Dr. William Richards, East Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, a consultant specialist in psychological medicine. These followed Mr. Whyte's well-pruned talk, which will be printed.

At the close of the proceedings, the speakers in the Plenary Session were warmly thanked on the proposal of Major Nicolas McLean Bristol, Secretary of the Society of West Highland & Island Historical Research. Major Bristol expressed thanks moreover, on behalf of the participants, to the Conference Sub-Committee, which had been chaired by Mr. Bruce A. Stenhouse, for all the hard work which had contributed to the success of the event, not least that by Miss Joan P.S. Ferguson, Honorary Secretary, and Mr. A.A. Brack, Conference Treasurer.

BOOKSTALL AT CONFERENCE

A bookstall was mounted at Turner House, Pollock Halls of Residence, on the evenings of 25th and 26th August, after 9.30 p.m., and during the lunch hour on Saturday, 26th. Despite the tight conference schedule, it proved very popular.

Books from the National Library of Scotland, including their **Catalogue of Manuscripts**, were on offer, as well as publications provided by Edinburgh Public Libraries. Some antiquarian stock was available, and a number of new books and pamphlets including **Scottish Handwriting** (re-print), by Grant G. Simpson; **How to Record Graveyards**, by Jeremy Jones; **Introducing Scottish Genealogical Research**, by Donald Whyte; and **The Howff: A Guide to the Old Cemetery (at Dundee)**, by Nancy Davey. Moreover, some copies of monumental inscriptions published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, notably from the **Upper Ward of Lanarkshire**, compiled by Miss Sheila A. Scott, and **Speyside**, by Miss Alison Mitchell. Of tremendous interest was the **Register of Members' Interests**, by Mrs. Lesley A. Gordon, fresh off the press, and this useful compilation should do much to minimise duplication of effort in family history research. A number of copies were sold at the Conference, and further copies may be obtained from the Honorary Librarian, at a cost of £1.50 to members and £2.00 to non-members.

Thanks for their labours with the bookstall are due to Mr. Bruce A. Stenhouse, Mr. James A. Thompson, Mrs. Sheila Pitcairn and Mr. Robert M. Strathdee.

**SOME PROBLEMS IN TWELFTH – AND THIRTEENTH – CENTURY
SCOTTISH HISTORY – A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH
PROFESSOR GEOFFREY W.S. BARROW**

Some modern historians profess to despise the art, or science, of genealogy. They may object that the minute investigation of the family relationships of individuals chosen arbitrarily and pursued regardless of the eminence or distinction of those involved can have little or no historical significance or, on the other hand, that subjecting a handful of the eminent to genealogical study is meaningless. The course of history is unaffected by whether President Carter is descended from an enterprising businessman born in seventeenth-century King's Langley, the meaning is not illuminated by the mingling in the person of A.J. Balfour of the genes of Fife lairds and Cecil marquesses of Salisbury. The scientifically inclined may well be sceptical of any attempt to explain present characteristics by means of ancestral strains, save perhaps at the superficial level of the Stewart nose or the Habsburg lip. Those merely guided by common sense will be repelled by what we might call the 'secret maze' approach to be found on the lunatic fringe of genealogy, resulting in those elaborate charts designed to prove that the Queen is descended from Charlemagne or Alexander the Great, or that Adolf Hitler was the tenth cousin of Jenghis Khan fifty times removed. A few historians have urged the egalitarian, anti-elitist objection to genealogy, summed up in the affirmation that the fourteenth Mr. Wilson is as good a man as the fourteenth earl of Home, and that in any case if you go back far enough we must all, or at least many millions of us, share a relatively small number of common ancestors, some Jock Tamson of the Bronze Age or Stone Age having been remarkably fecund.

Despite these and other objections, most of which (as it seems to me) are based on a misunderstanding of what genealogy is about, there are few historians who in practice ignore or undervalue the contribution which genealogy has made and continues to make to our study of the past. Every historian worthy of the name will take the facts of parentage and ancestry as seriously as he takes any other historical facts. He may be inclined to accord them a high importance in his general scheme, or dismiss them as of little significance, but either way he will not wish to get his genealogical facts wrong. Human nature being what it is, the more anti-genealogical our historian, the more anxious he will be not to be caught committing any genealogical howlers.

The medieval historian, on the whole, is free from the inverted snobbery which affects contempt for pedigree. He has to deal with a comparatively simple, homogeneous society in which ancestry, parentage, marriage and offspring seem to be always in the forefront in every class and in every community. As an illustration one might cite the strongly autobiographical note struck in a late 12th-century charter for Kelso Abbey. 'Robert de Burnevill' (Bénouville), son of Maud the first-born daughter of Gerald de Thaon and (his wife) Marsiena, to all the faithful and sons of Holy Mother Church . . . '(1) Few of the strengths which might be enjoyed by the medieval individual in law or politics surpassed or even equalled an hereditary claim. Few of the constraints to which a medieval individual's actions were subject proved more effectual than the need to take into account the interest of one's heirs. These considerations gave a continuity and stability to the medieval social order which are hard to recapture or even envisage in a world dominated either by the overweening power of the totalitarian state or by the subordination of social organization to the instant exercise of the individual's free and random choice. But they need to be borne in mind whenever we are tempted to think of pre-industrial society as chronically unsettled by casual violence, extremes of wealth

and poverty, and the imminence of disease and death. Whether the medieval historian is dealing primarily with an aristocracy or a peasantry, and perhaps especially if he is dealing with that large middle class which was so much more numerous and influential than we could guess from legal codes, political treatises and religious or moral homilies of the time, he must pay attention to all the help and advice which the genealogist can give him, and if necessary he must be prepared to do some genealogical homework for himself.

Although I cannot claim to be a genealogist, I have been in the game long enough to realise that genealogy is fraught with difficulty. To construct a pedigree which will convince even a jury of genealogists, let alone a court of uninstructed yet intelligent and sceptical critics from outwith the genealogists' world, is no easy matter. When President Carter's ancestry was being actively discussed a year or more ago, a descent was claimed for his predecessor George Washington, by no less an authority than Garter King of Arms, from remote abbots of Dunkeld and scarcely less remote earls of Dunbar.⁽²⁾ The claim turned on two identifications which are not only unproven but seem either impossible or at least implausible. The first is that Crinan abbot of Dunkeld and father of King Duncan I (incidentally, most of the earliest sources do not call him Crinan but Cronan, Crini or Crin)⁽³⁾ was the same person as Crinan 'the thegn', father of the 'very rich man' named Maldred to whom Earl Uhtred of Northumbria gave his daughter Ealdgyth in marriage.⁽⁴⁾ This suggestion was, I believe, first made by W.F. Skene.⁽⁵⁾ He had enough unease to tuck it away in a footnote, but enough effrontery to write 'there seems no reason to doubt that Maldred was the son of this same Crinan who was the father of King Duncan.' In view of the bad relations between Malcolm Mac Kenneth and Northumbria there seems in truth every reason to doubt any such thing; and moreover if the father of Maldred (a typically Northumbrian personal name, by the way) had indeed been the abbot of Dunkeld it seems extraordinary that the Northumbrian chronicler who mentions him should have merely given him the epithet 'thegn'. The second improbable — nay, impossible — identification requires us to believe that William of Hartburn, *alias* of Washington, a respectable freeholder of the bishopric of Durham in the late twelfth century (he is found circa 1180), was the same as William, son of a younger son of Earl Cospatric II of Dunbar, tenant of the Hirsle by Coldstream in the earlier thirteenth century, and a benefactor of the Cistercian nunnery of Coldstream⁽⁶⁾. This, I should add, hung largely on the belief of Mr. George S.H.L. Washington that the Christian name Patric was rare in 'these northern parts'.⁽⁷⁾ To build a pedigree in support of what seems on the face of it to be a far-fetched claim, one needs to be doubly sure of one's facts. Straining the evidence, or positively wrenching it into an interpretation which it will not bear, can only give genealogy a bad name. It is at such a point that the historian, however unskilled he may be in the finer points of pedigree-making, is entitled to cry halt and to ask his genealogical colleagues to think again.

This evening, I wish to show my appreciation of the honour you have done me in inviting me to speak at a gathering of genealogists by discussing a few unsolved, or incompletely solved, problems of Scottish history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the solution, or at least elucidation, of which genealogical evidence and arguments are essential. It goes without saying that the total of such problems is very great, and shortage of time obliges me to be severely selective. I propose to look at the Mac William claim to the throne, the ramifications of the de Morville family and their implications

for the history of feudal settlement in Scotland, the ancestry of Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, and the family relationships of Master Gamelin, bishop of St. Andrews from 1255 to 1271.

From the reign of David I to that of his great-grandson Alexander II, the royal house of Scotland was frequently challenged by explicitly dynastic rebellions, raised first by Angus earl of Moray, then by Wimund, a monk of Furness and bishop of the Isles, finally by Donald son of William — usually called simply MacWilliam — and his descendants to the third generation. These rebellions I call explicitly dynastic because their leaders were expressly said to be bent on gaining the throne or the kingdom, or to have a claim to the kingdom. It is easy to confuse them with other, non-dynastic rebellions, with which in fact they were often allied, e.g. those raised by Malcolm Mac Heth, Somerled of Argyll and the two sons of Fergus of Galloway, Gilbert and Uhtred. The single thread running through the dynastic revolts is provided by the earldom of Moray. Angus killed at Stracathro in 1130 was earl or mormaer of Moray. Bishop Wimund, however much of an impostor he may have been, claimed to be the son of Earl Angus. Donald MacWilliam's father, William son of Duncan (i.e. King Duncan II) is called earl of Moray in the thirteenth-century 'Chronicle of Cumberland'.⁽⁸⁾ It is true that the earldom is not mentioned in the accounts of Guthred Mac William's rising of 1211–1212, but the campaigns required for its suppression appear to have been fought in Moray, while the victory won in the late 1220's over the last of the Mac Williams brought to the senior line of the Comyn family the lordship of Badenoch which a hundred years later was treated as an integral part of the earldom.⁽⁹⁾

The claim to the throne by this alternative royal line must be taken seriously, especially in the twelfth century. It is not enough for the historian to take refuge in rhetoric, even if it is the splendid rhetoric of Lord Hailes's judgement on Bishop Wimund: 'Such was the flagitious impostor who disturbed the tranquillity of a nation, happy and contented under the government of a virtuous Prince.'⁽¹⁰⁾ Although Wimund may have been an impostor, there were evidently many people who were prepared to respect, or at any rate to respond to, his claims. It is certain that he was not treated as a nonentity, even after he had been driven from his bishopric, and had retired, blinded and mutilated, to the north Yorkshire abbey of Byland.⁽¹¹⁾ For in a charter in favour of Byland (on which I can find no comment by Scottish historians) William II 'de Lancaster', lord of Kendal, granted part of Borrowdale, between Tebay and Shap Fell, in perpetual alms and in settlement of the grievance which Wimund late bishop of the Isles had against the grantor's father (i.e. William I 'de Lancaster').⁽¹²⁾

The dynastic claim of the Mac Williams must have rested on some sound genealogical basis. If it had not done so, men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have paid it scant regard. Some years ago, I suggested that this genealogical claim might have arisen through an unrecorded marriage of William son of King Duncan (who despite his father's royalty is not known ever to have claimed the throne, and was treated courteously by David I) to a sister or cousin of Angus earl of Moray.⁽¹³⁾ The suggestion was prompted partly by the considerations I have already mentioned, but especially by the description of William son of Duncan in the Cumbrian genealogy as 'earl of Moray', and the surely quite unconnected statement of the Scandinavian Saint Olaf's Saga that William, son of Duncan had a son named William 'the Atheling' 'whom all the Scots wished to have as their king'.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is extremely difficult to accept that the compiler of

the Cumbrian genealogy went needlessly out of his way to call William Fitz Duncan 'earl of Moray' unless he had some good documentary warrant for attributing the title, which, be it remembered, was in abeyance at the time he wrote and had been in abeyance for a century and a half. The genealogy was no mere flight of antiquarian fancy. It seems to have been intended to stand up to the scrutiny of a court of law and to justify long-standing claims to land for which charters had not survived or else had never existed.⁽¹⁵⁾ As for the saga statement, it must be observed that King Malcolm IV seems to have accorded the 'Boy of Egremont' as much honour as his grandfather had accorded the Boy's own father William Fitz Duncan.⁽¹⁶⁾ In his short life the younger William, like his father in his much longer life, is not known ever to have claimed the Scottish throne. It would surely not have been difficult for the Scandinavian writer to have mistakenly given Mac William, whom at least some of the Scots (including high-ranking noblemen) wished to have as their king, the name William, instead of Donald.

I cannot produce any fresh evidence to support what must remain no more than a hypothesis. But I am encouraged to see that in his volume in the **Edinburgh History of Scotland** Professor Duncan has stated the hypothesis, though without passing any judgement upon it.⁽¹⁷⁾ It must of course involve the supposition that the royal claims put forward by Angus, Wimund, Donald Mac William and Guthred, Donald's son, were not derived from their holding or claiming Moray as such, but from the fact that the throne had been more or less successfully held by previous rulers of Moray, e.g. Macbeth and his stepson Lulach,⁽¹⁸⁾ and that royal lineage had entered the Moray family through Kenneth, son of Dub, or was even believed to go back to Loarn, brother of Fergus, son of Erc, whose line had produced some six kings before the ninth century.⁽¹⁹⁾ We may not think that this Moray claim was strong, but we must put ourselves into a twelfth-century viewpoint. At that time the establishment of a single linear royal dynasty was a novelty in Scotland, and assuredly had not been achieved in England or Germany. The fact that such a dynasty was being created by the descendants of Malcolm III and St. Margaret was almost as much the result of good fortune as of political skill or military superiority. Not in 1130, nor in 1153, nor in 1165, nor even perhaps in the 1180's, before William the Lion's legitimate son had been born, could there be any certainty that what we call the 'Canmore dynasty' would survive. If it were to fail then any man who could claim a clear descent from tenth — or eleventh — century kings, whether of the line of Fergus or of Loarn, would have disgraced himself and his kindred if he did not bid for a throne which had not quite ceased to be elective.

The history of the de Morvilles presents a number of problems and one major paradox — the rise in only one or at most two generations of an obscure knightly family from the unfashionable side of Normandy to the highest baronial rank in the Scottish realm, and the even more rapid disappearance of this family until it could be said, as far as Scotland is concerned, to have been completely obliterated even from historical, still more from popular, memory. I shall begin by directing your attention to two charters, one for Byland Abbey, the other for St. Peter's Hospital, York, printed many years ago by the Cumbrian clergyman and antiquary the Reverend Frederick Ragg⁽²⁰⁾. The charters were given by Hugh II de Morville in his capacity as lord of Westmorland. We should envisage them being read out and sealed at sessions of Hugh's court assembled, certainly in one case and quite probably at the other, at his castle of Appleby on the upper River Eden.⁽²¹⁾ The names of the men who attended this court and witnessed the two charters like hands on a dial, indicate some of the compass-points on the complex

de Morville spider's web. Havrd the constable of Knaresborough, witness of one charter, was surely the same as Havard de Malnuers, witness of the other. The rare surname may refer to a hamlet on the border of Brittany and Maine now called La Malnoyere.⁽²²⁾ Reginald de Beauchamp, who witnessed both deeds, reminds us that Hugh de Morville's mother was Beatrice de Beauchamp, grand-daughter of Hugh de Beauchamp of Bedford and heiress of Houghton Conquest just outside Bedford.⁽²³⁾ A later Roger de Beauchamp appears in the entourage of Alan, son of Roland, lord of Galloway, grandson of Richard de Morville and grand-nephew of the Hugh who issued our two charters.⁽²⁴⁾

Peter de Lacelas was surely kinsman of Gerard de Lascelles and his son Alan firmly established as tenants of the de Morvilles in Westmorland.⁽²⁵⁾ This last particular combination of personal name and surname directs us northward to the doughty knight Alan de Lascelles who was associated with the Scottish royal court before the end of David I's reign, and whose son Alan acquired the shire of Forgan, or Naughton, between Leuchars and the River Tay.⁽²⁶⁾ As an elderly veteran Alan de Lascelles was to be captured with his lord at the siege of Alnwick castle in July 1174.⁽²⁷⁾ Lascelles has a Beauchamp rather than a Morville association, for Loucelles, whence the name was derived, is one of a small group of parishes between Bayeux and Caen from which the Beauchamps of Bedford drew their vassals of knightly rank — the others being Tessel, Rots and Brouay.⁽²⁸⁾ Robert de Broi ('of Brouay') was a fellow-witness in Westmorland with Reginald de Beauchamp and Peter de Lascelles, but while persons of the name of de Broi appear in Scotland only fleetingly,⁽²⁹⁾ a branch of the family which took its name from Rots became firmly established as tenants of knights' feus in Cunningham, at Ardneil in West Kilbride and at Stewarton — a name which suggests that the head of the de Ros family served as steward to the de Morville lords of Cunningham.⁽³⁰⁾ Four further witnesses worth our attention are Ralph Malchael, Ralph Maule (Masculus), Thomas of Hillbeck and Simon de Morville. Ralph Maule and Ralph Malchael both appear in Scotland, the former in the company of Richard de Morville, Hugh II's brother,⁽³¹⁾ the latter actually at the court of William the Lion,⁽³²⁾ between 1165 and 23rd September, 1168, the date on which he and two other continental incomers were ambushed and slain by the Scots, we know not where (but presumably somewhere north of Forth).⁽³³⁾ The Malchael's must already have been established as tenants of the de Morvilles just outside Appleby, where as the Machells of Crackenthorpe they endured for many centuries.⁽³⁴⁾ Hillbeck is a little Pennine village overlooking Brough, and Thomas was head of a family which sent offshoots into Scotland in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁽³⁵⁾ Simon de Morville is surely to be identified as the man of that name who through his marriage to Ada Engaine acquired the barony of Brough on Sands, died in 1167, and was succeeded by his son, yet another Hugh de Morville, who died by 1202.⁽³⁶⁾ A grant to Lanercost priory in Cumberland by this third Hugh de Morville was witnessed by William Maltale(n)t, a man not mentioned in the **Scots Peerage's** account of the earliest Maitlands, but who may be regarded provisionally as the first recorded member of a Norman family which came to Lauderdale under de Morville patronage.⁽³⁷⁾

Finally, among the witnesses in attendance on Hugh II de Morville in the 1160's we should take note of Alan de Sancto Claro, Alan Sinclair. The **Scots Peerage** knows nothing of him either in its account of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston or in its main article on SINCLAIR earl of Orkney.⁽³⁸⁾ As with Alan de Lascelles we should note the conjunction of names in Westmorland and in Scotland, for Henry Sinclair, first of Herdmanston, whose floruit was in the 1170's and 1180's, was succeeded by Alan Sinclair in

the 1190's,⁽³⁹⁾ and this, in view of the de Morville context, cannot be coincidence. The locality from which this notable family took their surname remains an unsolved problem. In the time of Henry I of England the brothers William and Hamo de St. Clair (especially the latter) rose to some prominence.⁽⁴⁰⁾ They had land in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Northants, close to estates of the Honour of Huntingdon, and must have had some contact with King David I and his constable Hugh I de Morville. In Normandy they held land at Thaon, near Caen,⁽⁴¹⁾ in the same district as Rots, Brouay and Loucelles, places associated, as we have seen, with the Beauchamps of Bedford. They were benefactors of Savigny Abbey, among whose charters we find persons of the surname 'de Malnoer', recalling Hugh de Morville's constable of Knaresborough.⁽⁴²⁾ The St. Clair from which this family took its origin, was undoubtedly St. Clair sur l'Elle, between Bayeux and St. Lo, only six or seven miles south of the Beauchamp from which the Bedford Beauchamps came. Beyond that, for the present at least, we can hardly go.

Thus, two brief and relatively unnoticed Westmorland charters for Yorkshire religious houses take us into the heart of the de Morville network, giving us names which lead us in one direction to western Normandy, in another to Scotland and the founding of new families, some of which are the very stuff and essence of Scots history. Before leaving the de Morvilles, I should like to draw your attention to two further points which have been made needlessly obscure by a combination of poor manuscript transmission and modern misunderstanding. In the first place, we should note that vital clues to the careers and position of Hugh I de Morville, the constable, who died, as a canon of Dryburgh Abbey, in 1162, and of his immediate family are contained in the late medieval Dryburgh cartulary, if only we care to read them aright. We know from Westmorland charters, the English Pipe Rolls, and chronicle sources, that Hugh de Morville lord of Knaresborough, Aldborough and Westmorland, was one of the four knights who murdered Archbishop Becket in December, 1170.⁽⁴³⁾ We know that after lurking for a while in Knaresborough Castle he went off to the Holy Land by way of penance.⁽⁴⁴⁾ We know also that he lost Knaresborough early in 1173 and Westmorland by Michaelmas 1174.⁽⁴⁵⁾ We know that he had a father named Hugh who preceded him in Westmorland and that his heir in Westmorland was his sister Maud who married William II de Vieuxpont and is commemorated in the village name of Maulds Meaburn a few miles west of Appleby.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Now, the Dryburgh cartulary contains copies of papal bulls of Alexander III (1159 x 1181), Lucius III and Gregory IX, which between them show that Hugh de Morville the abbey's founder — i.e. Hugh I de Morville — had given to the canons the church of 'Askeby' i.e. Great Asby, in Westmorland⁽⁴⁷⁾ and the teinds of the mill of a place given as 'Nebrun', for which we should read, not 'Newton' as is the suggested emendation of the Bannatyne Club edition, but 'Mebrun', i.e. Maulds Meaburn, for which name Mebrun is the normal twelfth-century form.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The papal confirmations also include the gift of half a ploughgate in 'Nebrun' (Meaburn) by William de Vieuxpont, clearly the husband of Maud de Morville.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Here, therefore, is the final demonstration, which escaped the Cumbrian and Yorkshire historians, even the great William Farrer — just as the Cumbrian evidence has gone unnoticed by Scottish antiquaries — that Hugh de Morville the constable of Scotland and Hugh de Morville the murderer of Thomas Becket were father and son,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and strong if not quite conclusive evidence that the elder Hugh was given the lordship of Westmorland not by a king of England who was under no obligation to him but by a king of Scotland, David I or Malcolm IV (before 1157). This

would have been a generous grant, but understandably generous, to a man who had supported the Scottish royal family strenuously and loyally since at latest the second decade of the twelfth century. Here was the answer to the question of how the descendants of Malcolm III and Saint Margaret succeeded in establishing a stable linear dynasty in defiance of such as the Mac Williams. Nor should we imagine that Mac Williams and de Morvilles inhabited different worlds. William Fitz Duncan had been lord of Coupland when the elder Hugh de Morville first acquired Westmorland, just over the hills to the east. And William I de Lancaster, who had had some serious quarrel, probably over land, with Wilmund 'late bishop of the Isles', was the tenant of Hugh de Morville the elder for Kendal, and duly married his daughter Avicia to Hugh's son Richard de Morville. (51)

My last de Morville problem concerns two families, one Norman, the other of native Cumbrian stock, who occupied a respectable, though not especially prominent place in the feudal landscape of Scotland for nearly a century and a half.. When Hugh I de Morville was given the district of Cunningham by David I he must have embarked at once upon the process of creating knights' feus, no doubt to some extent carving them out of demesne, but also perhaps making them out of other men's lands. One or more of these new knights' feus was composed of the estates of Giffen and Trearne, in the parish of Beith. (52) The first known tenant of Giffen was William de Néhou, in the time of Richard de Morville, i.e. between 1162 and 1190 (53) The de Morvilles themselves first occur in record as vassals or dependants of the lords of the Norman Honour of Vernon, who sometimes used the surname of de Reviors, Redvers. (54) Wherever in post-Conquest England the Redvers led, in Devon, Dorset and the Isle of Wight, the de Morvilles seem to have followed. Although Vernon itself is on the Seine east of Evreux, the caput of the Honour of Vernon was at Néhou in the Cotentin, only a few miles from Morville. William de Néhou, who witnessed Richard de Morville's charter granting Loudoun to the Flemish adventurer James son of Lambin, may have been already established at Giffen by Hugh de Morville. His brother, Richard the clerk, is found as the incumbent of the chapel of Bradpole in Dorset in the middle years of the twelfth century (55) William had two sons, Alexander and Richard, and Alexander's eventual heir at Giffen and Trearne was Walter of Mulcaster. (56) The Cumbrian family which (to our confusion and possibly also to theirs) variously used the local surnames of Mulcaster (i.e. Muncaster) and Pennington were dependants and close neighbours of the Lancasters lords of Kendal. (57) The fact, already noticed, that Richard de Morville married Avicia daughter of William I de Lancaster would easily explain the appearance of Mulcasters or Penningtons on the de Morville bandwagon, for example the witnessing of a Cunningham charter of Alan son of Roland (Richard de Morville's grand-son) by William of Mulcaster. (58) But it is surely intermarriage between the families of Néhou and Mulcaster/Pennington which must account for the direction taken by the Néhou inheritance, and for the fact that in 1278 the Cumbrian Alan of Pennington claimed what he called the 'manor' of Giffen in Scotland as heir to an ancestor, Benedict of Pennington, whose floruit (if this was Benedict son of Gamel) was as early as the 1180's (59) The history of this complicated and interesting family network has not been, and perhaps can never be, adequately worked out. But at least it seems worth rescuing the de Néhous from the obscure disguise to which the lazily copied Dryburgh cartulary consigned them, a disguise which allowed James Dobie of Crummock to describe them as the 'de Nenhams, an English family'. (60)

Thomas Randolph, the first earl of Moray since the 1130's was the nephew of King Robert I, Robert the Bruce. Many years ago, Professor D.W. Hunter Marshall demonstrated that this relationship, which used to puzzle earlier generations of scholars, must have been derived from the marriage of Thomas Randolph the elder to an unrecorded daughter of Marjorie countess of Carrick by her first marriage.⁽⁶¹⁾ It was this unrecorded marriage which gave the younger Thomas Randolph some claim to the earldom of Fife, however remote, since his maternal grandfather, Adam of Kilconquhar the crusader, earl of Carrick in right of his wife, was himself descended from Duncan I earl of Fife who died in 1154, and the subsequent line of earls had thrown off remarkably few collateral heirs.⁽⁶²⁾

Although this particular puzzle has been solved, the paternal ancestry of Thomas Randolph has never been adequately elucidated. The point seems interesting enough to deserve at least a brief consideration, if only for the light it throws on the question of social mobility in thirteenth-century Scotland.

An unfortunately rash jump to a false conclusion by George Chalmers seems to have originated the surprisingly hard-dying belief (which has survived long enough to find a place in the **Edinburgh History of Scotland**) that the Randolph family were descended from the twelfth-century lords of Nithsdale, and specifically from Radulf (Ralph) son of Dunegal, who died c. 1185⁽⁶³⁾ The truth is very different, but no less interesting. Within a few years of Alexander II's accession, at latest by 1221, we find in the king's service an obviously much-trusted clerk called Thomas, son of Ranulf.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He was one of the earliest examples I can discover in Scotland of that figure who was later to become much more familiar, the married clerk who instead of looking for ecclesiastical preferment as archdeacon or bishop would make his way in business and affairs of state as a layman, enjoying secular estates which he would hope to hand down to his heirs. During the '20's of the thirteenth century Thomas, son of Ranulf was employed as King Alexander's chief confidential agent in the delicate matter of the king's sisters, who had been improperly detained in England after King John's death and disparagingly married to Hubert de Burgh and Roger Bigod.⁽⁶⁵⁾ By 1232 Thomas had become a knight, surely a clear case of social or honorific knighthood rather than the more usual military variety, and about the same time he married an heiress named Juliana who held land at Broxmouth and Stichill, Roxburghshire⁽⁶⁶⁾ He served briefly as sheriff of Dumfries,⁽⁶⁷⁾ appears in the 1240's as a knight of Alexander of Dundonald the Stewart (who succeeded his father Walter II in 1241),⁽⁶⁸⁾ and was certainly a member of the king's council, prominent enough in fact to be removed from it in 1255 when Henry III of England engineered his coup against the Comyns⁽⁶⁹⁾ We do not know to what family Thomas's wife belonged, but land-ownership at Broxmouth suggests that she may have been related either to the de Landelles (Landells) family or to Robert de Burneville (i.e. of Bénouville) sheriff of Berwick at the end of the twelfth century.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Sir Thomas and his wife both died in 1262, receiving the highest accolade known to thirteenth-century Scotland — an obituary in the Chronicle of Melrose, which in its annal for that year writes 'Sir Thomas son of Raynulf and his wife Juliana died, whose bodies were brought to Melrose Abbey and honourably buried on Maundy Thursday (i.e. 6th April)'.⁽⁷¹⁾ By the time of their death the couple may have been living at Redpath only two or three miles from Melrose,⁽⁷²⁾ but even Stichill, where they maintained a private chapel,⁽⁷³⁾ would not have been too far distant for a Melrose funeral.

It seems probable that we shall never be able to discover the identity of Thomas's father Ranulf. The name was far from uncommon in the later twelfth century, and although it was occasionally confused with Radulf (Ralph) we ought to be careful to distinguish holders of these two distinct names, unless the evidence for confusion is very clear. One of King William the Lion's chaplains may have been called Ranulf,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and it is possible that he had an illegitimate son for whom entry to the royal service would have been easy. If, on the other hand, we stress the apparently close connexions of Thomas son of Ranulf with south-eastern Scotland we may note that among well-established local families the lairds of Bunkle were fond of the personal name Ranulf.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The Bunkles had a link with the Comyns which went back, as my former pupil Dr. Alan Young has shown, to the time of Richard Comyn in the twelfth century, and in the political crises of the mid-thirteenth century Bunkles are found in the Comyn camp alongside Thomas, son of Ranulf.⁽⁷⁶⁾ But all this is quite inconclusive speculation. What does seem certain is that Thomas, son of Ranulf attained to a high position in the state by his own merit, and that his background was so unterritorial that his father's name simply became a surname for his son, who having once appeared as 'Thomas son of Thomas son of Ranulf' ⁽⁷⁷⁾ — a cumbersome designation — almost immediately settled down as Sir Thomas Randolph, knight, chamberlain of the king in the 1270's⁽⁷⁸⁾ sheriff of Berwick in 1279,⁽⁷⁹⁾ a justice-itinerant for King Alexander III in Tynedale in the same year,⁽⁸⁰⁾ and an executor of the wills of the elder John Balliol and his wife the lady Dervorguilla of Galloway.⁽⁸¹⁾ Since he was a principal envoy from Scotland to the French court in 1295–6⁽⁸²⁾ and does not reappear in Scottish record thereafter (only his son's homage, e.g., is recorded in the summer of 1296),⁽⁸³⁾ it seems possible that Sir Thomas Randolph the elder, or 'the father' as he was by then known, died in France.⁽⁸⁴⁾ It may be to him that we should attribute the building of the architecturally interesting castle of Morton in Nithsdale, since this estate seems to have been in his possession before passing to his son.⁽⁸⁵⁾ And we may note that in keeping with the south-eastern connexions of the family, the parson of Morton in 1296 was also the Master of the Cistercian nunnery of Coldstream.⁽⁸⁶⁾ As we have seen, Sir Thomas Randolph the elder married a daughter of Marjorie, countess of Carrick, who was therefore half-sister of Robert I, so that their son the third Thomas Randolph was the king's nephew. Thus in three generations we may observe progression from an obscure clerk in the royal service, through substantial land-owner in south-east Scotland, to membership of the royal family and the enjoyment of the revived earldom of Moray. The chief element in the Randolph coat of arms, a cushion, seems to have been shrewdly chosen.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Lastly, and briefly, we come to the difficult question of the origins and family of Master Gamelin, also in his time a prominent royal clerk, and a distinguished bishop of St. Andrews for nearly twenty years. In the first edition of my book on Robert Bruce, I rashly suggested that Gamelin might have come to Scotland from France in the entourage of Marie de Couci who became the queen of Alexander II in 1239.⁽⁸⁸⁾ My friend and colleague, Professor Donald Watt, has been kind enough to refer to this suggestion in his superb *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates*,⁽⁸⁹⁾ but he has more persuasively proposed an alternative origin for Gamelin within the great family of Comyn, or at any rate in that milieu. Gamelin, he writes, 'may already have been an associate of the Comyn family — indeed, perhaps an illegitimate member of it, so high in the church in Scotland did they push him.'⁽⁹⁰⁾ We know that Gamelin was the son of unmarried parents, and Dr. Watt has suggested that he was parson of Kilbucho in

Peeblesshire, acutely observing that in a charter of 1242 x 1249, which has strong Comyn associations, there is mention of Gamelin parson of Kilbucho and his sister Mariota.⁽⁹¹⁾ My task, after gladly acknowledging my debt to Dr. Watt for putting us on the right track, is to dot some "i's" and cross some "t's".

The crucial charter is a grant of land at Ingraston in West Linton to the local chapel of Saint Mary by a widow named Christian who mentions the names of more than a dozen souls, but conspicuously omits that of her husband. Her father was Adam son of Gilbert, her mother Ydonea (as we learn from the *Morton Register*, she was the sister of William Comyn earl of Buchan),⁽⁹²⁾ while her son was called Sir Henry, already married and with a family. Christian made her grant for the souls' weal of herself and all these near relations, and also for the salvation of the king, Sir Walter Comyn (earl of Menteith), Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, Sir John Comyn, Gamelin parson of Kilbucho and his sister Mariota, and finally Gilbert, also called parson of Kilbucho. I suggest that the vital clues here are the unurnamed son Sir Henry and the apparently redundant parson Gilbert. The first Stewart, Walter son of Alan, gave a knight's feu at Tarbolton in Kyle, at that time part of Mauchline rather than a separate parish, to Gilbert son of Richer⁽⁹³⁾. To a charter of Walter's grandson, Walter II, defining the marches between Tarbolton and Mauchline Gilbert parson of Kilbucho was an important witness.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The son and heir of Gilbert son of Richer by his wife Juliana was Adam son of Gilbert, who in addition to Tarbolton held, as tenant of Adam son of Adam son of Richer (i.e., his first cousin), the estate of Hutton in Dryfesdale.⁽⁹⁵⁾ He was also proprietor of Kilbucho, perhaps held in chief,⁽⁹⁶⁾ and on marrying Idonea Comyn he received from her brother the earl the lands of Ingraston and Blyth, close to Kilbucho, as her tocher.⁽⁹⁷⁾ The donor of our crucial Ingraston charter was their daughter and heir Christian. I suggest that Gilbert the parson, antedating Parson Gamelin, was Adam's younger brother and Christian's uncle.⁽⁹⁸⁾ By definition, he would be an unmarried man, but by a custom common enough he might have had a liaison with an unmarried woman — one might even suggest that she was the daughter of a man named Gamel — and thus might have become the father of Gamelin and Mariota. Again by a common custom, he might be succeeded in his modest living by his not quite openly acknowledged son Gamelin. Indeed, I would go further and suggest that Gilbert parson of Kilbucho was Gilbert the clerk who between 1193 and 1199 held the chapel of Hutton in Dryfesdale which was in the gift of Adam son of Gilbert.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The text has been preserved of an agreement anent this chapel reached by Adam son of Gilbert and Adam son of Adam at an assembly of the full diocesan synod at Peebles.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

The husband about whom Christian was so oddly reticent can only have been Sir Henry Graham, lord of Dalkeith. Not only do we find that Tarbolton was confirmed to the 'elder Sir Henry Graham' by James the Stewart as it had been confirmed to Adam son of Gilbert by Alan the Stewart^(100a) and that Kilbucho was acquired in the fourteenth century from Sir John Graham of Dalkeith by his successor William Douglas, ancestor of the earls of Morton;⁽¹⁰¹⁾ we also see that in the later thirteenth century Henry Graham was lord of Hutton in Dryfesdale — the son or grandson of the Sir Henry whom Christian mentions in her charter as her own son.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The clinching piece of evidence is provided by a charter of c. 1242 x 1247 issued by Henry son of Sir Henry Graham granting the toun of Clifton in the sherifffdom of Edinburgh to his kinsman David Graham. This charter was witnessed by, among others, Gamell clerk of the king.⁽¹⁰³⁾

In conclusion, therefore, I would suggest that Master Gamelin, royal clerk, papal chaplain, chancellor of Scotland, bishop of St. Andrews, was the illegitimate son of Gilbert, successively incumbent of Hutton and Kilbucho, himself the younger son of Gilbert son of Richer who first appears in Scotland in the middle of Malcolm IV's reign. Through his aunt Idonea, Gamelin would indeed have been close to the Comyn family, although not quite a member of it. But we should not under-estimate the standing of his own family, even though in Scotland they used no surname, (104) nor of the Grahams of Dalkeith who succeeded them. If this was in truth the milieu into which Gamelin was born then it is clear that whatever talents he displayed, and they were obviously considerable, they would have a fertile soil in which to grow and be exploited.

Perhaps none of the problems I have touched on this evening can be regarded as of first-rate importance for the history of earlier medieval Scotland. Nevertheless, they are part of that incessant striving by the historian to replace surmise with certainty. Historians are still regrettably apt to spatter their pages with airy generalisations. They must be constantly brought down to earth with facts, and genealogical facts, once ascertained, are some of the earthiest facts that we have. I am sure that the Scottish Genealogy Society will always be alive to the fact that one of the most important tasks for the genealogist is to maintain the supply and improve the quality of the genealogical data available for the historian. It is then up to the historian to become aware of this material and make proper use of it.

FOOTNOTES

1. **Kelso Liber**, no. 323 (reading Thaun for the meaningless 'Thanu' of the printed text). In the footnotes, abbreviations conform to the **List of Abbreviated Titles of the printed sources of Scottish History to 1560** published as a supplement to the **Scottish Historical Review** for 1963.
2. **The Times**, 7th May, 1977, p.15.
3. Anderson, **Early Sources**, i, 576, Crin or Crini; 584, n.7, Cronan (from the Melrose 'Verse Chronicle' and the Annals of Ulster). The forms in the late king-lists are given by M.O. Anderson, **Kings and kingship in early Scotland** (1973) as follows: 268, Crau, 276, Trini, 284, Crini, 288, Kryn; these were formerly rendered by Anderson, **Early Sources**, i, 581, n.5 as Cran, Trim, Trini, Crini, Kryn. It would not be unfair to say that the true name of King Duncan I's father is in doubt.
4. Anderson, **Scottish Annals**, p. 81 and n.1 (translations of the two anonymous 11th-century Northumbrian tracts 'On the siege of Durham' and 'On the first coming of the Saxons').
5. W.F. Skene, **Celtic Scotland** (2nd edn. 1886), i, 394, n.18.
6. G.S.H.L. Washington, **The Earliest Washingtons and their Anglo-Scottish connexions** (privately printed for the author, Cambridge, 1964), pp. 2-4, 16-18. Mr. Washington calls William's grandfather Earl Cospatric III, reckoning in the Cospatric who fled English Northumbria in 1068 and again probably in 1069. I have used the numbering in the **Handbook of British Chronology** (2nd edn., 1961), p. 475. Charters granted by William son of Patrick (son of Earl Cospatric II) are printed in **Coldstream Chartulary**, nos. 15, 18, 24, 35. No. 15 dates 1203 x 1209. As part of his argument, Mr. Washington wished to see Walter, described as 'fermor of the lord earl (i.e. Patrick of Dunbar, d. 1232) of Hirsell', mentioned *ibid.*, nos. 22, 31, as the son and heir of William son of Patrick. The term *firmarius* virtually rules this out, since William, an earl's grandson, naturally held his estate at Hirsell in feu (*ibid.*, no. 24), not as a mere farmer.
7. Washington, *op.cit.*, p.2. A glance through the documents printed in Raine, **North Durham**, would show how untrue this statement is; e.g. the name Patric (applied to different individuals) occurs ten times in nos. 177 to 232 inclusive.

8. J. Wilson (ed.), *The Register of St. Bees* (Surtees Soc., 1915) (= *St. Bees Reg.*), pp. 494, 532 (also *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii, p.16).
9. A. Young, 'The Political Role of the Comyns in Scotland and England in the 13th century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974), pp. 99–102, 132–3; *Moray Reg.*, p. 342; *RMS*, i, App. I, no. 31.
10. Hailes, *Annals*, p. 103.
11. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen etc.* (ed. R. Howlett, *Rolls ser.*, 1884–9), i, pp. 73–6.
12. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Report, pt. 4, p. 323.
13. *RRS*, ii, pp. 12–13 and accompanying Table.
14. Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, pp.4–5 and n.1.
15. E.g., Alan son of Waltheof lord of Allerdale is said to have granted the fourth part of the vill which Uhtred once held 'within and outwith the forest', and the church of Ireby, and the service of the predecessors of Isaac of Ireby in 'Ysacby', and to have superenfeoffed Uhtred son of Liulf, his knight, in the vill of Allerby (i.e. Oughterside) 'which Thomas of Lowther and Peter de Dayncourt now hold'. This reads like an excerpt from title deeds required to establish legal possession, rather than a family tree.
16. William of Egremont witnessed King Malcolm's knight-service charter for Ralph Frebern (*RRS*, i, no. 256) and also a charter of Henry II of England issued at Woodstock in July, 1163 when the king of Scots was present (W. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and early charters* (1902), p. 311).
17. A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (vol. I of the *Edinburgh History of Scotland*, 1975), p. 193.
18. *The Hub of the Highlands. The Centenary Volume of the Inverness Field Club* (Inverness and Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 114–5.
19. Anderson, *Early Sources*, i, p. cxii; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, pp.476–7.
20. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc.* (= *CWAAS*), New Ser., ix (1909), pp. 253–4 (with facsimile), xi (1911), pp. 314–5.
21. The charter of Crosby Ravensworth (*ibid.*, xi, pp. 314–5) was witnessed by Robert Aristotle and the whole chapter of Appleby.
22. Havard is an uncommon personal name north of the English Channel. La Malnoyere is a farm in the commune of Sanonnes (canton St. Aignan-sur-Roe, arr. Chateau-Gontier), some fifty miles south of Savigny. Since the place-name means 'poor walnut grove' it ought not to be uncommon, and Havard's place of family origin is therefore preferably to be sought in Normandy. The surname seems to appear in 12th-13th century Scotland, if we correctly read as 'de Maunuers' the surname of Arkatill 'de Mannvers', associated with the de Vieuxponts (*Holyrood Liber*, p. 213).
23. *Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, i, p. 201; iii, pp. 9–10; G.H. Fowler (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Warden* (Manchester, 1931), pp. 331.
24. *CWAAS*, N.S., xvii (1917), p. 229; NLS, MS. 42676 (transcript of a charter of Alan son of Roland relating to Fairlie, Ayrshire). This was probably the Roger de Beauchamp who witnessed a Westmorland charter of Ivo de Vieuxpont (*CWAAS*, N.S., xi, p. 318).
25. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Report, pt. 4, p. 321, a charter of Gerald de Lascelles witnessed by his son Alan, c.1170–80. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 324, for mention of 13th-century Lascelles charters.
26. Alan de Lascelles, probably father or brother of Gerald, the Westmorland landowner, witnessed a Holm Cultram charter of Henry, King David I's son, c.1150–2 (*Lawrie, Charters*, no. 244). For his son Alan's holding at Forgan (alias Adenacthen, i.e. Naughton), see *St. Andrews Liber*, p. 260, apparently implying acquisition through his wife Amabilis, of an unknown family.
27. *Lawrie, Annals*, pp. 176–7: 'now he must give a ransom, for his property is great'.

28. **Victoria History of the County of Bedford**, i. p. 201; L.C. Loyd, **The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families** (Harleian Soc., 1951), pp. 20–1.
29. **Lawrie, Charters**, nos. 50, 137 (witnessed by Walter de Broy and Hugh de Broi respectively).
30. Information about the Ayrshire family of 'de Ros' (later often spelled 'Ross' and confused with the northern Scottish families taking their name from the province of Ross) is contained, *passim*, in J.S. Dobie (ed.) **Cunninghame topographized by Timothy Pont** (Glasgow 1876); see especially pp. 97–8, 354, 357, 366. For 'de Ros' in England, see i.a. Loyd, **Origins of Anglo-Norman Families**, p. 86.
31. Keith Stringer, 'Dryburgh Abbey and Bozeat, Northants', **Innes Review**, xxiv, p. 141. Cf. Roger Maule, a witness to charters of Richard de Morville (**Glasgow Reg.**, no. 45; Anderson, **Diplomata**, pl. LXXVa).
32. **RRS**, ii, nos. 30, 37. Note also that Humphrey Malchaet, referred to in the note, *ibid.*, p. 146 was a witness to Richard de Morville's charter of Herdmanston (Anderson, **Diplomata**, pl. LXXVb).
33. **Chron. Holyrood**, p. 150.
34. **CWAAS**, N.S., viii, pp. 416ff.
35. **Melrose Liber**, no. 99 was witnessed by William 'de Hellehec' (read 'Hellebec'); in 1296 the homage is recorded of William of Hillbeck of Dumfriesshire (**Cal. Docs. Scot.**, ii, p. 206).
36. **CWAAS**, N.S., ix, Table facing p. 241; J.E. Prescott (ed.), **The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal** (1897), 188–9.
37. **Trans. Royal Soc. of Literature**, 2nd ser., viii (1866), p. 454 and index.
38. **Scots Pge.**, vi, p. 564; vii, pp. 577ff.
39. *Ibid.*
40. W. Farrer, **Honors and Knights' Fees**, iii (1925), pp. 168, 287–8; Loyd, **Origins of Anglo-Norman Families**, pp. 88–9.
41. L. Delisle and E. Berger, **Recueil des actes de Henri II** (1916–20), i, p. 186; J.H. Round (ed.), **Calendar of Documents preserved in France** (1899), p. 299 (no. 824).
42. *Ibid.*, no. 801.
43. The evidence is reviewed by W. Farrer, **CWAAS**, N.S., vii, 102–7 and F.W. Ragg, *ibid.*, ix, p. 260 and xi, pp. 308–15. I have also been greatly helped by the kindness of Dr. W.G. Urry, who has let me see the chapter on Hugh de Morville in his forthcoming book on the murder of Archbishop Becket. Dr. Urry shows that Hugh was given Knaresborough by Henry II at Midsummer, 1158.
44. **CWAAS**, N.S. ix, p. 260; xi, pp. 308–10, 313.
45. *Ibid.*, vii, pp. 103–4.
46. *Ibid.*, ix, p. 253; xi, pp. 307–11; **RRS**, i, no. 125.
47. **Dryburgh Liber**, pp. 203, 195, 199 (in that order).
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5, 200. For the 12th-century form of the name Meaburn cf. charters printed by F.W. Ragg, **CWAAS**, N.S., xi, pp. 308, 317.
49. **Dryburgh Liber**, p. 195.
50. Feebly allowing myself to be misled by the failure of Archdeacon Prescott, Sir Archibald Lawrie and William Farrer to perceive the link between the two Hughs, I stated (**RRS**, i, p. 189, n.1) 'a son of the constable Hugh de Moreville named Hugh is otherwise unknown'.
51. **CWAAS**, N.S., vii, pp. 105–6.
52. **Cunninghame topographized**, pp. 144, 377; **Dryburgh Liber** no. 226.
53. *Ibid.* It is possible that the feu of Giffen was the creation of Richard rather than Hugh de

Morville.

54. Loyd, *Origins of Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 70.
55. Marquess of Bute, Dumfries House, Ayrshire, Loudoun Charters, no. 1; Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 885.
56. *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 226, 227.
57. *St. Bees Reg.*, p. 533 for King Stephen's confirmation of William I of Lancaster's grant of Muncaster to Furness Abbey; *ibid.*, pp. 31 and nn., 248–9, for the Lancaster family holding at Hensingham near Whitehaven.
58. Marquess of Bute, Loudoun Charters, no. 3, William 'de Mauecestria'.
59. *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii, pp. 29–30. For Benedict son of Gamel, cf. *St. Bees Reg.*, p. 259 (for other references see index s.vv. 'Gamel' and 'Pennington').
60. *Cunninghame topographized*, p. 377.
61. D.W. Hunter Marshall, 'The parentage of Thomas Randolph earl of Moray', *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser., viii, pp. 2–5.
62. G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 36, n.1, 390–1.
63. G. Chalmers, *Caledonia* (1887–94), v, p. 73; A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, p. 532.
64. The documents mentioning Thomas son of Ranulf in connexion with English affairs have been calendared by Joseph Bain, *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, i, from no. B23 onwards (further references in next note). The earliest mention of Thomas seems to be that in Raine, *North Durham*, no. 126 (1221).
65. *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, i, nos. 823, 915, 939–41, 966, 985, 1005.
66. J. Scoular (ed.), *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II king of Scots* (Regesta Regum Scottorum Committee, 1959), no. 160 (a witness to this act); Raine, *North Durham*, no. 650; *Melrose Liber*, ii p. 686; *Kelso Liber*, ii, p. 469. For the location of Broxmouth see n.70 below.
67. *Melrose Liber*, no. 206.
68. *Paisley Reg.*, p. 87; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 113, 119.
69. E.L.G. Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328; some selected documents* (2nd edn. 1970), pp. 62–3 (no. 10).
70. Landells ownership at Broxmouth and Robert de Burneville's interest there are shown by *Kelso Liber*, nos. 322, 323. The place referred to cannot be Broxmouth on the coast in East Lothian but must have been an estate on the River Tweed at the south-east corner of Makers-toun parish, whose earlier name seems now to be lost. Cf. *Melrose Liber*, i, pp. 217–8, 300; *Kelso Liber*, p. 260 (note reference there to the road leading to Nenthorn).
71. *Chron. Melrose*, p. 118.
72. *Melrose Liber*, ii, pp. 385–6, 685. Redpath is at the southern end of Earlstoun parish.
73. Raine, *North Durham*, no. 542.
74. *Coupar Angus Rental*, i, p. 336.
75. Raine, *North Durham*, nos. 67, 168, 169; *Coldstream Chartulary*, p. 49.
76. A. Young, 'Political Role of the Comyns' (See n.9 above), pp. 56, 147, 370.
77. *Melrose Liber*, no. 325.
78. *Kelso Liber*, no. 189; Scot. Rec. Office, Antiquaries MS. 'Cartae Variæ', pp. 103–5.
79. Raine, *North Durham*, no. 138. He had been sheriff of Roxburgh in 1266 (*Kelso liber*, no. 190)
80. *Cal. Docs. Scots.*, ii, p. 50.

81. *Ibid.*, nos. 171, 535.
82. Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, p. 83, n.1.
83. *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii, p. 552 (unless this refers to homage performed in 1291).
84. *Ibid.*, p. 159 (no. 681); Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, pp. 94–5.
85. Stewart Cruden, *The Scottish Castle* (1960), pp. 95–8; D. McGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887–92), i, pp. 545–50; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 448.
86. *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii, p. 212.
87. H. Laing, *Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals* (Edinburgh, 1866), nos. 834, 835; *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii, pp. 154 (no. 658, seal no. 11), 552 (seal no. 421).
88. G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London and Berkeley, California, 1965), p. 18.
89. D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to 1410* (Oxford, 1977). The article on Gamelin runs from p. 209b to p. 214a.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 211a.
91. *Glasgow Reg.*, no. 150.
92. *Morton Reg.*, ii, no. 5 (pp. 4–5).
93. Walter I's charter has not survived, but the infeftment may be inferred from *Melrose Liber*, p. 55 and Fraser, *Lennox*, ii, no. 1 (pp. 1–2).
94. *Melrose Liber*, p. *64 (no. *72).
95. *Glasgow Reg.*, pp. 67–8, 72.
96. Assuming, as we surely may, that he was Adam 'of Kilbucho' who witnessed Walter II Stewart's charter of Mauchline for Melrose Abbey (*Melrose Liber*, no. 72). The title would suggest tenancy-in-chief because we know of no connexion between Kilbucho and the Stewarts.
97. *Morton Reg.*, ii, no. 5.
98. He may be taken to belong to an earlier generation than Gamelin because he witnessed *Melrose Liber*, no. *72, the date of which is 1204 x 1218. See the accompanying chart.
99. *Glasgow Reg.*, no. 83; cf. no. 81.
100. *Ibid.*, no. 83.
- 100a. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 3rd Report, Appendix, p. 387a.
101. *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, i, pp. 178, 514. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iv, p. 959, states that the Grahams of Dalkeith possessed Kilbucho, but this was not in consequence of an earlier Graham marriage to the heiress of Roger Avenel, which brought Abercorn and Eskdale to the Grahams. The statement in SP, vi, p. 194 and n. 10 misleadingly ascribes to Chalmers a suggestion which he does not in fact make.
102. *Morton Reg.*, ii, no. 3 (pp. 2–3).
103. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 2nd Report, Appendix, p. 166.
104. Contrary to the view I took when working on the earliest Stewart estates (G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973), p. 348), I now believe that Gilbert son of Richer was, almost certainly, a younger son of Richer de Boiville (i.e. Bievill-sur-Orne, north east of Caen), knightly tenant of Levington (Kirkclinton), Cumberland (and first known sheriff of Carlisle?) in the time of Ranulf le Meschin lord of Cumberland. Richer was presumably kinsman (brother?) of Godard de Boiville, steward of Coupland under William le Meschin. Richer's elder son and heir was Adam (I) and it was evidently his son Adam (II) who was lord of Hutton in Dryfesdale and first cousin of Adam son of Gilbert. For this see J. Wilson, 'Some extinct Cumberland families, II: the Levingtons', *The Ancestor*, no. 3 (1902), pp. 80–1, where for 'Richard' read 'Richer', *Register of Wetherhal*, pp. 1 and 385; *St. Bees Reg.*, pp. 106–7, 540. If this relationship is accepted, it would seem probable that Christian, daughter of Adam son of Gilbert, lady of Kilbucho, was related to the family of Boyle (≠ de Boiville) now earls of Glasgow who were settled, before the end of the 13th century, at Kelburne in Cunningham.

THE ARCHIVIST, THE ARCHIVES AND THE PUBLIC: WHAT SHOULD THE PRIORITIES BE?

The text of an address delivered at the 25th Annual Congress
of the Scottish Genealogy Society.

You may, perhaps, be familiar with Dr. Burnside, the college archivist who appears in J.I.M. Stewart's quintet of Oxford novels, *A staircase in Surrey*, and with the explanation of his decision to enter the archival profession:

'I think I judged myself unfit for the rough and tumble of college life'. (1) A remark that reveals, perhaps, a certain lack of awareness on the part of the otherwise perceptive author; since the problems that beset archivists and the hostility with which their solutions may sometimes be greeted — well exemplified in the correspondence columns of *The Times* — render the going as rough, and the tumbles as bruising, for them as for any Oxford Fellows. I, myself, was not unprepared for such rigours, having been taught by Professor R. Allen Brown, a former archivist, who had publicly declared in 1959: 'The unhappiest years of my life, so far, have been spent in the Round Room of the Public Record Office'. (2) He reminded me of these words when I was an undergraduate aspiring to become an archivist, warning me that my early enthusiasm for the profession might soon be replaced by disillusion.

While I have not yet reached the nadir of despair that brought forth Allen Brown's superlatives, I must confess that such pleasure as I formerly took in my calling has been of late distinctly muted. The reason is to be found in the problem of priorities: in the seemingly endless multiplication of dilemmas that confront the archivist as he strives to adhere to established archival principles in the conduct of everyday archival practice; as he endeavours to fulfil his obligations to the archives of which he has custody, while responding helpfully to the demands of those who wish to have access to them.

But I come not, like Job, to speak in the bitterness of my soul. I propose simply to state the principles that archivists have evolved over the past century and a half; I shall identify certain of the most mundane courses of action that such principles dictate and the dilemmas that arise when they are found to be irreconcilable with the demands of the public; and I shall then turn, in conformity with the theme of your conference, to a consideration of future developments in the record services of Scotland and I shall suggest the extent to which the archivist's position may be eased or aggravated by them.

You will appreciate from these opening remarks that what I have to say is of a subjective nature. May I emphasise that point? The opinions that follow are mine as a private person; they are not intended to represent, though they may not be unrepresentative of, the views of colleagues in the archival profession. They are certainly not to be understood as statements of policy on behalf of the University of Aberdeen, which I have the honour to serve as archivist, or of the Scottish Records Association, which I have the pleasure to serve as secretary. They are the opinions, moreover, of one who has been concerned for the last nine years with the very varied contents of a small, hard-pressed university repository. Your members, I know, are more familiar with a less extensive range of record-classes in a large, more leisured, national institution. I trust, nevertheless, that my observations from this lowly level will not be inapplicable to events in that more exalted arena.

That archivists have principles, I trust you will all acknowledge: that these have been

and are subject to frequent and not always dispassionate reappraisal within the profession, may not be so widely appreciated. Those of you who are interested in following our theorising will find it enshrined in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists* and in the organ of the British Records Association, *Archives*; there are, in addition, a number of seminal works, to some of which I shall in due course refer.

It is with no little pride that one distinguishes amongst the earliest British scholars to have given consideration to the theory as well as the practice of administering archives, Thomas Thomson, Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland in the early decades of the nineteenth century. His enlightened conception of centralised record-keeping, his far sighted, if unfulfilled, plans for local record-services, his vigilance and his zeal have been justly celebrated by Dr. Imrie and Dr. Simpson. (3) Thomson's objectives in the administration of archives are clearly stated in his *Annual Reports* from 1807 until 1821. He aimed to achieve 'Security' and 'easy Accessibility'. He used the nouns on several occasions, describing, for example, the General Register House as 'one great Repository in which perfect security should, as far as possible, be combined with easy accessibility.' (4) The priorities which that comment establishes remained unchanged throughout his reports; the order of the words – Security first, then Accessibility – did not alter.

Security he sought to achieve by using his powers of 'custody and controul' to safeguard what he called 'the grand moving and regulating principles' of administering archives, 'the separation of the official duties of forming and of keeping the Records'. (5) Accessibility he promoted by a variety of means: the Bannatyne Club *Memoir* of his life records that he waived the search fees of literary researchers; (6) his proposals for inventories and indices were intended, *inter alia*, to 'give the publick sufficient information of the Records which actually exist, and to which they have access'; (7) while his elaborate schemes for publishing from the records took cognizance of the needs of three capitalised professionals, the Lawyer, the Historian and the Antiquary. (8) If Thomson regularly combined the words 'Security' and 'Accessibility', he no less frequently linked 'Accessibility' and 'Usefulness'; he wrote of the 'Accessibility and consequent Usefulness of the Publick Record ...' (9) in his first report; and the same phrase occurred in his last. (10) Records, in short, existed to be used; they could not be used unless they were accessible; but their accessibility must be governed by requirements for their security.

Thomson's 'memorable term of office' in the words of Sir James Fergusson writing in 1953, resulted in 'the establishment of most of the rules, practices, and safeguards under which the Scottish Record Office is conducted today'. (11) That they should have remained so long unchanged was a tribute to the merit of much that he achieved; it is also, I submit, a reflection upon the lack of interest and initiative of those who followed him in office. Thomson's principle of Accessibility was re-affirmed, however, in an uncharacteristic fashion in 1853 with the formal waiving of search fees for literary inquirers and the appointment of the first Antiquarian Assistant Searcher; (12) this but two years after the Deputy Keeper of the Records in England had been instructed that: 'The literary inquirer will have free access to the document, but this being done, he will have to conduct the inquiry from these documents in such a manner as his own knowledge and capacity may best enable him to do.' (13)

It is to an English Deputy Keeper of this century that I next turn for a further declaration of archival principle. Sir Hilary Jenkinson's exposition of the duties of an archivist has been described by one of his successors in the presidency of the Society of Archivists as: 'fundamental to archive thought in the English-speaking countries.' It has been much valued in Scotland and Jenkinson's links with my own university were

especially strong: it was he who first reported on the desirability of establishing my department; the university conferred upon him an honorary degree; and he subsequently bequeathed to us his invaluable collection of books and pamphlets, which line the walls of my room. In 1922 he published the first edition of his *Manual of Archive Administration*, revising it in 1937; in it he wrote:

'The duties of the Archivist ... are primary and secondary. In the first place he has to take all possible precautions for the safeguarding of his Archives and for their custody ... *Subject to the discharge of these duties* he has in second place to provide to the best of his ability for the needs of historians and other research workers. But *the position of primary and secondary must not be reversed.*' (14)

Jenkinson wrote before the establishment of a widespread, acquisitive local-authority archives service in England, before the expansion of academic and amateur studies in local history, and before the habitual use of micro-forms. The problems and pressures that these developments promoted led archivists, educated almost without exception on Jenkinsonian lines, to re-assess his statements. Debates on the subject were particularly lively in the early sixties when I myself was studying archive administration — and a variety of opinions found expression in the Society of Archivists' *Journal*. A member of the Public Record Office wrote in 1962, for example, that:

'... while it is true that the archivist's first responsibility is for the proper custody and arrangement of his records, he should not forget that his purpose is not some sort of archivist ideal — but to make accessible the raw material of history to the enquirer.' (15) A local-authority archivist responded, picking up a gardening metaphor:

'the archivist must share his treasures but he need not sacrifice everything on the altar put up by scholars, many of whom have no more idea of all that has to be done to bring documents to a state when they may be profitably used than they have of the skill and patience that goes into producing a perfect flower.' (16)

The rest of the decade saw the extensive deposit of semi-public and private archives in local repositories, the explosion of historically-based studies within the social sciences, the use of archives in education, and the improvement of reprographic techniques. The pace at which archives were generated, having already been deplored in the fifties, accelerated: the 'Battle of the Bulk' was joined. Moreover, the nature and form of records changed: documentation was no longer by paper alone, but by punched cards, films and magnetic tape. The pressure upon archivists, as they attempted to preserve and conserve both inherited and deposited archives and to sustain a role in education and the management of modern records, intensified. A measure of relief was provided in 1971 when the Society of Archivists produced a document defining the minimum standards under which a local-authority archive service should be required to operate. It established for the first time a primacy of obligation:

'The fundamental and primary responsibility of the archive service should be to the administration which it serves and of which it forms part.' (17) That fundamental responsibility' included the preservation and safe custody of archives; access for the public was described as an additional responsibility later in the document.

We are now approaching the end of a further decade and principles and practice are still under review. With more need, perhaps, than ever before. The 'Battle of the Bulk' still rages; one fashion in history and education chases after another; the reorganisation of local government has led to the re-planning of archive services; financial stringency has led to the postponement of many of the plans and has also brought a mercenary element

into the disposal of archives, and element of which it is difficult to approve. Most significant of all, however, is the widening potential of reprographic techniques and of automated systems for extracting, storing and reproducing information. Michael Cook, archivist of the University of Liverpool and author of the most recent manual of archive administration, published last year, states succinctly the impact of these upon Society's view of preservation.

'Whereas our predecessors believed that their principal objective was to preserve valuable archives for ever, we ... believe, rightly or wrongly, that posterity is close at hand, and that the useful lifetime of many informational instruments should be costed and calculated. The development of mechanical means of copying, of extracting information, the multiplication of documents and duplicates, the declining standard of permanence in the composition of paper and other media, have all eroded the sense of serving the long-term future, the uniqueness of the original document, the *species aeternitatis* which once we had.' (18)

Cook is the first of the British theorists to dispense with a primacy of principle. He defines the roles of the repository as acquisition, conservation and exploitation, and gives them parity. He would argue that he is but recognising a trend in practice; moreover, the emphasis of his comments is upon records of comparatively recent creation, rather than early rolls or charters. His views, in any case, have not yet found general acceptance. Security, if you will forgive the phrase, still rules OK.

I have quoted at length, not without the risk of tedium, from theories of archive administration in order to affirm that such theorising exists and to demonstrate that though Thomson's principles of Security and Accessibility have survived, it has not been without re-assessment and review in the light of new necessities.

Before I turn to the courses of action which the predominant principle of Security has dictated, may I put brief gloss upon the word by borrowing a sentence from Sir Hilary?

'The aim of the Archivist is to hand on to future generations the documents confided to him with no diminution in their evidential value'. (19) The dangers to which the evidential value of archivists might be vulnerable he categorised as 'Physical' and 'Moral'. The defense of archives against physical danger was a matter of storage and conservation; 'Moral Defence' involved description and arrangement, the creation of a methodology to preclude the inadvertent misrepresentation of archives - from an entire class to a single document - in terms of content or purpose. Physical defence involves administration and the application of technology; moral defence the meticulous investigation and balances judgement of scholarship; indeed, the elucidation of administrative forms and the arrangement of archives in a manner that accurately reflects them, is to me the essence of archival science, the archivist's principal contribution towards the advancement of knowledge.

In ensuring the physical security of archives, the archivist is concerned less with the prospect of deliberate violation than inadvertent damage. A not inconsiderable part of repository discipline is, in consequence, devoted to precaution rather than care. And rightly so. Each archive is the product of an administrative or executive transaction of which it itself formed part, and is as a result, unlike a printed book or any other source material that survives in a multiplicity of copies, unique. For this reason alone, access must be governed by caution. An archive's uniqueness, however, is often combined with fragility or an intrinsic obsolescence; the need for caution is thus intensified. A third

consideration makes caution more necessary still; since every method of conservation, no matter how carefully devised, tested and practised, includes some element of risk, damage to a margin, a corner or an edge may well put an entire document, unique in form, content and authenticity, at hazard. The implementation of this caution, however, presents the archivist with perhaps his most common dilemma; to prevent inadvertent damage to the archives he must impose restrictions upon the reader, restrictions that he knows will be inconvenient, restrictions that the reader may characterise as obstructive. Let me offer in illustration three restrictions that you will all have encountered.

The first, and most basic, is the insistence by most repositories on the use of pencil. This regulation is still a source of bewilderment to some visitors, like the Lincolnshire reader who wondered, when he encountered the rule:

'Is it because we might damage the table?' (20) Other readers accept that in the days of sputtering pens and leaking inkbottles - the era of the instruction to the Deputy Keeper in England that I quoted earlier and which itself insisted upon inquirers using pencil - the regulation may be appropriate; but, they argue that in an age of irreproachable Japanese ball-point and felt-tipped pens it is irrelevant. My experience, however, is that ink from both implements can adhere to a finger and a finger can leave a trace upon a page. What would the consequences be, were such an accident to occur in my own department? Were the smear to be in a margin or to obliterate an otherwise readily legible graph, I might simply annotate the descriptive list with a terse explanation. Were more of the writing to be obscured or the aesthetic effect of a calligraphic or illumined text to be impaired, then I might consider it necessary to have the smear removed. This might involve bleaching or the use of a solvent, treatments to be applied only by an experienced conservation officer in a properly equipped workshop. Since these facilities are not available in Aberdeen, I should have to transport the damaged item to Edinburgh, thereby exposing it to the hazards of three hours of travel, in addition to any risk to the stability of the original ink or the writing surface that the treatment might involve.

A second restriction, most commonly found in repositories where facilities for repair are limited or where they are still awaited, occurs when an archivist withholds certain archives as unfit for production. This can cause no little distress to the reader who is working to a deadline, not least if, in an earlier age of indifference or ignorance, the archives in question have been handled and used as evidence. But the archivist's predicament is equally distressing, especially when the archives show no obvious signs of frailty. He has then to ask the reader to accept his purely subjective opinion that an item that is physically intact may suffer irremediable damage from handling, possibly involving the loss of a portion of the text; and he has usually this assertion without producing the item in support.

A third restriction often encouraged in repositories is a limitation upon the number of items that may be consulted at one time. It is a restriction that genealogists, desiring to work back and forth within a long series of registers, frequently find unhelpful, especially in repositories in which the occasions for ordering are limited. Yet an unchecked flow of productions promoted risks much graver than the swollen ankles of the archivists who fetch and carry.

When I was a nervous young archivist, I was encouraged to become a nervous middle-aged archivist by an elderly attendant who would say, pointing to a trolley-load of archives:

'I never feel 'appy, sir, unless them things is all locked up. And even then' - and he would give a malevolent glance - 'there's acts o' God.'

It is undeniably true that once an archive leaves its shelf it is at risk, the most obvious hazard being loss or misplacement. It is thus essential that the amount of material in circulation be kept to the minimum and that every production be controlled by ordering procedures systematically and meticulously fulfilled; such procedures cannot be observed if the archivist is hurried or overburdened.

To explain why misplacement is such a hazard, some reminder of the physical form and the quantity of archives is necessary, particularly for those who are more familiar with archives in register form. A modest collection of family papers was recently deposited on loan in my apartment: it comprised six deed boxes; each held, I suppose, approaching twenty bundles of documents; each bundle contained on average forty pieces: over 4,500 pieces in all. I hold many collections that are smaller; several of the same size; some that are much, much more extensive. Although the pieces in such collections are eventually numbered, grouped within folders and placed in storage boxes it is still not impossible for one occasionally to stray (especially when repository staff, like those in my department, are subject to constant distractions) and, having strayed unnoticed, to be replaced with pieces of another collection in any of three thousand other boxes. No archivist is free from the dread of such an accident. The only safeguard is a procedure that requires checking before withdrawals and replacements, and a registry system that permits the tracing of past withdrawals. By limiting the flow of productions, archivists give themselves the time to carry out these checks and to observe the system and so reduce as much as possible the danger of misplacement.

The three restrictions that I have chosen as examples have in each case been imposed as precautionary measures by archivists for whom the security of the archives has taken priority over the convenience of the reader. Each measure had, in my own experience, elicited complaints from readers, from people whom I know to be incapable of knowingly damaging a document. What causes this sort of exchange? Sometimes pressure of time and events; sometimes, it must be admitted, the archivist's want of tact; but the underlying cause is, I believe, more serious. Readers, understandably engrossed in their research and its progress, temporarily assume that the archivist's primary duty is to them; that the records and the repository have a *raison d'être* the furtherance of their own researches. A perspective that any archivist moulded in the tradition of Thomson and Jenkinson will find regrettably distorted.

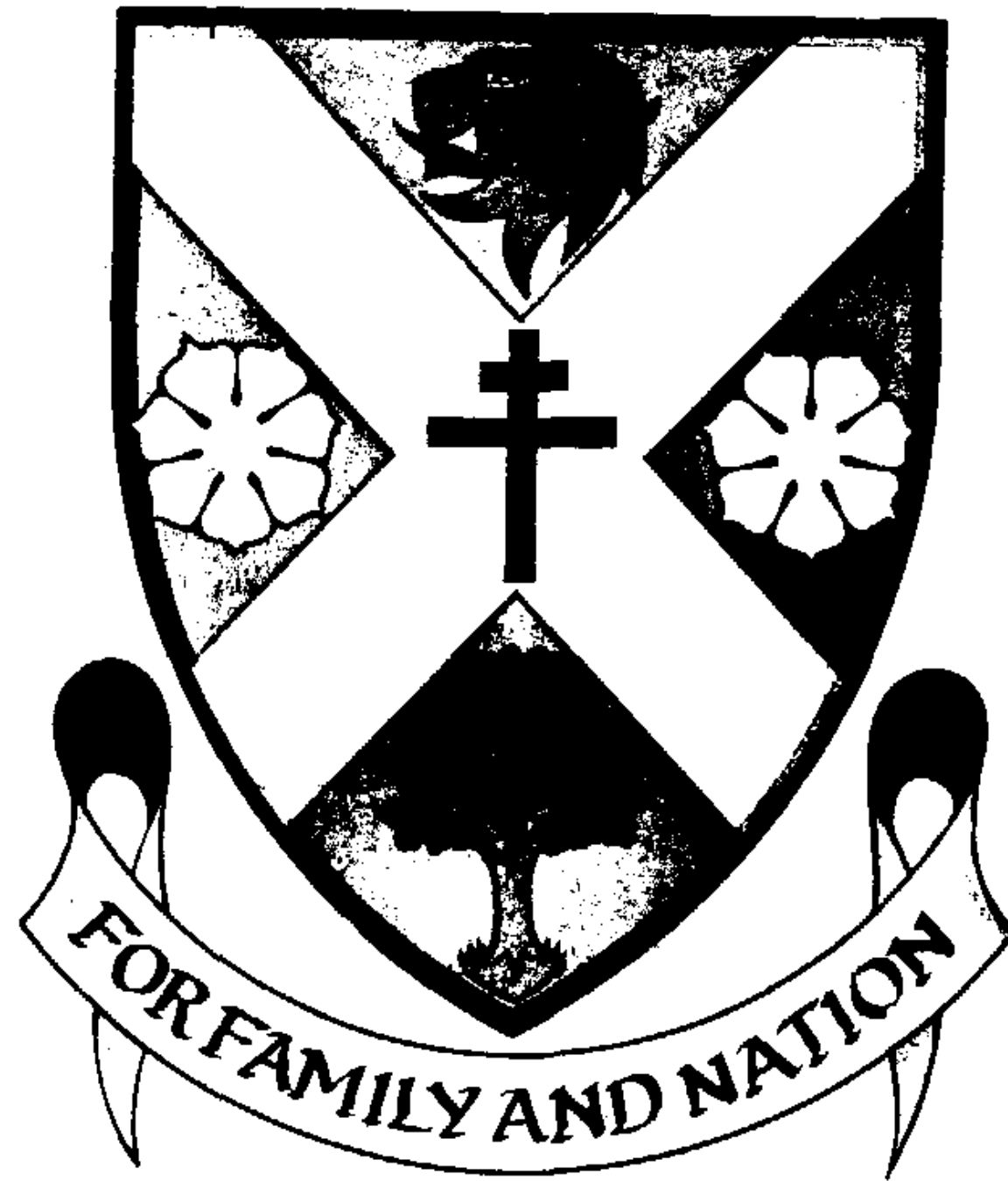
The distortion arises not only in the context of the physical defence of archives but in the implementation of that other Jenkinsonian coining, Moral Defence. You will recall the description of the 'modest' deposit that I recently received. Like every collection acquired by the department, it must eventually be arranged and listed. Each document must be unfolded, flattened and read; each piece or group of pieces must be described; and the collection as a whole must be arranged in the way that best represents the administrative processes by which it was created. This may take weeks, months or (in departments like my own where the work is constantly interrupted) years. It must be done systematically and meticulously, however, because it is, as I have remarked, the archivist's principal contribution to scholarship. Many archivists are beset not only by the difficulty of finding time in which to list incoming collections but by the problem of dealing with a backlog of inherited, unlisted material and the backlog is methodically reduced; and they are naturally reluctant to acquire material under any conditions that stipulate the completion of a list within a fixed time.

Yet it is not unknown for scholars who have enlisted the archivist's help in rescuing and preserving a collection that pertains to their own research to expect the archivist to interrupt his programme in order to provide them with a list of the rescued collection immediately. This is, perhaps, pardonable as temporary thoughtlessness occasioned by the excitement of discovery and rescue. It is more difficult, however, to condone their insistence, sometimes expressed as a right, to make use of the unsorted, unlisted material. An essential requirement of listing and arranging is the close study of the order in which a collection is first found - an apparently haphazard conjunction of archives may on consideration offer important evidence of their relationship; premature handling may lead to the destruction of such evidence. On a less exalted level, it is important as a matter of security that each piece of a collection be numbered in the process of sorting; to allow a reader access to an unnumbered collection, therefore, is to implicate him in any loss that might subsequently be discovered. In short once a collection has been placed in an archivist's custody, he will, if he can, ensure that until it has been sorted and numbered, it will remain inviolate. There is, of course, a time for compromise, a time when substitutes for the full descriptive list - the bundle list, the handlist, the marked-up survey - may be appropriate. But to multiply the number of such occasions at the expense of a systematic listing programme, to reduce to rudimentary clerking the scholarly application of archival science in listing and arrangement, by yielding to arbitrary demands for access, is a disservice to posterity. Herein, however, lies yet another dilemma for the archivist: how does he inform the discoverer or rescuer of a collection that his short-term needs have been set beside the long-term needs of posterity and have been found wanting? I have not, myself, discovered an appropriate turn of phrase.

I have offered examples of restrictions imposed to preserve the physical security of archives and their moral security. My last illustration is a restriction imposed to preserve both: a restriction upon the mobility of archives, their transmission beyond the repository for research or exhibition. When I spoke earlier of the hazards of transporting damaged archives from Aberdeen for repair in Edinburgh, you may have thought me guilty of over-statement. Yet a recent incident aptly justifies my fears. The kirk registers of the Border parish of Crailing were being transmitted by the minister to Register House. 'I had them', he told the reporter, 'in my daughter's car. I had gone to a meeting in Jedburgh and when I came out the car in the High Street had gone.' The car was missing for some time and when it was eventually recovered in Penzance, the records had vanished. Only by an extraordinary coincidence were they found, in Nottingham, and returned. (21) Archives lost in this way are not only vulnerable to defacement or destruction, they lose their authenticity, their essential evidential value that only an unbroken line of custody can provide. Clearly the Lord has His eye upon Old Parochial Registers as well as falling sparrows; archivists are unwilling, however, to assume a comparable interest on His part in school log-books or registers of deeds, and consider it judicious to reduce their mobility to the minimum.

My remarks hitherto have been intended to demonstrate that the primary principle of archive administration, respect for the physical and moral security of archives, inevitably places the archivist in a series of dilemmas: he must constantly make decisions of priority, even over such apparently trivial matters as writing implements, which may, when his motives are misunderstood or misjudged, expose him to charges of officiousness, obstruction and dilatoriness. Time prevents me from referring to other dilemmas that may confront him: deciding upon the amount of staff time that is to be devoted

TO ALL AND SUNDRY WHOM THESE PRESENTS DO OR MAY CONCERN



WE Sir James Monteith Grant, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, ❖❖❖
 Writer to Her Majesty's Signet, Lord Lyon King of Arms, send Greeting: Whereas, ❖
 Donald Whyte, Chairman, and Joan Primrose Scott Ferguson, Honorary Secretary of **THE** ❖❖
SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY, 9 Union Street, Edinburgh, having by Petition unto Us of
 date 3 February 1978, for and on behalf of the said Society, Shewn; **THAT** the said Society, which
 was founded at Edinburgh of date 30 May 1953 by a group of historians and genealogists as a non-
 profit-making academic and consultative body, was constituted to undertake the collection, ex-
 change, and publication of information and material of genealogical value, and to promote the ❖❖
 study of Scottish family history by means of meetings and lectures; **THAT** the said Society, which ❖
 this year celebrates its 25th Anniversary, has steadily increased in size and importance, having ❖
 over one thousand members in various countries of the world, throughout which they regularly pub-
 lish material of genealogical and heraldic interest; **AND** the Petitioners having prayed that there
 might be granted as for the said Scottish Genealogy Society such Ensigns Armorial as might be found
 suitable and according to the Laws of Arms, **KNOW YE THEREFORE** that We have Devised, and
 Do by These Presents Assign, Ratify and Confirm unto the Petitioners, for and on behalf of the Scottish
 Genealogy Society, the following Ensigns Armorial, as depicted upon the margin hereof, and matricu-
 lated of even date with These Presents upon the 108th page of the 59th Volume of Our Public ❖❖❖

Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, videlicet:—Azure, on a saltire Argent between in chief a lion's head erased Or, langued Gules, in base an oak tree fructed Or, and in each flank a septfoil Argent, a patriarchal cross Gules, and in an Escrol below the same this ❖❖
 Motto "FOR FAMILY AND NATION," by demonstration of which Ensigns Armorial the said Society is, amongst all Nobles and
 in all Places of Honour, to be taken, numbered, accounted and received as an Incorpora- tion Noble in the Noblesse of Scotland;
IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF We have Subscribed These Presents and the Seal of Our
 Office is affixed hereto at Edinburgh this 12th day of July in the 27th Year of the Reign of
 Our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth the Second, By the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom
 of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and of Her Other Realms and Territories, Queen,
 Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, and in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand
 Nine Hundred and Seventy eight.



James Monteith Grant
 Lyon.

written enquiries; deciding, in the context of acquisition or listing, between the conflicting demands of various branches of research; deciding, in the fixing of reprographic fees, between the interests of impoverished scholars and professional genealogists; deciding on issues of confidentiality; deciding on the merits of microfilming as opposed to storing ultimately disposable case-files ... The list is endless. I have concentrated, however, on dilemmas involving security and access because I believe that these are, and will continue to be, pernicious as the 'proper arrangements' for the care of local authority records stipulated in the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1973, are put into effect.

Although Thomas Thomson envisaged some form of local archives service in Scotland, it has taken a century and a half for the concept to be accepted and implemented. The services that has emerged since the re-organisation of local government is, at present, alas, fragmentary in coverage and uneven in scope. Five of the new regions, two island authorities, and five districts have established services employing a full-time archivist; in some districts, archives have simply been placed in libraries. The situation is not one over which those archivists who hoped for a national, or at least, regional service can become unduly elated. Some elements in it, however, are to be applauded. It must be remembered that the spirit of reorganisation in local government was inimical to the detailed superintendence by central government that would have been necessary for the establishment of the services most archivists advocated; nevertheless, discreet and informal intervention by the Scottish Record Office has subsequently been effective in stimulating activity in several areas. It must be remembered, too, that financial stringency in local government has inhibited initiatives that might otherwise by now have proved fruitful. There is, however, recognition that local archive services have a role in Scotland, not only for the custody of inherited but of deposited archives, a recognition that has received confirmation in the Scottish Record Office's policy of returning to the localities certain classes of archives hitherto held centrally; the right of inspection and approval that is implicit in this policy should guarantee that at least adequate standards of security and accessibility will be provided locally.

These gains notwithstanding, I find in the mixture of the practical, the pragmatic and the expedient that characterises many of the new local archives services at present, a source of some disquiet. I observe several similarities between these *ad hoc* arrangements and those that were created in the early days of the local archives service in England. Whereas the English arrangements were eventually refined until they satisfied the demands of principle as well as practicability, this was achieved in a less complex and more affluent era, in a country where such local services were traditionally favoured. Local archivists in Scotland, as they consolidate their position, are having to contend with inadequate funds and a greater variety of pressures, not least amongst them the changing view of permanence that Michael Cook described, which may be less than sympathetic towards the idea of investment for the benefit of posterity.

An essential feature of the growth of the English local archives services was compromise. The results were graphically described by the late Francis Steer in 1963 when he was county archivist of West Sussex.

'In the opinions of a good many people, an archivist is still a leisured antiquary who can be called upon to talk ... any ... organisation in need of someone to help fill in the year's programme. An archivist is still believed - in uninformed quarters - to be someone one whom you can call, usually without appointment, to tell you the history of your house, the descent of your family or the truth of a cherished local legend.

There has been a tendency for archivists to get in collections of documents, prepare a hasty handlist, and then invite people to come and use them; this has been all part of the 'building up of reputation' necessary to convince employers and public alike of the need for new offices.' (22)

In order to achieve the same objectives, local archivists in Scotland are having to compromise too. But they may find themselves in dilemmas over the extent of compromise that is desirable, the extent to which accessibility should be promoted at the expense of security. May I suggest three such dilemmas involving respectively physical security, moral security, and security generally.

The elderly attendannt to whom I referred earlier was far from correct in believing that archives were safe when they were locked up. Unless conditions in muniment rooms meet certain standards, (22) archives are exposed to dangers as great as those beyond the locked doors. Few local archivists in Scotland would confess themselves satisfied with their present storage accommodation; most would agree that nothing short of purpose-designed, air-conditioned sotrage, in which the circulating air is filtered and its temperature and humidity controlled, is truly acceptable. This they are unlikely to acquire within the next decade. The purpose of such accommodation is preventative; archivists also require the curative facilities of conservation workshops. Very few of Scotland's local archives services have them. This is unsurprising, since the cost of establishing facilities for traditional conservation methods alone, though not exorbitant, is conveniently noticeable; some of the exciting new techniques, both preventative and curative, cost more; and repair materials are a recurrent expense of far from negligible proportions. Thomas Thomson, however, had little doubt that it was money well spent:

'The operations of repairing a great many of the more ancient Records ... were obviously of a tedious and expensive sort; but, in comparison with the obvious advantages of the measure, that expense cannot be regarded as any objection, or even as any serious obstacle to its execution ...' (24)

In the current financial climate, local archivists will have to develop ultra-Thomsonian tenacity and persuasiveness if they are to acquire the facilities for storage and conservation that are desirable.

Their dilemma lies in arousing and retaining local public support for these goals. If accessibility is made too much a condition of support, if it is made the exclusive object of local action, there is a danger that enthusiasm will be dissipated once the minimum requirements for security have been achieved and access is assured. An over-restrictive policy in the repository in these circumstances may simply erode any reservoir of goodwill; an over-permissive policy may promote complacency.

My second example, involving the moral security of deposited archives, also arises from considerations of the country's less-than-affluent position. Private archives are not viewed by their owners with increasing frequency as a form of chattel, an asset to be manipulated as a source of revenue by outright sales or to be offset against capital transfer tax. For as long as private archives are deposited in local archives services on loan, the possibility exists that they may be subsequently withdrawn by the depositor and their value as a chattel exploited. Archivists, in consequence, must decide whether they will continue to accept collections as anything other than gifts; and whether collections have been emphasised as a means of inducing local support for an archives service, then a further dilemma may arise: the archivist may find his freedom of decision in such cases gravely circumscribed by his commitment to accessibility.

My third example, involving both the physical and the moral security of archives,

concerns a subject that I have already introduced, mobility. In the discussions that preceded the establishment of local archives services, mobility was more than once advocated as the solution to the problem of access in remote areas. Schemes were proposed involving the regular transmission of archives from, say, a regional repository, for consultation, say, in a branch library. More recently the mobility of archives has been advocated as a contribution towards the security and accessibility of those in private hands. It has frequently been observed that while the efforts of the NRA(S) have made available a considerable quantity of information about private holdings, access to the collections is sometimes a source of problems, ranging from the inconvenience experienced by owners, to the unscholarly habits of some researchers who fail to leave the archives as the NRA(S) and subsequent scholars would wish to find them. It has been suggested that local archives services might offer the facilities of their reading-rooms for the consultation of such collections, thus sparing the owner inconvenience and ensuring the proper treatment of the archives.

I do not think that I need to expand upon the archivists's dilemma here, save to say that it is heightened by the undoubted merits of the second scheme as a means of ensuring the physical security of private archives. Nevertheless, the archivist who accedes under pressure to a policy of anything but the absolute minimum of mobility, takes upon himself a heavy burden.

At this point I am aware that my paper has assumed a note of Strindbergian gloom, my preoccupation with dilemmas, both present and future, has had all levity of a Later Russian Novel. Let me then introduce one ray, at least, of light. There is, I believe, a solution to some, at any rate, of the local archivist's dilemmas. It lies in what I have already indicated as a feature of the decade, the rapidly expanding potential of reprography and of the automated processing of information. Between them, these present the means by which a number - by no means all, by no means many - but a number of classes of archives that are presently the subject of heavy use may be made accessible without any further threat to their security. The reader, as Dr. Munro, our chairman, has written, finds that microfilm makes the systematic use of records less than convenient; and it will be some time, perhaps, before he feels entirely confident in the reliability of computer-generated indices. The archivist, too, has only limited toleration for the *inadequacies of microfilm and is more than aware of the deficiencies of information retrieval systems when applied to archives*. But microfiches and reader-printers have already reduced some of the inconveniences of microfilm and is more than aware of the deficiencies of information retrieval systems when applied to archives. But microfiches and reader-printers have already reduced some of the inconveniences of microforms, and the adaptability of the computer improves almost by the hour. I have only to remind you of the facilities at the Centre for Genealogical Research at Salt Lake City to indicate what might be achieved when the appropriate software and hardware for extended archival applications have been developed; while the use of microforms in Canadian archives - for dissemination among repositories and even for loans to libraries - reveals an effective answer to some at least of the dilemmas in which security seems otherwise irreconcilable with access. (25) To avoid any misunderstanding, however, let me emphasise that I am not advocating the widespread use of microforms or ADP in their existing states; much of the hostility to these techniques stems from the inconvenience and dissatisfaction that has arisen from their premature introduction. We must wait until we are sure that the techniques can provide elegant solutions to our

problems. I would submit, however, that the waiting-time might be reduced were both archivists and users to involve themselves more actively in current research in these fields and were they to exercise more influence on the commercial exploitation of it. The ICA has a committee on microforms, but there is more that might be done at a national level. Several repositories, not least among them the Scottish Record Office, have invested time and effort in computer applications; but I should like to see this become less an interest, more a preoccupation.

All that, however, is in the future. In the meantime, local archivists must nurse their services through their infancy, must compromise, must face dilemma. They may feel, as I do, that Jenkinson is right:

'The Archivist ... is the servant of his Archives first and afterwards of the student Public.' (26)

They may have considerable difficulty, however, in adhering to this principle. For, if I may quote the wry but reasonable remark of the last of our major archival theorists, Felix Hull, the county archivist of Kent:

'... our troublesome public have not read Jenkinson.' (27)

It is for this reason that I accepted your society's invitation to give an address. Partly in order to say something of Jenkinson, his predecessors and his successors; partly to expose the dilemmas that adherence to their principles promotes. My purpose is to elicit not sympathy for the archivist but understanding. As a bystander, I could not but feel that such understanding was lacking in the response of some of your members to the episode of the microfilming of Old Parochial Registers. In contrast, the means by which you have embarked upon the establishment of local Family History Groups, by involving local archivists at the beginning of your discussions, augurs well for the development of such understanding in the future. Moreover, you have most generously welcomed an archivist to your 25th Conference and have afforded him the courtesy of making an *apologia pro sua vita*. My remarks have been frank, but not I trust strident. If they themselves have been a contribution to understanding between us, then I may in some measure have repaid your kindness.

C. A. McLaren
Archivist & Keeper of Manuscripts
University of Aberdeen

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3. J. Imrie and G. G. Simpson, 'The local and private archives of Scotland', *Archives*, iii (1957-8), 136-9.
4. *Second annual report of the Deputy Clerk Register (= ARDCR), 1808*, 5.
5. *First ARDCR, 1807*, 48.
6. *Memoir of Thomas Thomson, advocate*, Bannatyne Club (1854), 106.
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17. 'Recommendations for local government archive services', *ibid.* iv (1970-3), 349.
18. M. Cook, *Archives administration* (1977), 4.
19. Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, 68.
20. *The Newsletter of the Society of Archivists*, no. 2 (July 1977), 6.
21. *The Scotsman*, 27 July 1978; I am grateful to my colleague Dr. G. G. Simpson for bringing this item to my attention.
22. Steer, *op. cit.*, 316, 317.
23. See, e.g. British Standards Institution, 'Recommendations for storage and exhibition or archival documents', BS5454:1977.
24. *Fourth ARDCR, 1810*, 14.
25. Ex inf. Dr. J. Imrie, Keeper of the Records of Scotland, whose kindness in discussing matters treated in this paper is gratefully acknowledged.
26. Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, 124.
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HERALDRY IN SCOTLAND

Heraldry, properly so-called, covers all the interests, duties and functions of a Herald and thus includes ceremonial and genealogy in addition to what so many people think is synonymous with heraldry, i.e. armory. This morning we shall be principally concerned with armorial bearings or, as they are more generally known, coats of arms. We shall have a relatively short period of time at our disposal and I propose to talk briefly about the following aspects of heraldry in Scotland:-

1. The Heraldic Executive and Administration in Scotland;
2. Cadency or differencing, and
3. Problems that arise in relation to the acquisition of Scottish arms by those not domiciled or resident in Scotland.

1. The Heraldic Executive and Administration in Scotland

The chief of Scotland's heraldic and genealogical executive is the Lord Lyon King of Arms. I would emphasise that Lyon is not an official in the department of the Earl Marshal but is himself a Great Officer who is responsible for many important functions which in England are shared between the Earl Marshal and other departments. The Lord Lyon was described in a Commission of 1620 as "King of His Maist Excellent Majesties Armes" and it has been said of Lyon that "No Herald in Europe exercised such powers of jurisdiction, was vested with such high dignity, or possessed so high a rank. In his armorial jurisdiction, Lyon stands in place of the King". All this is essentially true today. The Royal Prerogative in relation to armorial bearings has by sundry Statutes been assigned to the Lord Lyon King of Arms, and so today the Sovereign does not grant or assign armorial bearings but addresses an appropriate Warrant to Lyon so that he may do so.

Lyon has both judicial functions and ministerial functions. When Lyon is exercising the Royal Prerogative, i.e. granting or confirming ensigns armorial, he is acting in a ministerial capacity and his decisions when acting in that capacity cannot be appealed to a higher court unless in exercise of his ministerial powers he invades the right of another. When Lyon considers petitions for matriculation of differenced versions of arms previously recorded, or a petition to make up progress of title to undifferenced arms (i.e. the eldest son of an eldest son seeking confirmation in the undifferenced arms of his grandfather) or is hearing a dispute as to who is entitled to what arms, then he is acting judicially and if the Petitioner is not happy with Lyon's decision and Interlocutor, he may appeal to the Court of Session, the Supreme Civil Court in Scotland, and if the Petitioner is not happy with the decision of that forum an appeal may be made therefrom to the House of Lords.

Lyon also exercises a penal jurisdiction in-so-far as it is an offence in Scotland to use and display armorial bearings to which one is not entitled, and at present the penalty for such unlawful use of armorial bearings is a maximum fine of £100. It should be borne in mind that an interdict may be granted, i.e. a decree forbidding the further use of the unlawful arms, and if the individual proceeded to use the unlawful arms in the face of such an interdict it would amount to contempt of court and of course the penalty for such contempt is unlimited.

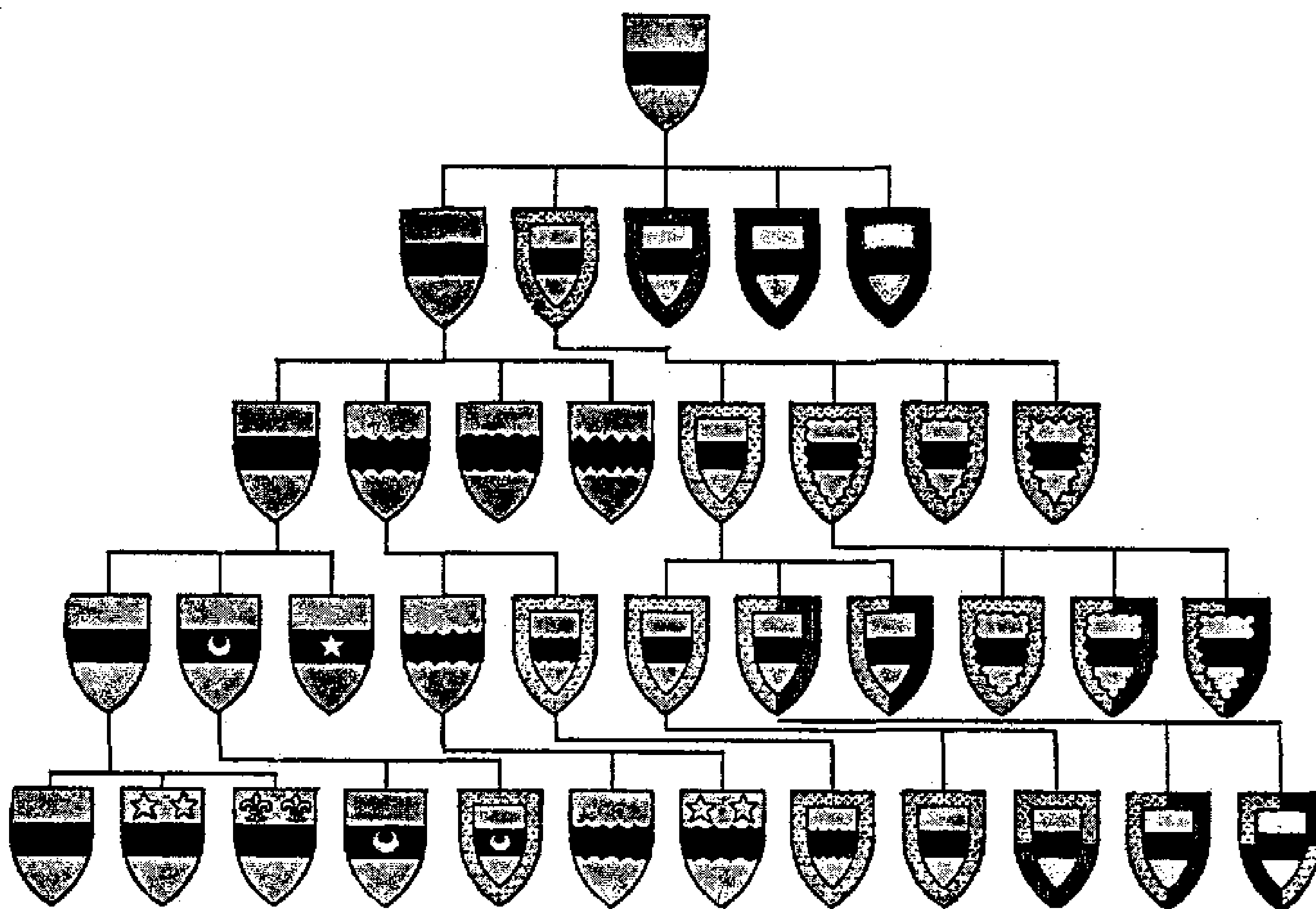
Lyon has to assist him in his various duties three Heralds and three Pursuivants. These Officers of Arms may help him in relation to ceremonial, may help and advise their clients who may wish to petition Lyon for various armorial rights, etc., but with regard to his ministerial and judicial duties Lyon acts alone. In former times one found references to "Lyon and his brither heraulds", etc., but in the 1938 Ardgour case it was clearly laid down that Lyon does carry out his judicial and ministerial functions himself. To assist Lyon in the day-to-day running of the Court of the Lord Lyon or Lyon Office, he has the Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records, who has previously usually been either a Pursuivant or a Herald. Apart from seeing that Lyon's Interlocutors and Warrants are effected and that the arms are entered in the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland in obedience to Lyon's Warrants and Interlocutors, Lyon Clerk is generally available to meet with and correspond with members of the public who may be interested in pursuing a petition for armorial bearings. If only Lyon Clerk's correspondence and the business of those who call at the office were so narrowly confined! In practice his advice and help has been available on a far wider range of topics.

It should be emphasised that neither Lyon nor Lyon Clerk have any professional interest in the fees that are charged. The fees are more correctly described as "Exchequer Dues" and form part of the Inland Revenue, Lyon and Lyon Clerk being paid salaries. This is a very important consideration and I think those of us who work in the administration of heraldry in Scotland are very grateful for the 1867 Lyon King of Arms Act, which laid down that all fees taken in Lyon Office were to be Exchequer Dues. Thus there can at no time be any conflict of interest. Whether a person was to receive a grant of supporters or not, or any other additaments (or indeed whether the Petitioner was to receive arms at all) would not affect the personal financial interests of the Officers of the Court. I am sure that this arrangement with regard to the fees and Dues has gone a long way to contribute to the esteem and high regard in which the Court and its actings are held by the people of Scotland and by those who have dealings with it from abroad.

The other crucial feature of the administration of heraldry is the public nature of the administration of the Law of Arms in Scotland. Lyon's Decrees and Warrants are public. In more complex cases Lyon is obliged to give his findings in both fact and law and also to issue an Opinion. From time to time these are reported in the "Scots Law Times" and over the years a considerable *corpus* of decisions has been built up. Thus members of the public can determine how the Law of Arms has been built up and can with some confidence know what Lyon may or may not do from what successive Lyons have done. The other important consideration is that the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, established immediately following the Act of 1672, cap. 47, is a public Register of Arms and any member of the public may on payment of the appropriate statutory fee demand to inspect the appropriate Volume of this Register. Indeed, the Lyon Office has gone further and to show that there is no element of hoarding of information I would point out that descriptions of the shields recorded in the Public Register are contained in Balfour Paul's "Ordinary, 1672-1902" and in the "Ordinary of Arms, 1902-73". These volumes are widely available in public and reference libraries and thus most members of the public can at no cost discover what shields have been recorded for those individuals and bodies who have recorded armorial bearings in Lyon Register between 1672 and 1973. I do not think that more need be said to emphasise the open nature of the administration of the Law of Arms in Scotland.

2. Cadency or Differencing

In Scots heraldry there is no such thing as a "family coat of arms". This statement may come as a surprise to many. The influence of the Clan system or Family system has been responsible for this. The Chief of the Clan or Head of the Family owns the undifferenced armorial bearings and a very attractive display of the better-known Chiefly arms are to be found on the map "Scotland of Old", prepared by Sir Iain Moncreiffe of that Ilk and Don Pottinger. Those who are descended from the Chief and whose relationship to the Chief is known (i.e. determinate cadets) will have the arms of the Chief differenced with their due and congruent difference. To give some idea of how the differencing proceeds, an abbreviated form of the Fraser/Stodart Scheme of Differencing may be shown as follows:—



The Scheme shows a few of the variations only but illustrates how the undifferenced arms descend to successive Chiefs of the Clan or Family and how subsidiary branch arms descend to and represent each head of a cadet house. Those whose relationship to the Chief is not known (i.e. indeterminate cadets) will receive arms which contain elements of the Chiefly arms but which will also be fairly heavily differenced. They will nevertheless be recognisably similar to those of the Chief. This is also an important distinction between Scots heraldry and many other systems of heraldry. In some systems one can have two people of the same name having armorial bearings which have no element in common. The parts of armorial bearings consist of (a) the shield containing

the basic device, (b) the helmet with the crest which sits on top of the helmet, (c) motto in a scroll, (d) the mantling or cape which in early times kept the sun off the armour in hot weather, and (e) very rarely, two supporters, one on either side of the shield (or, very exceptionally, a single supporter) which are external attributes of the arms of Chiefs, Peers and a very few other persons of special importance, including Knights Grand Cross of Orders. It should perhaps also be emphasised that many journalists and others refer to a crest when they mean shield or the whole achievement. Furthermore, there is no such thing as a "Clan coat of arms". The arms are those of the Chief and clansmen have only the privilege of wearing the strap-and-buckle crested badge to show they are the Chief's clansmen and that they are loyal followers of the Chief.



The crest of the Chief is worn by all members of the Clan and of approved Septs and followers of the Clan, within a strap and buckle surround bearing the Chief's motto. This **crest-badge** is for **personal wear** only, to indicate that the wearer is a member of the Clan whose Chief's crest-badge is being worn.

In England arms were in former times differenced by the Kings of Arms but over the last 200–300 years the Kings of Arms have either failed to difference at all or have differenced the arms in rather a perfunctory manner by putting in the odd crescent, star, and so forth. However, in recent years the Heraldry Society (of England) has been holding conferences, etc., and one of the demands or suggestions that continually comes forward after such conferences is a demand that the Kings of Arms of England should look again at the whole question of differencing with a view to introducing it again in England. So far it would appear that such pleas have fallen on deaf ears. However, in the editorial of a recent edition of that Society's publication 'The Coat of Arms', John Brooke-Little, Richmond Herald of Arms, reported that at a previous Congress "all those present had criticised the present system, if such it can be called, of cadency in England and had voted for a less ambiguous, more detailed but quite workable system. At the recent Congress similar feelings were expressed, but it was thought that, as an essential first step, the Kings of Arms be asked to define the precise purpose of cadency. For example, if the maxim 'one man, one coat' is accepted, then the present system of cadency is unworkable. On the other hand, if brisures are there to be used only when deemed necessary on a more or less *ad hoc* basis, we can probably muddle along with the odd crescent, quatrefoil, or whatever". Scots heraldry has never fallen into such a state of disorganisation and we must be glad that successive Lyons have never allowed it to do so. Our system of differencing is the envy of all other heraldic administrations.

One problem, however, that is looming for consideration by those interested in Scots heraldry is that up to now the differences have only been allowed for, or reserved for, the male descendants. It has always been open for ladies to come forward and

matriculate arms with congruent differences but they have not been allowed for as male sons have been allowed for when a younger son seeks a matriculation. There are difficulties in this problem as of course at present under the law the males of one generation are preferred to the females of that generation, though if we look at Scandinavia it may not be long before the issue will be deemed to succeed in the order in which they are born. I think there is legislation proposed in Sweden to the effect that the Crown of that country will be succeeded to by the issue of the Sovereign in the order in which they are born. It is quite possible that this concept will be extended to other property rights and honours and that the idea might find general acceptance in Northern Europe.

3. Problems that arise in relation to the acquisition of Scottish Arms by those not domiciled or resident in Scotland.

At present Lyon will be pleased to consider petitions for grants of arms from citizens of the Commonwealth. For those who are not citizens of the Commonwealth but are citizens of other countries, such as the United States of America, in normal circumstances Lyon does not grant arms to such. However, sometimes other avenues are open. Sometimes there is still a cousin domiciled in Scotland to whom the arms can be granted with a destination extending to other descendants of a great-grandfather or suchlike, which brings that person resident in the foreign country within the destination and who is thus able to petition Lyon for a matriculation (not a grant), i.e. a recording of a differenced version of the arms already recorded for the Scottish domiciled cousin. In the United States of America it is sometimes possible to prove descent from an ancestor living in one of the British Colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence, in which case a posthumous grant to such ancestor may be possible with a subsequent matriculation off that grant.

Many of those of British descent in Canada, Australia and New Zealand have sought arms from the appropriate authority, for those of Scots descent — the Lord Lyon. For those of English or Welsh descent the English Kings of Arms are approached, and for those of Irish descent, the Chief Herald of Ireland. However, separate Heraldry Societies have been formed in each of these former Dominions, which are now Realms and there is evidently an increasing desire for separate heraldic administrations in these Realms. We who administer heraldry in Scotland appreciate such aspirations and hope that in due course such administrations are formed. In a sense it may mean some slight loss of business for ourselves, though this need not necessarily prove to be the case, but what I think we are concerned with is that, if such administrations are set up, they are set up in a workable and principled manner and we think that there is no better system of administration that can be followed than that which is practised in Scotland. We are aware that we have a fine system of heraldry and a fine system of heraldic administration, and we are very much aware that we cannot just sit back and be self-satisfied. If our system of administration is to be the basis on which other systems are to be built, then we must talk about it, write about it in appropriate journals and go out to these countries and convince the appropriate people of the merits of our system. If we do not do this, I fear that these Realms will have foisted on them Colleges or Bureaux without the benefits of a scientific system of differencing, and I think that would be a pity.

Questions, Possible Topics for Discussion:—

1. Are we happy with the present system of differencing used in Scotland?
What possible modifications might be introduced to take account of the position of women in the Family?
2. Should the lozenge (diamond-shaped shield) be retained in Scots Heraldry for displaying the arms of a lady?
Does the lozenge, generally speaking, distort the arms to too great an extent?
3. Problems concerning the establishment of heraldic administration in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The Lyon Clerk, after presenting his paper, explained the different functions of the Lord Lyon. In his Judicial capacity he was a Sovereign Judge with power to overturn his own decisions. His Judicial decisions were subject to review by the Court of Session and House of Lords. In his Ministerial capacity he was exercising the Royal Prerogative in relation to armorial bearings (assigned to him by various Statutes) and when acting so his decisions could not normally be reviewed by the superior Courts. A coat of arms established by Letters Patent might best be regarded as an incorporeal fief.

Lyon Clerk explained that arms were above all a means of identification and that the Scottish system of differencing to show cadency was a distinct improvement on the English system. If the heirs to the Chiefly arms were utterly lost and had been so for a very considerable time, it was possible for a Chief to be selected from an *ad hoc* *gilfine* consisting of the armigerous and landed men of the Clan and the Chiefly arms might be confirmed unto such a selected person.

Arms, like titles, descended in accordance with a destination and where the representation of a family and a peerage dignity were involved, unless the destination of the arms was arranged to coincide with that of the peerage dignity, it was conceivable that the arms indicating Representership or Headship of a family might descend on a different line from that of a peerage dignity.

Lyon did not normally grant armorial bearings to citizens of non-Commonwealth countries. Certain difficulties were again arising in relation to jurisdiction in the Commonwealth. The English Kings of Arms had for many years claimed an Imperial jurisdiction. Why this was so was always a mystery, as England and Scotland were equal partners in the Union of 1707. The College had recently persuaded the New Zealand Government to advise the Queen, as Queen of New Zealand, to sign a Warrant authorising the Earl Marshal of England (without any interponing of the authority of the Sovereign of the United Kingdom) to appoint a New Zealand Herald Extraordinary, who it appears is to refer all those who seek arms (although they may be of Scots descent and followers of such Chiefs as Lochiel) to the College of Arms and thus be made English gentlemen.

With the growth of "Women's Lib." questions were arising as to the right to arms of ladies. Up to now they were recognised as having a courtesy right to their father's arms while unmarried but many now wish a substantive right to arms of their own. He did not like the practice of depicting the arms of ladies on lozenges as this distorted the arms, especially if they were quartered. He favoured a shield of oval form.

When asked about Seals he urged that work be undertaken to find out more about the use of Seals in early times. Frequently these were non-armorial. The individual seal was supposed to be broken or defaced on the owner's death since it was equivalent to his personal signature, but frequently it was used for several generations. Often the Seals were beautifully made and most attractive.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

by Alison Mitchell.

When the Scottish genealogist wants to research the manuscript sources almost all he needs is in Edinburgh, but for the stonemason sources of gravestones and marriage lintels he has to travel far, often to unfrequented places, slashing through nettles and stepping over bog. Burial grounds may be older than the first Christian foundations. A circular boundary wall suggests great antiquity. While chapels and churches have been built, decay, are re-built and re-sited, and while parish boundaries have been shifted and re-shifted, the burial grounds may remain in use, very often with a church ruin adapted to be the mausoleum for a leading family.

Burial grounds without a roofed church are very unlikely to be shown on the Ordnance Survey 1" or metric maps and, if planning a comprehensive district survey, the searcher should scan the 6" Ordnance maps of the 1850's and 1860's (available in the Map Section of the National Library of Scotland at 137 Causewayside, Edinburgh 9). This is especially useful in locating small family burial grounds in private estates. In the Highlands a clue is the Gaelic word "cladh", meaning cemetery.

Of course many Victorian cemeteries which opened after the Burial Grounds (Scotland) Act of 1855, even as late as the 1880's, contain family stones which commemorate relatives who died before 1.1.1855 or who died overseas. Scanning ranks of polished granite headstones may be very tedious, but it should not be ignored. Dundee's Eastern Necropolis opened in 1863, detailed over 175 pre-1855 deaths going back to 1816.

The Calvinist First Book of Discipline instructed the congregations to bury their dead in church yards, but this was only complied with to a limited extent. In the terrible times of plague of course the plague-smitten poor were often taken out of the towns and buried where they died without any memorial at all (though in Old Machar parish a single stone in a field commemorates a farmer and his wife who died in 1647 - one year in which plague swept through Scotland). However, in general after John Knox the parish burials were supervised by the Kirk Sessions and this supervision varied. At Brechin the Kirk Session in 1619 decided that "no dittum be engraven upon stones till the session see it"; in 1676 the session set a scale of charges for the erection of stones to deter overcrowding of the Kirkyard. Kirk Session records often survive, of burial and mortcloth hire charges, known variously as lair books, sexton's books, beadle's or ground officer's books. Some of these are now with the Old Parish Registers with the Registrar General, some with the Church Records in the Scottish Record Office, but it is worth enquiring if any are available for inspection locally. There were also a few burial grounds supervised by non-conformists, Roman, Episcopal, secession, quaker and Jewish congregations, and these also may have lair books. The books reveal how few of those burials, before the advent of Victorian mortuary piety, are now represented by an inscription on stone.

Thus a searcher should never be optimistic about finding any family's memorial inscription dated before the mid-19th century. Through the middle ages larger shaped stones seem to have been used as grave markers or possibly as flat slabs to deter wild animals from exhuming the corpses, but the most coveted place of burial was within the church itself. Only in the second half of the 16th century did the really wealthy begin to commission inscribed and decorated tombs out of doors, seldom with an effigy but usually with a marginal inscription, armorial bearings and emblems of mortality, a pious text, and initials of members of the family arranged symmetrically. This pattern,

more or less, was copied on flat and coped slabs, on table and chest tombs, by a growing proportion of landowners and tradesmen and was then adapted to the cheaper headstones until by the end of the 18th century small tenant farmers, millers, weavers, wrights and (of course) masons were the bulk of the erectors. However, until late Victorian times only a minority of Scots would be mentioned in gravestone inscriptions.

Within two generations of erection the earlier stones seem to have been extensively pillaged. Cromwell did it systematically in Greyfriars ground at Perth. At Dundee's Howff, where there were no regulations at all until 1821, stones were taken to top walls to line a canal in the Meadows and build bridges across it, etcetera, and like all crowded urban grounds it was cleared periodically to make room for new headstones. Only after Sir Walter Scott had aroused some historical conscience among the literate did there begin to be some sentiment for the preservation of old things. A few local antiquaries even began to list the inscriptions in their local graveyards. (Mary Ann Semple as a schoolgirl in Paisley in 1850; William Sievwright in Perth in the 1880's; Erskine Beveridge in Fife in the 1880's; Rev. Charles Rogers throughout lowland Scotland in 1872; Andrew Jervise throughout northeast Scotland all his life; David Christison; John Macgregor in Perthshire, 1890-1933; Sydney Cramer in Angus in the 1950's; John Smith in Lanarkshire in the 1910's; successive editors of that best-seller Monteith's *An Theater of Mortality* from 1704 - 1854; and many others.) These lists comprise newspaper cuttings, mss and limited editions, and no doubt librarians and archivists may discover private lists made all over Scotland. As destruction of stones by man and weather continues into the 1970's every effort should be made to compare these old lists with the newest lists.

The Scottish Genealogy Society's immense work of indexing the maximum amount of genealogical information must necessarily ignore other aspects of the stones, but we must not forget that gravestones are of interest in many other disciplines: social history, history of art, calligraphy, symbolism, geology, ecology and of course to sculptors. The SGS's needs do not require the meticulous recording methods advocated by the Council for British Archaeology but we should be careful not to leave stones damaged by our eagerness to decipher names and dates. A wet plastic or bristle brush, a wooden scraper, a good light and reflector and *patience* should clarify an inscription without any need for metal brushes and metal scrapers which must abrade all stone, even granite. Incidentally a rime of frost will clarify writing on a flat stone better than anything, but few genealogists are out in the field on midwinter mornings!

It is methodical to map the burial ground (with true north at the upper edge) and to survey the graves in their lines and/or sections. Those who follow with the sketch map can thus locate an individual stone easily even though its inscription may be almost illegible. In any case the map is essential for genealogical research as many families accumulate adjacent stones. By observing the neighbourliness of stones the searcher can often deduce ramifications of family relationships.

An attempt should be made to gain access to the church to examine both wall and (rare) floor memorials. Occasionally the kirk session have brought indoors an outside gravestone for preservation in the vestry. Binoculars are sometimes useful for deciphering mural tablets set high up.

The examination of stones out of doors can be strenuous. At least urban polluted air (or Speyside distillery smoke) prevents the growth of lichens, but in the countryside the crustose lichens can mask all inscriptions; the grey *Ochrolechia* and *Lecanora* and the yellow *Xanthoria* are very difficult to remove. If the lichen is first soaked in

water, the outer surface of small judiciously selected patches can be gently scraped to expose the required information of names and dates. Deciphering a lichen infested graveyard like Alves in Moray can increase the expected hours of work fivefold, and in dry weather it may be impossible. In any case, a watering-can is an essential part of the searcher's equipment.

Real frustration occurs when a flat slab with marginal inscription (usually 17th century) has been tipped up like a headstone to ease the grass cutters work. "Heir lyes ane honest godly man callit ..." is readable, but to get the name, occupation, place and dates a 2 foot segment of earth must be cut away. If the stones have been embedded in concrete, as at Monifeith, nothing can be done. So long as a flat slab remains flat and not more than a few inches below the grass, the turf above can be gently sliced and rolled back temporarily. Charles Darwin calculated that worm action would sink a stone into the earth at the rate of 1 inch in 5 years and no doubt many early grave slabs are now 3 or more feet underground. The hot summer of 1972 so bleached the grass at Dunblane Cathedral that by digging into the yellowed patches 51 hitherto unsuspected stones were discovered, but this was heavy work requiring the Burgh Surveyor's permission.

The searcher should record all initials on the stone. For instance, a Scottish pattern of

	IS	♥	MB
I		EG	S
A			S
M			S
la			S

may represent the family of, say, John Smith, his first wife Mary Brown, his second wife Elspet Green, and his children (in order of birth) John, Ann, Mary and James Smith.

The searcher should also be familiar with trade emblems. These are a clue to the occupation of either the commemorated or of the erector of the stone. (See Willscher & Hunter: "Stones".)

Generally the SGS lists of inscriptions include only those where one or more members of the family have died before 1.1.1855, and then include adjacent inscriptions where members of the same family have died - even as late as 1978; but where the graveyard is small and difficult of access it is worth recording all inscriptions regardless of date. It should be remembered that in many parts of the world deaths were not registered until recently, or the records have been destroyed. Deaths at sea went unrecorded. Thus it is helpful to list those inscriptions with deaths of emigrants and sailors for long after 1855.

Although the SGS has abbreviated their lists for economy of time and paper it is better to be generous. It is also better to record each inscription in toto with the original spelling. Uncertain readings *must* be indicated.

The searcher's own list should be compared with any earlier list and differences between the two should be re-checked at the site and noted. The final list should also include "lost" inscriptions which were not actually seen, and all surnames should be indexed. If a regional list is being made it is well worth making a comprehensive index of surnames and place names.

The editing of the results of the field search is time-consuming and should not be skimmed, and so much hard work deserves appreciation. Unless copies are deposited

in the major reference libraries of Britain, America and Australasia as well as with the neighbourhood library, the work will be wasted. At least 20 copies should be made, and probably 300 copies can be sold without commercial help.

Conservation of Scottish memorials could be vastly improved. Unfortunately the tidying of burial grounds by district councils (recently with Job Creation Schemes) and voluntary groups often removes the protection of moss, shrubberies and turf from the stone carvings. The Ancient Monuments Department of the Dept. of the Environment has recently restored a gravestone at Dryburgh with a little judicious incision and conserved the stone with invisible silicone ester. This would seem preferable to the 18th and 19th century custom of painting the stones or the 19th century custom of oiling them (see Lamb and Hutcheson's appeal for the restoration of the Howff in 1881), and SGS members may like to recommend this method for gravestones in their own districts. Advice on the preservation of stones can be obtained from the Department of the Environment, Stenhouse Conservation Centre, 3 Stenhouse Mill Lane, Edinburgh.

In any case, members of the SGS could usefully exercise great vigilance in safeguarding our graveyards. The Town and Country Planning Act (1948) and the Registrar General's directive of 1971 are inadequate in preserving even the most cursory summary of the most legible inscriptions in the deliberately destroyed grounds, and in cases of vandalism and neglect (and over-zealous "care") nothing is preserved at all.

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Betty Willsher & Doreen Hunter, *"Stones, 18th Century Scottish Gravestones"* (Canongate Publishing, 1978.) £7.96p.

Scottish Genealogy Society, *"Pre-1855 Monumental Inscriptions"*

- * Berwickshire
- Clackmannanshire & Kinross-shire
- Dumbartonshire
- Fife East
- Fife West
- * Lanarkshire - Upper Ward
- * Peeblesshire
- Perthshire North
- Perthshire South
- Renfrewshire
- * Speyside
- Stirlingshire East
- Stirlingshire West
- West Lothian
- Angus, Strathmore (will be available 1979)

- * Nancy Davey, *"The Howff: A Guide to the old cemetery."* (Dundee Museum Dept., 1977) 80p.

D. G. Martin, *"Maintenance & Repair of Stone Buildings"* (Soc. for Protection of Ancient Buildings) 25p.

- * On sale at the Conference.

LIBRARY SOURCES FOR SCOTTISH GENEALOGY

As a librarian, I have been impressed on many occasions by the tenacity of the genealogists that have come my way. Their terrier-like instinct to hang on to a subject, to shake it and worry it to death, is in my view the prerequisite of any good researcher. The good researcher also knows where to find his resources and should, when the need arises, turn to librarians and libraries for bibliographical and practical advice.

In Scotland the network of library organisation has at its centre the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. Founded in 1682, the National Library has enjoyed the copyright privilege since 1710 and consequently, not only houses the most important collection of Scottish material in this country, but is also the centre of inter-library loan and promotes various co-operative projects with Scottish libraries. Important collections are also maintained by the University libraries of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Heriot-Watt, St. Andrews, Stirling and Strathclyde. Within the framework of local government, forty-one library authorities provide a library service to their areas and there are also a large number of special libraries covering practically every subject field. A comprehensive survey of this structure is given in *Library Resources in Scotland* which provides an alphabetical listing of libraries and their holdings, along with classified indexes locating specific subjects and collections.

Clearly there is a great wealth of source material for the genealogist but some more specific guide is needed to highlight collections, most likely to be useful in this field of research. Not entirely by chance, I have been invited to take part in this seminar, having recently completed a survey of libraries in Scotland with material of national and local significance, certainly areas likely to contain sources of use to the genealogist.

While it is my intention to concentrate on libraries with Scottish and local material it is essential to bear in mind the facilities available in special libraries. For example if your quarry were connected with medicine it would be appropriate to enlist the help of the libraries of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow.

Although libraries only are under discussion at the moment, it is necessary to mention in this context the effects of local government reorganisation. In 1975, with the implementation of the *Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1973*, many administrative changes took place. Scotland was divided into Regions and Districts and the old burghs and counties disappeared as administrative entities, along with many of their officials. It was decided to disperse local government records, and under the Act, several options were open to the authorities. Unlike England, Scotland has only one record office, the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh and city archive collections existed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. After reorganisation, local records were dispersed, in some cases to the local library (as in Perth and Paisley), some were stored in the Scottish Record Office (as is the case of East Lothian) and in some instances a regional archive collection was started (as in the Central Region, based at Stirling). In short there is no uniform approach to the housing of local government records, which may be in local authority libraries, the Scottish Record Office or in District or Regional archive collections.

The average genealogist approaching a library may have four basic requirements, namely staff assistance, bibliographies which list relevant sources, bibliographies which locate relevant sources and the sources themselves. It is very helpful if the genealogist has done some homework before approaching the library, perhaps has written or phoned

beforehand outlining the field of research and indicated sources already checked. The staff can then have the required material looked out in advance and in the case of uncomplicated research can often provide photocopies, saving time all round. There are a number of helpful bibliographies listing relevant sources, which are given at the end of this paper. Several of them include record sources, but where the records have been published it is fairly safe to regard them as library sources.

In the case of bibliographies locating sources, there are four main guides, *Scottish family histories*, *Local collections in Scotland*, *Scottish newspapers in Scottish libraries* and the *British union catalogue of periodicals*. Each of these merits careful study by the researcher approaching library sources for the first time. *Scottish family histories* both identifies published and unpublished work on specific families and lists libraries holding copies. *Local collections in Scotland* lists libraries holding Scottish and local material, analyses their holdings and provides classified indexes to specific subjects and materials. *Scottish newspapers in Scottish libraries*, presently being updated, covers the wide field of newspapers from 1651 to date, giving titles and locations. There is no major work at present on periodicals in Scottish libraries and for this subject one must use the *British union catalogues of periodicals* which lists periodicals available in Britain and where they might be found.

The sources themselves can be divided into two broad groups, textual material and visual material. Textual material covers manuscripts and printed sources (either in the original or microforms) and visual material is represented by maps, prints, photographs, lantern slides and colour transparencies. In my experience, at the simplest level, genealogists are in search of information on people and places and it might be useful to examine sources helpful in these areas.

The main manuscript collections are in the National Library of Scotland, where legal, estate and family papers provide a wealth of information for the researcher. In addition, political, literary, business and trade union papers are available. The University libraries maintain in their archives, administrative papers and student records from their foundation. Papers of famous professors and graduates are also collected and often papers relevant to the town or city of origin. Many public libraries also have manuscript deposits, such as the Mitchell Library in Glasgow with a large collection of business and legal papers. City, Regional and District Archive collections house the charters and records of the old burghs, trades incorporation records, burgess and apprentice rolls, stent rolls and often educational and business records, although the point made earlier must be stressed, that local government records, under existing legislation, may be deposited in local authority libraries or the Scottish Record Office also. Thanks to the existence of several publishing societies, such as the Burgh Records Society and the Scottish Record Society many of these unique records are available in published form and can be numbered among the most important printed sources in libraries, for the researcher. Any library collecting Scottish and local material will have relevant copies of the Scottish Record Society publications, which include parish registers, burial inscriptions, burgess rolls, apprentice rolls, testaments and protocol books. Other useful sources of information on people, are street directories, school registers, voters' rolls, valuation rolls, war records, press cuttings, newspapers and periodicals. These and family histories are standard stock in most local libraries.

In search of places, the researcher will turn to the three *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*. Written by the ministers of the parishes, the first two accounts were published in the late 18th and mid 19th centuries and give a graphic account of Scotland, parish by parish. The third account arranged by county has been prepared by teams of experts and is still in progress.

Fortunately most towns and counties have had their local historians and standard works exist for every part of Scotland. Undoubtedly, the most useful *Census Records* are the enumerator's returns in the Scottish Record Office, but many libraries hold the published records from 1861 which do not give occupants of households but are useful for giving a breakdown of parishes, occupations and statistics, all useful background material. At this stage the researcher may proceed to visual material and consult map collections which can range from Timothy Pont's maps for Blaeu's Atlas in the 17th century to current Ordnance Survey publications. Undoubtedly the major map collection is in the Map Room of the National Library, including Timothy Pont's manuscripts, a complete set of the Ordnance Survey for Scotland and the Newman Collection of road books, itineraries and road maps covering three centuries. Many libraries, however, throughout the country have good collections of maps of their area, some with town plans going back to the 16th century.

All these sources so far, giving information on people or places are what might be called two-dimensional, but there are other sources in libraries which can add another dimension, rounding out the genealogists's research. It is always rewarding to be able to corroborate textual evidence by using visual sources. This can be done by using the many print collections dating back to the 16th century, which give information on social customs, costume, transport and architecture. Scotland has also been fortunate in having a number of early photographers whose work is internationally known, such as the calotypists Hill and Adamson and Dr. Thomas Keith of Edinburgh. Later photographers such as Thomas Annan of Glasgow, Valentine of Dundee and George Washington Wilson of Aberdeen are also well known and widely reproduced. The work of all these men and many lesser known local photographers, is preserved in libraries throughout Scotland, providing in a similar way to the print collections, visual evidence of immense interest.

Although library sources only are under consideration, it would not be inappropriate to draw your attention to the many local museums throughout Scotland which have interesting collections. Dumfries Burgh Museum, for example, houses manuscripts from the 15th century, burgh records, business and shipping records. In addition prints, maps and photographs complete the collection. Among the national collections, in Edinburgh the Country Life Archive, with over 60,000 entries including photographs, drawings, maps and diaries, provides information on the life of the countryside, small towns and fishing communities. The Scottish National Portrait Gallery and the National Gallery of Scotland, in addition to their obvious resources also maintain extensive indexes which can be useful in tracing people. The excellent resources of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh University and the Centre for Scottish Studies in Aberdeen University should also be noted.

In outline these are the Scottish library sources for Scottish genealogy and hopefully our discussion will bring out comment on their location and use.

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FOR FAMILY AND NATION *

by Donald Whyte

The granting of armorial bearings to the Scottish Genealogy Society sets the seal on twenty-five years of endeavour in the field of family history studies, and on our Anniversary Conference. It is, in effect, formal recognition by the Crown, through an Officer of State, the Lord Lyon King of Arms, and I am sure that every member of the Society and every participant in this conference, would wish me to express sincere thanks to Sir James Montieth Grant, and Lyon Clerk Malcolm Innes of Edingight, for their courtesy and consideration. We have also to thank Herald Painter Miss Jenny Mitchell, for her art work.

Our Conference Sub-Committee, which has been chaired by Mr. Bruce A. Stenhouse, are grateful to Mr. Malcolm Innes for formally presenting the Letters Patent, and lecturing at our anniversary event. It is appropriate that he should make the presentation to Miss Joan P. S. Ferguson, our Honorary Secretary, and myself, as your Chairman of Council, both of us having signed the petition on behalf of the members. The design

* A talk given in the Plenary Session at the close of the 25th Anniversary Conference.

is a splendid example of Scots Heraldry: simple, yet meaningful. The saltire and the lion's head indicate we are the national body in our chosen subject; the septfoils - seven leaves conjoined - symbolise the unity of the family and of the nation; the fruited oak tree represents the fruitfulness of such a union; and the cross with which the saltire is charged shows we live in a patriarchal society. I hope the members will be proud of our motto: FOR FAMILY AND NATION, and continue to value the concept of the family within the structure of a patriarchal society.

We must all strive to encourage genealogical studies, because in recent years numerous forces have been undermining the unity of the family, upon which the solidarity of the State depends. Political attempts at so-called social justice - probably in most cases well intentioned - have had adverse effects on the family structure, with the State taking over what used to be the collective responsibility of the three-generation family: taking over almost from conception to cremation. What form should studies in family history take over the next twenty-five years? Well, I do not possess a crystal ball, but I can draw upon the experiences of the last quarter century; take note of current events, and express my personal views.

When this Society was founded the original members discussed various suggested projects, most of which were on fairly traditional lines: genealogical studies of particular families; recording monumental inscriptions; discovering new sources of information; heraldry; patterns of emigration; and fostering good relations with librarians and archivists. In fact the kind of subject matter which has been reflected in the pages of *The Scottish Genealogist*, and other publications of the Society. One or two members thought we should venture into the wider aspects of family history, and our first elected

secretary, Mr. Rolland J. B. Munro, wrote an article in the first issue of our magazine titled *Genealogy and the Principles of Mutation*, which was criticised. Yet who can deny the relationship between genealogical studies and genetics? Indeed, if we adopted the definition of genealogy by the late Professor James Drever, in his *Dictionary of Psychology* (1952), we might almost concede the two subjects were synonymous. He describes genealogy as: "the investigation in genetics of the ancestral descent of an individual."

Mutations have in fact occurred in the past, and they are happening today. Any gene present in a child that was not present in the parents must have arisen by mutation. Haemophilia can arise in a family that has been free of the disease. Queen Victoria, as most of you know, has been the great genetic trouble-maker of British Royalty, but none of her antedecedants had been plagued by this defect. The mutation must have arisen in herself, her father or her mother. Many other hereditary factors have been the subject of close study.¹

While much progress has been made since William Bateson (1861-1926) coined the word genetics, rarely anything in that field can be called straightforward. We can trace the origin, or at least the descent through Maximillian I, and Marie of Burgandy, of the 'Hapsburg Jaw' and the 'Burgundian lip', and other inherited characteristics of well-documented families, yet men rarely profit from the lessons of history. They seldom select their marriage partners for their potentialities as if they were, in a manner of speaking, brood mares of impeccable stock.² Politics, money, land, the need for an heir, war or peace, connivance, lust, convenience, and occasionally love, have been the motives. How the geneticist must despair of ever improving the species! Those of you who think only of marriage as the result of romantic courtship, should read some of the mercenary contracts recorded in the *Register of Deeds*.

Brand new problems requiring new solutions are being constantly brought home to all of us. Who could lack interest in the birth about a month ago at Oldham, of the world's first test-tube baby?³ Clones and genetic engineering are already on the laboratory bench. The simplicity of old standards has gone forever, and the medical profession is being forced into new decisions on our behalf, although reluctant to give up its role as moral arbiter. The legal profession is being cautious in altering old laws to cope with current change. How remarkable that an A.I.D. child should be classed as illegitimate, and have fewer rights than an adopted baby.

Probably among the more obvious medical advances is pre-natal scanning, which can help diagnose diseases of the foetus from an early stage of pregnancy. Of course, to derive the maximum benefit from this development the question must arise: "Is life the criterion, or is quality of life?" This is a moral issue, and at present, even in a society which accepts birth control in one form or another, and has legalised abortion, some women will hesitate to expel what is, for example, a mongol child. In time we may have genetic counselling, when questions of inherited characteristics, ethics, eugenics and evolution, can be considered. I should note in passing that colour photographs have actually been taken within the womb: the most amazing baby pictures ever. These have earned for Sweden's Lennart Nilson an honorary Doctorate in Medicine (University of Stockholm), and can be seen in the book *A Child is Born* (Faber).

As an academic body we must take an increasing interest in such matters, but as in the past, progress in medical science will rightly be reported in the journals of that profession. If the scientist and the family historian can be mutually helpful, I think the physicians will have to be a lamp to our feet. My view is that the average member of any family history or genealogical society will continue researching on traditional lines. That is not to say we should reject verbal or written contributions which might draw the family historian closer to the wondrous related world of medical science.

What we can do is strive with all our energy for the survival of family life. There is a school of thought to which some wooly-headed psychiatrists subscribe, which says that all sorts of dangers to mental health arise from family environment, and that we would benefit from "open marriage", or living in groups with no sexual restrictions. This feeble philosophy is doubtless attractive to purveyors of pornographic literature, and to those who make the very young their prey for the purposes of prostitution; but it ought to be very firmly rejected by all who live above the level of the beasts of the field. The family - not in my view the Christian church of western culture - is the rock upon which civilisation is founded, and the study of its history promotes love, understanding, and attachment to family and race. Take away respect for family and race and you create a human order without a soul, the excesses of which are concrete frontier barriers, labour and extermination camps.

We cannot revert to monogamous tribal life, whatever its attractions. We must work for the acceptance of responsibility within the family. The important roles of both father and mother must be clearly recognised. Effective communication between the generations must be encouraged, and I hope the new family history groups at Glasgow (1977) and Aberdeen (1978) will play their part. Extra-mural classes on family history should be encouraged. The taboos on publicity for birth control should be removed. We may even be forced to re-examine the very ethics of marriage, which should be founded on an understanding of the truth, not vice-versa. The family is conjugal in

domestic composition, and we must recognise that sex should not be a dirty word. If there was anything unpleasant about the sex act, the world would be but sparsely populated. Frankness in our expression of sexuality would show that it is more likely to reach perfection in the marriage bed than in clandestine affairs in garden sheds or hotel bedrooms.

While the family must remain within the structure of a patriarchal society, there is room for liberality rather than male power.⁴ If we are to lower the alarming divorce rate and uphold family life the bonds must be affection between spouses and attachment to children. Some 'instant legislation' of recent years has done little to help. The *Sex Discrimination Act*, 1975, must surely rank as the most psycopathic piece ever steam-rolled into the statute book. The *Equal Opportunities Commission* - apart from supporting the commendable *Equal Pay Act*, 1970 - is absolutely farcical, costing the taxpayers vast sums of money,⁵ all because a handful of bereaucrats seek to make people of all ages, sexes, descriptions and intelligence, into identical and easily manipulated units. In spite of all this, prompted in part by the 'Women's Movement', we must stand squarely by our motto: FOR FAMILY AND NATION.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 See Stern, C., *Principles of Human Genetics*, 2nd edition, San Francisco and London, 1960.
2. Some experiments in human breeding have in fact been carried out, but these in world terms have been rather isolated. See Smith, A., *The Human Pedigree: Inheritance and the Genetics of Mankind*, pp. 70-81 (London 1975).
- 3 Female child named Louise, born 25th July, 1978, to Mrs. Lesley Brown, as a result of the 'Steptoe technique', which circumvents a blockage of fallopian tube by removing an egg from the woman; fertilising it in the laboratory with the husband's sperm, and implanting it in the womb.
4. For a vital study of English society see Professor Lawrence Stone's recent work: *The Family, Sex and Marriage* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson). There are, of course, historical, cultural and legal differences in Scotland, the study of which would be rewarding.
5. To date, only 17 cases of sex discrimination in Scotland have been heard by the Commission, and only 6 of these were upheld.

SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY CONFERENCE

Edinburgh, 25th—27th August, 1978

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* = Non-resident

A = Seminar 'Heraldry in Scotland'

B = Seminar 'Oral tradition'

D = Seminar 'Monumental Inscriptions'

E = 'Library resources for Scottish genealogy'

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REGISTER OF MEMBERS INTERESTS

The promised SUPPLEMENT has now been printed, but the Council of the Society has decided that, in view of the extent of the supplement with appropriate Index and the cost of printing it, a charge must be made. That has been fixed at £1.50p to Members of the Society (that is those who have paid the full Membership subscription of £2.50p — or in Canada and the United States of America of Seven Dollars) and at £2 to Non-Members. Requests for the SUPPLEMENT should be sent either to the Honorary Editor, Mr. Ivor R. Guild, W.S., c/o Mrssrs. Shepherd & Wedderburn, W.S., 16 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh EH2 4YS or to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. David C. Cargill, 20 Ravelston Garden, Edinburgh EH4 3LE, along with the appropriate remittance.

QUERIES

34. BARTLETT (Fanny) born 1819 daughter of William Bartlett (1795–1875) also had brother Christopher Hobbs (1822–1895)
—Any information greatly appreciated.
35. HARRIS (Frederick) born 1821 somewhere in Wales or Northern England. He was a devout Methodist. Emigrated to Canada about 1840.
—Any information greatly appreciated.

Contact: Mrs. B.A. COPELAND, 3 Grenville Road, Padstow, CORNWALL PL28 8EX

36. KER—KERR: Desire correspondence with descendents of HENRY KER Laird of GRADEN and Lady Helen SINCLAIR, both of Teviotdale, Roxburghshire late 1600's. Desire to confirm Ancestry of HENRY. Lady Helen was daughter of Sir James SINCLAIR and Lady Jean SPOTTISWOODE of ROSLIN — Send replies to Lloyd R. Apperson 7132 Amigo Avenue, Reseda, California 91335 U.S.A.

THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION

1. The objects of the Scottish Genealogy Society are:—
To promote research into Scottish Family History.
To undertake the collection, exchange and publication of information and material relating to Scottish Genealogy, by means of meetings, lectures, etc. etc.
2. The Society will consist of all duly elected Members whose subscriptions are fully paid. An Honorary President and up to four Honorary Vice-Presidents (who will be *ex officio* members of Council) may be elected at the Annual General Meeting.
3. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council consisting of Chairman, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Editor, Honorary Librarian, *ex officio* Members, and not more than ten ordinary Members. A non-Council Member of the Society shall be appointed annually to audit the accounts.
4. Office-Bearers shall be elected annually. Three ordinary Members of Council shall retire annually by rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election. At meetings of the Council a quorum shall consist of not less than one-third of the Members. The Council may elect a Deputy Chairman.
5. An Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on a date to be determined by the Council, at which reports will be submitted.
6. Members shall receive one copy of each issue of *The Scottish Genealogist*, but these shall not be supplied to those who are in arrears.
7. Institutions may be elected to affiliate membership of the Society. The subscription payable by such affiliate members shall be fixed from time to time by the Council. Affiliate members shall be entitled to receive 2 copies of each issue of the *Scottish Genealogist*, and to have suitable queries inserted therein free of charge. Their members shall be entitled to attend all meetings of the Society and to borrow books from the Society's Library (but not to send such books overseas). They shall not, however, have any vote at meetings of the Society, nor shall they be eligible for election to membership of the Council.
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