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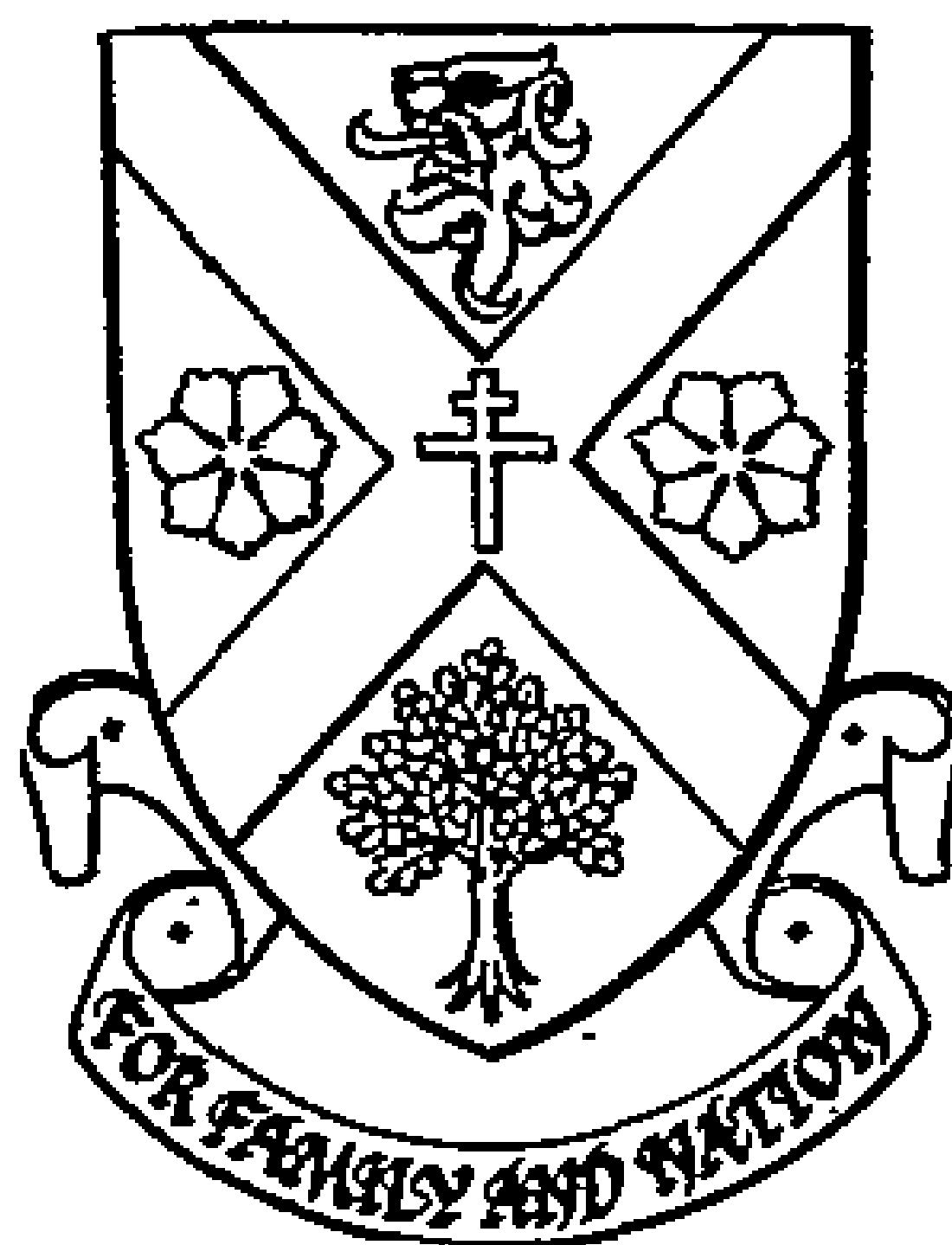
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GENERAL INFORMATION

The Society is an academic and consultative body. It does not carry out professional record searching, but will supply members, on request, with a list of professional searchers who are also members of the Society.

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Monthly meetings of the Society are held from September to April in the Royal College of Physicians, 9 Queen Street, Edinburgh, at 7.30 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.

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The subscription for the forthcoming year shall be £6.50 with an additional £2.50 for those who wish the magazine sent airmail. Family membership will be £7.50 and affiliate membership £8.00. The subscription for US members will be \$15.

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The Society's Library at 9 Union Street, Edinburgh, is open to members on Wednesdays between 3.30 and 6.30 p.m.

A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF ILLEGITIMACY IN CERES PARISH, FIFE, 1841-1861

by Donna L. Baker* , M.A., B.Sc.

George Seton, Secretary to the Registrar General of Scotland, shocked many Scots into a realisation of the problem of illegitimacy when in 1860, he wrote that, for drunkenness and illegitimacy, the country maintained an unenviable notoriety among the kingdoms of Europe(1). He went on to say that, during the two years 1858-9, the average annual number of illegitimate births in Scotland amounted to nine percent and of eight other countries studied, Scotland placed third. Seton would have been more surprised had he conducted his national survey fifteen years earlier, as by 1858 the wave had taken a definite downward turn.

The long-term trend of bastardy in England shows a wave-like motion which, between 1540 and 1960, reached a climax in the 1840's. The very high levels for the individual years 1842 and 1845 interest the social historian and student of industrialisation. Studies conducted by two leading historians in the field, Peter Laslett (England) and Michael Flinn (Scotland), indicate that the bastardy trend in Scotland paralleled that of England.

It is necessary, at this point, to determine what illegitimacy was. This will be done by defining marriage, and in Scotland this is not an easy task. The law of Scotland recognised two kinds of marriage — regular and irregular. A regular marriage was one performed by a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. Irregular marriages consisted of many types. Marriage vows taken in the presence of a witness, marriages performed by Catholic or Seceding clergy, promise of future marriage followed by intercourse, marriage by "habit and repute", and local customs such as "hand-fasting" were considered binding marriages, by the local community if not by the Church and law. It is notable that, under Scottish law, a bastard was legitimized by the subsequent marriage of its parents.

Illegitimacy was not merely a matter of establishing whether the parents were married or not. It was a complex phenomenon dependent on many things. Laslett provides the best list of circumstances that had to be met in order for modern historians to study the rate of "spurious", "base", or "natural" children born at any given time:(2)

A man and a woman, both fecund and not married to each other, had to be in association. Sexual intercourse had to take place at a time and under circumstances when conception was possible, and without successful contraceptive measures. Spontaneous abortions must not have occurred during pregnancy, and no effective act of abortion either. No marriage must have taken place between the parties before term - where they were both at liberty to marry each other. The child must have been born alive and have survived birth for a period of time which elapsed before baptism or registration Finally, (in the era before official registration) the child must have been taken to the Church for the ceremony of baptism. When it came to making the entry in the register, the minister or parish clerk must have felt obliged to set down the tell-tale description of the baby's social and legal status. After civil registration began, the official responsible must have got this information out of the reluctant mother.

Since all of the above had to be satisfied in order for an illegitimacy to be recorded, it is comprehensible that a study of bastardy is an difficult one.

It is helpful to understand the time period under study as far as the records are concerned. The first Scottish census of value was taken in 1841, and continued every decade thereafter. From the censuses we can obtain information on family groups, occupations, ages, relationships, places of birth (migration patterns), and marital status. Civil registration began in 1855. Prior to that time, records of baptisms, marriages, and burials were kept in the Old Parochial Registers, hence we can compare the two types of records. Civil registration of births, marriages and deaths in 1855 is the most comprehensive. Between 1856 and 1861, the amount of information decreased, but still gives us pertinent data regarding age, occupation, place of residency, next of kin, and marital status, as well as cause of death.

There are limitations in a study of this type. Flinn maintains that a demographic study using family reconstitution methods cannot be carried out in Scotland because not one parish has records of sufficient quality over a long enough period of time. Since family reconstitution is the most comprehensive method, and indeed the only possible one for a complete study of illegitimacy, we opted for this over aggregation, on a smaller time scale. Reconstitution is also extremely time-consuming, although the benefits far outweigh this drawback. To conduct a good demographic study, it was necessary to locate a parish which had baptismal, marriage and burial records for this period. Preferably the parish should be rural, with its largest town or concentration of people toward the centre of the parish (to offset effects of migration), and have a varying economy. The parish has to be of an appropriate size (10,000 acres) and population (1,000—3,000). In Ceres we have met all these qualifications, not of a typical parish, but of one which lends itself to a demographic study of illegitimacy.

In this paper we will examine 79 cases of illegitimacy, involving 73 women, in the parish of Ceres between 1841 and 1861. We will look at the parish itself, its economy and population characteristics, at the numbers of illegitimate children born there, and infant mortality. The bulk of the paper will be concerned with the parents of illegitimate offspring — the effect of economy, occupation, migration, religion and literacy. We will look at the ratios of unmarried men and women, the ages at which they had their first illegitimate child, age at marriage, and whom the unwed mothers married. We will also take a brief look at who raised the child, and the incidence of the mother abandoning her child.

In November 1837, the Reverend Joseph Crichton, minister of the Established Church of Scotland in Ceres, submitted a sketch of his parish for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (3). Ceres is a lowland parish in east Fife, only five to ten miles from the North Sea. It is about six and one-half miles long, and varies in width from one-half to four miles. Its peak population was 2,944 in 1841. The number of inhabitants declined steadily after that — 2,833 in 1851; 2,723 in 1861; 2,381 in 1871; 2,063 in 1881. In 1837 the parish contained five villages, the largest of which had the same name as the parish.

The Established Church, which had been built in 1806 on the edge of the village of Ceres, found itself surrounded by the town in 1837. As well as the Established Church, there was an Associate Congregation of Antiburgher Seceders and a Presbytery of Relief.

both of which had about 85 families in attendance. Joseph Crichton commented on the brotherly feeling and Christian spirit which pervaded among the churches in the parish. Perhaps because they could occasionally be found in each others' places of worship, Crichton recorded baptisms and marriages which occurred in the other churches.

Of the 606 families in the parish in 1837, 183 were engaged in agriculture and 281 in industry. The main industries were the weaving and spinning mills. The two mills built in 1827 provided accommodation for the families of the workers (approximately 150) with a teacher and a small library. Leases for cottages of workers living away from the mills were generally for nineteen years, the rent being £2 per annum. The parish boasted 9 schools for its children. Although the population and industry decreased from 1841 vestiges of a once-healthy economy remained in the form of Friendly Societies. The once-active coalmines were no longer being worked because of the expense, and the income from agricultural labour did little more than pay the rent.

The mills, which must have seemed to have been a blessing, caused, in the long-run, the death of the parish. The light work did not require male strength, and female labour was cheaper. With no employment, the young healthy men began migrating, to large cities, or out of the country altogether, in search of work. In 1851, when the English ratio stood at 96 males for every 100 females, it was 92.8 in Scotland. In Ceres the sex ratio was much lower. According to the 1851 census, there were 66.6 unmarried men for every 100 unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and thirty. If a woman was not married by the time she was thirty, her expectations of marriage decreased drastically. For every 100 women between the ages of 31 and 70, including widows, there were only 41.6 men. The prospects of never marrying must have been foremost in the minds of many girls about to be impregnated by one of the few men left in the parish. Bearing and raising an illegitimate child may have been their attempt at simulating a family. This in fact, became a socially-acceptable situation, with no stigma attached to being a single parent.

Using the parish register of baptisms from 1841 to 1854, and the civil register of births from 1855 to 1861, we pinpointed 79 cases of illegitimacy in the parish, involving 73 women.(4) There is a problem inherent in using these two sources. Prior to 1855, a child's birth was recorded only if he was baptized. Stillborn children, or those who died shortly after birth, whether they were legitimate or not, were not recorded. After 1855 it was compulsory to register a child's birth and legal status. Because of the moral implications, religious leaders were more concerned with identification of the father; civil registrars often did not care, and had no authority to investigate the matter.

We then searched the 1851 and 1861 censuses of Ceres to determine the household composition in which these women and their children lived. Sixty-seven percent of the women were located in at least one census. In an effort to determine the type of household from which the illegitimate mother emerged, we attempted to locate the mother's baptism in the records of the parish where she was born, or her family in the 1841 census. Our findings indicate that girls raised by one parent (usually the mother), or with a step-parent, had a greater propensity for illegitimate children than girls raised by two birth-parents. We refer to the chapter on parental deprivation in Laslett's *Family Life And Illicit Love In Earlier Generations*.

To complete our study, parish and civil registers were searched for subsequent marriages of the mothers. Finally, tombstone inscriptions(5), church burial records and death certificates were studied for deaths of the children and their mothers.

Remembering Seton's claim that, in 1858-9, 9 percent of all births in Scotland were illegitimate, let us look at the frequency in Ceres. Between 1855 and 1861, 577 births were registered. Of these, 51 were classified as illegitimate — 8.9 percent. However, in the single year of 1859, Ceres had 10.8 percent illegitimacy, which was topped only by 1861 at 13.7 percent, well above the national average. By comparison with the period 1841-54, and remembering 1) that British illegitimacy peaked in the 1840's, and 2) the aforementioned limitations of the parish registers, only 21 illegitimate children were baptized in Ceres in the earlier time period, and 51 in the later period.

Laslett, in his study of illegitimate conception in England, found that there was a tendency toward the months of May, June and July as those when conception was most likely to occur (in legitimate as well as illegitimate cases)(6). He noted that this effect decreased over the years from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. When we broke down our 79 illegitimacies, we discovered that an overwhelming number, 22 to be exact, were born in September and October, indicating January and February as popular months for conception. It is tempting to speculate whether this has anything to do with the colder weather, or perhaps with the amount of leisure time available in the winter.

The first few days of an infant's life were precarious enough in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century. For an illegitimate child, they were harrowing indeed. It was all too easy for a child to be disposed of at or shortly after birth, and the event never recorded. Before 1855, the parochial registers did not record the instances of 'stillborns' or those who died within hours of their birth. The Kirk Session Records, on the other hand, often give circumstances of women who had given birth secretly, and whose child had died, or been killed. Infanticide was a regular occurrence where a real stigma was attached to illegitimacy, and where the mother was not living with a family (her own or her employer's). This was most often accomplished through neglect, rather than an overt gesture.

In our study of tombstone inscriptions, church burial records, and death certificates pertaining to Ceres, only three deaths occurred of children under the age of one year, and in the case of only one of them can infanticide be suspected. Euphemia Ness, an agricultural labourer, had a son born 13th September 1855. Twenty days later he was dead. There was no medical doctor in attendance. Her father registered both birth and death on the same day. Grace Barnard had an illegitimate son born in January 1858, who died of weakness 12 days later. Her sister Jean, who was also the mother of an illegitimate child, registered both birth and death, again on the same day. Three years later, Grace had another illegitimate child, so it is unlikely she disposed of the first. Two other children died in this study — one of fever at the age of ten months and the other by drowning at the age of two years. Neither of these are suspected cases of infanticide. At least 43 survived to appear in the next census. Those who were born in 1861 after the census was taken did not appear, of course, and in some situations the family had moved out of the parish by the following census.

The fourth aspect studied was the amount of time between the birth and baptism, and birth and registration. Prior to 1855, the mother of an illegitimate child was requir-

ed to appear before the Kirk Session and the congregation in penitence. Often she would give birth in secret and hide the child until she was sure it was going to live, before admitting to the Kirk Session she had had a bastard. Occasionally old crones were employed to search a suspected mother to prove whether she had indeed had a child. All these procedures took time, and even then it was at the discretion of the minister whether the child was baptized. It is therefore not surprising that the baptism would be delayed for some time after the birth. The average amount of time in our study, where both dates were known, was 10.6 weeks, with the exception of three extreme cases. Peter Balfour was baptized seventeen months after his birth in July 1844. His baptism was listed in the midst of those of his father's legitimate children. Henry Gourlay was aged 26 months at his baptism. Elizabeth Pride was four years old, and it is possible that she was baptized as a result of the marriage of her mother, although not to Elizabeth's father.

With the commencement of civil registration, the fear of guilt-enforcement was removed, and children were registered much more quickly — an average of 2.3 weeks. In fact, in 45 percent of the cases, the mother herself registered the child's birth.

A study of the background of the parents is necessary to understand the circumstances of illegitimacy, and so we looked at the economic, social and religious aspects of their lives. Without exception, all the girls were employed, or their fathers were of the working class. Thirty-six were employed in the linen industry, as weavers or bleachers. Twelve were domestic servants; three were farm servants. The rest were unemployed, or at least no occupation was recorded for them. Where information on the father was given, they were almost entirely agricultural labourers. Nineteen of the fathers were from within the parish of Ceres. The five who were not came from immediately neighbouring parishes.

The only indication of religious preference was if the mothers subsequently married. Of 19 women who did marry, 13 married in the Established Church of Scotland. The other six were scattered among other denominations. Although this figure is less than half, it is still surprisingly high in a parish where only 700 people of a total population of 2,800 attended non-conformist churches. It indicates perhaps that the clergy of the United Presbyterian Church and others had less influence on the morals of their flocks than the Established Church.

The ability to sign one's name is taken as an indication of literacy. In a parish where more than half a dozen schools existed, it would follow that the majority of the population would be literate, and the figures meet our expectations. Only after 1855 were the informants of a birth required to sign their names, and it is from the civil register that we obtain our data. Of the informants (mostly mother but often other immediate relatives), 87.7 percent signed their own names. The association of illegitimacy with ignorance cannot be proved. Available statistics show that the Highlands, as well as area of high urbanisation, had a comparatively illiterate population, yet these were areas of low illegitimacy. In 1861, the Highlands had an illegitimacy ratio of only 5.6 percent, and the western Lowlands only 7.9 percent.

The sex ratio of the population is important in determining illegitimacy ratios. Considering all the influences on sex ratios, it is extremely unlikely that there should be exactly one man for every woman. In Scotland, one of the greatest of these influences was migration. Statistically, more men migrated than women, whether it was seasonal

internal migration or emigration. The large industrial centres and sea-ports of the west coast attracted men from the south and east of Scotland. A parish such as Ceres, where the light industry did not require male strength, and where the coal-mining had ceased, did not attract men. In Scotland as a whole, the surplus of women over men varied between 5.7 percent and 18.5 percent. This surplus was consistently higher in Scotland than in England. In 1851, when the English and Welsh ratio stood at 96.0 males for every 100 females, in Scotland it was 92.8. In Ceres the sex ratio was very much lower, as we have discussed previously.

Thirty-nine of the 73 women were born in the parish of Ceres, 22 gave their place of birth as another parish (most of these were from Cupar), and the rest were untraceable within the time limits of this study. The average age of the mother at the birth of her first illegitimate child, between 1841 and 1861, was 22.7 years. In comparison, the average age of marriage between 1855 and 1861 was, for males, 26.7 years, and for females, 25.5 years.

This leads us into a discussion of the relationship between marriage and pre-nuptial pregnancy. There is a distinct difference between pre-nuptial pregnancy and illegitimacy. In the former, marriage was planned prior to conception, or once the pregnancy was established. Other types of pregnancy were extra-marital, which was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, and post-marital. In our study, only one widow had a post-marital bastard. Only 18 of the women ever married, and of them, only 3 married the fathers of their children within a year of the birth. It was, therefore, not a situation where a girl had to prove her fertility in order to be eligible for marriage. It is interesting that 38 percent of the women married men younger than themselves. The remaining 55 women never married, or disappeared from the parish.

Laslett presents evidence that points to a sub-culture of bastard-bearing women(7), and Flinn confirms his findings(8). This was a noticeable feature in this study of Ceres. Six of the women produced more than one illegitimate child. One of them had a sister who also had a bastard child. Four girls with the surname Brown had illegitimate children, but there was not enough evidence to tie them into one family. Euphemia Dall had an illegitimate child in 1842, at the age of 37. Janet Dall, whom she claimed as a niece but who may in reality have been her daughter, had two bastard sons, one in 1849 and the other 1856. The Gourlay family was represented by four women, the youngest having her child at age 13. Helen and Christina Lonie, sisters, had children 12 years apart. Ann and Helen Melville were sisters, as were Isabel and Euphemia Ness, and Barbara and Christian Shepherd. Not one of the mothers were themselves illegitimate.

The incidence of bastardy was not confined to the women. Robert Simpson impregnated two women before marrying a third who had had a bastard child, although not by him. Christina Duff married Thomas Reekie six years after the birth of her daughter who was fathered by Robert Simpson. Thomas Reekie was the father of one of Janet Dall's children.

Since so many of the mothers never married, the welfare and upbringing of the child hung in a balance. Of the 52 families which were located in the 1851 and 1861 censuses, 39 of the children were shown as being raised by their grand-parents with their mother present in the family. Only half a dozen were raised by their mother alone. In an equal number of cases was the child raised by the grandparents without the mother being in the family, but she may just not have been present on the day the census was taken.

Many questions remain unanswered, and many areas deserve to be studied. One of these would be the birth-order of the mother in her own family. This influence may have affected her decision to simulate a family of her own. Another aspect that bears studying is the location of the birth of an illegitimate child. In many cases the child was born in the mother's home, but often the unwed mother went to relatives some distance away to have her child. In some circumstances, unwanted babies were born, or left, in lodging houses, inns, farmyards and churchyards. We have looked at the number of women who married after the birth of their illegitimate child, but not at the size of her family after marriage. One would suspect that a woman who had had two or three illegitimate children would tend to have a larger family after marriage, within the limits of her life-expectancy and her fertile period.

The demographic study of family life, especially in Scotland, is an open field in which little has been done. In our research on illegitimacy in Ceres, we have seen that literate women of the working classes had bastard children, not to prove their fertility nor to induce the father to marry them. Bastard children were not produced in rebellion against strict Church rules, nor was there a high rate of infanticide. It would appear that little stigma was attached to being an unwed mother. Most of the girls lived with their families, and continued to do so after the birth of their child. The little information we found on the fathers indicates that the majority of them were born and raised with the girls who became the mothers of their children.

Two outstanding conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, there were so few men in the parish, and the opportunity for marriage so limited, that girls produced children illegitimately in an effort to simulate a family situation. On the whole, they stayed with their child and raised it, most often with the help of their own immediate families. The phenomenon of a sub-culture of bastard-bearing women is the other noticeable aspect in this parish. Once an illegitimacy occurred in a family, it was likely to be repeated by the mother herself, or by a sister. More work needs to be done, although it would be much more difficult, on the sub-culture among men.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* Miss Baker is an academic on the staff of the Department of Economics of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, U.S.A. She is an Accredited Genealogist for Scotland. (Ed.)

1. Later studies proved that Scotland's position was not as bad as Seton supposed, due to severe under-registration in other countries. Flinn, Michael W., *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930's*, p. 355. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1977.
2. Laslett, Peter, *Family Life And Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, pp 108-109. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1977. The natural child, perhaps on account of the old Scottish custom of 'handfast marriages,' is favourably treated in Scots Heraldic Law. On proof of his paternity her matriculates like any lawful cadet and obtains some form of the specific 'bordure compony,' or baton or riband sinister, the purpose of which is to show that he is not actually in the legal line of succession. Far

from being reckoned a *filius nullius*, he is treated as a members of his father's clan. A female bastard in whose name arms have been matriculated becomes an 'Heiress' in that bastardised coat, which can be quartered by her descendants. See Innes, Sir Thomas of Learney, *Scots Heraldry*, p. 60, 3rd Edition revised by Malcolm R. Innes, London and Edinburgh, 1978.

3. New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VII, pp. 517—531. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1845.
4. *Kirk—Session Records*, which provide an excellent picture of 'scandal' and penitence in cases of bastardy, and *Registers of Corrected Entries*, which record the change in status from illegitimate to legitimate upon the subsequent marriage of the child's parents, were not available for this study.
5. Mitchell, J.F., and Mitchell Sheila, *Monumental Inscriptions (Pre—1855) in East Fife*. Edinburgh: Scottish Genealogy Society, 1971.
6. Laslett, p. 11.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 147, 149.
8. Flinn, p. 363.

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DR. IR JOHANNES MAC LEAN 1923–1982

It is not always realised in Scotland that, historically, Scottish relations with the Netherlands, and earlier, with the whole of the Low Countries, have been closer than with any other country of the Continent, not excluding France, particularly in the spheres of trade, university education, and military service. It was the Scottish contribution in the way of mercenary soldiers to the defence of the Protestant United Provinces that has ensured that a substantial number of Scots surnames are still encountered in the Netherlands at the present day. For three centuries the famous Scots Brigade had a special status in that country, one that was also recognised by the Scottish, and after 1707, the British Government. The surviving records of the Brigade in the Dutch archives were edited by James Ferguson for the Scottish History Society in three volumes, 1899-1901. The recent work of Dr. Johannes Mac Lean has however shown how far from complete the official birth and marriage records were.

Dr. Mac Lean, who died last year, was born on 30th April 1923 in Wijndrecht. He went to school in Rotterdam and studied at the Delft Technische Hogeschool, where he obtained the diploma of engineer in physics. Later, in 1959, he obtained his doctorate of mathematics and physics at the Free University of Amsterdam. Most of his working life was spent in The Hague, where he was a physics master at the Christelijk Gymnasium Sorghvliet, but from 1970 he was also a senior assistant on the staff of a department of the Free University of Amsterdam. He published many articles in his own academic subject, but his chief interest was genealogy, in particular, that of members of the Scots Brigade and their descendants. He made many contributions to Dutch and Belgian genealogical periodicals, as entries in the catalogues of the National Library of Scotland, for example, (which however represent only a proportion,) will testify. Some of these trace the descendants of individual soldiers, but Dr. Mac Lean also systematically gathered and published collections of details of the movements of each of the three regiments of the Brigade and detachments of the regiments from Dutch records and chronological lists of soldiers' marriages extracted from Dutch and Belgian civil registers that were not included in the regimental registers. Indeed, Dr. Mac Lean's lists are longer than those of the regimental records. He was a member of two Dutch genealogical societies as well as of the Scottish Genealogical Society, and a founder member in 1973 of the Working Group that later took the title De Caledonian Society, for Dutch of Scots descent. His largest work, *The Entries of Marriages of Scottish Soldiers in the Netherlands 1574–1665* which lists more than 5000 marriages and more than 12,000 names, was published in 1976 by the Royal Netherlands Society for Genealogy and Heraldry.

Dr. Mac Lean died suddenly on 14 th May, 1982 before the last of his research, on the pensioning of invalids of the Scots Brigade, had been fully published in the *Mededelingen* of De Caledonian Society. It appears that he never succeeded in establishing his own line as far back as its origin in Scotland, but Dr. Mac Lean will be remembered by Scottish genealogists for the important contribution he has made to the study of Dutch-Scottish genealogical connections.

J. R. S.

CHARLES JARDINE DON 1820 – 1866

Much of the detail of Charles Jardine Don's life in Scotland is based upon obituaries in local Melbourne papers of 1866 and upon the writings of Rev. Robert Hamilton, in 1866 a minister of the Presbyterian Church at Fitzroy, a Melbourne suburb. Hamilton wrote a 116 page pamphlet that he entitled "The Combat and The Victory" in which he related Charles Don's reconversion to Christianity during the last three months of his life. Most of the dates mentioned however have been verified from official sources.

Charles Jardine Don was born at Coupar Angus, Perthshire, on 6 June 1820. He was the son of William and Janet Don who had been married at Kettins, near Coupar Angus, on 9 December 1810. Janet's family name had been Rattray.

Hamilton claims that the Don family of Coupar Angus were members of the Relief Church, one of the branches of the United Presbyterian denomination. William Don was an elder of the local church, but at some stage had a serious difference of opinion with the minister and subsequently worshipped in the Established Church. William Don was a stonemason by trade and apparently of independent mind, even though his family existed in fairly humble circumstances within a religiously committed environment.

Charles Don left school at twelve and worked first as a handloom weaver, but later became apprenticed in the same trade as his father. He began to reject many of the religious beliefs of his parents in his early years of adolescence, and Hamilton relates an incident where he refused to be examined in Catechism by a visiting minister.

He took a lively interest in all religious and social issues of the times and was a supporter of Robert Owen's views on religion and society. Don also claimed he was fired by the political writings of Thomas Paine. He became a supporter of the Chartist cause and, at the finish of his apprenticeship as a stonemason, he is said to have tramped many Scottish towns as a public speaker. In the Chartist Campaign of 1842 he is said to have spoken at many street meetings and at Market Cross in Edinburgh. Professor Asa Briggs in his "Chartist Studies" (London 1959) mentions that Don and James "Parson" Adams led rival Chartist factions in Glasgow in 1851 and that during that year the two factions united under their joint leadership.

On 9 November 1846 he married Mary Lowden at Edinburgh, probably with Catholic rites. Mary Lowden was the daughter of Harry Lowden, a drayman, and was born in Glasgow in 1829.

In 1848 a daughter was born to the Dons at Edinburgh. This was probably Eliza. There is some confusion about the children of the Don marriage. Hamilton says there were two daughters – one born in 1848 and another born later. When the Dons migrated to Australia in 1853, Hamilton says that the elder daughter was left behind with Charles Don's parents, and that the younger one was taken with the parents. Hamilton also says that this younger daughter died in Melbourne around 1855. The death certificate of Mary and Charles Don, however, list the birth of only one daughter, Eliza. The shipping records list only Charles and Mary Don as migrating. However, Charles Don's second marriage certificate in 1857 lists two children as living.

Mary and Charles Don emigrated to Australia in 1853. They left Liverpool on the "Albinus" on 23 April 1853 and arrived in Melbourne in the colony of Victoria in Aug-

ust. Don's movements in the next two or three years are not clear. It seems he went to the goldfields, probably around Ballarat in particular, and left his wife in Melbourne. It seems they lost contact. On 8 June 1855 Mary Don died from dysentery at Irish Town in the district of Melbourne. Charles was not with her at her death.

Around 1856 Charles Don first begins to be reported in local Melbourne papers as spokesman for trade societies on issues such as the eight-hours question and unemployment. It is the start of his public career that was to make him one of the best known figures in Melbourne during the next eight years. He was a colourful haranguer of public meetings of the working class in Melbourne, which at that time was endeavouring to come to grips with the explosion of social issues brought about by the gold rushes. Immigration, trade union organisation, strikes, the eight-hours issue, land reform, unemployment and political reform were just some of the issues that Don relentlessly pursued.

In May 1857 he became a workingman's candidate for the Victorian Legislative Assembly seat of Melbourne, but was defeated.

On 10 September he married Ellen Curtin at St. Francis Catholic Church in Melbourne. Ellen had migrated from County Cork, Ireland, in September 1856. At the time of her marriage she was working as a housemaid in Melbourne. Don's employment was as a stonemason and he had been admitted as a member of the Operative Stonemasons' Society in 1857. In 1858 a son, Alexander Sarcefield, was born.

In 1859 Charles Don stood again for the Legislative Assembly. This time he was elected, topping the poll for the inner suburban seat of Collingwood. He was to represent Collingwood until 1864, and was probably the first true 'workingman' to sit in a parliament anywhere in the British Empire. At this time members were not paid; so Don worked as a mason during the day and attended parliament at night. During these years he was constantly in the public eye and his blunt yet colourful speech enlivened many public and parliamentary debate. He lost his seat in 1864 after a split in his party over land reform.

On 14 February 1865, Ellen Don died at Collingwood from a 'heart disease' — she had been ill for eighteen months. Around the same time Don's own health was failing. It was to be the start of his physical decline and, though he was still appearing at radical meetings in Melbourne, his old fire had almost disappeared. He had also taken to excessive drinking which he claimed was to allay his disease.

On September 1866 Charles Don died from 'Phthisis diarrhoea', today known as pulmonary T B. Alexander, his son, was sent to live with his wife's sister in Sydney. At the time of his death Hamilton claims his sister, daughter and mother, then 82, were still living in Scotland, probably in Coupar Angus. The Melbourne paper 'The Age' of 1 October 1866 reported on the 'tens of thousands of citizens of Melbourne and the inhabitants of the suburbs' at the funeral procession through the streets of the city. The previous day the same paper described him as 'par excellence a tribune of the people'.

A biography of Don is planned by Des Striel, and any information about Don would be gratefully received and should be sent to 24 The Glen, Donvale 3111, Victoria, Australia.

MISS I. F. GRANT, M.B.E., LL.D

AN APPRECIATION

The death at an Edinburgh hospital in September last, of Miss Isabel Frances Grant, removed from our midst a distinguished historian and folklorist. Aged 96, she had been in failing health for some years.

Miss Grant was born in Edinburgh, daughter of Col. H.G. Grant, C.B., Seaforth Highlanders. She was proud of her northern ancestry and from an early age was taught stories and traditions of the Highlands. Although she had little formal education, she was an avid reader and showed originality of thought from her early years.

On a visit to Scandinavia in 1920, Miss Grant became aware of the importance of folk museums, and she realised there was no collection to cover the vanishing mode of life in the Scottish Highlands. She helped to bring together an exhibition at Inverness, which ran for two months. The idea of forming a folk museum came to her in 1934. Receipt of a small legacy and the possibility of purchasing a disused Free Church building on the island of Iona precipitated the decision, and she moved her personal collection there. She named her small museum Am Fasgadh — 'The Shelter' — "because it was to shelter homely ancient Highland things from destruction," Within three years the building was overcrowded and either enlargement or a move had to be planned.

A temporary sojourn at Laggan was a time of arrested development because the War broke out shortly after the move there in 1938. There were fewer visitors owing to the petrol restrictions, and it was no longer possible to undertake forays all over the Highlands and Western Isles in search of exhibits.

In 1944 Miss Grant bought a pleasant two-storey Georgian house at Kingussie, with a floor-plan suitable for displaying a collection, and standing in three acres of grounds. She re-arranged her museum, and in the grounds had built three different kinds of old Highland cottages, only one of which — the Lewis type — is now complete. The agricultural implements were housed in a shed, and an old-style dairy was constructed. Miss Grant continued her search for material, and many friends and visitors donated items of interest.

During her time at Kingussie, she added to her vast store of knowledge, and her most popular book, *Highland FolkWays*, now in paperback, owes much to this period. In 1955, she sold her museum to the Scottish Universities, and went to live at 35 Heriot Row, Edinburgh. Am Fasgadh is now administered by the Highland Regional Council, and a pleasing feature is 'The Grant Room', laid out in 1979.

Throughout her life Miss Grant was a prolific writer. Her first piece of serious research was for a book based on the farm accounts of her great-great-grandfather. Her early works on the social and economic background of Scotland have already been widely quoted, and her later books will provide background material for students of Highland history for generations to come. She contributed to *The Scotsman*: *Estate Magazine*: *The Scottish Historical Review*: *Economic Journal*: *The Clan MacLeod Magazine* and other periodicals. This is not the place to attempt a full assessment of her literary activities, but her principal works — some of which have been revised and republished — are listed here for the convenience of readers:

Everyday Life on an Old Highland Farm (London, 1926)
Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh, 1930)
In the Tracks of Montrose (London, 1931)
Social and Economic History of Scotland (London, 1934)
The Lordship of the Isles (Edinburgh, 1935)
Am Fasgadh: The Highland Folk Museum at Kingussie (Glasgow, 1945)
Let's See Badenoch and Rothiemurchus (Fort William, 1950)
Clan Donald: A Gaelic Principality as a Focus for Gaelic Culture (Edinburgh, 1952)
Clan MacLeod: With their Rock-built Fortress they have endured (Edinburgh, 1953)
Clan Grant: The Development of a Clan (Edinburgh, 1955)
The MacLeods: The History of a Clan (London, 1959)
Highland Folk Ways (London, 1961)
Angus Og of The Isles (Edinburgh & London, 1969)
Along a Highland Road (London, 1980)

Miss Grant took a great interest in the founding of the Scottish Genealogy Society, and served on the Council from 1957 to 1961. She was also a member of the Scottish History Society. In 1948, the University of Edinburgh conferred on her the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and in 1959, she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire. Her hobbies were needlework, gardening, and in her younger days motor-ing. At the height of her career she had many friends, some of whom, including Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Dame Flora MacLeod of MacLeod and the Rev. Donald Mac-kinnon, pre-deceased her. Many others will remember her with affection and as one of Scotland's most remarkable women.

DONALD WHYTE

MCNEILLS OF CANNA

by Sir Archibald Ross

The family bible started by George Melville, of Beach Hill, Campbeltown, begins with the statement that he married Jane McNeill, daughter of Donald McNeill Esq., Island of Canna, the 5th October, 1840. In the entry of Jane's death in the Campbeltown registers her parents are given as Donald McNeill, Landed Proprietor, and Jane McDonald. They were not, however, married and Donald's will mentions three 'natural or illegitimate children', of whom, as can be inferred from other official documents, Jane, born 1812, was the eldest by many years. His heir also was called Donald, born 1833 or thereabouts of whom more hereafter, and the other son was called Archibald.

With the generous help of Dr. J.L. Campbell, proprietor of Canna from 1938 to 1981, who has an excellent library of the history and culture of the Western Isles, and Mr. Noel Banks, author of 'Seven Inner Hebrides', who has kindly supplied leads to valuable source material, it has been possible to uncover facts about Donald McNeill and his father Hector McNeill, which the intervening generations may not have known or, if they knew, may have been content to forget; and from a combination of sources, viz: documents in the Scottish Record Office, reports of public servants, deeds in the possession of Dr. Campbell or examined by him and the oral tradition taken down from the lips of islanders, we can put together a fairly substantial account of these McNeills, who, with Donald's heir, hereinafter called Donald II, lorded it in Canna for a hundred years. Undoubtedly Dr. Campbell's forthcoming book on the history of Canna will contain a scholarly study of this family in its social and economic setting. What follows here is recorded mainly for its personal and genealogical interest. Matters which rest on conjecture are frankly described as such; and it has to be admitted that much of the story is missing.

Hector McNeill is first noticed as a merchant in Killarow, Islay, in 1762 and in Campbeltown from 1765 to 1775 at least.(1) In 1785 the Commissary General for Stores in Scotland writes to the sheriff clerk in Inverness at the instance of the Duke of Argyll to start process for recovery of three years' rent of a field to 1781 against Hector(2) MacNeill, 'late merchant in Campbeltown, Dalintober now in Canna.'(2) Two

- (1) From a letter from Mr. Harry McNeill, dated Dauphin, Manitoba, Nov: 28, 1934 to the Editor of the Scot's Magazine, kindly copied by Dr. Campbell.
- (2) From Inverneill Papers, by courtesy of Dr. Campbell. The Commissary was a brother of Dr. Campbell's great great great grandfather.

deeds confirm the date of Hector's move to Canna as 1781. On 18th June that year the tutors of John Macdonald of Clanranald required one Alexander Macdonald to 'resign the right of the change-house (i.e. post-house or inn) of Canna and two penny land in Corgoun in favour of Mr. Hector McNeill, Sr., merchant in Campbeltown', while continuing in occupation of certain lands on Sanday(1). On the following day the tutors agreed to grant Hector a 24 year lease of the 'eighteen penny lands of Tarbert as possessed by Mrs. Mackinnon Junior of Correchattechan and two pennies of the farm of Corrogown all in the Isle of Canna' to run from Whitsun 1782 and undertook to advance him money to build a change-house at Corregown; and 'since there were no houses on the farms (he was)

to get', he was to build for himself 'a house and offices of stone and lime, slated', for which he would receive a 'milleration' at the expiry of his tack.(2)

A report of the British Fisheries Society from 1788 describes a visit to MacNeill and his family:

'From thence (Compass Hill) walked to MacNeil's house by the cluster of houses called a town (Lag a' Bhaile, or Dale of the Town) Mr. MacNeil had married a sister of MacDonald of Boisdale and we found him with three daughters and a son, another son had gone to Mull, two of the girls were grown up. He had with him a Mr. MacDonald, a Brother in Law, who had served last war in the army in America. They came aboard and dined and we returned with him to his house to tea. The house had a neat outside but miserable interior, for the first time I perceived the inside of a room not plaistered but rough cast, the room was in addition paved with stone

He is the first tacksman ever employed on the spot, heretofore the small tenants governed or rather quarrelled among themselves. His lease is 24 years five of which are expired, and upon this only security the house, the garden, the inn, the mill, have been reared. He pays Clanranald £206 and talks of putting still more into his pocket, his own profits are doubtless at least equivalent to the proprietors otherwise the banishment he undergoes would be intolerable, he being the only person of education in Canna; he maintains however that they are never alone throughout the year'(3)

At this time the Society had decided that Canna was an ideal spot for a fishing village. Clanranald offered land near the harbour but as it was leased to McNeill the latter was in a position to be awkward. In fact word got around that the fishing population was about to be removed by the 'engrossing tenant' and when negotiations started

(1) From Clanranald Paper, by courtesy of Dr. Campbell.

(2) Scottish Record Office, GD 201/5/1185.

(3) Report in the National Library of Scotland. Extract by courtesy of Dr. Campbell.

in earnest in 1789 McNeill declared that he would not take less than £400 for his lease unless he were appointed agent at the settlement, for which he was not considered suitable. Clanranald for his part first refused the additional land which the Society held to be essential if the population were to be made self-sufficient, then offered it at so enormous a price that the Society decided the game was not worth the candle: 'So farewell bonny Cannay the best fishery station in the Hebrides and the most tempting spot for settlement — farewell poor inhabitants.'(1) The Society's admirable initiative thus foundered on the rapacity of tenant and landlord, who may indeed have been acting in concert, but there is no evidence that the threatened eviction was more than a rumour. Had it been carried out, it would surely have been remembered in the oral tradition, and remembered against McNeill.(2) What probably happened is that the inhabitants of eight houses from Lag a' Bhaile were moved to Sanday for kelping between 1788 and 1805.(3) There may have been further moves, but statistical evidence is lacking.(3)

By the time Hector makes his will in 1802 his family has grown to six daughters, Jean, Elizabeth, Margaret, Janet, Mary and Ann, and three sons, Donald, Alexander and John. His wife's name is Janet; he has previously entered into a £20 annuity bond in her

favour, and in case any of his children are under age when he dies, he appoints 'tutors and curators'. Considering that in 1788 two of his daughters were 'grown up', i.e. were born before 1770, the annuity bond and the precautionary appointment of curators suggest that possibly Janet was not the sister of Boisdale whom the Fisheries Society had met but a second, much younger wife. Be that as it may, the curators include Roderick McNeil of Barra, who will have been a cousin of the Boisdale wife on her mother's side, and the same officer as the Society's Report mentions, 'captain James MacDonald my brother in law'.(4)

With exception of Donald, of whom we treat below, and Elizabeth, who was spoken for in 1790 by one George Heslop of North Shields in an elegant letter written on behalf of his son(5), there is no further trace of any of the children of Hector.(6) One of the elder daughters however may have married Captain (later Major) Archibald MacNeill, whom we mention below.

- (1) Jean Dunlop: 'The British Fisheries Society 1786-1793, pp 90-91.
- (2) Statistics collated by Dr. Campbell show a drop in the population of Canna with Sanday from 322 in 1768 to 304 in 1794, hardly enough to invalidate this conclusion. Over the following 20 years the population increased by two-thirds.
- (3) From a comparison of maps of Canna from those two years, courtesy of Dr. Campbell.
- (4) Copy of the Will obtained from S. R. O., RD 2/287.
- (5) Copy of H's letter sent to Dr. Campbell by Harry McNeill.
- (6) Since Hector is styled 'Senior' in two documents, it is conceivable that he had a son of the same name who died before 1802.

Hector McNeill is believed to be buried in Canna about sixty yards to the south of the broken cross in the old churchyard. Nearby is, or should be, a slab, 'said to be Clanranald'. The authority for these statements is a manuscript note, accompanied by a rough sketch-map, by the late T. C. Lethbridge(1) recording a conversation with an islander, Allan McIsaac, in 1955.

'Hector McNeil is buried under a slab of Portland stone, which came in ballast. He is somewhere near the cross. An Arran man pointed out his grave to McIsaac's father saying 'The old devil owes me £12; may the Devil roast him for it,' McIsaac said that Clan Ranald's daughter married Hector McNeill and had part of Tarbert as dowry. Hector was a smuggler, and a rascal. He gradually got hold of the whole island

Hector must have died in 1809 or 1810, for on the 26th April of the latter year an undertaking was given by Clanranald's commissioner 'to let the farms of Keil, Coragon and Tabet in Canna with the Island 'of Hysker' to his son, Donald, for eleven years for £400 sterling, while confirming him 'in possession of Sanday' subject to the reservation of certain rights to the tenants there ('liberty of fuel and divot') and to Clanranald ('to enclose and plant').(2)

In 1823 the Trustees of Reginald George Macdonald of Clanranald, a boon companion of the Prince Regent and Member of Parliament for a rotten borough in the west

of England!, were borrowing money left, right and centre. Loans were secured on the rents of the family estates, including 'all and hail the island of Canna extending to a ten pound land' along with the 'heritable office of bailiary within the whole bounds of the said island of Canna'. 'In this way Donald McNeill lent £4,500. (3) His lease was evidently renewed after the first term of eleven years, for he refers to it as on the point of expiry when in 1827 he renounced the security and proceeded to buy Canna.(4) On 15th January 1828 he was seized as proprietor of the 'Island of Canna, Sanday Island and the Islands of Hysker and Humulo with the Kelp, Kelp Shores and Rocks of the same, and Teinds'. He was simultaneously admitted to the bailiary.(5) He paid £9,000 and received £1,000 for 'meliorations' during his time as tacksman.(6)

It is a pity that the Report of the Glasgow Committee for Relief to destitute Highlanders of 1837 cannot be traced because it evidently contained a full account of

- (1) Writer and yachtsman, he visited Canna frequently. He left the note with Dr. Campbell.
- (2) S. R. O. GD201/2/63. There is a draft tack to the same effect: GD201/5/12-01.
- (3) S. R. O. RS3/1290 pp 52 et sequ
- (4) S. R. O. GR1484. 242.
- (5) The site of the 'Punishment Stone', where the baillies of old meted out arough justice, is still shown but there is no tradition of its use in Donald's day. After the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions by a Act of Parliament in 1746 the office must have been purely honorific.
- (6) S. R. O. GR 1487: 272.

how Canna was managed by Donald McNeill. A report had also been made to the Government in 1837 by one Robert Graham, who was so impressed by McNeill's management of Canna as to present it as a complete justification of the then fashionable cure for the impoverishment of the Highlands, namely, emigration of those for whom there was no work and improved conditions for those allowed to remain, preferably under new large tenants with farming skills and capital from elsewhere ('strangers'). This had in fact been recommended by Duncan Shaw, the overseer of the Clanranald estates, based on Benbecula, in a letter of 8th May 1827, just before the entire estates were sold.(1) In evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1841 Graham said:

'His (McNeill's) first step was to emigrate 200 persons at his own expense; he made new arrangements for the remainder; he built huts and put the whole thing in a totally different shape, and they are comparatively in a most happy, flourishing state, and quite different from the general state of the Highlander on the west coast; it is his island, and being entirely the property of one man, it was more easy of him to be quite rigid, and he is very strict in his rules as to not allowing more than one family to live in one house, and he allows no squatting or settling on the land.'(2)

Another witness before the Committee was the Secretary of the Glasgow Committee C. R. Baird.

He held that 'the want of education was the greatest curse of the Highlands' and said that Canna in particular suffered from this curse.(3) But in general he was highly complimentary to McNeill. 'Canna is particularly well off,' he said, 'It was purchased some years ago by Mr. McNeill, who was formerly a merchant or trader The island is now perhaps one of the finest in the Western Isles,'(4) After referring to his report on how McNeill had managed Canna, Baird continued: 'The proprietor has told me that many of these islands could be made into flourishing gardens; but his plan was first to remove the people ...'(5) A member of the Committee recalled that McNeill had been the tenant of Canna for many years 'and as such was regarded as the protector of the people'. 'To a considerable extent,' replied Baird, 'but the great improvements came after that.' -- 'but was he not a stranger?' 'No, but he made his money chiefly as a kind of merchant or trader.'(6) In this reply Baird was not only asserting the unfashionable view that a local man could be a good landlord (given the necessary capital, of course) but also discreetly alluding to some of Donald's sources of income. Similarly James Wilson, F.R.S.E.,(1) who visited Canna in

(1) S. R. O. GD 201/1/338.

(2) Reports (Parliamentary) from Committee, Vol: VI 1841 Session 26 January — 22 June.

(3) Emigration, Scotland, Reply to Qn. 447. Graham's report is at Appendix.

(3) Ibidem, Qn. 528.

(4) Ibidem, Qn. 531.

(5) Ibidem, Qn. 588.

(6) Ibidem, Qn. 627-9.

1842, wrote that the proprietor was doing well for himself 'in farming (he particularly mentioned dairy farming) and other things', adding that 'Canna lies a long way from the Customs House.' In plain language, Donald was a smuggler like his father, no dishonour to them as Highlanders.

Whether Donald was a good, as opposed to merely an efficient landlord, can be debated elsewhere. The 200 people whom he 'emigrated' may in the main have gone from Sanday, the population of which Duncan Shaw, writing on 25th February 1827, numbers at 'at least 200' and describes as having been 'sent from the mainland(2) some years previously(3) with a view to the 'fishing' but they neither fished nor did any other work. They were 'most miserably poor'. By the 1820's the heyday of the kelp industry was over and the labour they could give the factor barely covered a quarter of what they 'owed'. The fishing subsidy was being phased out. Who is to say that the inhabitants would not fare better in the New World?

When Donald succeeded Hector in 1810, he was already forty years old.(4) What he had been doing since he became a man is a mystery. There is a puzzling statement in 'Clan Donald', that Margaret Macdonald of Boisdale married 'Donald McNeill, born 1800 (!), of Kenachreggan,(5) afterwards of Canna,' We have seen that Hector McNeill married a Boisdale, possibly the first of two wives; and Dr. Campbell, who has found evidence of the interest of the Boisdale branch of the Macdonalds in Kenachreggan, thinks that

'Clan Donald' has simply got the generations mixed up. But there is no independent evidence linking Hector with Kenachreggan, and the years before he came to Canna are fully accounted for in Kintyre. As to Donald, the tradition on Canna knows nothing of his ever marrying, but it is almost incredible that a man with his prospects could not and would not have found a wife. If he did, Boisdale or not, she may have died young and childless or, being unable to bear children, lived separate and prevented her husband from remarrying. As we have seen, Donald had been 'a kind of merchant' or 'trader' before he settled in Canna. He may therefore have run a business based on Kenachreggan, but here again we are in the realm of speculation.

- (1) 'A Voyage round the Coasts of Scotland'.
- (2) Shaw's letter is quoted in extenso in Dr. Campbell's article 'Eviction at First Hand' in The Scots Magazine, January 1945. Campbell, followed by Banks, takes 'mainland' to refer to Canna proper. This must be right: there is no evidence in the Statistical Tables for a total increase of this magnitude.
- (3) A vague expression. The clearance of Lag a' Bhaile in Hector's time would not account for all the 200. Banks says that 'Donald bundled 32 families over to Sanday' but the evidence for this has not been traced.
- (4) Memorial slab, see below.
- (5) Now 'Inverailort Castle'.

Donald McNeill died on 11th November 1848 aged 79 years. This we know from a memorial tablet erected some years later by his son. There is no mention of the mother. As the son was born in 1833, she is not likely to have been the Jane McDonald who gave Donald a daughter in 1812. In fact Canna tradition holds that she was a McIsaac, who subsequently married and settled on Eigg.(1) It is perhaps significant that when the second great clearance of Canna took place in 1851, the McDonalds and the McIsaacs were spared.(2)

By his Will Donald left Canna to his elder son (Donald II), still a minor in 1848, £3,000 to his daughter and £1,000 to his younger son. In the event of Donald II dying before marriage or majority a nephew, Hector Archibald McNeill, W.S., was to inherit Canna. Five curators were appointed for Donald II's minority, but with one exception they declined to act. The exception was the aforesaid nephew. He, however was advised that there was no legal authority for a father to appoint curators for illegitimate children. He therefore applied to the Court for appointment. The Court in turn demurred to appointing him sole trustee because of the possibility of his inheriting and it therefore appointed him and a person of his choice as well. This person was Captain (later Major) Archibald McNeill, one of the original five.(3) According to the records of the Society of Writers to the Signet these gentlemen were respectively son and father. It was they who carried out the evictions.

Angus MacLeod, who came to Canna to work in the 1870s, gives a graphic account of life under Donald II.(4) Every one worked for the laird, for a shilling a day, if that. There was an enormous quantity of stock, about 2000 sheep (as against 600 in Donald I's time), Ayrshire dairy cows as well as Highlanders. McNeill made cheese and shipped it to the mainland, and sold the cattle beasts. There was a tailor who went round the houses

making up suits of the local cloth for £1 plus his keep. The harbour was full of fishing boats, mostly from Barra. There was always smuggling and tricks to play on the excise-men.

MacLeod describes Donald II as a hard, cantankerous man, always short of money and even the necessities of life. He attributed this poverty to Donald's premarital indis-

- (1) Dr. Campbell heard this at one remove from Mrs. Jessie Mackinnon, who would have heard it from her father, Angus Macdonald, born 1863.
- (2) The precise date is uncertain. Comparison of the statistics for 1851 and 1861 shows that it was after the census of 1851 was taken, and it must have been before 1854, because Angus MacLeod is positive that the evictions were the work of Donald II's trustees.
- (3) Summons of Multiple poinding, S. R. O., CS 237/5/26/22.
- (4) Courtesy of Dr. Campbell, who recorded MacLeod on wire in 1949.

cretions; which is true up to a point. Before marrying the daughter of John MacLean, a big drover from Moidart, who had been the beneficiary of the 1851 evictions, Donald II had to face two actions for breach of promise, of which highly entertaining accounts may be read in the West Record Office, Edinburgh.(1) MacLeod says that one of the young ladies about whom Donald had second thoughts, having seen her in daylight, was awarded payment in damages for the rest of her life. The court documents do not bear this out, only that Donald made terms with both ladies and had to put up a bond for £1,000 in return for the recall of arrestments on the estate. But it is clear that his early peccadilloes undermined his finances, which were then further weakened by the expense of the fine house his Bella made him build and the English education he gave their four sons at Ushaw College, Durham, perhaps to prepare them for a new start in life when the inevitable crash came. There is extant a formidable list of encumbrances on the estate, discharged and otherwise, when Canna was sold in 1881, which amply justifies the traditional opinion that Donald II was ruined by debt. One of the old women evicted in 1851 had exclaimed: 'You will leave as poor as we.' Her words were recalled in 1981 by the postmistress of Canna, Mrs. Mary Ann MacLean, in picturesque language: 'There will not be a cockerel or a hen to scratch about in your dunghill.'(2)

The memorial tablet raised by Donald II to his father also commemorates his wife, Isabel MacLean and their daughter, Jean, who died at the age of 12 in a convent in Inverness. The couple also had four sons, Donald, John, Henry (already mentioned as Harry) and Peter.(3) These all moved out with their father to Tobermory. 'He was not missed much', was MacLeod's verdict. The sons settled in Manitoba but it is doubtful that the father got so far. Dr. Niel Morrison in Tobermory has heard it said that he is buried in that parish; no death certificate can be found in Manitoba.

Nothing is known for certain about the origins of these McNeills. Hector was probably an eldest son, for in 1800 he and his brother Archibald agreed to accept the award of an arbitrator to settle claims arising out of Hector's administration of the Will of their mother, Elizabeth. The deed also shows that there were two other brothers,

- (1) S. R. O. CS 237/5/26/22 and CS 230/Mc 13/4.
- (2) Gaelic: gun chearc a bhith agad a sgriobas do shìtig, literally, without having hen to scrape around your dunghill. She said it in both languages.
- (3) Angus MacLeod and Ushaw College records.

Stephen and Malcolm.(1) Unfortunately no trace of Elizabeth McNeill's Will or of her marriage to Hector's father has been found. Angus Macdonald,(2) speaking in 1946, said that Hector came from a farm near the point of the Mull of Kintyre. His daughter, in 1981, gave the name of this place as Poll a' chreagain (pool of the little stones), which unfortunately cannot be found on the maps; although Ballygroggan exists (near Lossit), it is not near the point of the Mull. She also said that Hector was called Eachann Dubh. Angus further said that the first of them who came was Iain Ileach (John of Islay)... Mr. Neil Cameron in 'MacNeils of Ardnacross and Islay' demonstrates that many of the MacNeils of Gigha and Kintyre also appear as owners or tenants of land in Islay.(3) He conjectures that Hector may be one of these. A connexion with McNeill of Gallochelly has also been suspected, on the strength of a silver snuff-box inscribed 'J.F. McNeill Gallochilly to 'Capt Melvill'. The giver is undoubtedly Hector Frederick McNeill, R.N., who succeeded to his brother, Daniel, in 1803 and subsequently sold the estate. In the Calendar of Taynish Charters (4) there are numerous references to Gallochelly, including one to Hector, cousin german to Donald of Galchelly(5) and to this Hector's son, John. But there are no grounds, other than hope, for linking this John with Iain Ileach. Indeed Dr. Campbell is sceptical of any attempt to link the Canna line with any other landowning families, on the grounds that, if a link had existed, it would certainly have been reported in the local tradition. The descendants of Hector McNeill of Canna may amuse themselves with the conjecture that Iain Ileach is that 'John McNeill in the parish of 'Kilvorow', who on 11th November 1697 compeared before the Presbytery of Kintyre in session at Kilvorow, 'trelapse in fornication with Katherine McMuir relapse (being referred to the presbytery by the session of the said parish) and confessed the said crime with some measure of 'sanse and remorse for it.'(6)

- (1) S. R. O. RD 4/216.
- (2) Father of Mrs. Jessie Mackinnon and Mrs. Mary Ann MacLean, born 1863
- (3) Published in The Scottish Genealogist, Vol. XXVII, Sept. 1980. The author is a mathematician, now teaching in Australia, with history as a hobby. He suggests one or two lines of descent based on Rental Rolls. He has not been asked specifically about 'Iain Ileach' but one of his Rental Rolls mentions a John in relation to land in Killarow.
- (4) Extracts by courtesy of Dr. Campbell.
- (5) There are various English spellings, including Galchalzie and Gallochoilzie. The second element is presumably the Gaelic coille, wood.
- (6) From copies of the Minutes of the Presbytery of Kintyre, by courtesy of the Honorary Librarian of the Islay Museums Trust, Mr. Gordon Booth, F.S.A. Scot.

The writer acknowledges the generous help of the staff of the Scottish Record Office in tracing documents mentioned in this article.

In the article "Research Story: McFadyen of Coll in Argyll" by Mrs. Brenda Dougall Merriman, appearing on page nine of volumn XXX No. 1 the last part of the article was unfortunately omitted, for which our apologies are due to Mrs. Merriman. Therefore we are reprinting the article in full.

**RESEARCH STORY: McFADYEN OF COLL IN ARGYLL, RIVER DENYS IN
CAPE BRETON, OAKBANK IN MANITOBA**

by

Brenda Dougall Merriman B.A., C.G.R.S.

DIRECT DESCENT

DONALD McFADYEN *

b.c. 1774 Isle of Coll (2, 3, 8)

m.c. 1797 FLORA McLEAN (1, 2, 4)

d.c. 1861—1871 Inverness County, N.S. (8, 9)

HECTOR McFADYEN (2, 4)

b.c. 1808 Isle of Coll (2)

m.c. 1832 JESSIE McKENZIE (4, 6)

d.c. 1861—1871 Inverness County, N.S. (8, 9)

JOHN McFADYEN (4, 11)

b.c. 1837 Inverness County, N.S. (9, 11, 16)

m.c. 1872 ISABELLA CAMPBELL (10, 12)

d. 31st July, 1915 Oakbank, Manitoba (11, 12)

JESSIE ISABELLA McFADYEN (13, 18)

b.c. 1873 Boston, Massachusetts (14, 15)

m. 14th March, 1894 WILLIAM CHARLES DOUGALL (13, 19)

d. 15th September, 1927 Vancouver, B.C. (14)

*McFADYEN was found in at least 12 spelling variations, which are used in the text as they appeared in records.

** Also found as River Dennis

How little these rough dates tell us about 152 years and four generations of one family. Years of searching have produced some primary evidence, but enough circumstantial evidence to re-trace this family's journey across half the world.

The starting point for research was the name of my grandmother, Jessie Isabella McFadyen Dougall, who died long before I was born. Although she died in Vancouver she had lived most of her life in Manitoba, and relatives were able to supply bits and pieces of information to keep the hunt going. Upon locating her death certificate, I learned that "Belle" as she was known, died in Vancouver aged 54, no parents' name, birthplace given as the United States. The Memorial Record written at the time of her funeral said she was born in Boston circa January 1873. This seemed to confirm family tradition that she had been born in "the Boston States" where her seafaring father had sold his boat to finance the journey from Nova Scotia to Manitoba where good farmland

beckoned. They likely took the overland route to St. Paul, Minnesota, then continuing down the Red River to Winnipeg.

Belle grew up as the oldest in a family of ten, five girls and five boys, from whom the McFadyen name did not survive. Her brothers Jack and Hector died childless; Dan's first wife and child died soon after birth. Bob died in a farmhouse fire and Willie was killed in France during World War I. Many of them lie in Moosenose or Sunnyside Cemetery near the family farm at Oakbank, now the Municipality of Springfield.

The State of Massachusetts and four early Presbyterian churches in Boston had no record of Belle's birth. In 1894 she had married William Charles Dougall at Sunnyside, her parents name as John and Isabella McFadyen. Cemetery headstones showed that her mother's name was Isabella Campbell and that her father died in 1915 aged 78. Finding his death registration gave his place of death as section 15 township 11 range 1 east, Oakbank, Manitoba; born 1837 Cape Breton, father Hector also born Cape Breton, mother Jessie McKenzie born Scotland. A result of this was obtaining a copy of John's homestead application of 1874, with patent issued 1878.

John was not located in the 1870 Manitoba census. His death occurred six weeks after that of his son Willie, so he was spared further family anguish two years later when his grandson Hector Dougall was shot down in a plane crash in France behind the enemy lines.

My father and his sisters, children of Belle and William Charles Dougall, spent childhood summers at their grandfather McFadyen's farm around the turn of the century. An evening ritual was always a bible reading at the dining room table by John McFadyen. Their grandmother Isabella Campbell had been raised "in the Gaelic" in Nova Scotia and spoke very fractured English to the end of her days, at times endearing and at times embarrassing to her modern grandchildren. After her husband's death in 1915 Isabella loved nothing better than to travel, visiting her children and other relatives. Eventually she died in Vancouver in 1924 at the home of her daughter Barbara McKenzie. Her visit to Nova Scotia relatives in those days, over sixty years ago, is still remembered by descendants of those relatives in the early 1980's.

At this point it looked like John and Isabella were still in Nova Scotia up until about 1872. I was unable to locate a marriage record for them through vital registration and public Archives of Nova Scotia, nor a birth record for Belle, in case she had been born before reaching Boston. No-one in the family could remember any specific place-name reference in Nova Scotia.

Unwilling to give up, I reasoned that immigrant ships coming to Cape Breton often landed at Port Hawkesbury in the Strait of Canso. Port Hawkesbury is in Inverness County, for which a history was available. J. L. MacDougall's *History of Inverness County* is a 690 page volume of genealogies and local history, originally published in 1922. The genealogies were gathered and recorded from typical Scots oral tradition, not necessarily reliable in every respect, but nonetheless a gold mine for me.

In the River Denys section is noted a Hector McFadyen(1) married to a Jessie McKenzie with a list of their children including the eldest son Lauchlin and the next son "John who moved to Manitoba about 1872". Three of the other sons drowned on the Grand Banks. Following this account(2) is a description of a Donald McFadyen, "a

pensioned soldier, who came from the Isle of Coll" and eventually settled at River Denys with sons Hector, Angus, John and Donald. The son Hector referred to the one married to Jessie McKenzie.

Besides this welcome information, there was a passenger list(3) for the "Saint Lawrence" which left Greenock 12th July 1828 for Ship Harbour in Cape Breton. On board among the 208 passengers were Donald McPhaden 54, Flory McPhaden 50, Hector 19, Anne 13, Donald 10, John 8, and Angus 6. Every passenger's former residence was given as Rum. Subsequently I verified that the original list is at Public Archives of Nova Scotia. It seems that Hector was born in Scotland, not on Cape Breton as stated on his son John's death registration.

Some research in Inverness County-River Denys area began, but the success rate was not high. In the 1871 census returns for River Denys I found Lauchlin McFadyen 34, farmer, and wife Mary 24, both born Nova Scotia, living with Jessie McFadyen 50, widow born Scotland, Hector 15, Mary 13, Angus 10, and John 32, seaman born Nova Scotia. This would appear to be my ancestor John living with his widowed mother at the farm of his brother Lauchlin. John's marriage must have taken place after the census and before the end of 1872. Isabella Campbell was not found in these returns.

In the 1861 census, unfortunately heads of families only, there was a Donald McFadyen, married, living at River Denys, 3 males and 1 in household. A second Donald McFadyen was a widower with 3 males and 3 females, including a married couple. This would seem to be Donald the soldier, and the first Donald could be his son, although the returns were faded and difficult to read. Hector McFadyen was also listed married with total of 8 males and 6 females. The children living with Lauchlin and Mary McFadyen in 1871 may have been the younger children of Jessie and Hector, now deceased, as Mary would have been aged about 14 for the birth of the youngest, Angus.

The 1838 census of Inverness listed two Donald McFaddans as well: one with four in family (two boys over 14) and one with eight in family, (all children over 6, one over 14). The first could be Donald the soldier but the second seems to be too old a family for the son Donald shown as 10 years old on the 1828 ship's list.

Nova Scotia land grants were not helpful in that the only early McFadyen listing was to Donald in 1836 at Malagawatch Harbour, about ten miles east of River Denys on Bras d'Or Lake. Landowners' maps compiled circa 1951 by the Lands and Forests Department show Hector (1870), Lauchlin H. (1905), and John (1861) on properties at River Denys. The file numbers on the map were searched at Public Archives of Nova Scotia and revealed only these dates. The same map shows a grant to Donald at Malagawatch. If he is the son of Donald the soldier, is it likely that he applied for it at the age of 18? Some of these unanswered questions might be considered in the light of a suggestion from a student of Scottish genealogy: the ages of children given for ship's passage could well have been less than their real age, in order to pay a reduced fare.

Correspondence with churches and newly discovered distant relatives told me that the earliest Presbyterian registers had been destroyed by fire at River Denys, now Forbes United Church. However Donald and Hector McFadyen signed an agreement in 1830 to support the first minister, and Jessie McFadyen was on the Communion Roll for 1832. My informants could only say there were many cemeteries in the area, and a hunt for rel-

evant headstones has not yet been undertaken. Death certificates for Donald and his son Hector were not found, deaths probably occurring between 1861 and 1871.

One correspondent was able to supply, from family tradition, that Isabella Campbell was the daughter of Robert Campbell and Isabella Calder, originally from Inverness-shire, Scotland, who settled on the West Bay side of Marble Mountain. Her brother Hugh's son was Alex "Manager" Campbell of the Marble Mountain Dolemite Quarry. There was an Isabella Campbell 40, single, living in this area during the 1871 census, but her age differs by fifteen years from my ancestor's age at death.

Turning to research in Scottish records, information on Donald the emigrant was sparse. Shown as 54 on the ship's list in 1828, he could have been born circa 1774. But was he from Coll as MacDougall said, or was he from Rum as all the passengers were recorded? The Isle of Rum, part of the Small Isles parish in Argyll, had no existing records prior to 1800 at the Scottish Record Office. The island was owned by Maclean lairds of Coll until 1848(4) or 1856(5) according to two sources. Accounts also differ on whether it was 1826(6) or 1828(7) when the 443 inhabitants were shipped off to North America to be replaced by four shepherds and 8,000 sheep(7). In spite of this final clearance, Maclean of Coll was one of the few highland chiefs who "still honoured the old link with their people." MacLeod of Dunvegan, Lord MacDonald of Skye, and Maclean of Coll, spent almost all their fortunes on relief work."(8).

Neil Maclean became minister of Small Isles in 1811 and of Tiree & Coll in 1817. He succeeded his father Donald who went to Small Isles as minister in 1787. "He preached once a month in Rum, once a month in Muck, once a quarter in Canna, and the remainder of the time in Eigg, where he resided,"(9) Possibly the records of these two men have survived privately.

Searching parish registers for Coll and Tiree was more rewarding in that the following children were baptised to Donald McPadden and Flora McLean: Lachlan 30th November, 1798 at Toraston; Angus 16th May, 1801 at Toraston; Anne 3rd February, 1811 at Toraston; John, 2nd June, 1816 at Toraston; Angus 15th March, 1819 at Cliad. No marriage record was found. A Donald McFadyen married a Flora Campbell in 1811 but none of their children had the names of Donald the emigrant's children. The registers do not account for the baptisms of Hector and Donald if Donald and Flora McLean are indeed the correct parents. Furthermore, a family researcher in Australia is descended from a Roderick McFadyen, son of Donald and Flora McLean, who married on Coll in 1826 and left for Australia in 1856. Of Roderick's four oldest children, two are named after the mother's parents, and the other two are named Flory and Donald.

The three children who appear both in parish registers and on the ship's list, Ann, John, and Angus, are written as 3-4 years younger on the latter.

The remaining clue to follow was "pensioned soldier". What regiment would a resident of Rum or Coll join? Although the Macleans of Coll and Rum had various military connections, I decided to explore first the 91st Regiment of Foot (now the Argyllshire & Sutherland Highlanders) which was originally raised by the Duke of Argyll in 1794. (10) Parts of Coll were owned at this time by the Campbell Duke. (11)

This proved to be a fortunate choice as enlistment records for this regiment from the British War Office showed that a Donald McPhadden born in the parish of Coll joined the 91st Foot, 2nd Battalion, at age 35 in 1807, corresponding to his age later on the ship's list. When enlisting he was at the maximum acceptable age, a labourer, the minimum acceptable height of 5'4", with brown hair, brown eyes, brown complexion, and "round form of visage".

Further investigation of Pay Lists 1813 - 1815 showed Private Donald in service until December of 1812 when he went "on furlough" and was struck off the list as a deserter. This was later corrected upon learning that his furlough had been extended to allow him to farm at Colchester. While his Battalion was at Stralaund and Ostend (12) he remained at the depot and was discharged at Ayr 24 December 1814, having completed his seven-year service.

Further Pay Lists and Muster Rolls have not been pursued to date, to determine if parish register births coincide with his furloughs. After completing his army service, Donald may have moved his family to Rum, explaining his eventual emigration on a shipful of Rum residents.

A List of Inhabitants of Coll taken 2 December 1776 shows two couples with a son Donald under the age of 12: Lachlane McPhaiden and Flora Mclean at Arnapost, and Duncan McPhaiden and Catherine McDonald at Grimsary. Lauchlin and Flora are traditional family names; Duncan and Catherine are not. Donald was the only child listed for Lachlane and Flora, indicating that he was probably a very young first-born.

From the crofts of Coll to Grand Banks sailing to Manitoba farming to final days on the Pacific coast: in four generations a truly Canadian experience. In the years to come perhaps some of the gaps will fill in as more sources become available.

Thanks to the following for their help and co-operation:

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James St. Clair, Mabou
Isobelle Miller, "Auntie B"
Campbell & Ruth McKenzie, Delta
Alexander McIntyre, River Denys
Daniel McFadyen, River Denys
Maud MacKenzie, River Denys
Annie MacLeod, Sydney

FOOTNOTES

1. MacDougall, History of Inverness County, p. 491.
2. Ibid., p. 497.
3. Ibid., pp. 126 - 131.
4. Grimble, Scottish Clans & Tartans, p. 183.
5. Murray, The Hebrides, p. 121.
6. Simpson, Portrait of Skye & the Outer Hebrides, p.93.
7. Murray, op. cit., p. 141.
8. Ibid., p. 19.
9. Sinclair, The Clan Gillean, p. 391
10. Brander, The Scottish Highlanders & Their Regiments, p. 206.
11. Duke of Argyll, Autobiography & Memoirs, p. 133.
12. WO 12/9319

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DIRECT DESCENT

DONALD McPHADEN

b.c. 1774 Isle of Coll (2,3,8)

m.c. 1797 FLORA McLEAN (1,2,4)

d. 1861-1871 Cape Breton

→ HECTOR McFADYEN (2,4)

b.c. 1808 Isle of Coll (2)

m.c. 1831-1932 JESSIE McKENZIE (4,6)

d. 1861-1871

→ JOHN McFADYEN (4,11)

b.c. 1837 Inverness Co., N.S. (9,11,16)

m.c. 1872 ISABELLA CAMPBELL (10,12)

d. 31 July 1915 Springbank, Manitoba (11,12)

→ JESSIE ISABELLA McFADYEN (13,18)

b. 1873 Boston, Mass. (14,15)

m. 14 March 1894 WILLIAM CHARLES DOUGALL (13,19)

d. 15 Sept 1927 Vancouver, B.C. (14)

SOURCES

1. Coll & Tiree Parish Registers
2. "Saint Lawrence" Passenger List
3. 91st Foot Regiment Enlistment Records, Pay Lists
4. History of Inverness County
5. 1838 Census Inverness County
6. 1832 Communion Roll, River Denys Presbyterian Church
7. 1776 List of Inhabitants, Coll
8. 1861 Census River Denys
9. 1871 Census River Denys
10. Birth Registrations Manitoba children of Johny & Isabella McFadyen
11. Death record John McFadyen
12. Probate John McFadyen
13. Marriage certificate Jessie Isabella McFadyen
14. Death certificate Jessie Isabella McFadyen Dougall
15. Funeral Memorial record for Jessie Isabella Dougall

16. Moosenose (Sunnyside) cemetery inscriptions
17. Death certificate Isabella Campbell McFadyen
18. Probate Isabella C. McFadyen
19. Estate inventory Jessie Isabella McFadyen Dougall

NOTE

The Journal of the Caraher Family History Society, published yearly, is a Journal of Record for Caragher: Carra(g)her and for following surnames:— Mac Fhearchair (man dear) — Gaelige origin.

Machercar, M'Erewar, McErewar, McEregere
 M'Ferchar, McFarchard, McErchar, McFerchary,
 Makkarocher, McCarchar, McFarquhar, McArchare,
 M'Kerrichare, vic Errochar, M'Erichar, M'Kerehar,
 M'Keracher, M'Carracher, McCaraher, McCarrower,
 M'Arar, M'Erar, M'Arequhare, McArquhar,
 MCFerqhr, McFerquhare, Vic Erqr, MacFarquhar,
 Mackerrachar, Mackericher, Mackerricher, McCarquhar,
 Farquharson is not Gaelic vernacular form, but, English rendering of the name.

Membership — £3.25. Secretary, Mr. D. Caraher-Manning, 71 King Street, Crieff, Perthshire, PH7 3HB.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH IN GIBRALTAR

by LAWRENCE R. BURNES.

In 1704 when Gibraltar was captured by the British, the Spanish population decided to leave, the Priests taking with them practically all of such records as then existed. These have since been located at San Roque (St. Roche), a town a short distance from the frontier town of La Línea and clearly visible from the upper parts of the Rock. It is not known what facilities there are for getting access to these records and it would be advisable in the first place to contact the British Consul, Algeciras, Province of Cadiz, Spain, before attempting any research.

To-day, Gibraltar has a population of 30,000 crammed into an area 3½ miles long by three-quarters of a mile wide, a great proportion of which area is taken up with the precipitous rock itself so that every square inch of building space is used up, intersected by narrow, tortuous streets extending up the lower parts of the Rock and having the most awful traffic and parking problems.

On arrival, one is immediately struck by the pro-British atmosphere, most of the houses being festooned with Union flags. Despite this, however, it is surprising that so many people are only able to speak Spanish. I tried to be clever one day by taking what I thought was a short-cut through some side streets, only to get lost in a maze of alleys and closes. In trying to extricate myself, I was unable to make myself understood, even French being useless. The heat and steepness of my tracks made it a tiring experience and one which I did not attempt again! Nevertheless, the younger and better educated children are entirely bilingual and can switch from English to Spanish with the utmost ease, although the Spanish they speak is an adulterated form with English words mixed in with it. Notwithstanding this, once they cross the border into Spain they are able to converse in pure Spanish.

Most of the people are Roman Catholics, and in the Catholic Cathedral of St. Mary the Crowned they have Death records going back to 1696; but their records of Baptisms and Marriages start in 1704. These are all indexed and make most interesting reading — even a single entry can be partly in Spanish, partly in Italian and partly in Latin. Many give a most interesting insight into the turbulent history of Gibraltar. Nowadays, records are kept in English and Latin and can be researched with the assistance of a Priest. Prior to a marriage being solemnized in the Catholic Church, banns are read. These give the names and the parents of both the Bride and Bridegroom and include the maiden surname of the mother in each case.

King's Chapel, which is the Military Chapel, has records of Baptisms going back to 1769 in which the Regiment of the father is given. Marriages start in 1771 and burials in 1786. The Regiment is also given in the case of Burials as well as the age of the deceased. These records are statistically indexed only, but may be researched at the Chapel. It is also useful to know that the Ministry of Defence Chaplains (Army) hold copies of all Baptisms (except Roman Catholic) which have been performed by their Chaplains in Garrison Churches. Enquirers should write to: Ministry of Defence Chaplains (Army), Bagshot Park, Bagshot, Surrey, GU19 5PL.

Holy Trinity Cathedral (Church of England) has records of Births, Deaths and Marriages going back to 1832. These may be searched on payment of a set fee. They have not been officially indexed, but the verger has made up his own index by initial letters which can be very helpful.

The Methodist Church has a record of Baptisms starting at 1804. The names of the parents are given but not the maiden surname of the mother. Their Marriage records go back to 1840 and the particulars given are the same as for England. A record of Burials

starts in 1818, but there are blank periods. The precise date of death is occasionally given in the case of young persons. The rank and unit is stated in the case of service personnel. English is used throughout and the registers are available for research. Enquiries are also answered by post but enclose an International Reply Coupon. These records are not indexed.

Trafalgar Cemetery, as its name implies, is the burial place of many who were lost at the battle of Trafalgar and is situated just outside the City wall at the south end of the City, but it is in a disgracefully neglected state. I was told that the general cemetery at the North end of the City is worse, although I did not actually visit it. In 1804 there was an epidemic which resulted in the population being reduced by about a third.

Compulsory registration started on the following dates:—

Deaths	—	January, 1869
Births	—	24 January, 1887
Marriages	—	16 July, 1902

Generally speaking, the particulars given in the Gibraltar registers are the same as for England except that in the case of the death of a married woman her maiden surname is also given. The language used throughout is English, but up to about 1914 Spanish names were also added in brackets. A General Search of the registers is allowed and costs £7.50 per day of 6 hours. A specific search for a period of 5 years in the registers of Births and Deaths cost £1, but in the register of Marriages it costs £3.50. The present cost of Certificates is £3. Notices of marriages for contracting marriage in Gibraltar state the length of residence in Gibraltar and so do the affidavits which parties have to submit whether they are requesting Governor's Special Licence or Registrar's Special Certificate. Notices of marriages which are to be solemnized in the Registrar's office are posted in the general office.

A Register of Gibraltarians was started in 1956 under a well defined, if somewhat complex, set of rules. Because so many persons were evacuated during World War II, a special paragraph has been added which states that a British subject who is the descendant by legitimate male descent of a male person entitled to be registered as a Gibraltarian shall not be deprived of his right to be registered by reason only of the birth of his father or paternal grandfather taking place outside Gibraltar during the period 1 April, 1940 to 31 December, 1949 inclusive. Certificates were issued to those who qualified. It should also be mentioned that a Gibraltarian woman who marries or has at any time married a non-Gibraltarian shall not thereby cease or be deemed at any time to have ceased to be a Gibraltarian, but the children of any such marriages are not entitled to be registered as Gibraltarians.

Unfortunately, the Census records of Gibraltar are not available for public inspection. In any case, except for some incomplete records for a few districts, they do not show individuals' names. The first count was taken in 1878 and then at ten yearly intervals from 1881 to 1961 inclusive, except 1941. The next Census was taken on 6 Oct. 1970 and then again in November, 1981. A report on the 1981 Census will be published in the early part of 1983 but it will be of no genealogical value. A Register of Electors is available in the Public Library and may be inspected during normal opening hours. This gives the names of all persons over 18 years of age.

Before I could get these notes together, I had to make many enquiries in Government offices, Ecclesiastical establishments, the Museum and the Library. I received the greatest co-operation from those with whom I came in contact and they expressed interest in my desire to place on record information which, as far as I know, had not previously been made generally available. To all those who were kind enough to assist me in any way, I am most grateful.

HOME LANDS OF THE CLANS

By Gerald Warner, Collins, 1980, Price £7.23

The title of this aspiring coffee table book is misleading as 'The Homelands of the Clans'. The author has missed the opportunity of examining the many geographical, climatic and geological factors which have in each area, gone towards moulding the individual character of each of the Scottish clans. While the title would lead the reader to expect a treatise to this effect, the principal allusion to the lands is a few not very impressive pictures of the clan areas.

Instead of a book about the lands, we have a superficial summary of the history of twenty-nine randomly selected clans and families, in which the text is often misleading and occasionally inaccurate. The origins of the clans are accepted uncritically and where there is an alternative theory it is left unmentioned. The theory of the Cameron highland origins are recounted, while the armorially supported theory that the Cameron chiefs descend from the medieval east coast family of the Camerons of Ballegarno is ignored and the author appears unaware of recent research which ascribes to the Campbells a Briton descent.

Many aspects of the text give a wrongful impression of the historical reality. To call the Macdonells of Glengary 'almost important enough to be considered a separate clan' when their chief was recognised as principal chief of the MacDonalds and to describe the Dukes of Abercorn, who have been peers since 1587 as a junior branch of the Hamiltons, when they are heirs male of the name and to say that Lord Gordon's son was created Earl of Huntly, without mentioning the two marriages, whereby the title went to a junior line and led in 1920, to the Seton claim to a Lordship of Gordon are misleading.

There are many patent inaccuracies, which include the statement that the Rattrays are a sept of the clan Murray and that the Macraes are a clan in their own right, whereas the Rattrays have a recognised chief and the Macraes have consistently been refused recognition as a separate clan. To say boldly that the Dukes of Hamilton and Abercorn both hold the title of Duke of Chatelherault, when this has been disputed over the years without resolution and to say that 'on their wedding day in 1633, the couple were created Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch' when it was the Duke of Monmouth, who was created Duke and it was not until 1666 that the title was resigned for a re-grant to both parties conjunctly and severally, shows a confidence which many peerage lawyers would be slow to share. It is wrong to say that the head of the Bruce family was created Earl of Kincardine in 1647 when in fact the chiefly line was vested in the Earls of Elgin, a title which merged with that of Kincardine in 1747.

This is a superficial book which shows little understanding of the more complex underlying issues in many of the clan histories. Popular myths are rewritten without critical analysis, thus perpetuating wrongful impressions of many interesting aspects of Scottish family history. Readers will need to be aware of the misconceptions and inaccuracies, before they accept the book at its face value. It is a pity that the author did not take the opportunity afforded by the title, to examine an as-yet unexplored aspect of clan development in Scotland.

C. H. A.

Extracts from the Death Duty Registers at the Public Records Office, London, Relating to Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

- 2.8.1800 FORBES, GEORGE, late of Dartmouth, Devon, and a Lieutenant on half pay in H.M. Navy. ALEXANDER ANDERSON, one of the Executors. MARY ANDERSON of the Parish of Kirkliston, County of Mid Lothian, Residuary Legatee.
- 6.8.1800 RUDDACH, THOMAS, of the Island of Tobago, Merchant. CHARLES RUDDACH (the Brother) one of the Executors, Power reserved to CHARLES STEWART (the uncle) of No. 17 Saint Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, Esquire, ALEXANDER RUDDACH of Firth Street, Soho, (the Brother), JAMES CAMPBELL, JOHN BALFOUR and ROBERT MILLER the other Executors. The Testator also referred to his Right and Title to a piece of land near Kirkwall in the Orkneys called Muddersdale.
- 8.11.1800 FERGUSON, JOSEPH, late of Calcutta in Bengal in the East Indies and a Captain in H.M. 78th Regt. of Foot, Esquire, ADAM FERGUSON of the City of Edinburgh, Esquire, one of the Clerks of His Majesty's Signet, Esquire (the brother), Administrator (with Will — No Executor).
- 24.1.1801 DUNCAN, ANNE, otherwise SPENS of Edinburgh, North Britain, Widow. ANN DUNCAN, otherwise HOME, the Niece, (Wife of JAMES HOME, Esquire, Doctor of Medicine, Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Edinburgh), Executrix.
- 3.2.1801 HISLOP, ARCHIBALD, late a Corporal in His Majesty's Corps of Military Artificers and Labourers. DAVID MARTIN, Sole Executor. Mentions JOHN MARTIN of Moffet in Scotland, Nephew.
- 24.3.1801 BLAIR, The Reverend HUGH (? 1718-1800) late of the City of Edinburgh. Executor: RICHD. BANNATINE, Merchant in Edinburgh. Mentions ELIZTH. CUNNINGHAM, Sister in Law; MARTHA and GRIZZEL DRYSDALE, Nieces; ELIZTH. HUNTER, Grand Niece; HUGH BLAIR GREENFIELD; JAMES TOWNSEND OSWALD, Esquire; GEORGE WARRENDER, Esquire, Cousin; The Revd. Dr CARLYLE (? 1722-1805).
- 1.4.1801 GRINDLAY, GEORGE, of the City of Edinburgh, Merchant, GEORGE GRINDLAY of the City of Edinburgh, Merchant, the Son and Administrator (with Will), MARION BRUCE (Wife of the Testator) the sole Executrix, dying in his lifetime.
- 1.7.1801 McKERRAS, WM., a Major in His Majesty's Service and Captain Lieut of the Royal Engineers in Egypt. Executor: ANDREW McKERRAS of Leith, Merchant, the Father.
- 19.9.1801 GORDON, ALEXANDER, heretofore of the Island of Tobago afterwards of Cecil Street, Strand, Middlesex, but of the City of Bath, Esquire, CHARLES GORDON of Braid (?Lothian), Esquire, brother, surviving Executor.
- 1.10.1801 DRUMMOND, ARCHIBALD, of Rudgeway in the Parish of Stapleton, County of Gloucester, Dr. of Physic. Executor: ANDREW DRUMMOND, Esquire, the Son. Mentions KATHERINE LEARMOUTH of Edinburgh, Widow, Sister.

R. SHAW

JOHN DALLACHY, SCOT WHO BECAME AUSTRALIA'S BEST BOTANICAL COLLECTOR

by Dr. Muriel F. Loyd Pritchard.

Haddo House has been the training ground for some famous gardeners including John Coutts who started his gardening career there, later becoming Curator of Kew and author in collaboration with others of the Complete Book of Gardening first published in 1930.

Another important gardener who started his career at Haddo House was John Dallachy who achieved fame in Australia.

According to the Census for Methlick for 1841, address Haddohouse, "John Dallachy aged 35 gardner" was born in England. His wife Anne aged 30 was not born in Aberdeenshire but his three children, Joseph Sabine aged four, Mary Stewart, aged two and John aged eight months were. John Dallachy was the son of John Dallachy, soldier and Isobel Lumsden. The parents returned to their native county and John Dallachy married Ann Matthewson in March 1836. He became gardener at Haddo House, Seat of the Earl of Aberdeen. It has been suggested that through the influence of Sir William Hooker, Director of Kew, Dallachy spent some time at Kew but the Deputy Librarian there searched the archives and found no mention of him. However, he remained in touch with Sir William who probably was a visitor at Haddo House.

Dallachy as head gardener was in charge at Haddo of the finest grounds in Scotland. The Earl was an enthusiastic botanist and specialised in the cultivation of rare and exotic plants from all over the world and, in particular, from New Holland.

No doubt Dallachy profited from his association with the Earl. But in 1847 he left Scotland to manage a coffee plantation in Ceylon. The Earl gave him a letter of introduction to the Governor of Ceylon but in 1848 Dallachy was again on the move. He sailed for Melbourne on the Torrington, a brig of 128 tons, with his wife and five children. According to shipping information available in the La Trobe Library at Melbourne the family had a rough and miserable passage. Food was very poor indeed and no doubt the emigrants were glad to land.

Dallachy was armed with a letter of introduction to Governor La Trobe and on his arrival in Victoria he was appointed gardener at Brighton to Consul J. B. Were. Shortly, however, he was made Overseer of the Botanic Gardens which had recently been established and in 1852 he was appointed as Superintendent. But Dallachy was more interested in collecting new species of plants than in his post. He was in correspondence with Sir William Hooker to whom he sent word of newly discovered specimens. He made many botanical expeditions, journeying through the wild country of the Baw Baws and it is believed that he was the first to trace the River Yarra to its source.

In 1857 Dallachy lost his position as Superintendent/Curator of the Botanic Gardens to Dr. von Mueller and he decided to establish his own nursery at Mount Erica (now East Prahan) but this venture was not successful. He returned, therefore, to plant collecting in Victoria and Queensland. In 1864 at the request of Mueller, he joined a party led

by G. E. Dalrymple to form a settlement at Rockingham Bay, Queensland. The flora of the area interested him greatly and he and his family settled in the district. He found many new specimens in Rockingham Bay but unfortunately only a small number was attributed to him.

In 1871, Dallachy died on June 4th in his tent at Vale of Herbert, Herbert River, Cardwell, Rockingham Bay. He was survived by his wife, three sons and two daughters. His name is commemorated in Dallachy Creek South of the Murray river and also in the specific names of a number of Australian plant species, in particular:

Acacia Dallachiana, F.V.M.; Cascaria Dallachii, F.V.M. = C. Tomentosa Roxb.; Eugenia Dallachiana, F.V.M.; Psychotria Dallachiana, Benth.; Webera Dallachiana, F.V.M.; Jasminum Dallachii, F.V.M. = J. Didymum Forst.; var. pubescens; Solanum Dallachii, Benth.; Chenolea Dallachyana, Benth.; Corospermum Dallachyi, F.V.M. = C. Mitchellii, Meissn; Crevillea Dallachiana, F.V.M. = G. Alpina, Lindl.; Premna Dallachyana, Benth.; Amanoa Dallachyana, Bail = Cleistanthus Dallachyanas, Bail.; Amoreum Dallachyi, F.V.M.; Antidesma Dallachgarum, Bail.; Echinus Dallachyanas, Bail = Mallotus, Dallachyi, F.V.M. = Macaranga Dallachyi, F.V.M.; Eccaria Dallachyana, Benth.; Phyllanthus Dallachyanus, Benth.; Pogonia Dallachyana, F.V.M.; Fimbristylis Dallachyi, F.V.M. = F. disticha, Boeck.
(Source: The Victorian Naturalist Volume XXV November 1908.)

Dallachy was a collector of considerable merit, whose genius is, perhaps, not adequately recognised.

REFERENCES

Old Parish Records Methlic B. 1819-54; M. 1800-54
Census Methlic 1841 No. 221
Black's Surnames of Scotland
Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 4 1851-1890
The Victorian Naturalist Volume XXV November 1908
Crosbie Morrison. Melbourne's Garden. Melbourne University Press 1946
Telegraph (Australia) March 6 1971

Amusing entries found in the Burial Schedules of Arbroath

17 Feb. 1835, James Shaw, aged 1 year. Cause of death — Eliptic Convulsions.
7 July 1838, Margaret McAndrew. Cause of death — Inflation in the Head.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Members are reminded that the Annual General Meeting will be held on Wednesday, 15th February, 1984, at 7.30 p.m. in the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 9 Queen Street, Edinburgh 2.

Three Members of Council, Mr. D.G.C. Burns, Miss A.S. Cowper, and Dr. J.D. Floyd are due to retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election.

Nominations for Council, containing a proposer and seconder, and having the consent of the nominees must reach the Hon. Secretary by 3rd February, 1984.

NOTICE

1851 DORSET POPULATION DIRECTORY

A directory of the population of Dorset is being compiled from 1851 census microfilms. It will be set out in a single alphabetical sequence of surnames of heads of family for the whole county. The names of the rest of the family will immediately follow the name of the head so as to maintain family relationships at that address. Members of the family having surnames different from that of the head will be listed again in their correct alphabetical place, and cross-referred back to the head of the family.

The entry for each person will come under six headings:

- Full name (surname first)
- Age
- Relationship to head of family
- Occupation (where given)
- Address (where given)
- Birthplace

It is hoped to be able to make the directory available at about £10 per copy (p and p extra). Subscribers wishing to support the project are requested to write to Mr. K. Jenkins, B.Sc., M.I.E.E., Frome Cottage, 28 Dorchester Road, Frampton, Dorchester, Dorset, DT2 9ND.

NOTE

Duncanson

Mrs. Rosemary Bowyer of Moorfield, Causey Hill, Hexham, Northumberland has a card index of Duncansons in the Tulliallan area and also information on Arnot(t)s. Queries answered if S.A.E. sent.

"From the Old Parish Records" by David G. C. Burns

Cadder Parish County Lanark (Volume 626/2)

Cadder Twentieth and Second day of August One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninty Seven years. Late last night the Schoolmaster of Cadder's House was surrounded by a Mob. Two Men disguised in Womens Clothes with Black faces rushed into this house — One had a Drawn Sword the other a Pistol in hand Demanded all the List Names and papers Collected in Custody relating to the Militia. Likewise this register Parish Book which was accordingly delivered unto them. They threatned if a Scrap was kept back they would immediately burn the House.

Same day (tuesday) about Five Hundred Men with Bludgeons &c: met in Cadder kirk yard to oppose the Lord Lieutenant of this Parish and other Gentlemen from Meeting to do business Concerning the Militia. Some of the Gentlemen were Roughly handled by the Mob.

On friday 25 Curt about 5,000 Men assembled in a tumultous manner near the East end of this Parish from Kirkintilloch, Campsie, Kilsyth parishes. They paraded thro' the Country to Cumbernauld house and back again to Kirkintilloch. All to oppose Militias Act. Two months afterwards — this Book was found lying in a Carthouse in the East end of this parish — It was returned to the Schoolmaster. No Questions asked.

(The researcher will be concerned that some birth records may have escaped insertion as a direct result: the Parish Register being outwith the custody of the Schoolmaster for a period of two months. The above entry was found between the birth records of Jean Stevenson born 24 August and Hugh Freeland born 27 September in the year 1797. Perhaps some Historian would enlighten our Members on the general historical background of the period. And whether the incidents described by the Schoolmaster in Cadder Parish were part of a general reaction experienced throughout the land — DGCB)

FITZALAN

My exporation of Mr. Wilson's note on Fitzalan does seem to have produced some violent replies. I am indebted to Moncreiffe of that ilk for the information that 'Fitz' does not always imply illegitimacy, just naturality: I accept his reproof that I am ignorant, but I object to his added insult of calling me a 'socialite'!

I am less certain of what to make of Mr. Wilson's reply. I guess he must be rather new to the subject of genealogy if he regards findings different from his as a personal contradiction. Would that the subject was always so simple, with no contradiction, even in fact. Mr. Wilson repeats his two observations, that one source says that Walter was born about 1136, and the other that he was appointed dapifer in that same year. The Diaper Dapifer perhaps? Does it seem plausible that an infant born in the south of England should be appointed Dapifer in Scotland at the age of a few months? We all know how difficult it is to keep dates correct as histories are drafted and redrafted, and that no one source is ever in itself enough. I suggest that Mr. Wilson looks to the many histories which have

been written of the descendants of the Fitzalan or Alan family. He could do worse than start with the Boyd of Kilmarnock family, from which I am descended.

I wonder if any other reader could add information on this subject, contradictory or not? Perhaps Professor G. W. S. Barrow, whose two books Mr. Wilson quotes.

J. E. RUSSELL

REVIEW

Añcestors in the Middle Ages

Moderne Instructie Methoden N V. 1000 B. fr (Post free)

This book compiled by a Belgian Senator, Leo Lindenmans, gives an alphabetical list of various persons with their descendants so far as known. The authority for the entries is clearly listed, and at the end of the volume there is a "Lexicon" giving the meaning of words used in Dutch, French, English, Spanish and German.

For those seeking ancestors on the continent in the 14th and 15th centuries or earlier, this could be a most useful reference book. Orders can be sent to the Society for onward transmission.

REVIEW

History of Clan Shaw by Major C. J. Shaw of Tordarroch
Phillimore & Co. Ltd. £45.

"All our Chiftens derive themselves from kings and princes" — so begins the foreword by Sir Iain Moncrieffe of that Ilk, Bt., to what must be one of the best Clan Histories to be published in recent times.

"A History of the Clan Shaw" by Major C. J. Shaw of Tordarroch has been a long awaited publication and its appearance will delight the many Clan members scattered world wide. Sadly the author did not live to see his life's work in print.

It is a well documented history reflecting over 25 years of patient research into the many Branches of the Clan in Britain and overseas. As a Clan History the result is a clear and vivid account of the family's foundation in the 12th century and its subsequent history down to the present day. The Shaws are one of the oldest and principal clans of the ancient confederacy of Clan Chattan, tracing their ancestry to the old Earls of Fife and thus the royal line of Scottish kings.

This is a handsome well produced volume of some 400 pages with pedigree charts for 15 branches of the family and numerous illustrations.

It is published by Phillimore and Co., Shopwykhall, Chichester, Sussex. Price £45.

(Note. page 336. The address of the Scots Ancestry Research Society is now '3 Albany Street, Edinburgh EH1 3PY'.

The Family Tree Detective by Colin D. Rogers
Manchester University Press £7.50

This book, described as a manual for analysing and solving genealogical problems in England and Wales from 1538 to the present day, is written by someone who has taught people to trace family trees for over 16 years. The author has also run an advisory service on the subject. As a result it is written in a very practical way in the light of the experience of problems which people meet; it is aimed at people who have no formal qualifications in history, who do not have ready access to P.R.O. and other records in London, and who do not have the means to engage professional help.

Where do I try next? is the question the author tries to answer. He points out that success comes from a combination of knowing which records exist, how to get access to them, and how to use various documents in combination with each other.

No new sources of information can be suggested by even the most experienced Searcher, but the author has written in a most helpful way, putting forward lines to explore, explaining the limitations of the various records, proposing alternatives where records have been lost, and aiding the reader with simple historical notes about Acts, church history, and population trends. Not every one would recognise that 'lamebegot', 'merrybegot', or 'drabsab' were terms of disapprobation to record the fact of bastardy in a parish register, nor "bundling" as the description of trial marriage to establish whether the coming together of the couple would be fruitful.

This is a work which can be strongly recommended. It is refreshing to find that after enthusiastically recording the absorbing pleasure of tracing one's ancestors the author warns the reader that one's family tree can be as boring to others as it is fascinating to oneself.

REVIEW

Oliver (Col. W.H.) The Oliver Surname on the Scottish Border 104pp 1982. £3.50 post free. Copies may be had from Col. Oliver Blain, Blainslie, Galashiels

This publication written by the President of the Oliver Society is an excellent account of the history of the Oliver surname from its early appearance in the Borders to the present day. It was to be found by the middle of the 13th Century and by the middle of the 16th, was firmly established as a Border name, around the town of Jedburgh.

In their earlier days the Olivers were prominent with other well known families in their defence of the Border lands in times of war. In more peaceful days they were equally guilty of plundering and thieving expeditions against their enemies. While many of the family suffered during the Covenanting period there is little evidence to show that they gave much support to the Jacobite cause.

In the 18th century the Olivers prospered as merchants and became prominent citizens in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk while succeeding generations of the name have found fame and fortune far and wide overseas.

There is an appendix with some 30 pedigree charts. The book is well produced and the text fully documented.

REVIEW

Quarter Session Records — a select list (2nd edition) compiled by J.S.W. Gibson — Federation of Family History Societies (£1.00 plus p. and p. 20p)

The need for a reprint only one year after publication shows the popularity of this compilation. It includes new or expanded entries for Coventry, Kingston-upon-Hull, Lichfield and Salisbury.

Records of Quarter Sessions can be most useful in research, difficult as they are to use because of language and bulk. The list in the guide is selected arbitrarily based on information provided by archivists and obtained from published Guides. The selection has been made with a view to the needs of family historians, with records later than the mid-nineteenth century largely omitted owing to the many other alternative sources available.

REVIEW

History of Clan Grant by Lord Strathspey — Phillimore & Co. Ltd. Price £12.50

The author describes his book as "a rather unique potted history of a major clan" and gives an account of the family for 32 generations over a period of nearly 800 years. The book is intended to be of interest to Clansmen all over the world as well as in Britain.

Examined in this light the book is readable and the photographs interesting; the author writes best about people and events he has himself known, not least about himself. After a description of Castle Grant supplemented by notes by the author is an appendix, the Chiefs from earliest times are listed chronologically, with available information given about each. The author does not try to estimate the historical authenticity, but merely reports the generally accepted facts; genealogical trees help to clarify the relationships. A note on some of the cadet families forms a further chapter and adds information which is not so readily obtainable elsewhere. A chapter on Cullen House, mainly composed of an extract from its Survey Book, follows. A note on Clan insignia is clearly intended for the use of overseas clansmen, while a short chapter on the history of Scotch Whisky on Speyside records its importance in the economics of the locality and pleads for a reduction of the present excise duty.

This is not a book for historians or researchers, but is an attractive book for the loyal clansman who seeks an easily-read book about his Chiefs.

REVIEW

Strachur and District 1783-1983

The Laird, The Church, The Crofter Andrew Morton — £3.50

This pocket history of the Clachan of Strachur is a most delightful compilation, made most attractive by full page drawings of the buildings and scenery at various stages of the district's development.

The author uses extracts from the Statistical Accounts, letters, and the recollections of elderly inhabitants to piece together the events of the Parish — the trade, the personalities, the Church feuds and the buildings. From General John Campbell, who married at 60 a girl of 20 in the vain hope of having an heir (in addition to the illegitimate children he had so far spawned) to Sir Fitzroy Maclean, the notables in the area were an engaging lot. Unfortunately the drawings do not depict these worthies, and one must be content with the buildings, boats and bucolic scenes.

Religion and education are not neglected, and as in any small community in Scotland the Minister could be a powerful influence or a spiritual drag. Churches were built at a cost now seen as incredibly low, disruptions took place, halls were erected, and legal squabbles about the ownership of the land followed. A pulpit was constructed for £28, and a manse built for a total sum of £726.7s7d.

High Clachan, Low Clachan, The Bay, Newton, St. Catherine's Ferry — all are charmingly depicted and briefly described. For anyone interested in the District this will be absorbing reading; for those with no special interest in Strathur this microcosm of Scottish village life will still be an entertaining and instructive story of what went on in a typical community before the advent of car, radio or T.V.

It can be ordered from Andrew Morton, St. Ronans, Strachur.

REVIEW

Marriage Indexes — How to find, use and compile them — 4th Edition by Michael Walcot and Jeremy Gibson. Federation of Family History Societies £1 postage 20p.

This short booklet both encourages the compilation of a regional index and gives a list of indexes already undertaken and how access can be gained to them. The fact that it is the 4th edition of this work in five years speaks to its usefulness.

From the stage of planning to the organisation of the project and on to the making of the result available to the researcher valuable suggestions are made. Content, layout and method merit a separate chapter, and in the simplest terms the authors advise how best to go about such an undertaking. For anyone who is thinking of such valuable work this book is essential; it will save much unnecessary labour, and enable the reader to profit by the experience of those who have already attempted the task.

QUERIES

791. COUTTS — Alexander, ship's carpenter, on 'Mary Ann Johnson' 1853-5, 'Chalmers' 1855-7 and lost at sea, drowned, on 29th November 1868 with 19 other crew of the 'Tuscan', a Glasgow ship. Born ca. 1820 in Kincardine (presume 'on Forth') married Grace Duncanson in Kincardine/Forth in 1843. Issue: Mary b. 1843 Alexander (1846-1869) William b. 1848. Would anyone with any information on him or his parentage please write to Mrs R.F. Bowyer, Moorfield, Causey Hill, Hexham, Northumberland, NE46 2DW.
792. EWELL — Archibald James Ewell, shoemaker, born c. 1838-39 Cumnaughy, Scotland, died 19th Jan 1914, Melbourne, Australia, son of Archibald Ewell, weaver. Any information on Ewells in Scotland or whereabouts of Cumnaughy would be appreciated by Sheila B. Durham, 40 Comiston Drive, Edinburgh, EH10 5GR.
793. GIBSON — George Gibson (b. Newlands, Peebles ca 1827) m. Margaret Waldie (b. Ashkirk, Selkirk, ca 1831). Their children were James, Annie, Jane, William, Robert, George, Archibald, Arthur and Margaret Elizabeth. George Gibson settled in Edinburgh at 13 Dewar Place and was owner of the well-known firm of bacon, cheese and butter merchants of 44 Queensferry Street. Will exchange family data with descendants. Mr. A. S. Reid, 38 Rue de Dommeldange, Walferdange, Luxemburg.
794. MACKENZIE — BUCHANAN — Donald MacKenzie (shepherd) and Margaret Buchanan, both of Balquhiddy, Perthshire, were married there in 1877 and removed to Dumbarton. Margaret died at Highdyke, Dumbarton in 1885, leaving sons Peter b. 1878 — Hugh b. 1880 and William b. 1882. Donald MacKenzie remarried and had other children. Wish to exchange information with descendants. Catherine St. John, 966 Inverhouse Dr. Unit 401, Mississauga, Ont. L5J 4B6, Canada.
795. DUNCAN — WHYTE — Charles Duncan, born Forfarshire c. 1760 married Janet Whyte in 1787/8 and had ten children born 1788-1806 while living at Kirktown and Hill Park, Auchterhouse. Long time gamekeeper to the Earl of Airlie, Duncan moved to Cortachy where he still lived, over 80 and widowed, at Crossbog cottage in 1842. A daughter Helen Duncan (1794-1883) died at Airlie Castle; informant was "Francis Whyte, cousin, Craighton, Airlie Parish." Desire information on birthplace, parentage, ancestry both Duncan and Whyte.
796. LOW/STEWART/LINDSAY — Alexander Low married Isabel Stewart June 17, 1774. They lived at Muiralehouse, Cortachy, Forfarshire; eight children baptised Cortachy 1775-97. Isabel Stewart was born December, 1749, at Glenmoy, Cortachy, eldest of nine children of David Stewart and Jean Lindsay (who married at Tannadice, March 12, 1748). Seek Cortachy/Tannadice parentage, ancestry, of

- Low, Stewart, Lindsay. Tom Hughes, 5636 Western Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815.
797. **McKINNEY** — James McKinney (b. in Ireland 1835) married in Dumbarton on 22nd March 1867 Mary Bruce (b. 1843). It is believed the McKinneys were originally McKenzies, who changed their name and fled to Ireland in late 1700s because of involvement in a rebellion (? Baptist Rebellion). Information wanted about McKinneys and also of Mary Bruce, possibly daughter of a ghillie. C. R. Riddell, 98 Mount Road, High Barnes, Sunderland.
 798. **CALDWELL** — Silas and Robert Caldwell lived in Virginia; in 1864 Silas was living at Noel, Missouri, where he was killed by Indians, leaving a daughter Mary (b. 1858), and two sons, Frank (b. 1860) and Robert Jasper (b. 1864). The Caldwells are believed to have emigrated from Scotland. Any information welcome by Mrs. Sharon Greg Taylor, Box 1303, Fernley, Nevada 39408.
 799. **EDABURN** — David, Ben and Hugh Edinborough (or Edaburn) arrived in USA in 1738 from Scotland, going first to Illinois and then Iowa. Any further information welcome by Mrs. Sharon Greg Taylor, Box 1303, Fernley, Nevada 39408.
 800. **POLLOCK** — Robert Pollock, b. 24th May 1852 to John Pollock and Anne Kennedy in Kilmarnock, came with his parents and family to Canada, settling in Gault, Ontario. He married Agnes Gilchrist, and in 1889 went to British Columbia (where a child was born) and then to Los Angeles. Further information wanted by Mrs. Theresa Tass, 7635 1st Street, Burnaby, British Columbia V3N 3T5.
 801. **MURRAY** — William Murray, b. 13th September 1860 in Toronto to Scots parents, James Murray and Mary Morrison. William married Mary Birbeck in November 1883 in Manitoba, and had 10 children before moving to British Columbia. Information wanted on ancestry of Murrays by Mrs. Theresa Tass, 7635 1st Street Burnaby, British Columbia V3N 3T5.
 802. **CAMPBELL** — George Campbell a tenant in Mulindry, Isle of Islay in the late 18th century, married Mary McCore (Brown) and Elizabeth Graham. Colin Campbell was born to the second marriage in 1785 at Mulindry. He married Isabella Carmichael and with her and a child (Christina, born Islay January 10th, 1818) emigrated to North Carolina in 1818 and to Ontario in 1828, settling near Woodville, Victoria County in 1832. Isabella died in 1832 and Colin Campbell then married Mary Carmichael. Information sought about these individuals and their descendants by Ian L. Campbell, 86A McDougall Road, Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 5C5, Canada.
 803. **CAMPBELL/STEVENSON** — George Campbell b. c. 1818 Stoneykirk, Wigtonshire, married Jean Stevenson 1847. They had 11 children- John, Elisibeth, Ann, Agness, William, Margaret Blain, Robert, Peter McMaster, Charles, George and Samuel. Both died at Stranraer, George in 1898, Jean in 1907. Newspaper obituaries on both occasions requested New Zealand and Australian papers to copy. Information on ancestors or descendants appreciated by Bruce Campbell, 204 Pitt St., Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada E2L 2X1

804. HAY — Dr. William Samuel Hay, M.D. from Aberdeen, after the death of his wife in 1837 emigrated with his two small children, Constance and Allen, to Jamaica in 1839. Allen returned to Scotland to be educated, graduated at Agricultural College, Aberdeen, and returned to Jamaica; he married a Jamaican girl. His sister Constance married Thomas Dyer, a Scot and they remained in Jamaica. Any information to Deborah Daniels 161 Kings Road, Harrogate, North Yorks, HG1 5JQ.
806. GREIG — Isobel, married Adam Brown April 4th, 1834, parish of Portmoak, Kinross shire. Children — William, Isabella, Andrew, John, Alexander and James. Died 1848-1850. Information re parentage welcomed. Arthur P. Brown, 2 Field Close, Chesham, Bucks, HP5 3LB.
807. BLAKE — William and Helen Glass married in Fife c. 1830's; where or when? Their son George married Elizabeth Williamson, daughter of John Williamson and Agnes Birrell at Abbotshall, Kirkcaldy, April 1868. Elizabeth and George came to New Zealand in 1884 with their children; did George have any brothers or sisters?
808. McNEILL — Helen Mason, daughter of William McNeill and Grace Hope born 28 March 1845 Lanark, Glasgow. Married 30 December 1867 in Auckland New Zealand to George Henry Holmes. Any information on these families?
809. McLAREN Mary, daughter of David McLaren and Annie Slater born in Glasgow. Married 19 July 1841 at Gorbals, Glasgow, to James Boswell. David McLaren was said to be a wealthy merchant in Glasgow. Mary spoke Gaelic. Any information re McLaren or Slater.
810. McKINSTRY — Lee and his wife Jane Kilpatrick lived in Ayrshire, probably Girvan after their March 1850 marriage at Antrim Registry Office. Lee's parents John McKinstry and Rebecca Law. Information wanted about either of these families.
811. MACGREGOR — Gregor, known as Capt. Graham, traded Greenock to West Indies 1770's? Married Mary Hamilton, daughter of Baillie John Hamilton of Greenock 1770's. Any historical information of the period about Greenock and shipping much appreciated.
812. THOMSON — John; shipbuilder, master, Irvine, married Margaret Crawford of Irvine, 19th September 1791. Any information about his shipping activities.
813. AITKEN — George, the son of William Aitken and Margaret Wilson, born 1840 Renfrew or Glasgow? Married Mrs. Mary Craig, nee Watson (daughter of Arthur Watson, a farmer, and Mary Taylor, of Renfrew or Glasgow) on 16th November, 1887. Lived at 33 Robert Street, Govan, Lanark. Any information on these families?
814. TURNER — John James, born c. 1818 Kilmarnock and Elizabeth Howard, born c. 1828 Ayr were married in Hobart, Tasmania in September 1852 and came to New Zealand c. 1868. Any information on Ayrshire Turners or Howards appreciated. New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland Group, c/o Mrs. Margaret Sutton, 90 Gribblehirst Road, Auckland 3, New Zealand.

815. ROBERTSON/PITBLADDO — Graeme Robertson w Elspeth (or Eupham) children Margaret b 5th December 1778, David and Katherine b. 18th June 1781, John b. 3rd July 1783, Catherine b. 2nd October 1786 Thomas b. 2nd July 1789, all in the parish of St. Andrew and St. Leonard, Fife. Any information gratefully received.
816. ROBERTSON/WALLACE — Graeme Robertson w Euphemia Wallace, son, William Fernie Robertson b. 7th July 1794 in the parish of St. Andrew and St. Leonard, Fife. Any information gratefully received by Mrs. Margaret Robertson, 425 Penhill Drive, Swindon, Wilts, England.
817. ANDERSON — William Anderson, b 1856 in Peeblesshire, married in Glasgow in 1879 Agnes McGhie (b in 1855 in Lochmaben). They came to New Zealand in 1885. Information wanted by Mrs. R.A. Bagnall, 12 Law Street, Torbay, Auckland, New Zealand.
818. PAUL — Andrew Paul married Marion Wardrop and had a son, Andrew (b in Linlithgow 3 October 1810). The son lived at 23 Couper Street and married Helen Armour on 9 February 1830 in Leith parish, Linlithgow. He became a Merchant in Cossitollah, Calcutta, for 26 years and went to Australia in 1853. Their children were Anne (b 16 December 1831, married William Kay, and d 18 April 1868 in Ayr), Jane, Andrew Lilum (b 6 January 1836), Henry William (b 5 February 1838, m Janet Bennet in Cambus, Alloa, and went to Australia with his daughter Janet in 1860, where he married for a second time Jane Gray), Helen Marion (b 2 September 1842, m Mr. Poyner and Isabella Harriet (b 10 October 1846. Mr. Hill). Information about family wanted by Mrs. M.V. Frew, 73 Kooyong Koot Road, Hawthorn 3122, Australia.
819. SNEDDON — Alexander Sneddon, Railway Labourer, born c 1805, married Elizabeth Binnie (Bennie) in September 1825 at Polmont. They had a son, Alexander, (b September 1827 at Polmont, d May 1873 at Shotts, m Elizabeth Grant at Polmont 1845). Information about births and deaths of Sneddon/Binnie requested by R. Sneddon, 9 Old Ferry Road, Murwillumbah, Australia.
820. MCKAY — Catharine, b at Aberfoyle ("aged 66" in 1881) died in Middlesborough Yorkshire, in September 1900 ("aged 82"). She married John Arnot(t) in Stirling 24 November 1842 when "residing at Bridge of Michael". She claimed her mother was a Stewart of Appin, that they lived at Brig o' Turk, and that she had seven uncles killed at Culloden, the youngest of whom was "a piper and died playing the MacKay's Warning until the pipes were filled with blood". Information on Catharine's origins, etc. wanted by Mrs. R.F. Bowyer, Moorfield, Causey Hill, Hexham, Northumberland NE46 2DW.
821. ARNOT/WHYTE — Henry Arnot married Margaret Whyte (probably daughter of George Whyte and Anna Wright, baptised at Lochgelly 24 June 1781) on 2 May 1809 at Ballingry, Fife. Known children are John (b 1811), and Anne (b 1812), Christian (b 1814) and Jean (b 1816); possibly another son of a second marriage of Margaret. Information on parentage, death or other offspring of Henry and Margaret welcomed. Mrs. R.F. Bowyer, Moorfield, Causey Hill, Hexham, Northumberland, NE46 2DW.

822. DUNCANSON/WATSON/SCOBIE — William Duncanson, blacksmith of Tulliallan (Kincardine-on-Forth) marr. 1) in 1797 Ann (or Agness) Watson (1772-1812) possibly a cousin). Issue: Thomas b 1797, Betty b 1799, Grizle, b 1801 (? d young?); J (b 1803); Robert, b 1805 (? d young?); Ann, b 1807 (? d young?). He marr. 2) Mary Scobie (bap July 1780, Clackmannan, daughter of Andrew S. and Agnes/Ann Hunter). Their issue: Ann, bapt at Clackmannan 1815; William, bapt ibid 1817; Grizell, bapt. ib. 1817 (known as Grace); Andrew, bapt. ib. 1820; and Mary, bapt. ib. 1822. William-believed to be son of Thomas Duncanson (1749/50-1801) and Grizzell/Grace Watson who died in 1797. Other issue of latter couple are Robert (b 1774) and Thomas (b 1775-9), probably also James Todd (b 1783-91). Information on this family appreciated by Mrs R. F. Bowyer, Moorfield, Causey Hill, Hexham, Northumberland, NE46 2DW.
823. MUNRO — Robert Gordon Munro, b 10 November 1850 at Keith, Banffshire, emigrated to New Zealand aboard "Dunedin" leaving Glasgow 6 April 1874 and arrived at Littleton 3 July 1874. He married Harriet Cleaver in Auckland, N.Z., on 28th February 1879. His first son, Robert, was born in Thames on 17 February 1880. He was first a Blacksmith, then a Storekeeper, then a Clerk, and from 7 June 1876 he held the licence for Kauaeranga Hotel and was listed as Publican in the Thames Directory on 31 December 1880. On 23 April 1883 he was admitted to Whau asylum with paralysis and died there on 16 May 1883. His parents were possibly Robert Munro, Saddler Master, of Mid Street, Keith, and Margaret Stewart; his brothers and sisters were James, Alexander, Margaret, John and Henrietta. Details of ancestry wanted by Mrs. R.L. Munro, 18 Alnwick Street, Warkworth Nth Auckland, N.Z.
824. FRASER — Captain John Fraser, Town Major of Quebec City, Canada, 1837-38, and of 76th Scottish Regiment of Foot, married 13 September 1820 Frances Dupont, daughter of Jonathon Dupont and ? Mary Ann Chillas; one of their sons, Alexander Fraser, m 20 May 1848 Martha Susannah Wyatt (d Montreal 21 June 1909), lived in Quebec City, and died 2 May 1905. Information on descendants and ancestors wanted by W. Pooley, 22-36 Woodrow Place, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3G 1J3.
825. DAVIDSON — Robert Davidson, Commercial Traveller, married Jean MacKenzie Urquhart and died in World War I. His son, William Rankine Davidson, b 28 September 1912 in Partick, Lanarkshire, d 14 April 1958 in Ottawa leaving seven sons and one daughter. Information wanted about Davidson ancestry Mrs. Frances M. Davidson, 305-2974 Sherman Road, Duncan, B.C. Canada V9L 4X1.
826. TODD — Evidence is sought as to relationship of Todd family (Stirlingshire) with Sir John Moore (of Corruna Fame). Reply to Dr. Arthur Jamieson of Barnach, Beith.
827. RAMSAY — Robert Ramsay, Quarrier, married Mary Campbell on 11 June 1806 at Dunfermline. While living at Limekilns they had Robert (b 3 March 1811) and Mary (b 21 December 1812). Information wanted. Was Mary Campbell, b at Limekilns on 12 August 1785 to Robert and Mary (Donaldson) Campbell the wife ? A. C. Pritchard, 10 Olive Grove, Burton Joyce, Notts, NG14 5FG.

828. HALCROW — Laurence Halcrow, born c 1836 at Cunningburgh to Laurence and Ursala (apparently nee Halcrow). Parentage wanted.
829. AITKEN — Christina Aitken, born c 1841 ? at Tingwall to Thomas and Mary (nee Morrison). Information and parentage wanted Mrs June A. Westbury, 227 Montgomery Avenue, Winnipeg R3L 1T1, Canada.
830. DAVIDSON — Samuel Davidson (weaver) in Douglas, married Mary Thomson in 1803; children Grizzle, Elizabeth and Thomas born in Douglas. Any information appreciated.
831. WALKER — John Walker (farmer) married Agnes Kirkwood about 1800 in the New Monklands area; their son William was born in 1804 in New Monklands parish. Any information appreciated.
832. GIBB — Thomas Gibb (weaver) married Margaret Machan in Paisley Low parish on 3 July 1815; their children John and Thomas born in Paisley. Any information appreciated by Thomas Davidson, 33 Bourtree Road, Hamilton, Scotland.
833. HATALIE — Adam Hatalie (b 1799) was the brother of George Hatalie (b 1800), who married Alison ? (b 1803) in 1831. Their children were a boy born in 1832, Isabella (b 20 November 1836 at Doune) and Margaret (b 1845). Any information about the Hatalie family welcomed by Mrs. James Glendening, 4122 Palo Verde, Lakewood, California 90813, U.S.A.
834. HUNTER — John and Marion Hunter had a son, James (b c 1835). He became Head Gamekeeper to Lord and Lady Louisa Bruce, and married Margaret Pethrie (daughter of Alexander Pethrie and Margaret Miller) on 30 May 1856 at Logie, Stirlingshire, and had two children — Christina, born 1856 who became a Dairy Maid, and James (b 1869 at Pitdinnie, Carnock) who married Mary Mitchell (b 1875 at Fordell, Fife) in 1894 at Ballingry, Fife. They had five children, James b 1896, David, b 1898, Kate McSwaine, b 1899, Margaret Petrie, b 1904 (all born at Cowdenbeath, Fife), and Mary Mitchell, b 1909 at Coupar. After serving in the Argyll and Sutherland Reserves in the Boer War, he came with his family to Queensland in 1910 on the ship Torilla and died in 1924. Information wanted by Mrs. M.P. Skilton, 11 Douglas Street, Yeronga West, Queensland 4104, Australia.
835. TRAILL — John Traill became laird of Blebo-Hole in Fife in 1642. He was subsequently succeeded by his son Thomas, who married Magdalene Lundin in 1663. How was Margaret Traill, spouse of James Lundin in Balcormo Mylne, who died in 1650, related to the lairds of Blebo-Hole? Graham T. Welsh, 522 Pine Tree Drive, London, Ontario, N6H 3N1, Canada.
836. MCIVER — Kenneth McIver had a son, Evander, (b about 1712 and died in Chatham County, North Carolina), who married before 1740 and had a son, Duncan (b in Skye in 1744). Duncan married Catherine Robertson before 1780 and had children; Catherine (b 1780), Donald (b 1780), Margaret, (b 1782), Nancy (b 1787), Mary (b 1788), Evander, (b 1789) and Dorothy (b 1792). Catherine married about 1800, Daniel Kelly, son of Daniel Kelly and Catherine Bethune of the Parish of Sleat, Skye. Duncan sailed from Liverpool in August 1802 on the

"Duke of Kent" under Captain Thompson. Information wanted about Kenneth McIver; he is believed to have been the son of John McIver of Tournack, Ross-shire. William D. Bennett, 415 Bickett Blvd. Raleigh, N.C. 27608, U.S.A.

837. **TINNING/TENNANT** — David Tinning of Dumfriesshire married Susanna Burges 12 February 1778; both buried in Applegarth. He died November 1883 at Milton of ? and the monument shows him as David Tennant. Was his father David Tinning who died at Upper Clough in 1770 ? Who was his mother, and why did some members keep the name Tinning? Information appreciated by Mrs. Anne Tennant, 376 Union Street East, Fergus, Ontario, Canada N1M 1V9.
838. **MCKAY** — Mary Ann Gordon McKay born in Edinburgh approx. 1838-1844 to John McKay, Shoemaker; interested in finding her baptism. Mrs. J.M. Rivers, 24 Queensholm Drive, Downend, Bristol, BS16 6LA.
839. **MCFARLANE** — John McFarlane (b 1762) married Ann ? Stewart (b 1764) and had children, Eliza (b 1793), James (b 1795), John (b 1797), Ann (b 1799), Margaret (b 1801) and Janet (b 1802). They all emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1803 on ship "Commerce" and settled in Prince Edward Island. Information wanted about their ancestors by Ron McFarlane, 22 Blue Hills Avenue, Mt. Waverley, Victoria, Australia 3149.
840. **WYLLIE/SCOTT** — William Wyllie, born Dreghorn, Ayrshire, c 1769, married Ann Scott (from Liberton, Lanarkshire) at Dreghorn 17 January 1793. They farmed at Boghall, near Bathgate, West Lothian, where William died 20 September 1852 aged 83, and Ann died 27 March 1854 aged 82. They were buried in Livingston Village Churchyard. Information wanted on William's parentage. He was possibly from Bustonhead, Dreghorn.
841. **CARLAW/ANDERSON** — William Carlaw (Curlaw) and his brother, Thomas, both farmed at Gallowbraes, near Bathgate, West Lothian. William married Mary Anderson and died 6 January 1818 aged about 42, and was buried at Bathgate Kirkton Churchyard. Information wanted about the parents of both William and Mary. :
842. **SINTON/KAE** — John Sinton, hind of Eckford, possibly born South Dean and Abbotrule, Roxburgh, and married Margaret Kae on 12 May 1797 at Eckford. Their children were Mary, James, Janet, Isabell, John, James, Betty and Margaret, all born at Eckford. The son John (b 15 May 1808), a Coopermaster at Jedburgh Roxburgh married 7 June 1834 Margaret Tait (b 10 March 1814 at Eckford) and had children John, William and Jane. Information wanted about both families.
843. **TAIT/BEATTIE** — William Tait, Woollen and Linen Weaver, Eckford, married Ann Thomson of St. Boswells. Their children were Ann, Andrew, William, Margaret, Janet, Euphen, Andrew and John. John, a Master Carpenter, (b Eckford c 1787-9) died 20 December 1860. He married, first, Jane Beattie (b c 1790) on 26 November 1809 at Eckford, and their children were Margaret, Agnes and William. He married, secondly, Helen Rutherford in 1827, and their child Catherine was born 1829. Information wanted about the above families. Thomas Steele, 4550 Venables St. Burnaby, B.C. Canada V5C 3A7.

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