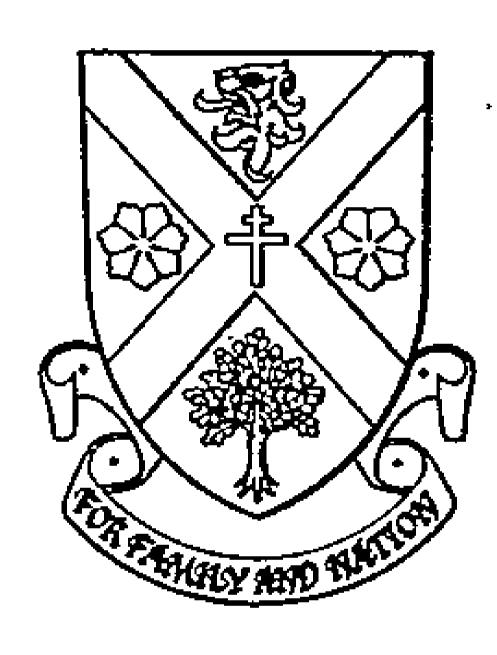
THE SCOTISH GENEALOGIST

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY



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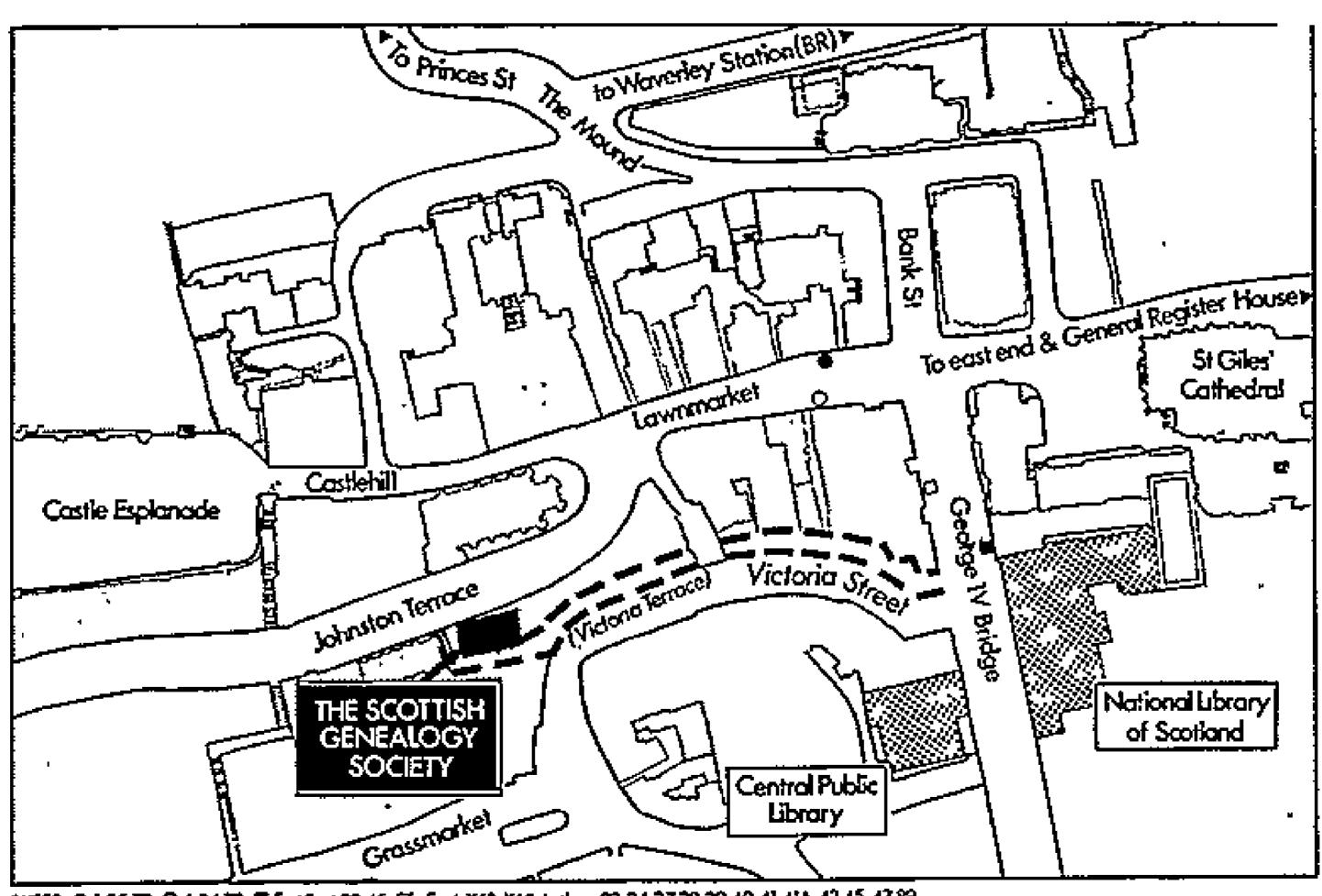
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'LUCY', 'JANE' and the BISHOP A Study In Extant Passenger Lists

by Rev. James P. Lawson

An ideal collection of ships' passenger lists for entry into North America would first of all be comprehensive, with no large gaps in chronology. The lists themselves would include the name of each ship, its captain, ports of embarkation and disembarkation with precise dates for each; the passengers would be listed in family groupings with the maiden surnames of wives listed just below those of their husbands and would include ages, occupations, names of dependents and former addresses; and, ideally, their intended destinations in the New World would also be listed. Ironically, while there are no such lists for the period prior to 1865, and those following do not contain such complete information, they remain alive and well in popular genealogical mythology. ¹

Appearances have conspired towards this misconception. The existence of a few lists containing pieces, but not all of the above information has left some family historians with the impression that extant lists are but part of a comprehensive corpus since gone missing, and the information found on extant lists but a deviation from the accepted norm. Perhaps none of the extant lists are so unique, yet so deceiving, as the 1790 manifests for the ships 'Lucy' and 'Jane', which bore three hundred and twenty eight Highland Catholics from Clanranald's estates on the West Coast of Scotland to the tiny Island of St. John, renamed Prince Edward Island in 1799, in the mouth of the St. Lawrence River over two hundred years ago this summer.

British Emigration to British North America

While the French and Indian Wars raged on the North American continent in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, British settlements established in its thirteen colonies on the Eastern seaboard, served primarily defence and trade purposes, a precarious toehold into territories largely controlled by the French and Spanish to that point. The 1763 Treaty of Paris, which brough an end to the fighting, and a settlement of territories greatly favouring the British, paved the way for British emigration to the continent for generations to come.

For successive British governments, a laisser-faire attitude towards affairs in its colonies was married to a Malthusian domestic policy, combining to create the conditions favourable for the migration of some eleven million subjects from the British Isles, from the period of 1763 to the close of Edwardian era. For much of the earlier period the emigrant trade remained unregulated in the letter and/or enforcement of the law. One of the earlier moves towards regulation which has been sited to me by National Archives officials in Ottowa, dated from an 1828 Act of Parliament, which attempted to ameliorate the appalling conditions suffered by emigrants to that time. Concurrent with calls for reforms in trade and industrial practices, successive passenger acts were designed to limit the number of people taken aboard each ship through the creation and deposition of passenger lists, and to force shipping companies to provide at least basic sustenance and hygiene for

passengers while on board. In Scotland, however, the precedent for the keeping of passenger lists dates much earlier. The heading of the 1773 passenger list of the ship 'Commerce' reads, "An account of passengers going on board the 'Commerce', for ----. Burthen 409 tons per Register required by Circular of 15th December 1773 - founded upon an Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury". ²

Gone perhaps, with the regulation of the trade, were the days when families only able to provision themselves for twenty days suffered voyages of three to four times that length, not gone was the illegal loading and off loading of emigrants at unregistered ports, by ships' captains seeking to circumvent the poorly enforced shipping laws.

Scottish emigration to North America proceeded in an ever increasing stream following the Jacobite defeat of 1746, until the British government began to worry that insufficient numbers of peasants remained to provide a stable tax base and labour supply for their Lairds. The December 1773 circular by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury coincided with a study into the extent of Highland emigration, which the Earl of Suffolk, Secretary for the North in the British Parliament, ordered undertaken by Thomas Miller, the Lord Justice Clerk. Miller's report, dated 25 April 1774, ³ remarks at length on the threat of depopulation of the Highland estates, reinforcing British fears of lost revenue. Attempts to monitor the outflow of Scottish emigrants followed, resulting in the creation of a series of passenger lists from 1774 and 1775 which survived in a collection of treasury papers, subsequently discovered and transcribed by Viola Root Cameron in 1936. ⁴

The fears of British authorities were apparently confirmed through the study of the lists, moving them to ban Scottish emigration outright. In September of 1775, a letter was circulated to Scottish Collectors of Customs which read, "The Lord Advocate having been informed of many embarkations of his Majesty's subjects of the Country for America and some of them with money, arms and ammunition, desires that no vessel may be cleared from any of the ports in Scotland for the Continent of America with more person on Board than their proper compliment of men. You are without fail from time to time to acquaint us with any information you shall receive relative to emigration from this country". ⁵Scottish emigration from registered ports was thus halted until the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1782.

Yet the British loss in the American Revolution reversed earlier sentiment. With their North American holdings effectively cut in half, the British once again encouraged emigration to the sparsely populated northern territories, in what would become Canada, built around the substantial but isolated clusters of Loyalist refugees who had fled persecution in their homes to the south. As ever, emigration from Britain to British North America was on a free entry basis, and few records were kept. Had there been any incentive to create comprehensive passenger lists, even after 1828, there was no reason to keep them, and there was certainly no interest in maintaining accurate records by those involved in the illegal shipment of emigrants. Not until the dawn of Canadian Confederation, 1867, in the year

1865, did an active immigration policy take shape involving the retention of records by authorities in Canada. 6

The Lists

Pre 1865, extant passenger lists are an odd lot taken as a whole. Standard forms for the recording of passenger information exist for as far back as 1773, ⁷ but for the most part the extant lists do not appear to be written to any standard. Some are very specific, such as the 1774-75 lists, and given that we know why they were created, we can understand why such information was recorded. But many lists for the period are simply aggregate compilations, statistics but no names. Others list heads of families, but not dependents. Some lists indicate ports of embarkation and disembarkation, others do not. Some list the former, but not the latter. Some give specific information about the emigrants, such as their home addresses, others mention only nationalities, and so on.

In the case of the 1790 manifests for the 'Lucy' and the 'Jane', details include the Gaelic names of the farms of the emigrants, alongside the names of heads of families, but dependents are listed only statistically. And while their destination is marked on the manifest, there is no suggestion as to their point or date of embarkation. In fact, the existence of these lists in the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh might beg the question as to whether these lists, let alone these emigrants, ever saw the shores of St. John's Island at all.

But most intriguing of all has to be the strange linking of heads of families to their addresses in the Highlands. That is to say, in a time when passengers paid their fare according to their age, what would a ships' captain care whether he was carrying John MacDonald from Frobost on South Uist, or John MacDonald from Cleadale on Eigg? For that matter, what did he care who John MacDonald was at all, forty years before the keeping of passenger lists was required?

The fact is, he probably didn't care, and discovering who was motivated to preserve these names on these lists goes to the heart of the mystery as to why these lists were created, and others were not.

The Story Begins

18th century Highland emigration was largely a localised phenomenon, due largely to the scarcity of capital on the part of the emigrants and the obscurity of their settlement. In the south of Scotland, emigrants were able to muster at any number of ports to catch a regular sailing to North America: there was always a cargo ship handy that could take someone along. But for the poorer Scots to the north, the closest place of refuge was the Lowlands, or Ulster; relatively few had the resources to move their families to Cape Breton, Quebec or America. Most would need to be organised to make such a trip, their resources pooled, a ship chartered, their numbers mustered at a given port, or ports, at a given time, and their fare sufficiently underwritten to make the trip to an obscure Highland port worthwhile for the captain of a trade vessel. Few would be motivated to such a task. A tacksman would, faced with the extinction of his profession or the displacement of the tenants

under his care. The Sheriff of Argyll, writing in Thomas Miller's report, suggested just such a phenomenon. ⁸ The Scottish Catholic Church had also had its hand in such migrations. Faced with a similar displacement of their numbers, or their imminent destitution, the Church was moved at least once, in the 1772 case of the Glenalladale settlement to the Island of St. John, to ship the faithful to safe haven in the New World. ⁹

Such a move would require initiative on the local level coupled with the co-operation of Church authorities further removed, and such were the events leading up to the migration of these three hundred and twenty eight Highland Catholics to the Island of St. John in the summer of 1790.

The 'Lucy' and 'Jane' migration of 1790 had its roots in the 1772 movement of two hundred and fourteen Highland Catholics to St. John's Island, where both the aforementioned proponents of such a migration hlended together in the "Glenalladale Migration". The tacksman and organiser of the trip was Captain John MacDonald, the 8th Laird of Glennalladale and chief tacksman to the Clanranald MacDonald's, who worked in close financial and logistical cooperation with Scottish Bishops John MacDonald and George Hay, to deliver this sizeable number of mainlanders and Hebrideans from the oppression of high rents, and religious intolerance to safe haven on St. John's Island. The Glenalladale migration included the first English speaking priest to work on the Island, Fr. James MacDonald, who died at Tracady in 1785.

Yet back in Scotland, even the threat of depopulation had not kept the rapacity of the lairds in check, and Bishop Alexander MacDonald, who succeeded Bishop John MacDonald after his death in 1779, fully intended to extend the threat of Church sponsored mass emigration to ameliorate the conditions for his flock. On the Island of St. John, a priest was needed to replace Fr. MacDonald, but also to lead a migration, which by the Spring of 1790 was taking shape in the Bishop's office.

The priest eventually chosen was the Rev. Angus Bernard MacEachern, ¹⁰ native of Kinlochmoidart, b. 8 Feb. 1759, and missionary in the Hebrides, from the time of his ordination in 1787, until his emigration in 1790. By then, the Catholics of St. John's Island had been lacking a priest for five years, but their peculiar linguistic diversity, English, French, Gaelic, made them a very difficult parish to fill. There had been other problems too, not least the reluctance of the parishioners to adequately maintain their priest, each linguistic group suspicious that the other wasn't paying for its fair share. Capable in all three languages, MacEachern was the obvious man for the joh. He was also young and energetic, hut most importantly, his family had been part of the Glenalladale migration of 1772, and having been left in Scotland at the time, to complete his studies, by 1790 he was more than anxious to join them. ¹¹

Researchers should generally be wary of a migration of Scots Catholics during this period which did not include a priest. Indeed, the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' lists alone would not suggest the presence of Rev. MacEachern on this voyage. But with so much of life dependent upon the Church, for

baptisms, education, marriages, funerals etc., the prospect of emigration to a remote point lacking in clergy would have caused considerable distress to prospective emigrants, no matter what the circumstances at home. In 1790, the need for priests in the Atlantic region of Canada was critical, but any single area was sufficiently lacking in Roman Catholics as to make Church authorities reluctant to send priests. Neither were Church officials in Scotland anxious to lose a man from the area MacEachern was serving, where Gaelic speaking priests were at a premium. There was also some measure of spite in Bishop MacDonald's withholding of a priest 'until they should feel the want of one', as MacEachern quotes in a letter following.

The situation on the Clanranald estates in the Highlands remained at a critical point despite the threat of the Bishops. The 1775 ban on Scottish emigration effectively removed the trump card from the hand of the Church and gave it to the lairds for the next seven years. Throughout this period, improvements in farm technology had had the inevitable result of raising the value of farmland beyond the reach of most of the tenant population, and although the boom in kelp harvesting in the late 1780's profferred some hope for the future, it was not sufficient to sustain a large populace for any length of time. The systematic annexation of Highland estates by the British, which had begun in the 1760's, had not helped the peasant cause either, but the haemorrhaging of tenants from Clanranald's estates to St. John's was not a 'Clearance' in the popular usage of the term. The main factors were economic ones, compounded by the transition to a cash economy which had been foreign to the Highlands before the intrusion of the British in the 1760's. A snapshot of the situation is described in a letter from Bishop Alexander MacDonald, Duchamasa, to Bishop John Geddes in Edinburgh, dated 20 April 1789:

"Thus it has turned out more favourable to the small tenants than what we were at first given to understand would be the case. Everybody was allowed to overbid each other, notwithstanding the former possessor's had preference, and got, some of them, a considerable deduction of the offers made by better bids than themselves. The rents are however exorbitantly high, and great numbers will not be able to make them good for any length of time, unless divine providence will interfere. Clanranald seemed very desirous, if practicable, of serving the poor people, which has in a great measure served to re-establish his reputation amongst them a second time" 12

Undoubtedly, some of the pressures on Clanranald to squeeze his tenants were external ones. Content in one era, to extract a measure of crop yield and indentures for military service from his tenants as rent, the Highland laird was now under British pressure, on threat of having his estate annexed and himselfreplaced as laird, to yield cash returns from the land. Competitive bidding for farms and crofts helped raise the market value of land, but it was a process clearly hostile to tenants. In this respect, the Church was in agreement with a general sentiment throughout Scotland at the time, that better circumstances could be found through emigration, and the Catholic safe haven which had been established on the Island of St.

John's by past Scottish Bishops, George Hay and John MacDonald, was the obvious destination for others.

The Migration

"Divine Providence", as Bishop MacDonald put it, was yet to come in the form of the Rev. MacEachern, their man of choice for the job to lead this migration to the Island of St. John, in the summer of 1790. Writes Bishop John Geddes to the Scots mission agent in Rowe, John Thomson, in a letter dated 11 June 1790:

"....Four hundred Emigrants are just going from the Western Coast to Canada and St. John's Island. Mr. MacEachern, one of my old pupils, and really an excellent man goes to the Island". ¹³

Judging from appearances, it seems that the Rev. A. B. MacEachern was only enlisted for the voyage at the last moment, after some logistics of the voyage had been arranged by the Church. To prepare for the voyage, MacEachern had to work quickly. Seven weeks before the voyage and not long after receiving confirmation of his participation in it, MacEachern wrote this letter to Bishop Geddes in Edinburgh:

"Much honoured Sir, Samalaman, June the 3rd 1790.

I send you these lines by my two favourite pupils James MacLellan & Angus MacIntyre. B. MacDonald has at last confirmed my going to St. John's. He told me that this was no new plan of his, and that he wished they should feel the want of one. If I had got notice of his intentions in time, I would do myself the pleasure and honour of seeing you in Edin. But the vessel is to sail about the 1st of July from this coast, and I find myself a little difficulted in many respects, especially for want of proper prayer books for the people in St. John's. And as we are so far removed from the market here it is not easy for me to buy clothes necessary for such a journey. I will expect a letter from you by course of post, and would wish to know whether the people of St. John's have sent any money to Cap'n John (MacDonald, Glenalladale), for equipping a Clergyman; upon the receipt of which I might draw some small sum. I wrote to you last year, wishing you would withdraw 1 L 2s 8 from my quota which I was too long due you for tools you sent from Edin. I will leave said sum with B. MacDonald. And in the meantime I return you my most hearty and grateful thanks you then sent me, which if I had not disposed of, would be today a valuable collection. The vessel is to be here by the 20th current and there is not time for any further commissions. I will do myself the honour to write as yet, once, before I go to the other side of the Atlantic.

signed: Angus MacEachern". 14

While MacEachern was chosen to lead this expedition, it is not clear who was organising it, nor how this was done. The task of taking subscriptions for such a voyage, collecting the fares and mustering the people at a convenient portin time to meet the ship was no small task. While the Church may be cited as the most likely organiser of the trip, such logistics could not be accomplished simply from the Bishop's office. The possibility remains

that there were other organisers at work here, either with or without the cooperation of the Church.

The precedent, of course, was set in 1772 with the joint venture between Glenalladale and the Scottish Catholic Church. From the point of view of simple economics, Glenalladale had the most to gain from this influx of new immigrants, destined to settle on his Lot #36 on St. John's, then the nucleus of Scottish Catholic settlement on the Island. There is no documentation in Church sources, however, to suggest that this migration was organised on the model of the Glenalladale migration of 1772, for which extensive documentation survives in the Scottish Catholic Archives. ¹⁵ Further, while we know that Glenalladale was in Britain in the period leading up to voyage, petitioning the Privy Council concerning the land dealings of the Island's Governor Fanning, two extant pieces of his correspondence indicate that he was in London at the time and not in Scotland. (12 April - 7 July 1790). ¹⁶

There exists the possibility that someone was working as an agent for Glenalladale in organising this voyage, the most logical choice being his brother, Fr. Augustin MacDonald, who was a priest in Knoydart during this period. Augustin had been involved in some emigration schemes in the late 1780's. In a letter to Bishop Geddes in Edinburgh dated 23 November 1789, Fr. MacDonald refers to some considerable discontent which he had aroused, through his connection to a migration of several hundred of Clanranald's tenants, but this migration was apparently the one of some five hundred Highlanders to Glengarry County in Upper Canada in 1785, led by Fr. Alexander MacDonell. 17 More significantly, however, there is no extant correspondence to link the two brothers in any such scheme. Indeed, quite the opposite seems true. In letters written to their sister Nelly on St. John's from this time period, considerable antipathy is evident between John and Augustin. Says Augustin in a letter to Bishop Geddes dated 23 Nov. 1789, "My brother John has neither wrote me from Edinburgh no more than appointed a meeting with me... When I am made Pope or Cardinal I shall hold him as cheap again, and when he will come to kiss my toe, I shall kick him in the nose..." 18

The Lists

Handwritten copies of the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' passenger lists survive in the Scottish Catholic Archives, and a key to their function can be deduced from their origin. Transcriptions of these lists have appeared in Canadian sources, and will be discussed later.

The handwriting of Fr. MacEachern is perhaps the closest to that found on the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' lists. The handwriting of the two MacDonald brothers is similar but far from a match. Bishop Alexander MacDonald's handwriting is not similar at all. The possible authors of the lists narrows somewhat, when it becomes apparent that there is a free mixing of English and Gaelic on the lists, and an obvious familiarity with local place names and their spellings. Other such manifests that I have studied are often plagued with spelling errors and reflect an unfamiliarity with local place

names. Ironically, the handwriting most closely matches some correspondence belonging to Bishop John MacDonald, dating back to the early 1770's, which I studied when researching the Glenalladale migration of 1772. However, his death in 1779 eliminates that possibility! There remains the possibility of both sets of documents being the work of a clerk in the Bishop's office, whose tenure spanned that time period, but this possibility has been dismissed by the experts I have consulted at the Scottish Catholic Archives, who cite the fact, that the Bishops were responsible for all their own correspondence at that time.

In truth, the lists are of anonymous composition and no external source exists to clarify their origin, largely because they were long ago removed from their original context, and inserted into an emigration related set of documents at S. C. A., known as 'Blairs Letters'. Angus MacEachern's handwriting shows broad variants across different samples that I have studied, from the year 1790, but having done so, it is my personal opinion that the original manifests now at the Scottish Catholic Archives were written by Angus B. MacEachern, in the weeks following the confirmation from Bishop MacDonald that he would be accompanying the expedition to St. John's Island. I also believe that the lists were written in some haste, as the handwriting is a bit more strained than most samples studied, a conclusion further evidenced by his consistent use of the abbreviation "M" in place of "Mc" or "Mac". It is my further conclusion that the voyage was organised through Bishop MacDonald's office, and supervised in its last stages by Fr. MacEachern.

Internal evidence from the lists suggests that they served two main purposes at the time they were written: firstly, as muster rolls listing the families which had subscribed to the voyage; secondly, as tables for calculating the total fare for the trip. The strange mixture of heads of families, their addresses, and the aggregate composition of their families becomes apparent: while a ship's captain wouldn't care who John MacDonald was, it would be important for Church officials to be able to separate 'John MacDonald Borrodale' from 'John MacDonald Cleadale' because they did not owe the same fare. Thus, to the right of the names are six columns used for sorting family members into age groupings, and hence for calculating their fares: above 12 years paid full fare; 12 - 8 years paid three quarters fare; 8 - 6 years paid eighth fare; under 2 years paid nothing. Scribbled in the margins are calculation adding the total number of passengers, and another determining the number of full fares owed for the voyage, nowhere are any amounts of money indicated.

One should not jump to the conclusion that the Church paid the passage for these emigrants. There is yet nothing to clarify the matter, but based on the example of the Glenalladale migration of 1772, where a total of £1,500 was needed to capitalise the movement and settlement of two hundred and fourteen emigrants, it seems doubtful that the Church had the resources in 1790 to completely fund this migration. A subsidy of some sort seems likely however, the Church probably collected what they could from

the participating families, but in the end would be left to underwrite any shortfall.

It is unlikely that these particular lists ever saw the light of day on St. John's Island. Judging from the folds in the lists, they were probably posted back to Bishop MacDonald by Fr. MacEachern after everyone was safely boarded, from whence they came into the collection of the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh. A duplicate set of lists probably made the journey, however, of which the existence of transcriptions in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, seems to bear witness. ¹⁹ These transcriptions indicate that 'Lucy' and 'Jane' sailed from Drimindarach on the 12th July 1790, information not found on the Scottish copies. Also appearing on the transcriptions is a marginal note grouping the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' passengers with those who sailed on the 'British Queen' from Arisaig a month later.

The discrepancy in dates of departure bears comment. Father MacEachern reported the expected arrival of the ship(s) on the 20th June 1790, but there is little reason to doubt the departure from Drimindarach on 12 July. What seems likely, as happened in the case of the Glenalladale migration, is that the ships spent all of the time travelling to various ports picking up emigrants, family by family, with the final departure from Drimindarach on the 12th July.

It is not always safely assumed that a group of emigrants ever settled at their intended destination, even when their intentions were known. Supporting documentation at the point of disembarkation is needed to confirm their presence, and this is not always available. There is ample local tradition that many of these families settled on the Lot 36, where the Glenalladale settlement began, eventually branching out to the areas where MacEarchern himself, in later years, would oversee the building of parish churches. The 1798 census of the Island reveals the same names of about 60% of the names on the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' lists. Proving that these names refer to the same individuals who immigrated in 1790 is a worthy task, but unfortunately one beyond the scope of this article. Researchers willing to pursue this field of study may be aided by land records in the Public Archives and Record Office in Charlottetown, not least by Lot 36 maps in their collection, namely numbers 685, 4099 and 150. Parish records in the Diocese office may be helpful where they exist, other records are scarce for that time period.

The Bishop

The Rev. A. B. MacEachern became the first Bishop of Charlottetown, when the see was created in August 1829, encompassing Prince Edward Island, formerly Island of St. John in 1799, New Brunswick and the Magdalen Islands. MacEachern's trials and tribulations, as priest and then Bishop, are described in a 1984 article in 'The Island Magazine' ²⁰, not least continuing frustrations he experienced over chronic shortages of money and clergy, the same problems cited by Bishop MacDonald before sending MacEachern to the Island.

The British Queen

The relationship between this migration, of Scots Catholics from Clanranald's estates in July 1790, under the guidance of Rev. A. B. MacEachern and that of the sailing of the 'British Queen' from Arisaig a month later, with another ninety of Clanranald's tenants is not glaringly apparent. While the Canadian transcriptions of the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' lists contain the marginal note grouping the two migrations together, there is no extant primary data to explain the connection, nor is it known who made this marginal note, nor why. The handwriting of the original 'British Queen' list is very similar to that of the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' lists and may have been written by the same person. Their style is also similar, heads of families linked to addresses in Scotland, and aggregate compositions of their families, with an additional column listing the fares owed by each family. The 'British Queen' list is buried in a collection of Quebec Colonial Correspondence at the National Archives of Canada in Ottowa.

When Bishop Geddes, in his letter of 11 June 1790, referred to ".... four hundred emigrants (going) to Canada and St. John's Island...." it would appear that Church authorities had knowledge of the 'British Queen' venture even as the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' migration was being planned, suggesting that both ventures had beeen planned well in advance and possibly in tandem. The extent of the possible involvement of the Scottish Catholic Church in the second venture is not clear, however, and things muddy a bit when the particulars of the two voyages are compared. The 'British Queen' passengers sailed a month after the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' emigrants, the former sailing to Quebec City. From there they are said to have travelled to the Montreal area, but it was apparently another full year before they settled at their permanent home, near Johnstown, Cornwall, in Upper Canada, where they apparently had relatives amongst the established population. Most, but not all of the passengers on the 'British Queen' were from different parts of the Clanranald estates than the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' emigrants, but there is some overlap. It is not certain whether the 'British' Queen' passengers were Roman Catholics, nor is it apparent from supporting documentation, of which there is precious little, if they were accompanied by a priest. In all, the role of the Scottish Catholic Church in the 'British' Queen' migration of 1790 is far less clear than in the 'Lucy' and 'Jane' migration of a month earlier.

Perhaps it is safe only to venture this conclusion: That in the spring of 1790, there were significant number of Clanranald's tenants who planned to leave home and emigrate to the New World. One group, eventually numbering three hundred and twenty eight persons set out in mid July for the Island of St. John in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the company of the Rev. Angus B. MacEachern. Another group, numbering about ninety persons in all, planned to settle in Upper or Lower Canada. The evidence suggests that both groups reached their destinations and branched out later from those points.

A Note on the Lists

Because much of this study is based on observations of original, hand written lists, I have endeavoured to have them reproduced following this article, from the originals found in their respective repositories. Previous efforts transcribing lists of uncertain quality, have convinced me what folly can ensue, especially where the means to reproduce copies of the originals exists.

Conclusion

Genealogists should remember that there is no rule of genealogy, that states, that a passenger list must exist for every boatload of emigrants that ever sailed the high seas, and I hope this article helps to demonstrate that point. In fact, quite the opposite is true, and often the story of why a particular list exists is bound into the story of the migration itself. So accept nothing at face value in such a venture!

I hope this enterprise, through its publication on both sides of the Atlantic, will encourage interested parties to link up names and places separated a full two centuries ago.

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- ⁶ Comprehensive passenger lists for the Port of Quebec begin in 1865, starting with microfilm reel #4520, National Archives of Canada, Ottowa, and run until the year 1908.
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- Lawson, James P., "Passengers on the Alexander 1772"; The Scottish Genealogist, Vol. XXXIX, no. 4, December 1992, pp. 127-143. Journal of the Scottish Genealogy Society, Edinburgh.

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- The Island Magazine, Number 29, Spring/Summer 1991. The Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation, Charlottetown.
- ¹⁰ Biographical details on Rev. MacEachern are dependent upon: MacDonald, Edward; "The Good Shepherd: Angus Bernard MacEachern, First Bishop of Charlottetown". The Island Magazine, no. 16, Fall/Winter 1984. P. E. I. Museum & Heritage Foundation, Charlottetown.
- 11 ibid, Lawson, "Passengers".
- ¹² Blairs letters, BL 4/11/4, Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh.
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- 14 ibid, BL 4/33/10, SCA Edinburgh.
- ibid, Lawson, "Passengers on the Alexander 1772". The same sources were searched for this paper, but failed to turn up any body of documentation detailing the planning for this migration.
- ¹⁶ Correspondence:

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NB. Bumsted's preamble to the transcriptions refers to the originals in the SCA in Edinburgh, but the transcription bears the marginal notes found only on the PANS/Canadian transcriptions.

²⁰ ihid, MacDonald, "The Good Shepherd".

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LIGULFUS Son of INEMANNUS

by A. M. Mennim

The Charter

On the 29th August 1095 ², in the cemetery ¹ at Norham, Edgar, calling himself King, signed a charter - Lawrie XV ⁴, granting the manor of Berwick and extensive lands in Berwickshire including manors with tolls, rights of wreck and other customs to St. Cuthbert's church at Durham.

The original signatories with King Edgar were Alexander, his brother; Ligulf, son of Inemannus; Gylnertus, son of Duncan; Oularus, son of Oghe; Unteedus Fuderne; Edgar Atheling, his uncle and namesake Uhtred; Constantine, son of Macduff and later Earl of Fife; Robert de Humet; Aetele; Alimond, his son (or possibly Arkill and his son Aluold); and David, Edgar's younger brother and later King, to whom he was indebted for the part he had played in winning him the kingdom. These names were followed by those of thirteen witnesses ².

Who was Ligulfus, son of Inemannus?

Like some of the signatories he may have had no Scottish connection, ² but his position so high up in the list may be significant, and some light may be shed by reviewing the authenticity of the original document, even though it is extant only in copies ³.

The Bodleian Texts

Oxford Bodleian MS. Laud Miscellaneous 748, fo. 31r, 5 (manuscript A) is a manuscript of the early fifteenth century. According to Duncan 3, it is undoubtedly closest to eleventh century forms.

It contains the author's draft of the 'Libellus ---- Dunelmensis' which falls into two parts. Our charter is in the earlier part, where the draft has been revised with marginal additions. The text concludes with the witnesses including 'Signum Ligulfi filii Inemanni'.

The Libellus also occurs in the Liber Ruber Dunelmensis, Lincoln's Inn MS. ⁹ (manuscript B) in which the name is given as 'Memamii', and in British Museum MS. Cotton Claudius D iv, fo. 55v pencil foliation ¹⁰ (manuscript C) where the name is given as 'Memanni'. Duncan considered these readings to be of little moment, since they both must have been derived from the Laud manuscript (manuscript A).

Sir William Dugdale made extracts from the Laud manuscript to form the Oxford Bodleian MS. Dugdale 21 ¹⁵ and that was printed to form the text of the 1655 edition of Monasticon Anglicanum.

The Durham Texts

Two texts survive in the Archives Library at Durham Cathedral. Firstly the Lawrie XV Miscellaneous Charters, No. 559 text ⁶ which is an early fifteenth century copy on paper and was printed by Dr. Raine ⁷. Duncan described it as a careless transcript, probably of the lost original. It gives the third witness as:

S = Menyaniu' Agulfi

Secondly, a copy which was noted by Raine as existing in the Registrum Primum in Durham Reg. 1, fo, 90r, and although Lawrie calls

this 'an earlier version' Professor Duncan describes it as a copy of the Miscellaneous Charter 559. Amongst the witnesses, Lawrie names 'Ligulfus filius Inemanni'.

Lawrie also states that Dr. Raine, in supporting this charter relied on a MS in handwriting of the earlier half of the twelfth century in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, but doubts its accuracy. The extant text is more or less as described in the appendix to the preface of Symeonis Dunelmensis but no witnesses are named with the exception of the King and his brothers¹⁹.

The Registrum text and the Misc. Ch. 559 are alone in their completeness and seem to reproduce the distribution of the 'signa' with the last parts being made up of 1) the 'signa' or crosses with names of certain witnesses; 2) a notitia which states the day, month and place of the gift, those present, and the year of the grant, from which the date can be fixed at 29th August 1095; and a description of the seal.

Authenticity

The genuineness of MC. 559 was rejected by James Anderson, and W. F. Skene who stated 'the expressions it contains and especially the names of the witnesses seem to me to mark it as unmistakenly spurious' ¹⁸. It was also rejected by Haddan, Davis and Lawrie who stated that 'the list of the attesting witnesses in this copy is corrupt' but it was found acceptable by Raine, Freeman, Barlow and Duncan.

The doubts centred around the possibility of it being a twelfth century forgery: the description of the seal and its silk thread at this date, and how Edgar could call himself King, but not rex, in 1095, whereas he did not win the kingdom until 1097. But since 1958, when Professor Davis showed that MC. 559 should be judged independently ¹¹, he, together with Donaldson, Barrow, Stones, Simpson and Webster have followed Duncan in thinking the charter genuine, albeit a rather careless copy of an original which has since disappeared.

The text, seal and notitia are known only in versions which are certainly late, and may be corrupt ¹¹, but no sustainable doubts have been raised about the truth of the reported events, nor the twelfth century appropriateness of the names. According to Professor Duncan, the name Agulfus (Aiulf) cannot well be later than the twelfth century, and he adds that fact to the plentiful evidence that if the document were forged, the forgery was a very early one.

As there was no Domesday survey for the northern countries, no help is available from consequential written records, but some guidance may be gained from a more careful reading of exactly how the name was written on the actual documents.

Interpretation

Professor Duncan has placed greater importance on the earlier parts of the Laud manuscript 748 and the later parts of the Durham text 559.

If the witnesses on the Durham MS. 559 are the most authentic, then Agulfi Menyanium is more authentic than Ligulf, son of Inemannus, as written in the Registrum Primum ¹³ but Duncan does not think that the form

of the name as 'Menyanium' is correct 12.

In Duncan, the text of Lawrie XV as preserved in the Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 748 fo. 31r is printed as "Signum Ligulfi filii Inemanni". Mrs. Mowat has studied photocopies of the original and thinks the interpretation of the surname as "Ligulfi son of Inemanni" is correct. In the nominative it would be 'Ligulfus son of Inemannus' 14.

The original text of the chapter MC. 559 as preserved at Durham has been studied by Mr. Piper ¹⁶. It is a single sheet of paper and the difference between Lawrie's and Duncan's versions is because the final letter is represented by a common sign of abbreviation. It could be expanded as m or as mu', nin' or niu' giving Agulfi son of Menyanum, Menyanun or Menyaniu. Mrs. Mowat ¹⁷ thinks it is Menyaniu.

Conclusion

The most likely interpretation seem to be Ligulfus son of Inemannus but are still unable to identify him. Can you help, please?

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to Mrs. Mowat for her diligent research and for producing a copy of the Registrum; Professor Duncan for his reply and erudite publications; Mr. Jonathan Smith of Trinity College Library, Cambridge for finding and providing me with a copy of the MS of a page from Symeonis Dunelmensis; Mr. Tomlinson of the Bodleian Library, Oxford for providing me with a copy of MS Laud 748; Mr. Piper of Durham University Library for a copy of MS 559; and all the authors of the references listed below.

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- ¹⁴ Mrs. A. S. B. Mowat MA ASGRA, letter to the author dated 12th October 1994.
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- ¹⁸ Skene, Celt, Scot., l., p 444 mentioned in Lawrie, see 4 above.
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JOHN KNOX'S DESCENDANTS

by Ralph Stewart

Knox (c. 1514-72) married twice, and left five children who survived to become adults, and at least ten grandchildren who probably did; and from the late eighteenth century there are people claiming to be descended from him, so much is clear in the records and more or less undisputed. But there is a period of at least two generations in the seventeenth century where the links with Knox are tenuous. Several nineteenth century historians and genealogists have tried to establish a definitive genealogy and failed. The most authoritative are probably David Laing, editor of Knox's Works (Edinburgh: 1864) and Charles Rogers, author of Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox and of the Family of Knox (London:1879). Laing's conclusion is: "After careful investigation, I consider the probability of such (lineal) descendants existing as extremely doubtful" (lxxiii), which is close to stating that there are none. Rogers' book is largely concerned with pre-Reformer genealogy and Knox's collateral relations, but the last twenty five pages consider his children and grandchildren. Rogers indicates four possible lines of descent from Knox that have continued into the present and seems fairly confident that at least two of them are valid. That was a century ago and it seems time to re-examine the matter. The task has been started by Graham Welsh in this journal (December 1980,) where he provides new information and also some speculation. Although one of his main conclusions seems to me unlikely, he is surely justified in taking a broader view of the subject than the Victorian genealogists usually do. They state their sources and indicate doubtful ones, but do not, understandably, enter into much discussion as to the reliability of a source, or arguments drawn from cumulative evidence. Yet, in the absence of solid proof, there is something to be gained by entering into such discussion and considering the evidence for each claim of descent.

Knox's first wife was an Englishwoman, Margarie Bowes, daughter of the keeper of Norham Castle, vividly described in the opening to Scott's *Marmion*. She died in 1560, leaving two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, both of whom attended Cambridge and whose lives are fairly well documented. They died young at twenty three and thirty three and unmarried, so this line ends unambiguously. Knox married again in 1564 ¹, this time to a sixteen year old girl, Margaret Stewart (c. 1558-1612). She was daughter of Lord Ochiltree and sister of the formidable "Captain James Stewart", Earl of Arran, later powerful enough to order the arrest of the Regent himself, the Earl of Morton, who was arrested for treason at the end of 1581 and executed the following year. She had three daughters by Knox: Martha (1565-92); Margaret (1567-after 1619) and Elizabeth (1570-1625). ²

Martha married an older man, Alexander Fairlie of Braid, in 1584 and apparently had four children who survived infancy: John, William, Nathaniel and Elspet. Least is known of the children of the second sister, Margaret, who married Zachary Pont (c. 1565-1618), though Zachary was fairly well known and well connected. He was the son of a notable minister,

Robert Pont, and brother of Timothy, who made the first detailed maps of Scotland. Zachary himself was appointed "chief printer within the realm" by King James, in 1590, but was later in financial difficulties. He borrowed 1000 merks from his in-laws Elizabeth Knox and her husband John Welsh, and then failed to keep up payments; Elizabeth and John Welsh took legal action against the Ponts in 1601. The financial problems were at least partially solved by a gift of 1300 merks from Lord Ochiltree, the Knox sisters' cousin, made three years later 3, but by that time Zachary was minister at Boar in Caithness, which must have seemed the equivalent of going into exile. Two children of the Pont marriage are mentioned in surviving records, Robert and Samuel. Elizabeth Knox married the radical preacher John Welsh (c. 1568-1622), who was, in the seventeenth century, only slightly less famous than Knox himself. King James is said to have admonished Elizabeth after Welsh's death. "Knox and Welsh! The Devil never made such a match as that"; and received the reply: "It's right like, Sir, for we never speired his advice".4 Given James' love-hate relationship with his intransigent Prebyterian ministers, the exchange is at least plausible. Information on the children of this marriage is somewhat fuller than with the other two, partly through a seventeenth century life of Welsh. Four children were alive at the time of Elizabeth Knox's death in 1625: William, Josias, Nathaniel and Louise. William was declared her nearest heir, and the other three receive bequests in her will.

Most of Knox's grandchildren are not mentioned in later records beyond early adulthood. This is far from proof that they died early or did not have children, seventeenth century records are very patchy, yet these should be the working assumptions unless other evidence appears. Of Martha Knox's children, John and William survive at least long enough to graduate from Edinburgh (1607) but then disappear from sight. There is no record showing that the other two, Nathaniel and Elspet, survived. However, there is a tradition that Elspet married Mr. James Fleming, and had at least one child and grandchildren. This is one possible line of continuance from Knox (A), and will be discussed later. The Ponts also disappear, except that a minister in Ireland of that name, who fled to Scotland and died by 1641, was probably a son or grandson. After this, there is no trace of descendants at any period.

Of the Welsh children, Nathaniel died young, starved to death after being shipwrecked. William became a doctor in the Netherlands and married, but he was killed in an accident in 1633, leaving only one child, who soon died. Josias was educated at Geneva and Glasgow, and held a post at the University, went to preach in Ireland in 1626 where he became known, according to some sources, as the "Cock of the Conscience", and died in 1634. He married Martha Pont and left three young children, John, Andrew and Josias ⁵. At least one of these survived to become the famous Covenanting preacher John Welsh (1624-81), who was active in the rebellions that ended at Pentland (1666) and Bothwell Bridge (1679) and was long the most wanted man in Scotland. John Welsh married twice, to Elizabeth Paterson

who died in 1675, and latterly to a woman whose name is unknown; but he had no children by either marriage. The second claim of descent from Knox (B) is based on the premise that one of Josias' other sons survived, moved to Scotland, and is recorded in Newbattle parish, near Edinburgh, in 1560. A third claim (C) originated from a family tradition that David Walker, who became a minister of Temple in 1690, was a descendant of Knox. If valid, the link would most probably be through Elizabeth Knox's surviving daughter Louise. The final claim (D) is based on another family tradition that one of Knox's daughters married a Baillie of Jerviswood and had many descendants. Thomas McCrie younger records a fairly detailed genealogy of this line in his 1855 edition of his father's biography of Knox.

Of these four claims, the last is probably the weakest. The family tradition is mentioned by the elder McCrie in his biography of Knox, and the younger McCrie's edition of the book gives a more detailed pedigree provided by Alexander Thomson of Banchory. This begins with the marriage of Knox's daughter to Baillie of Jerviswood and continues with a daughter of that match marrying "Mr. Kirkton of Edinburgh", presumably the Covenanting preacher and historian (c. 1628-99). Their daughter, Margaret, is believed to have married Dr. Andrew Skene of Aberdeen, and from there the line is clear to the informant (born in 1798). Kirkton did indeed marry Elizabeth Baillie, daughter of Baillie of Jerviswood, and had at least six children; but no daughter Margaret is recorded. But the most immediate problem with this genealogy is at source. The marriages of the Knox daughters are on record, and none married a Baillie. The only one who could conceivably have remarried, Margaret, wife of Zachary Pont, would almost certainly be then too old to bear children. A grandchild might possibly have married into the Baillie family but, if the link is through Kirkton, all possible connections can be discounted: Elizabeth Baillie's mother was Margaret Johnston, sister of Johnston of Warriston, largely responsible for framing the Scottish Covenant, and definitely not a descendant of Knox. Margaret Johnston was born in 1609 and if her husband, George Baillie, were no older there is a theoretical possibility that his mother was Knox's grandaughter, though time constraints make it very unlikely. In fact, Baillie seems to have been considerably older than his wife. He was an Edinburgh merchant well enough off to be buying land in Lanarkshire by the early 1620's, and eventually acquired the estate of Jerviswood in 1634, and became established as a member of the gentry. He could not have had a mother born after 1690, about the earliest possible date for a Knox grandaughter.

Another possible line (B) is through one of Josias Welsh's other two sons. There seems to be no further record of these or of his wife. If she died early, the children would have been fostered, probably with relatives and very possibly in Scotland: A William Welsh of appropriate age does turn up in Newbattle, Mid-Lothian, the parish of a William Knox who is probably a relative of Josias, and Charles Rogers suggests that William is likely to be Josias' son. Rogers apparently did not know of Josias' will, which does not mention a William among the children. Graham Welsh does know the will,

but suggests that the young Josias was adopted by William Knox and that his name was changed to William. There is then a clear line of descent from William, through his son Walter, died 1707, and his grandaughter Alison, to many late eighteenth century descendants. Graham Welsh's suggestion is, of course, possible, but there is no solid evidence to support it. A case can certainly be made that William Welsh of Newbattle is related to Josias. He associates with Knoxes who are probably Josias' relatives, and also one of his grandsons is named Josias; as this is a decidedly unusual name, it does suggest a connection. Moreover, at least one later descendant of William Welsh, Edward Hume (1803-63), minister of Pitsligo, claims descent from Knox, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticana 6, 236. Yet, apart from the last point, this rather meagre evidence only establishes a likelihood that William Welsh was related to Josias' family, and not that he was descended from Josias or the Reformer. Relationship alone could explain the use of Josias as a family name. Although they are very incomplete, the existing birth records of the period, for the Edinburgh area, still indicate half a dozen Welsh families William could have come from; so there is no specific reason to think he came from Ireland. And of course, the problem of his name, William, not Josias, remains.

The later claim of descent carries very little weight by itself. The Fasti relates, presumably on Edward Hume's own authority, that he is descended in the eighth degree from Knox; actually if the claim is correct, it would be in the ninth degree, which suggests some vagueness by Hume about the early steps of the genealogy. More significant, the claim comes in the mid nineteenth century, which is unconvincingly late. John Howie, writing in 1775, says that Josias' only son was John Welsh, Biographia Scoticana, 144; had he been aware of it, he would almost certainly have noted any tradition that Knox's line had been carried on through another son of Josias. Nor do Edward Hume's relatives, when they mention a relationship to Knox, appear to make the same claim of descent. His mother's cousin, Stevenson McGill (1765-1840) was Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and subject of a biography, or *Memoir* (Edinburgh 1842). He was instrumental in setting up a monument to Knox in Glasgow's Necropolis, Cathedral grave yard, which increases one's interest in whether he was, in fact, a descendant. The author of the biography, Robert Burns, states that he has not been able to trace a connection between McGill's ancestors, William and Walter Welsh, and Knox's son-in-law. "The traditional impressions, however, in the circle of the families and friends interested, have long been in favour of such a connection" 5. This is not a strong endorsement from Burns; but in any case, the family do not seem to be going beyond claiming a relationship with the original John Welsh and therefore with Knox, a very different matter from descent.

A further claim of descent (C) is associated with David Walker (c. 1665-1737), minister of Temple, and originally from Leslie in Fife. A female cousin of Mr. John Welsh, younger, is mentioned in Blackadder's *Memoirs* (in the ms.) as being in Fife and hearing him preach. The claim is essentially

that this cousin would be daughter of one of Josias' siblings, and Knox's great grandaughter, and that David Walker was her son. The obvious candidate would be Josias' sister Louise, daughter of Elizabeth Knox and John Welsh, elder, who was born in 1613 and alive at least until her mother's death in 1625. Rogers suggests that Louise's daughter probably married one of two brothers mentioned by Wodrow, David and James Walker, who lived in Leslie in Fife, and were active supporters of the younger John Welsh. The younger David Walker (c. 1665-1737) named his second son Josias which, as with the previous claim, makes a connection with John Welsh's family more likely, though it is far from proof of descent from the older John Welsh and Elizabeth Knox. The actual claim of descent seems to have been first made, at least publicly, by David's son Thomas (1704-80), minister of Dundonald in 1774. In Vindication of the Discipline and Constitution of the Chuch of Scotland (Edinburgh 1774), he refers to himself as "one of his{Knox's] descendants, who thinks it no stain on the blood of his worthy ancestor to support the doctrine and the discipline which he was so instrumental in reviving..." (379). The claim does seem to be unambiguously to genealogical, as well as spiritual descent. It is apparently supported by the most notable member of the family, Thomas' nephew John Witherspoon (1723-94), minister of Beith and Paisley, and latterly President of Princeton and signatory to the American Declaration of Independence; Fasti records that he claimed descent from Knox. (1.174).

This genealogical line has more to support it than the previous one, in that it includes a contemporary reference to the cousin of John Welsh, younger, which fills in a little of the two generation gap present in all these genealogies, and the claim of descent comes earlier, two or three generations closer to source. The speculation about David and James Walker is rather beside the point, except in establishing that there were Walkers in Fife, of covenanting sympathies, available to marry one of Knox's great grandaughters, but that is what one would expect. Fasti actually identifies the father of David Walker (c. 1655-1727) as Archibald, cordiner in Leslie; his wife's name is unfortunately unknown. The comparitively lowly occupation greatly lessens the chances that he would marry into the Knox family, most of whose members allied with the gentry, the prosperous middle class, or the clergy. His son, David, was, of course, a clergyman, and there is the possibility of a link to Knox through David's wife Margaret Pearson. She is as likely to be the daughter, or grandaughter, of John Welsh, younger's, "cousin" as David's mother. But the very fact that such speculations can be made brings out how little evidence we have and how tenuous the genealogical claim is.

Also, one of the two main points of evidence made in support of the claim is susceptible to different interpretations. I have not seen the manuscript of Blackadder's *Memoirs* which mentions a "cousin" of John Welsh, younger's, the reference does not appear in the published version, but Roger's quotation from it sounds complete: "a young gentlewoman in Fife, a cousin of Mr. Welsh" (152). But a cousin may be on the mother's side,

and especially in pre nineteenth century usage, the single word may refer to a second or third cousin. Josias Welsh married in Ireland, so it is somewhat more likely that a cousin appearing in Fife would be on his side and not his wife's but, given the historical context of recent Scottish plantation in Ulster, she probably had close ties with Scotland also and might well have a niece there. Even if the connection is with Josias, a second cousin, or beyond, might be related to the older John Welsh, but not to Knox. So long as we have only Blackadder's brief reference to go on, the chances of the "cousin" being a descendant of the Reformer are no better than evens.

Thomas Walker's claim of descent from Knox is made late in life and is not backed by his own contemporaries. He may possibly have been referring to a well established family tradition, but there is no evidence for this. The Witherspoon genealogy does not, on examination, provide much support for Walker, Fasti states that Witherspoon claimed to be descended from Knox; but this seems to be based on a statement by Witherspoon's sonin-law in a postumous edition of his Works, (Edinburgh 1804, 9 volumes) or at least no other source is cited. He actually says that Witherspoon "was lineally descended" (xii), rather different from saying that he claimed to be; and a note states that the biographical information comes mainly from the funeral sermon, by a Dr. Rodgers. A twentieth century biographer (V. L. Collins, President Witherspoon, Princeton U. P. 1925) could not find any evidence that Witherspoon himself had ever claimed descent from Knox, and Dr. Rodger's source may well be Thomas Walker. The probability seems strongly against a well established or solidly based family tradition. It is much more likely that, in old age and in the heat of debate, Walker elevated a genealogical possibility into an established fact.

The remaining possible line of descent (A) is connected with James Fleming, minister of Bathans. Thomas McCrie's statement that one of Knox's daughters married Fleming (Knox, 1813, p. 269) is obviously incorrect, but probably not entirely wrong. A Mr. Robert Fleming states in a book published in 1702: "My grandfather did indeed marry the daughter of the first Mr. Knox, usually called the Reformer; but my father was by a second match".6 The grandfather is James Fleming (1590-1653), the right age for marrying one of the next generation of Knoxes. it is understandable that Robert would confuse daughter and grandaughter nearly a century later, but it seems unlikely that he would be entirely wrong about family history of that era. The absence of references to the match in Memoirs of the period is rather disconcerting, but less surprising if the grandaughter died early and the marriage was brief. A Fleming connection could not be through Elizabeth, whose children are fully accounted for, and is most probably through Martha. McCrie notes the marriages to Pont and Welsh, correctly, and links the other daughter, who would be Martha, with James Fleming. Moreover, Marthadid have a daughter. Elspet, who is otherwise unaccounted for. James Fleming's first marriage produced one surviving child, Janet, who in October 1640, married James Forbes, the minister of Abercorn; he died in July 1642, but the couple had two daughters. Janet died in 1671, and

left a will (1 Jan 1672, Dunblane Commissariat). I have difficulty transcribing this, but the beneficiary appears to be Janet's half sister Christian Fleming, wife of Mr. John Sinclair, who had been minister of Ormond but was then a fugitive. A daughter Janet (or Jean?) is mentioned in the will as deceased. She had been joint holder of a financial bond, maturing in 1697, so it likely that she died not long before her mother. As she was born in 1641, or 42, she would have been old enough to have children, but unfortunately the trail goes cold here. None of the indexes available for wills, sasines or deeds of the period, 1661 to 1667, mention a Janet or Jean Forbes who might be Janet Fleming's daughter.

With this exception, which at present continues only to 1671, none of the possible lines of descent seem to be probable. The absence of early and mid seventeenth century records of Knox descendants should not be given a great deal of weight, even though most would have been associated with the relatively well documented upper class. The younger John Welsh was famous as the most wanted man in Scotland, and yet the identity of his second wife, married as late as 1674, is not known. One might also argue that many family connections with famous people were simply too well known to seem worth recording. But the absence of family trees descending from Knox, from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, is strong evidence against there being any known descendants. At that period various historians and antiquarians, notably Robert Wodrow, were documenting those who had played a part in the post-Reformation Church. They were frequently interested in genealogy, and would be most unlikely to omit noting descendants of the "Reformer", the most famous figure of all. And, even where written records were absent, they would have had access to oral testimony, which is reliable enough to be useful for three or four generations. Knox's grandchildren were born between 1585 and 1615; if someone living in, say, 1700 were the grandchild of one of these grandchildren, he or she would probably be aware of their descent from Knox, and Wodrow, or one of his contemporaries, would have noted this. It is disquieting that the first definite claim of descent from Knox (1774) is much later, beyond the range where a general oral tradition, unsubstantiated with detail, carries much weight; it comes too late to be proved or disproved.

There remains the possibility that some Knox descendants of Wodrow's period were insignificant enough to escape notice, somewhat more likely if their surnames were not usually associated with Knox, neither Fairlie, Pont nor Welsh. In any case, the Baillie claim (D) can probably be discounted. The William Welsh claim (B) is only a very faint possibility. The odds are strongly against his having come from Ireland rather than one of the half dozen Welsh families living locally, and having to assume a change of name increase these odds enormously. The lack of a definite claim of descent from Knox till the nineteenth century further weakens the case. The David Walker claim (C) has more evidence to support it. Apart from Blackadder's reference to a "cousin" of John Welsh, younger, there is at least one Knox grandchild, Louise Welsh, who is known to have survived childhood and is

not otherwise accounted for, so that she could have become the grandmother of David or possibly of David's wife. Though, as already suggested, it is unlikely that Knox's descendant, even at three removes, would marry a shoemaker, as David's father Archibald was. In generational terms, Thomas Walker's claim is closer to source than the other lines; if correct, he has only to name his great grandmother to establish the link with Knox. But the claim is not even as specific as that; and it is not repeated, either by Thomas or a member of his family, for another generation. It would not be surprising if an elderly man engaged in debate made such a claim, especially unobtrusively, in a lengthy book, merely on the basis of possibility. In any case, even such a tentative genealogy, which migh be checked. This leaves only the Fleming connection (A), which depends on Janet Forbes, (1641-), who was probably Knox's great great grandaughter, having had descendants, a point yet to be established. Yet this, unfortunately, is the most promising of the four claims of descent from John Knox.

References

- ¹ All dates are given "new style"; that is, beginning the year 1 January rather than the "old style" where it began 25 March. In Scotland, the new style became standard in 1600: in England, not till 1752.
- ² Knox's will makes some provision for his sons, but is evidently based on the assumption that they are already being provided for in England. He says that he has "augmented" the 100 merks sterling provided by their mother to 100 pounds Scots but the latter sum seems less than the former.
- ³Thomas McCrie. Life of John Knox (ed. Thomas McCrie younger, Edinburgh 1855).
- 'Thomas-McCrie, Life of John Knox (Edinburgh: 1813, second edition), II, 274.
- ⁶ See Graham Welsh's article for references to Josias' will, which names his wife and three children.
- ⁶Robert Fleming. The Blessedness of those who die in the Lord: A Practical Discourse (London 1702), xiii.

Editors' Notes

A request for information regarding service personnel who died at, or as a result of action at Gallipoli, in the Great War, has been received, to enable a register of names to be compiled; further details from *Patrick Gariepy*, 3966 Robin, Eugene, Oregon, 97402, USA.

Any members or readers with Irish connections may be interested to note that a Council of Irish Genealogical Organisations has recently been formed, under the chairmanship of Michael Merrigan. The Council plan to co-ordinate projects to mark the 150th anniversary of Civil Registration in Ireland; and of An Gorta Mor (The Great Family). Suggestions are requested, and details can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Des Clarke, 186 Ashcroft, Raheny, Dublin 5, Ireland.

It has recently been announced that a new Canadian society has been formed, namely the British Isles Family History Society of Greater Ottowa. Membership is open to individuals, families and institutions. A Society Newsletter, an annual Journal and ten monthly programmes are available to members. Further information can be obtained from *BIFHSGO*, *P. O. Box 38026*, *Ottowa ON K2C 1NO*, *Canada*.

THE CLAN ALPIN CONFEDERATION

by David Morgan

The Siol Alpin Federation is one of the least known and rather mysterious Scottish Clan alliances in Highland history. It is frequently mentioned; many people have heard of it and yet no-one has ever made a serious study of it. It is not an easy subject, because the Clans never acted together as a Federation as did Clan Chattan, or the Clan alliance, which so faithfully supported the race of Somerled, Lord of the Isles.

The Siol Alpin is the name given to seven Scottish Clans - Grant; MacAulay; MacFie; MacGregor MacKinnon; MacNab and MacQuarrie, the Chiefs of which are said to be of common descent from King Alpin of Scotland who reigned briefly (839-841).

Together they form Clan MacAlpin which was never a Clan in the ordinary sense, ie. a single tribe with special territory acknowledging a single chief. The Children of Alpin are the clansmen of the seven constituent Clans, and the first ten or twelve MacKinnon Chiefs bore the name MacKinnon, or MacFingon MacAlpin, because they were of the House of Alpin.

All except Grant are West Highland Clans with possessions in ancient Dal Riada; modern Argyll and some of the islands. Three are island Clans. At no time did these Clans live in the same territory under a High Chief, from which they emigrated to found their new and permanent Clan territories. The Clans were founded by younger sons, who, having been given or acquired lands of their own, proceeded to found races of their own.

The Clans of the Siol Alpin thus came into being, each Clan pursuing its own independent policies in its own part of the Highlands. The only recorded meeting of Chiefs was when the MacGregors and the Grants met near Blair Atholl in 1748 in a thwarted effort to get the whole Confederation merged into one Clan with one Chief.

The descent from King Alpin has been generally accepted by Scottish historians, spearheaded by Skene, and yet there is another common descent found in the work of early Irish annalists which places the common descent of these Clans at an earlier date from Fearchar Fada, 15th King of the Dal Riadan Scots (AD 681-702).

If this descent is accepted then the Siol Alpin is really the House of Fergus, the original Royal House, and not the later Alpin. Genealogies in "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicus" suggest that one Oirbertaigh, son of Fearchar Fada was a common progenitor link, and yet historians claim that Fearchar Fada had only two sons, Selbach and Ainbhcealach.

It would seem desirable to seek clarification from the seven specified Clans of their early origins.

House of Alpin

Donald I, son of Alpin 860-863 Constantine I, son of Kenneth I, 863-877 Aedh, son of Kenneth I, 877-878 Eocha, son of Kenneth I's dau. who m. Run, King of Strathclyde 878-889

Donald II, son of Constantine I, 889-900

Constantine II, son of Aedh 900-943

Malcolm I, son of Donald II, 943-954

Indulf, son of Constantine II, 954-962

Duff, son of Malcolm I, 962-967

Colin, son of Indulf 967-971

References - "The Clan Alpin Confederation" by Charles MacKinnon of Dunakin, in Forebears, Volume XVI, Number 1, Winter 1973 and "Collectanea" de Rebus Albanicus".

SCOTS REGIMENTS IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE

by William Forbes-Leith

In 1635, Cardinal Richlieu, having to face the whole strength of the Spanish Monarchy, had no less than nineteen foreign regiments in French pay. When he passed away, on the 4th December 1642, the minority of the young King, which encouraged his enemies to redouble their efforts, obliged Cardinal Mazarin, already pre-disposed in favour of foreign auxiliaries, to make fresh exertions; and it became necessary to increase the number of soldiers in the Low Countries, in Germany and in Catalonia. In 1645, the first English revolution gave rise to a large emigration of royalists, affording materials for the formation of Scottish regiments, to which others were added after the execution of Charles I.

The following extract from a letter written by Sir Richard Browne, whilst ambassador at Paris, furnishes some curious particulars on the formation of the first regiments:

"To Sir Edward Nicholas 13-23 January 1642-3"

"The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve, or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are:

Colonel Douglas his Foot Regt.	2000	
Earle of Erwin his new Regt. of Guards		
consisting of 30 companies	4500	
My Lord Gray. 1 Regt. of Foote	1000	
My Lord Lundy, 1 Regt. of Foote	1000	
Col. Fullerton, 1 Regt. of Foote	1000	
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have the auncient company of Gens		

man of Daudian (is sayd) shan have the auncient company of Gens d'Armes

Of these, allready here:

Col. Douglas' Regt.	1000
The Earle of Erwin's	2000
Col. Fullerton's	500

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scotland".

Les Gardes Eccossaises

This regiment was quite distinct from the Scots Guards, known as La Garde

Eccossaise du Corps du Roi. Raised by the Earl of Irvine in 1642, it landed at Dieppe in September, October and November 1643. We find this regiment in a list of the corps composing the force which besieged Thionville, in that very year 1643, under the command of the Prince de Conde. It was present at the battle of Lens in 1648, and fought in the front rank, by the side of the French Guards, as appears in the official account of this famous engagement, and the accompanying plan. The title of Guards given to this regiment, says Father Daniel, was purely honorary, for it never exercised the ordinary functions of a bodyguard, nor were any regulations ever made to that effect. It was, however, treated with distinction, since, as I have said, it fought by the side of the French Regiment of Guards at the battle of Lens.

Father Daniel obtained the following particulars of this regiment from some retired Scotch officers: "The Colonel in command was at first the Earl of Irvine. He was succeeded by Andrew Rutherford, Earl of Teviot, a man of merit, who served with distinction in the French army until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. King Charles II, on his restoration to the throne of England in 1660, appointed Rutherford Governor of Dunkirk. Louis XIV, on Rutherford's withdrawal from his service broke up the regiment and incorporated the subalterns and soldiers who were willing to serve in the regiment of Douglas. When Dunkirk was ceded to France, Rutherford was sent as Governor to Tangier, on the coast of Africa, where he was killed by the Moors.

In the list of officers of the King's army dead, wounded or made prisoners, given in the Gazette de France of the date of 28th August 1648, we find the following notice: "Regiment des Gardes Ecossaises - the Major, wounded; Stevenel, Ensign, wounded.

In March 1859, Mr. James Law communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland an engagement subscribed by the Colonel and officers of the Regiment des Gardes Ecossaises, namely: James, Earl of Irvine, Sir Bannatyne, Alexander Lord Saltoun, Lord Lorne, Lord Kilpont, Lord Saint-Colme and many others, dated the 1st April 1643, and surrendered, for a sum of 30,000 livres to Sir Robert Murray of Priestfield, described in this instrument as a merchant of Paris.

The Hepburn Regiment

According to General Susanne, this regiment was raised in March 1633 by Sir John Hepburn and arrived at Boulogne in the month of August, 2000 strong. They were all good soldiers, reared in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, and most of them gentlemen.

It formed part of the army of Lorraine, and was present at the siege of Nancy, and the capture of Hauenau, Saverne, Luneville and Bitche. Sir John Hepburn was then entrusted with the blockade of La Mothe, a town of Lorraine, built on a height, and very difficult of access; and fought side by side with Turenne, who was then beginning his military career. Skirmishes took place almost continually, and in these the French often lost a large number of men, whilst the Lorrainers, thanks to their knowledge of the ground, had usually only a small number wounded. Even the girls were

anxious to display their courage; and they used to come down the slopes of the hill to cut forage for the cattle, where they had met hitherto with very little interruption from the besiegers. One day sixteen girls, carrying arms concealed under their dress, and accompanied by about a dozen men in female disguise, came up so close to the trenches that many of the French went out in pursuit. Pretending flight in order to draw the enemy nearer the town, they then turned, attacked them vigorously, wounded some of them, and compelled the rest to seek shelter. On this, twenty five French musketeers came to the spot, and charged at the women. Luckily for them, the Governor commanded a sortie, and this enabled them to re-enter the town, carrying three of their number wounded, one mortally.

After the siege of La Mothe, Sir John Hepburn was sent to the relief of Heidelberg and Philsbert in 1634. He took part in the capture of Spire, in the hattle of Fresche, the capture of Bingen and was killed at the siege of Saverne in 1636. He was buried in the Cathedral of Toul, where Louis XIV erected a splendid monument to his memory.

After Hepburn's death, Lord James Douglas, second son of William, eleventh Earl of Angus, was appointed Colonel of the regiment, which from that time began to be called the Douglas or Dumbarton Regiment.

The Douglas or Dumbarton Regiment

This regiment took part in the capture of Blamont, Rembeirvilliers, Yroy and Damvilliers in 1637; in the siege of St. Omer, Renti, Aire and Bapaume in 1641; went to Italy in 1642, besieged Trino; formed part of the army of Picardy in 1644; besieged Gravelines, Cassel, Bourbourg, Bethune and Saint Venant in 1645. Lord James Douglas was killed while in command of a flying corps between Douay and Arras. He held the rank of Lieutenant-General, and was highly valued by Louis XIV, who intended to confer upon him the baton of a Field-Marshall on the very day on which he was killed, 21st October 1645.

His brother, Lord George Douglas, who afterwards had the title of Lord Dumbarton, was then named Colonel of the regiment, and was not inferior in merit to his predecessors.

In 1661, the Douglas Regiment was ordered to pass over to England, where it rendered very great services to King Charles II.

On leaving France it consisted of eight companies only, but, on returning a year later, it included thirty three, composed of at least a hundred men each. Lord George Douglas continued in command. He was present in most of the battles and sieges between the French and the Confederates, acquired great honour by his valour, and the rank of Major-General.

On the 27th June 1678, the Douglas regiment was recalled to Scotland; but in 1689, Lord George Douglas, who then bore the title of Lord Dumbarton, with a great number of officers and soldiers followed King James to France, and served in Spain and Germany with Dundee's officers. At the Union, in 1707, Lord Dumbarton's regiment was incorporated with the British army.

"This regiment still exists", says Father Daniel, "and is acknowledged to be the finest in England. It is commanded by Lord Orkney, a Lieutenant-General, brother of the Duke of Hamilton and nephew of Lord Dumbarton. It is called the Royal Regiment, or the Orkney Regiment. It has produced a large number of excellent officers, many of whom are still serving in France. All the above statements are taken from a memoir drawn up by a Scotch officer who was well informed of everything that regarded this regiment".

The Forbes Regiment

This cavalry regiment entered the French service on the 26th October 1635, and was commanded by Colonel Forbes. It was sent to Lorraine and Alsace in 1636, and on the 17th October 1641, was made over to Colonel Ruthworm.

There was a Scotch regiment of foot of the same name which entered the French service on the 16th November 1635. It was commanded by Colonel N. Forbes, served in the war with Germany, where it suffered very heavy losses, and was disbanded in 1638.

The Campbell Regiment

The Campbell regiment was raised on the 20th June 1653. it served in Catalonia, and was incorporated in 1657 with the Royal Irish.

The Hamilton Regiment

This regiment was levied in April 1671, by George, Earl of Hamilton and Abercorn. It served in Holland and Westphalia, took part in the battles of Sintzheim, Ensheim and Mulhausen in 1674; Turkheim and Altenheim in 1675; was present at the siege of Frieburg in 1677; and in March 1678, was incorporated with the Furstembert.

To quote the words of General Susanne; "The 25,000 Irish, English and Scotch Catholics who had followed James II to France, and had served with distinction in the French army, had become so reduced in 1715, that their numbers were barely sufficient to form five scanty regiments of a single battalion.

The Company of Scotch Officers

All hopes of serving in the Highlands being lost, the Scotch officers who had served under Claverhouse came to terms with the English government, and according to their request, were conveyed to France. Immediately upon landing, they had their rank confirmed according to the tenor of the commissions and characters which they bore in Scotland. They formed, for a while, the military household of James II, at St. Germain's, and derived their whole means of subsistence from the bounty of Louis XIV. But after the destruction of the French fleet off La Houge in May 1692, they volunteered a great sacrifice related in an interesting pamphlet written by one of the corps:

"The Scotch officers, considering that, by the loss of the French fleet, King James' restoration would be retarded for some time, and that they were burdensome to the King of France, being in garrisons on whole pay without doing duty, when he had almost all Europe in confederacy against him, humbly entreated King James to have them reduced to a company of private sentinels, and chose officers amongst themselves to command them".

Shortly afterward, the Scotch officers went to St. Germain's in order to be reviewed for the last time by the exiled monarch. On the appointed day King James came down into the court, passed through the ranks, wrote down with his own hand in his pocket book the name of every gentleman, and thanked each of them. Then passing along the company drawn up in line, he took off his hat and bowed to them. Again, as he was retiring, he turned back, bowed to them once more and burst into tears. Then the whole company knelt down, bowed low, and rising simultaneously, gave their sovereign the royal salute.

The number of this company of officers being only 120, Major Rutherford's company and Captain John Foster's veteran troops of Dumbarton's regiment, were ordered to join them. Their destination was Perpignan in Roussillon, close upon the frontiers of Spain, where they were to join the army under the command of Marshal de Noailles. Dundee's officers were always foremost in battle, and the last to retreat. They were often in want of the first necessaries of life, yet they were never heard to complain, save of the misfortunes of their exiled sovereign.

A short account of the taking of Rosas in Catalonia may give some idea of the estimation in which they were held. "On the 27th May, the company of officers and the other Scotch companies were joined by two companies of Irish to make up a battalion, in order to mount the trenches; and the major part of the officers listed themselves in the company of grenadiers, under the command of the brave Major Rutherford, who, on his way to the trenches, in sight of Marshal de Noailles and his court, marched up with his company on the side of the trench, which exposed him to the fire of a bastion, where there were two culverins and several other guns planted; likewise to the fire of two curtins lined with small shot. Colonel Brown, following with the battalion, was obliged in honour to march the same way Major Rutherford had done; the danger whereof the Marshal immediately perceiving, ordered one of his aides-de-camps to command Rutherford to march under cover of the trench, which he did; and if he had but delayed six minutes, the grenadiers and battalion had been cut to pieces. Rutherford, with his grenadiers, marched to a trench near the town, and the battalion, to a trench on the rear and flank of the grenadiers, who fired so incessantly on the besieged, that they thought (the breach being practicable) they were going to make their attacks, immediately beat a chamade, and were willing to give up the town upon reasonable terms; but the Marshal's demands were so exorbitant, that the governor could not agree to them. Then firing began on both sides to be very hot; and they in the town, seeing how the grenadiers lay, killed eight of them. When the governor surrendered the town, he inquired of the Marshal what countrymen these grenadiers were; and assured him 'twas on their account he delivered up the town, because they fired so hotly, that he believed they were resolved to attack the breach. He answered, smiling, 'Ce sont mes enfants' - 'They are my children'. Again: 'They are the King of Great Britain's Scotch officers, who, to show their willingness to share of his miseries, have reduced themselves to carrying of arms, and chosen to serve under my command'. The next day when the Marshal rode along the front of the camp, he halted at the company of the officers piquet, and they all surrounded him. Then, with his hat in his hand, he thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged it was their conduct and courage which compelled the governor to give up the town; and assured them he would acquaint his master with the same, which he did; for when his son arrived with the news at Versailles, the King, having read the letter, immediately took coach to St. Germain's, and when he had shown King James the letter, he thanked him for the services his subjects had done in taking Rosas in Catalonia; who, with concern, replied they were the stock of his British officers, and that he was sorry he could not make better provision for them"

On the 4th December 1693, the company of officers, with the other two Scotch companies, received orders to march to Alsace. Famine and the sword had thinned their ranks, but had not diminished their spirit, as the following narrative of their last exploit will show:

"In December 1697, General Stirk appeared with 16,000 Germans on the other side of the Rhine, which obliged the Marquis de Sell to draw out all the garrisons in Alsace, who made up about 4,000 men; and he encamped on the other side of the Rhine, over against General Stirk, to prevent his passing the Rhine and carrying a bridge over into an island in the middle of it, which the French foresaw would be of great prejudice to them. For the enemy's guns, placed on that island, would extremely gall their camp, which they could not hinder for the deepness of the water and their wanting of boats, for which the Marquis quickly sent; but arriving too late, the Germans had carried a bridge over into the island, where they had posted above 500 men, who, by order of their engineers, entrenched themselves; which the company of officers perceiving, who always grasped after honour, and scorned all thoughts of danger, resolved to wade the river and attack the Germans in the island; and that for effect desired Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, to beg of the Marquis that they might have liberty to attack the Germans in the island; who told Captain Foster, when the boats came up, they should be the first that attacked. Foster courteously thanked the Marquis, and told him they would wade into the island, who shrunk up his shoulders, prayed to God to bless them, and desired them to do what they pleased". Whereupon the officers, with the other two Scotch companies, made themselves ready, and in the dusk of the evening, having secured their arms round their necks, waded into the river hand in hand, according to the Highland fashion with the water on high as their breasts; and, having crossed the heavy stream, fell upon the Germans in their entrenchment. These were thrown into confusion, and retreated, breaking down their own bridges, whilst many of them were drowned. "When", says the chronicler, "the Marquis de Sell heard the firing, and understood that the Germans were beat out of the island he made the sign of the cross on his face and breast, and declared publicly that it was the bravest action that he ever saw, and that his army had no honour by it. As soon as the boats came, the

Marquis sent into the island to acquaint the officers that he would send them both troops and provisions, who thanked his excellency and desired that he should be informed that they wanted no troops, and could not spare time to make use of provisions, and only desired spades, shovels and pick axes wherewith they might entrench themselves, which were immediately sent to them. The next morning the Marquis came into the island and kindly embraced every officer, and thanked them for the good service they had done his master, assuring them he would write a true account of their honour and bravery to the King of France, who at the reading of his letters, immediately went to St. Germain's, and thanked King James for the services his subjects had done on the Rhine".

The company kept possession of the island for nearly six weeks, not withstanding repeated attempts on the part of the Germans to surprise and dislodge them; but all these having been defeated by the extreme watchfulness of the Scots, General Stirk at length drew off his army and retreated.

On the 11th September 1697, the Treaty of Tyswick was concluded, and this gallant company was broken up and dispersed. "And thus was dissolved one of the best companies that ever marched under command gentlemen who, in the midst of all their pressures and obscurity, never forgot they were gentlemen; and whom the sweets of a brave, a just, and honourable conscience rendered perhaps more happy under those suffering than the most prosperous and triumphant in iniquity, since our minds stamp our happiness".

Names of Officers

Lieutenant Adam Urguhart, Captain David Arneil, Lieutenant Alexander Elfingston, Lieutenant Donald Bane (sergeant), Captain Alexander Maitland, Captain Duncan Camron, Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Edward Davidson (Lieutenant), Ensign Alexander Poplar, Lieutenant Francis Gordon (sergeant), Captain Alexander Ramsay, Captain George Buchan, Captain Alexander Sinclair, Lieutenant George Edwards, Captain Alexander Trotar, Lieutenant George Heriot, Lieutenant Alexander Urquhart (corporal), Captain George Drummond, Ensign Allan Maclane, Lieutenant Hugh Sutherland, Lieutenant Andrew Simpson (corporal), Lieutenant James Gray, Ensign Aeneas Macdonald, Captain James Henderson, Lieutenant Archibald Langins, Lieutenant James Henderson, Lieutenant Arthur Arniel, Captain James Innes (corporal), Major Charles Erskin, Lieutenant James O'Bryan, Lieutenant Charles Lermont, Captain James Montgomery, Captain Charles Patin, Captain James Clark, Captain Collin Campbell, Lieutenant James Oswald, Ensign Daniel Vipers, Lieutenant James Toucks, Lieutenant David Bane, Lieutenant John Caruthers, Captain David Carmichall, Captain John Dunbar, Lieutenant David Drummond, Captain John Hamilton, Captain John Arnut, Lieutenant Robert Pierce, Captain John Gray, Lieutenant Robert Keeth, Captain and Engineer John Hepburn, Lieutenant Rohert Barclay, Lieutenant John Oglethorpe, Captain Samuel Maxwell, Captain John Riddel, Captain Samuel Windram, Lieutenant John Paterson, Lieutenant Stephen Sexon, Captain John Sinclair, Lieutenant Thomas

Clark, Captain John Macintosh, Lieutenant Thomas Ogilvie, Captain John Ogilvie, Captain Walter Achmuty, Lieutenant John Mewrice, Captain Walter Nisbet, Captain Joseph Brody, Lieutenant William Collins, Captain Isaac Thrycle, Captain William Maxwell, Captain Kennet Urquhart, Lieutenant William Culbert, Lieutenant Laurence Drummond, Colonel William Davidson, Lieutenant Laurence Wallace, Captain William Innes, Lieutenant Patrick Cunningham, Lieutenant William Menzies, Lieutenant Patrick Dickson, Captain William Main, Captain Patrick Grahame, Lieutenant William Lyon (sergeant), Lieutenant Patrick Ogilvie, Lieutenant William Plummer, Lieutenant Philip Hamilton, Lieutenant William Shewen, Captain Robert Arbuthnot, Captain William Cunningham, Lieutenant Robert Barclay, Lieutenant William Boyd, Lieutenant Robert Maxwell, Lieutenant William Bruce, Lieutenant Robert Kinloch, Captain William Ramsay, Colonel Robert Somervell, Captain William Robinson.

The Royal Ecossais

This regiment was raised on the 1st August 1744, by Louis Drummond, Duke of Perth. It took part in the Battle of Fontenoy, the capture of Tournay, Audenarde, Ghent and Nieuport; sailed to Scotland on 26th November 1745, and took part in the battle of Culloden. The Earl of Drummond, Colonel of the regiment, received a mortal wound, and was succeeded by Louis Drummond, Earl of Melfort. On its return to France, it formed part of the army of Flanders in 1748, and took part in the siege of Maestricht, the defence of Marbourg, the battle of Willingshausen in 1761; and on the 21st December 1762, was incorporated with the regiment of Bulkeley.

${f Royal\ Ecossais}$

The soldiers composing the first company of this regiment wore the Highland dress. The others wore a blue coat and waistcoat, red collar and cuffs, white small clothes, cross pockets with three buttons, silver braid and buttons on hat. The names of some of the officers are given in Roussel's Etats Militaires de France.

- 1753 Milord Drummond Melfort
- 1754 Baron Colbert (Cuthbert) de Castlehill, Lieutenant-Colonel
- 1756 David Nairn, Major
- 1760 Drummond de Strathallan, Monsieur de Sharp, Captain Macdonald de Glengarry

The Ogilvy Regiment

This regiment was raised on the 28th February 1747, by David Ogilvy, Earl of Airly, and formed from the remnant of the troops defeated at Culloden. it took part in the siege of Maestricht with the Royal Ecossais in 1748, and served the campaign of Flanders from 1758 to 1762.

Archibald Ogilvy of Banf, Crighton of Ruthven, Macdonald of Lochgarry, Lord Stuart, James Graham of Dundee, commanded companies in Lord Ogilvie's regiment. Lord Ogilvy rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the French service, and enjoyed from the King of France the pension of his rank. After the murder of Louis XVI, he nobly disdained to receive from the hands of assassins the remuneration for the defence of a

monarchy and constitution which existed no more. On the accession of Bonaparte, he was officially informed that the arrears of his pension would be paid up; this he refused with indignation.

The Albany Regiment

The Albany regiment was raised on the 28th February 1747, by the Earl of Albany, and formed from the remnant of the troops defeated at Culloden. On the 1st March 1748, it was incorporated with the Royal Ecossais.

Donald Cameron of Lochyell, Captain of the Clan Cameron, after the battle of Culloden, retired to France; when the King, in reward for his singular merits, gave him the command of the Albany regiment, with the power of naming his own officers, which enabled him, though attainted and forfeited, to live according to his rank.

Reference

"The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France, from their formation until their dissolution, A.D. MCCCCXVIII-MDCCCXXX", Published 1882.

Re-printed from Dispatch, No. 136, The Journal of the Scottish Military Historical Society by kind permission of the Editor.

NEWS IN BRIEF

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

15 March 1995	Wednesday - Peers and Heirs. Sir Malcolm Innes of Edingight, KCVO. The Library will close at 5.30pm.
18 April 1995	Tuesday - The Library of the Society of Genealogists,
11 May 1995	London. Marjorie Moore. Thursday - Visit to Mary King's Close, Edinburgh.
24 May 1995	(Fully booked). Wednesday - Visit to the Scottish Record Office, 2pm.
14 June 1995	Alison Rosie. (Fully booked). Wednesday - Visit to Ethnographic Archives, Queen
2በ-25 Δ namet 1995	Street, Edinburgh, 2pm. Dorothy Kidd. (Fully booked). Society Summer School, Workshop Week.
15 September 1995	Friday - Heraldry as Identity. Beryl Platts.
16 October 1995	Monday - Reconstructing the medieval town. Dr. E. P. Dennison Torry.
16 November 1995	Thursday-Conserving Old Photographs. James Berry.

WORK ON THE LIBRARY

The bulk of the work on the library is now completed. Much hard work has been done by the Hon. Librarian, and a number of dedicated members of the Society, to get the library ready for re-opening, which it duly did on Wednesday 4 January 1995.

ANNUAL REPORT

October 1993 - September 1994

During the year under review many changes have taken place. Our Editor of 35 years standing has retired, and our Secretary of 33 years has retired, but only from her full time job as Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh!

In the course of the year some proposed grant aided work on our property finally received the go ahead. Although it entailed considerable expense for the Society and required the Library to be closed for nearly four months, it was felt that it was an opportunity not to be missed, as our contribution to a statutory notice might have cost more and much less would have been done. It was decided by the Council to take the opportunity to rationalise the toilet accommodation and free up the cupboard space at the rear of the building so that it could be incorporated in to the research area at the upper (back) level.

Miss Winifred Shand MBE, and Mrs. Sheila Mitchell MBE

The Society sustained a sad loss in the deaths of two of its most notable Members. Miss Shand died on 4th December 1993 at the age of 91. A regular attender at the Edinburgh meetings, she had been present at the 40th Anniversary Dinner a few weeks previously. There she entertained all around her with the description of the fulfillment of her last ambition, a visit to the Crimea from which she had just returned. There she had been photographed in the Valley of Death, holding her great uncle's watch which he had carried in his pocket that day in 1854 when he had charged with the Light Brigade. He had survived to enthrall her as a small child with his tales. He was a Gordon, Sir William Gordon, and she was an authority on their genealogy. During the last war, she served in the W.R.N.S. and later she became Organiser in the Hebrides for Highland Home Industries. For 27 years she travelled round the island crofts on her bicycle, overseeing the spinning and weaving. After retirement she was appointed M.B.E. She published her reminiscences of this time in "The Isles are my delight" a few years ago.

Mrs. Sheila Mitchell died on 15th February 1994 aged 104, in Bath where she and her husband, the late Mr. J. F. Mitchell, had retired in 1979. Founder Members of the Society, they were the pioneers in recording pre-1855 graveyard inscriptions. They themselves had recorded, typed up and published the records of the graveyards in some eight Scottish counties, a tremendous achievement.

Mrs. Mitchell herself had won fame by going down, at the age of 86, with Jacques Cousteau in his bathyscope to view the wreck of the Britannic, sunk by enemy action in the Aegean on it way to Gallipoli in the First War. Mrs. Mitchell, at that time a nurse, was on board when it went down but survived. She appeared in Cousteau's subsequent film in 1976, "Calypso's search for the Britanic" and then toured America from coast to coast with the film to promote it. She showed it to the Members and described her experiences: a lively and entertaining evening which was enjoyed by all present. An obituary appeared in "The Scottish Genealogist" for March 1994.

The Library

The past twelve months seem to have been as busy as ever in the Library although the number of visitors has decreased slightly and there have been fewer Members from overseas visiting during the summer months.

Two week long 'Summer Schools' were held in the Library in August and were again most successful.

Over 300 books have been added to our collection, of which 99 were donated-some of these purchased but many written by the donors themselves. The Family Histories section of the Library is always most popular, both the book and manuscript collections, and many people must have great cause to be grateful to the donors.

We had already put in orders for films amounting to £4,000 when we heard that the cost of each film was to increase by 43% to approximately £50 per film. The Council decided, therefore, to allot a further £10,000 for the purchase of films before the price rise in April. We concentrated on O.P.R. films and now have complete holdings for most of the counties in Scotland. Unfortunately, we cannot envisage buying any more films in the near future.

We bought a complete set of reprint maps of the first Ordnance Survey for Scotland and a set of 1843 Town Maps for many of the main towns in Scotland. Also, during the year, a film viewer/printer was purchased which has proved both useful and popular.

In the Autumn, we tried opening the Library for an extra evening each week but this time was so underused that it was discontinued. Instead, we began opening the Library on Wednesdays from 10.30am instead of 2.30pm and this extra morning is more popular.

It is of course only possible to open and run the Library as we do, because Members of the Society continue to volunteer their time so generously, and we owe them a great debt. Some of the volunteers have been helping ever since our move to Victoria Terrace and recently more Members have joined "The Helpers". The Council, and I am sure the many Society Members who have been helped in the Library, and by post, thank them all once again.

Genealogical Inquiries

Mrs. Pippet reports that she has written a total of 258 letters in answer to inquiries during the year. By far the greatest number have been within the United Kingdon: 33 were within Scotland and 88 from the rest of the country. The next largest group, not surprisingly, were written to America with a total of 57. Next came Canada with 31, Australia 23 and New Zealand 13. There were a few from Europe, including France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Gibraltar and Eire. From further afield, two inquiries came from the Philippines.

1881 Census

The 1881 Census is now, to all intents and purposes, completely transcribed, and the fiche for some counties are expected any time now. A large vote of thanks is due to all those who took part in this worthwhile scheme.

Meetings

Before detailing the Meetings held during the year, the Hon. Secretary must apologise for inadvertently omitting Mr. Ian Aitchison's talk on The Swansons: my approach, from last year's Report. This was given to a large and interested audience on 15 April 1993.

The ordinary meetings continue to be held in the Conference Centre of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and we are indebted to the College for this facility.

The 1993-94 lectures comprised "The first four Dukes of Hamilton" by Dr. Rosalind Marshall; "The Mormons and their genealogical holdings: their collection, storage extent and access" by D. Burns; "The People of Calton Hill" by Mrs. Ann Mitchell; "Beyond the Parish Register: the variety of records available to the family historian" by Mrs. A. Rosemary Bigwood; "One name Societies" by J. Jephcott.

To celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the Society, a dinner was held in the City Chambers, Edinburgh on 9th November 1994 in place of the Ordinary meeting. It was attended by some 75 Members and guests and was presided over by our President, Sir Malcolm Innes of Edingight and was voted a great success.

The Annual General Meeting in February was followed by another "Heirlooms Night" when eight Members spoke briefly but entertainingly about a family heirloom and its bearing on their family history.

In May there was a visit to the Scottish United Services Museum at Edinburgh Castle but, regrettably, in June the proposed visit to the Free Church College had to be cancelled.

The Council met five times during the year and six meetings were held of the Publications & Library Committee. In November, the Council said farewell to the handsome room at 16 Charlotte Square where, since 1958, Council meetings had been held by courtesy of Mr. Guild and Messrs. Shepherd & Wedderburn, now moved to new premises. Our thanks are due to Mr. Guild for this longstanding luxury.

It was decided to change the issuing of the Syllabus/Membership card from September to December to remove the anomaly of individuals receiving a valid Membership card and then not rejoining the Society in October. The Syllabus now runs from January - November.

Monumental Inscriptions

The Society has published another volume in the series of pre-1855 monumental inscriptions - "Inverness District West", compiled by Alistair G. Beattie and Margaret H. Beattie. The collection in the Library of unpublished inscriptions has been further augmented by lists for "Borthwick Ha's (Roxburgh), "Cromarty" (Easter Ross), "Kilmartin" (Argyll), "Rosneath" (Dunbartonshire) and "Sanday" (Orkney). Numerous requests have been met for copies of the unpublished lists, which may be copied for a small charge.

Another 16 groups and individuals have expressed an interest in recording their local graveyards, in response to the Recording Scottish Graveyards Project begun in 1993. Only a few of these groups have

completed their work, however, and no offers have yet been made to record over 100 parish graveyards not previously listed.

Publications

Many new titles from different sources have been added to the Sales List and the Society continues to publish its own volumes.

The latest "Register of Members' Interests", compiled by Mr. N. R. and Mrs. S. Carstairs, was published during the year. Mr. & Mrs. J. Kinnaird compiled the index to volumes XXXVII-XL (1990-93) of "The Scottish Genealogist" and this was issued to Members. Several volumes of Monumental Inscriptions were reprinted: Upper Donside, Dunbartonshire and Kincardine.

Mr. & Mrs. Carstairs continued with their work in compiling an index to the Edinburgh 1851 Census. Volume I: the Canongate* appeared during the year and Volume II: the Old Town** is included in the March 1995 Sales List. These are proving very useful tools. *£24.50 UK or Surface **£36 UK or Surface.

Scottish Association of Family History Societies

This year your Chairman or Secretary attended two council meetings, the AGM and an executive committee meeting held in Edinburgh with the SGS acting as host to the meetings. The following new members have joined the Association: The Genealogical Society of Utah, The Society of Genealogists, Association of Scottish Genealogists & Record Agents, Hamilton & District FHS, Catholic FHS, Scottish Section of the Genealogical Society of Victoria, Australia and the Scottish Group of the Genealogical Society of Queensland, Australia.

SAFHS now has a seat on the British Genealogical Record Users Committee, a body representing the custodians and users of public records, and has attended three meetings in London over the past year. It has also been active in protesting against the pricing policies adopted by the General Register Office. Letters were sent to the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Prime Minister in the light of the substantial price increases introduced in April 1994. Individual societies also wrote to their local M. P. 's, complaining of the ever increasing costs imposed by the GRO on the tax payer. However, it must be pointed out that the facilities now provided at New Register House, Edinburgh are the best in the UK and plans are afoot to further enhance the services provided.

Action was also taken by SAFHS regarding the 1881 Census Recording Project when the GRO announced that they would be selling the microfiche at £4 each. Work was suspended by all members of SAFHS who felt the price was quite unacceptable, and still do, considering that the huge volume of work was being done on a voluntary basis at no cost to the GRO. The dispute ran for six weeks before a settlement was reached between SAFHS, the GRO and the Genealogical Society of Utah. Under the terms of the settlement, the SGS as the national society will receive a full set of the Scottish fiche from the GRO for the use of SAFHS members, and the other Scottish societies will receive financial support from the GSU to the value of approximately £9,000. It is to be regretted that SAFHS were unable to get the price of £4 reduced for the many family history societies outwith Scotland.

Two further guides have been issued in the series of information leaflets designed to help those who serve on committees. these were 'Preparing a Members' Interests Booklet' and 'The Role of the Secretary' both by Peter Ruthven-Murray. No annual conference of the Association was held in 1994 at the request of the members who decided Spring would be a better time than Autumn for such events. A decision was also taken to separate the AGM from the conference. Future AGM's will now be held before the Spring council meeting on the last Saturday in March.

Acknowledgments

Lastly, we must thank all our lecturers, Society Members who have helped to man stalls at meetings, the Office Bearers and those Members who lecture on genealogy in various parts of the country for their efforts to further the aims of the Society.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Longitudinal Study of Residential Histories

In 1994 your Society journal included a leaflet requesting family historians to assist with this research, and were asked to contact us if they could provide individual residential life histories of their ancestors. Forms were then sent as requested.

We have been extremely pleased by the response. By the close of 1994 we had sent out approximately 27,000 forms, and over 11,500 forms had been returned. The majority of these contain information of a very high quality. Family historians from all parts of England, Scotland and Wales have provided information.

We are continuing to enter material into the computer, and can provide some preliminary results. Of the first 8,800 individuals analysed, two-thirds were male and average age at death was just over 69 years. The majority of were married with children. Reasons given for moving are particularly interesting: of the 30,782 moves, 41.7% were work-related; 14.9% were undertaken on marriage; 15.4% were connected with housing; whilst 9.5% were for family reasons. The remaining 18.4% included army service, emigration and retirement. The reason for moving varied, depending upon the sex of the person concerned; thus females were less likely to move for work or for army service, but more likely to move on marriage or for family reasons.

There is, of course, more detailed information in the forms which will be analysed in the coming months, which we hope to publish in family history journals and a book. We would encourage all who have not yet completed and returned their forms to do this as soon as possible. We hope to achieve our target of 20,000 individual residential life histories. The final date for the return of forms is the end of September 1995.

Dr. Colin G. Pooley (Senior Lecturer in Geography), Dr. Jean Turnbull (Research Assistant), Department of Geography, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YB

The Scottish Genealogy Society

Balance Sheet and Income & Expenditure Account

Balance Sheet as at	30 September 1994		Income & Expenditure Account for the year ending 30 September 199		
	1994	1993 Restated		1994	1993 Rostated
TXED ASSETS			INCOME		
Property at cost	£ 47,000 00	£ 47,000 00	Subscriptions	£17,397.72	£21,434.7
Equipment ⁴	£ 8,744.30	£ 6,305.11	Investment Income	£ 2,154.91	£ 2,497.1
Books, Fiche & Films *	£ 70,547.02	£ 56,797.89	Stenhouse Bequest		£ 2,000 0
			Covenant Tax Refunds	£ 1,043,30	£ 3,916.2
	£ 126,291.32	£110,103 0 0	Donation:	£ 246.00	£ 1,221.7
CURRENT ASSETS			Sundries 1	£ 3,319.75	£ 2,678.7
Publications for Sale	£ 14,853.62	£ 11,091.26	Sales £15685.21		
Premium Account	£ 26,413 90	£ 46,805,36	Cost of Sales £12347.76	£ 3,337.45	£ 5,278.9
Cash	£ 438 08	£ 368,59	TOTAL INCOME	£27,499.13	£39,023.5
Gov. Stocks (at cost)	£ 2,838 32	£ 2,838.32			
Prepaid Postage & Electricity	£ 430 00	*******			
	£ 44,973.92	£ 61,103 00			
			EXPENDITURE		
CURRENT L'ABILITIES			Library Running Costs	£ 3,248.34	£ 2,846.6
	£ 928.56	£ 1,038.77	Journal (Including Distribution)	£ 7,555.10	£ 6,841.6
Outstanding Cheques	F 920:30	L 1,030.77	Library Refurb / Maintenance 2	£ 3,655.00	£ 1,583.3
HET OUDDENT ACCETS	·	e co oci 70	_		
IET CURRENT ASSETS	£ 44,045.36	£ 60,064.76	Postage	£ 1,786.00	£ 1,711.3
			Stationery, Typing. Copying	£ 1,364.11	£ 1,325.9
TOTAL ASSETS LESS CURRENT UABILITIES	£ 170,336.68	£170,167.76	Subs to other Societies	£87,60	£96 0
			Library removal & Storage	£ 1600.00	***********
			Locture Expenses	£ 804,70	£ 3145
RETAINED SURPLUS			Insurance / Bank Charges	£ 701.13	£ 617.8
Brought Forward	£ 170,167.76	£ 86,345.81	Deprectation	£ 2, 185,95	£ 1,469,7
Adjust for Books, Fiche & Films		£ 53,000,00	Sundsies ³	£ 4,342.28	£ 2,485.9
Adjustment for Stock		£ 11,091.28	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	£27,330.21	£19,292.9
Surplus (Deficit) for Year	£ 168 92	£ 19,730.69			
	£ 170,336.68	£170,167.76			
Glenlfiddich Award	£1,728.66	£ 1,704.13	RETAINED SURPLUS,(DEFICIT)	£168 92	£19,730 6
	£ 172,065,34	£171,871.89			

Some Recent Additions to the Library
The Seven Ages of an E. Lothian Parish - Whittingehame M. B. Lang
The Call to Arms - New Kilpatrick in Great War ed. Maj. J. Brownlie
The Origins of Freemasonry D. Stevenson
War Service Record 1939-45, The Commercial Bank of Scotland Ltd.
University of Aberdeen, Roll of Service 1914-19
Scots Marriages in Western Australia - Index
New Statistical Account of Scotland - Orkney Islands
Rental of the County of Perth - 1649 ed. W. Gloag
Scottish Legal Terms (Green's Glossary) ed. A. G. M. Duncan
Glimpses of Rothesay & it's People, 50 years ago J. B. Lawson
Merchiston Castle School - Roll of Honour 1914-19 ed. C. E. Edwards
Geo. Moore & Friends, letters from a Manx Mercht., 1750-60 Frances Wilkins
A Medieval Chronicle of Scotland - Chronicle of Melrose Trans. J. Stevenson
The Port of Leith, it's History & it's People S. Mowat
Tracing Scottish Local History - Scottish Record Office C. Sinclair
Scottish Emigration to Colonial America 1607-1785 D. Dobson
'To My Pocket'-Cash Book of 18th c. Scots Laird ed. S.F. Macdonald Lockhart
Canary Saga - Miller Family in Las Palmas 1824-1990 B. Miller
Coleman's General Index to Printed Pedigrees 1866 J. Coleman
A Directory of Scots in Australasia 1788-1900 (Part 1) D. Dobson
Irish Emigrants in N. America (Part 1) D. Dobson
Emigrants and Adventurers from Southern Scotland (Part 1) D. Dobson
Free St. Clement's, Aberdeen 1843-59 R. A. Baxter
Edinburgh Rolls of Superiorities 1876-77
The Church of Scotland Year Book 1930 ed. Rev. J. A. Hamilton
Directory of British Scientists 1966-67 (Vol. 1, A-L)
Directory of British Scientists 1966-67 (Vol. 2, M-Z) Kelly's Directory of Glasgow 1963
War Graves of the British Empire - Edinburgh & Midlothian 1914-20
War Dead of the British Commonwealth & Emp Edinburgh & M'loth.1939-45
Index to Surnames in 1851 Census for Banffshire Vol. 2 Indexer M. Shand
The Tod Family History 1672-1994 D. A. Hopton
Inventory of the Scottish Church Heritage - Introduction
Scottish Handwriting 1500-1700 - A self-help pack
The Sidey Family B. J. Thompson
Parish of Glenaray & Inverary Roll of Honour 1939-45
A. M. Craig, R. MacGregor & S. W. MacIntyre
The History & Traditions of the Isle of Skye A. Cameron
The Arrol, Arroll and Arrell Families J. Arrol, ed. by R. N. Arrol
Directory of Irish Archives ed. S. Helferty & R. Refausse
The Keppies J. McWilliams
Register of Mercht. & Trade Burgesses of Aberdeen 1640-1659 F. McDonnell
Dominton of Monabel & Manda Dungsonne of Abandon 1660 1670 IF Mathamatic

Register of Mercht. & Trade Burgesses of Aberdeen 1660-1679 F. McDonnell

Auchtermuchty Asssociate Session, Baptisms 1748-1806 ind. M. A. Bonthrone

K. H. Ducat

indexed M. A. Bonthrone

comp. N.R. & S. Carstairs

One Ducat Family

Auchtermuchty 1851 Census

Edinburgh 1851 Census, Vol.2 The Old Town

REVIEWS

At Brechin with Stirks. A farm cash book from Buskhead, Glenesk, Angus 1885-1898.

Edited by Alexander Fenton. pp95. Canongate Academic. £14.99

Rent £15; annual profit over thirteen years £2. The breakdown of a family's farming operation, which was in the family's occupation for 150 years, does not suggest an affluent standard of life. On the other hand, the value of the food consumed by the family and the wages of the indoor and outdoor helpers have been deducted before the profit has been computed.

These figures come from a farmer's cashbook, kept for his own information, and not for public purposes. He kept sheep, cattle and pigs, and out of the 329 acres rented, only 28 were arable. On the arable land, he grew oats and root crops, turnips and potatoes. Sheep and wool contributed over half his income, while grain produced less than 5%. Of his expenditure, 24% was incurred in fixed outlays such as rent, dues and insurance, while wages ate up 16%.

This detailed cashbook for thirteen years shows exactly how the farmer's income and expenditure were made up and is most instructive in revealing how life in an Angus glen was lived at the end of the last century.

Ivor Guild

George Moore and Friends; letters from a Manx Merchant (1750-1760) Frances Wilkins. Wyre Forest Press. pp301. £9.95

Many were the problems of a merchant in mid 18th century, nor were they lessened if some of his transactions involved smuggling. This well known author on smuggling, has used a cache of 1,650 letters of such a merchant to describe his trading activities.

Mr. Moore owned two vessels, the 'Peggy' and the 'Lilly', which traded with the West Indies, Boston and the Mediterranean. The letters are to merchants, agents and bankers in these areas.

Like any merchant, he was largely concerned with price and quality of goods supplied and with credit rating of customers. Insurance and salvage of wrecks are the subject of many letters. The Ship Bank was set up in 1750, and bills of exchange and letters of credit were the main method of finance. Even when banks were set up, there were worries about their safety.

Tobacco Acts created problems and opportunities. Tobacco landed at British ports required duty paid, but there was a drawback if it was reexported. An enterprising merchant could then land this re-exported tobacco at a local harhour instead of taking it to the approved destination overseas. Similarly with tea; the monopoly of the East India Company could be violated as the Isle of Man was not within the monopoly restriction. Drink too, in bulk, could be landed in the Isle of Man, and smaller quantities smuggled to the mainland.

The letters also record the petty incidents of the various journeys

which could turn a profitable joint venture into a financial loss. On one occasion, the 'Lilly', through long waiting at Antigua, became infected with ship-worms.

Moore's smuggling business began about 1739, and over the years a network of agents and customers developed.

This book is instructive and entertaining. For genealogists, it has the benefit of names of customers and agents of Mr. Moore and of those engaged in the smuggling trade. The final chapter contains further names; and the appendices list the addressees of the letters, while a complete index of names makes for easy reference. This volume is a worthy companion to the author's earlier works on West and East Coast smugglers. *Ivor Guild*.

Maxton: Roxburghshire Monumental Inscriptions, XIV, edited by Elspeth Ewan. vi + 48pp. Card covers. ISBN-1-874232-02-06. Galashiels: Borders F.H.S., 'Balnacoul', Forebrae Park, TD1 2BG. £5 (members £4) + 50p postage. Overseas airmail, £1.50.

This well produced volume covers Maxton parish, in the northern part of the old county of Roxburgh, the village lies on the A699 Selkirk-Kelso road. The church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert in the 12th century, and became attached to Dryburgh Abbey, the monks of which held it until the Reformation. The bell dates from 1609, and the church was much altered in 1812 and 1866.

The book contains much of interest, including a brief introduction, a location map, and illustrations of symbolic stones and the ruined tower of Littledean, an old seat of a branch of the Ker family. A list of the ministers from 1561 to date is given, the Maxton *Hearth-Tax* of 1691-95, a militia list of 1801, and the names shown on the War Memorial, 1914-18.

The front cover drawing of the church and churchyard are by John Sprott.

For the surnames Brown, Lauder, Lyall and Turnbull, there are 4 stones bearing the surnames; 5 each for Davidson, Grant and Wood; 6 for Wight; 10 for Scott and 19 for Thomson. William Chisholm (1803-85) was schoolmaster of Maxton for 54 years, sometime Registrar and Inspector of the Poor. His three sons example a fine scholastic record. John (1830-60); Thomas (1833-57), lost at sea; and William (1840-1906), were all Edinburgh trained physicians.

Sennachie

From Elie O.P.R. (427) - Burials.

2 April 1791. Edward eldest son and 3d Child of Dr. Robert Spalding Physician in Jamaica died here this Day and was buried on the 4th. N.B. He was in Ely with his Friends for his Health and Education. Cause of Death: Croup. Age: 5.

EDUCATIONAL

SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY SUMMER SCHOOL Workshop Washington of August 1005 (non-residential)

Workshop Week 20 - 25 August 1995 (non-residential)

Following the last very successful summer school in 1994, another Workshop Week will be held, based on the Library premises in Edinburgh - for those with various levels of experience. There will be opportunities for independent research in record offices and libraries, and guidance will be given in the use of a wide range of source material. Workshops will centre on such topics as local community studies, understanding Scottish legal documents, old Scottish handwriting and other subjects to suit members of the course.

The fee for the course is £130.00 which covers tuition, use of the library, a visit to New Register House and tea or coffee on the premises.

For application forms write to: Summer School, Scottish Genealogy Society, 15 Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh EH1 2JL

REPLIES TO QUERIES

MOODY (vol. xxxviii/4, 160) Rev. Duncan Moody matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1814, but does not appear to have graduated (usually M.A.). However, he studied theology there, 1825-31, and emigrated to Canada, becoming minister of Zion Church, Dundee, Huntingdon County, in the province of Quebec in 1835. His father was William Moody, described as "artificus, Inverness". His mother was probably [?Betty] McGregor. Duncan was the fourth son, and his brothers, Charles the eldest and William, fifth son, matriculated respectively 1800 and 1816. None of them remained long enough to graduate. In the entry for William the father's residence is given as Kilmaly (sic). Rev. Duncan married 5 Feb 1834, Sarah, daughter of Nicholas Farlinger and Catherine Perry. According to the inquirer (this reply is printed for the benefit of other readers) Rev. Duncan had eight children: 1. Thomas 1835-64; 2. Charles 1837-64; 3. William Nicholas b. 1840; 4. Elisabeth b. 1842; 5. Duncan McGregor 1846-1922; 6. Alexander b. 1848; 7. John b. 1850 and Sarah Anne b. 1853.

DOUGLAS (vol. xl /2, 78; xl /4,163) The Christian name of the Douglas minister of Peebles was Archibald, said to have been a son of William Douglas of the Cavers family. He was presented to the archdeaconry of Glasgow by King James VI, 8 June 1573, and admitted to Peebles the same year. He had at least two sons, John and probably James, who was killed in 1610 by William Horsburgh of that Ilk; also a daughter Margaret who married John Galloway, M.A., writer in Edinburgh. The son John (M.A., Edinburgh 1603) was admitted minister of Kilbucho in 1614. He was translated to Broughton in 1616 and died the same year. Rev. John married Margaret, sister of William Douglas of Cavers, probably distant relatives, with issue William and James. She survived him and married (ii) Rev. Robert Livingston, minister of Skirling, later of Biggar. Information about the family Douglas of . Cavers will be found in Burke's Landed Gentry, editions 1875-1906, and in George Tancred's Annals of a Border Club, pages 114-129 (Edinburgh 1903). Sources used here include A Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Edinburgh 1587-1858, edited by David Laing, (Edinburgh 1858), and Hew Scott's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, vol. 1 (revised edition Edinburgh 1915). Sennachie

QUERIES

- DUNN/ADAM Thomas Dunn bapt. 29 Apr 1790 Stracathro, Angus m. 14 Apr 1810 Edzell; Angus, to Martha Adam bap. 17 Dec 1785 Edzell; Issue: Jean 1811; James 1821; Mary 1814; Alex 1816; John 1818; Wm. 1820; David 1823; Sarah 1826; James 1827; Elizabeth 1831 all b. Logie-Pert, Forfarshire. Interested in correspondence with descendants of this family. Mary E. Davidson, 154 Sunnyside Drive, Salt Spring Island B.C. V8K 1W1 Canada.
- MITCHELL/JAMES Elspeth Mitchell b. 29 Apr 1810 Newtyle, Angus, d. 3 Feb 1847 Lundie, Angus, dau. of David Mitchell & Janet James, who m. in Newtyle 20 Mar 1803. Elspeth m. David Stewart 1834 Lundie. Issue: 6 children. David Mitchell son of James Mitchell m. Janet James dau. of John James & Margaret Hardie, Longforgan, Perthshire. Interested in correspondence with descendants of these families. Mary E. Davidson, 154 Sunnyside Drive, Salt Spring Island B.C. V8K 1W1 Canada.
- STEWART/ROBERTSON Alexander Stewart b.? m. 8 Mar 1771
 Blair Athole, in Wester Craggan, to Charlotte Robertson b. 16 Sept
 1753 Blair Athole, dau. of Donald Robertson and Janet Robertson in
 Wester Craggan, who m. 5 Aug 1749 in Blair Athole. Require
 information on Alexander Stewart, listed as "wright" in his marriage
 entry, but Esq. in marriage entry of dau. Charlotte in Drummachair,
 Logierait parish, Perthshire, in 1802. Who were his parents? MaryE.
 Davidson, 154 Sunnyside Drive, Salt Spring Island B.C. V8K 1W1
 Canada.
- 2386 LOWIS/MURRAY/BRUCE Helena Murray of Philophante (Philiphaugh?), dau. of Sir Robert Murray of Philophante and Sophie Bruce, Countess of Kincarden (her grandparents: pat. Andreas Murray/Maria Mins, mat. Lord Anthony Bruce, Earl of Kincarden/Brigitta Leslie), m. with Henry Lowis (Lowis of Manor; Peebleshire), was mother of William Lowis (d. 1645), later a Swedish Lt. Colonel, who was enfeoffed 1631 by the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus with estates in the Baltic Sea Provinces, ancestor of the noble family, von Lowis of Menar, with descendants in Germany. Information re Helena Murray and parents appreciated. Werner von Lowis of Menar, 32a Grootkoppel, 22949 Ammersbek b. Hamburg, Germany.
- MUIL James (my g-g-g-f) b. 1797 Alloa, flesher in Alloa, d. 1874 age 77; m. Janet Donaldson b. 1797, d. 1869 age 72; 12 children(9 surviving into adulthood): Margaret b. 26 Jan 1820; John b. 4 Jun 1821; Jean b. 2 Mar 1823 m. John Murray 8 Aug 1848 at Tillicoultry, d. 1897 age 74; William b. 25 Mar 1826; Eliza(beth) b. 28 Jan 1830 m. John Munro 27 July 1854, d. 1872 age 42; Robert Watson b. 19 Dec 1831, d. 1899; Janet b. 14 Apr 1837, d. 1913; Mary b. 8 Jan 1839, d. 1867 age 28; Francis b. 22 May 1844 m. 1866 Tulliallan, d. 1914 age 73, Partick. Descendants emigrated Canada, South Africa, many still in Scotland. Information to David Muil, 8 Parkside Avenue, Sutton Manor, St. Helens, Merseyside WA9 4DT England.

- 2388 ROXBURGH Seeking parents/grandparents of John Roxburgh b.1791 Parish of Ancroft, Northumberland, John m. Ann Weatherhead from Parish of Belford. First son, Thomas b. 1806, bapt. Spittal Presbyterian Church. John had two brothers and two sisters. William m. Margaret Richardson irregularly at Coldstream, 3 Aug 1806. Edward b. 1792 m. Sarah Hush, Norham 17 June 1826. Jane m. Adam Hills, Ancroft 13 May 1808, and Anne m. William Wilson and resided Oxford, Parish of Ancroft 1808. No birth records of these four or of John have been found, which identifies their parents, nor has John's marriage. Speculative links to John Roxburgh, recorded in Norbam English Presbyterian Church, 23 Sept 1753 and 18 Dec 1757 (grandfather?) or Thomas Roxburgh who farmed at Eglingham Hill and d. there in 1822 (father?). The first could be John Roxburgh m. Isobel Caldwell, Coldstream 10 May 1734 (possibly b. Parish of Crailing, 8 May 1709). The second could be Thomas b. Parish of Ancrum, 23 Mar 1760. Help or advice gratefully received. James Roxburgh, Sor Brookhouse, Water Lane, Adderbury, Oxfordshire OX173LT.
- 2389 TURNER/GILLENDER Edward Turner b. c. 1839 Quebec City, m. c. 1860 Margaret Gillender of Scottish descent b.c. 1839, Quebec. Children: Robert b. 1863 Quebec City m. Agnes Jane Archibald 1886 Riviere-du-Loup; Edward b. 1865 Quebec. Brothers in 1881 Fraserville Census, apparent orphans. Robert to Winnipeg c. 1890 after child Ruby b. 1887 Riviere-du-Loup. Information to Lorne A. Turner, Box 1025, 14 Russell Hill Road, Bobcaygeon, Ontario KOM 1AO, Canada.
- DOUGLAS Who were the parents of Walter Douglas? b. c. 1575, who m. c. 1599 1) Jonat Montogomerie; 2) Jean Muir. Walter's testament c. 1653. He was a burgess of Glasgow, witnessed several christenings of Douglases, High Church, Glasgow. His children were, child (unnamed) c. 1600; John? c. 1600; Walter b. 1614. John Douglas m. Helen Otterburne; their children, Agnes b. 1622, Walter b. 1624. Walter, an uncommon name among Douglases but appears in the House of Mains (see Johnston's Heraldry of the Douglases in the House of Mains (see Johnston's Heraldry of the Douglases). Mormon microfilm about Douglases, the name of Peter William Hickman occurs as "source". His address? Information to C. Vance Allyn, 36 Main Street, Farmington, Maine, USA 04938.
- 2391 ALEXANDER James Alexander of Inverarity, Angus, my g-g-grandfather, b. 1795, d. 1886, m. Helen Norrie (1805-1880). Children all born Inverarity, David b. 1829, d. 1911; George b. 1830; Jean or Jane b. 1832; James b. 1834; John, my g-grandfather h. 1835, d. 1921, m. Martha Findlay (1843-1910); Mary b. 1837; Peter b. 1839; Ann b. 1841; Elizabeth b. 1843, d. 1871; Helen b. 1845 and William b. 1851, d. 1908. Children of John and Martha: Jane Lindsay b. 1866; James Findlay b. 1868; George b. 1869; Alexander Findlay, my grandfather, b. 1871, d. 1948, m. Christina Ramsay (1874-1940) and David b. 1872. Any information appreciated. Simon R. Alexander, 193Edenvale Crescent, Burlington, Ontario, Canada L7P 3H9.

- 2392 **PITKETHLY** Wish to hear from anyone of this name for one name study. A little research done in return. Replies to Russell Cockburn, 31 Ellen Street, Whitburn, West Lothian EH47 OJH, Scotland.
- 2393 HAY/McCAA Hugh Hay, b.c. 1805, Flesher, m. Margaret McCaa. Lived in Portpatrick, Wigtownshire. Children b. Portpatrick: David b. 29 July 1827, m. Eliza(beth) Campbell, 1 May 1849; Hugh b.c. 1831, m. Mary Harris, he died 8 Jan. 1879 in Lochans Village, Inch; John b. 11 Aug. 1836, m. Mary Jane Kerley, Greymouth N. Z.; Thomas b. c. 1838. Margaret widowed 1838/1841, another son William Hay b.c. 1846 to Margaret Hay, nee McCaa and William McIntyre. Information about family, wish to contact descendants. Mrs. Judith A. Thompson, 15 Constance Street, New Plymouth, New Zealand.
- 2394 McCAA/McBRATNEY John McCaa b.c. 1767, Ballycopeland, Donaghadee, m. (1) c. 1790 Margaret McBratney (died before 1814). Children b. Portpatrick: Andrew b.c. 1796, d. 27 Dec. 1860; John b.c. 1801, d. 28 June 1825; Margaret b.c. 1807, m. Hugh Hay, d. 7 Feb. 1873; Agnes b. 23 Feb. 1808: m. (2) Margaret Taylor, 4 June 1814, son John b.c. 1816, m. Mary Ann McKenzie, d. 13 May 1874, Old Hall, Old Luce, Wigtownshire. Information about family, wish to contact descendants. Mrs. Judith A. Thompson, 15 Constance Street, New Plymouth, New Zealand.
- NEILSON/PATERSON Allan Neilson, son of James and Margaret (nee Carswell) Neilson, bapt. 1770, m. Janet Patterson in Paisley Abbey 1799. Following children bapt., James 1799; John 1802; Ann 1804; Thomas 1807; Janet or Jessie 1810, who m. William Robert Spiers in 1844 (my line); George 1813 and Margaret 1817. Family lived at Cochran Mill Farm, Paisley until 1851 Census. Information of burials of Allan and Janet wanted, please. Mrs. S. Southam, 13 Corstorphine House Avenue, Edinburgh EH12 7AD.
- 2396 **JEFFRIES** Edward John bapt. 1827 and Thomas bapt. 1829, sons of farmer Thomas and Jane Jeffries (nee Meredith) were born in Lyonshall, Herefordshire. They "went to New Zealand" without trace about 1850. Information gratefully received. Mrs. Susan Southam, 13 Corstorphine House Avenue, Edinburgh EH12 7AD.
- 2397 RUSSELL Seeking family of Adam Russell m. Margaret Spiers c. 1900, Hamilton, Lanarkshire. She d. Farmington, Ill. USA. From 1930's he lived at 43 Newfield Cres., Hamilton. Sons John, Tom, William (emigrated to Canada), James, Gilbert and dau. Margaret. Margaret Williams, 200 Rideau Terrace #1210, Ottowa, Ontario, Canada K1M 0Z3.
- 2398 LETHAM Seeking family of Thomas Letham and Margaret Lockhart, family b. in Hamilton, Lanarkshire c. 1900. Sons William, John, Tom, James, dau. Janet (Jessie). Thos. & Margaret & dau. Jessie (m. William Russell), son James & adopted dau. In a emigrated Winnipeg, Canada 1927. Others remained in Hamilton. Margaret Williams, 200 Rideau Terrace #1210, Ottowa, Ontario, Canada K1M 0Z3.

- 2399 **MELVILLE** "The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and the Leslies, Earls of Leven" 3 vols. by Sir William Fraser, Edinburgh, 1890. If you have a copy for sale, please contact G. I. Melville, 7 Turner Road, Bushey, Watford WD2 3PJ.
- HOUSTON Seeking names and whereabouts of descendants of Thomas Thomson Houston b. 13 March 1899 and his brother John Thomson Houston b. 11 April 1905. Thomas b. Kennishead Eastwood, John b. 44 Maxwell Street, Pollokshaws. John m. Jean and had 4/5 children. Parents were Thomas Thomson Houston and Anne Amelia (Thompson) Houston m. 10 July 1895 Pollokshaws. Parents emigrated to USA c. 1925 with 4 youngest children. Thomas and John remained in Scotland. Nancy (Houston) Jenkins, 139 Belmont Drive, Portsmouth, R. I. 02871, USA.
- 2401 McLATCHIE/CRAWFORD Seek information on John McLatchie b. c. 1737, d. 1797, Old Cumnock, Ayrshire and wife Janet Crawford b. c. 1750, d. 1800, Old Cumnock, m. 1770. Stone in Old Cumnock cemetery shows date of death and age, but Register House has no birth record in indicated years. Sons Hugh and Robert emigrated to Quebec, Canada c. 1800. Other siblings Janet (m. Thomas Hamilton), Margory (m. Wm. McCall of Auchinlech), John (m. Jane Ker of Kirkconnel), Mary Agness (m. James Brown), Margaret. Donald E. McLatchie, 47 Holiday Harbor, Jefferson, Texas 75657, USA.
- MILL/HENDERSON John Mill b. 1818, m. Jean/Jane Henderson 1845, children: Peter John Lindsay b. 1845; Georgina b. 1847; Thomas George b. 1851; James Henderson b. 1854; William Gladstone b. 1856; George Henderson b. 1858. John and Jean/Jane were b. and m. in Coupar Angus, Angus; as were all the children. Seeking descendants or information. Mrs. D. McCarthy, 140 Tilley Road, Gumdale 4154, Queensland, Australia.
- 2403 IRVINE/BAILEY Grateful for copies of manuscript, transcripts of Dr. Christopher Irvine's "The Original of the Family of Irvings etc.", especially 1680 version, a transcript of which was owned by Col. Fred Bailey R. E., lived in Edinburgh 1905; had two sons in Indian army, elder being Lieut. F. B. Bailey, b. c. 1882. Would appreciate contact with descendants. James Irvine, 11 Agates Lane, Ashtead, Surrey KT21 2NG.
- WEST/FLEMING Information please on the six younger children, Margaret Douglas b. 1806; Julian Douglas (female) b. 1808; John & George, twins, b. 1811 and Thomas b. 1820, of James West & Margaret Fleming of West Calder. James b. 1773, d. 1851, was tenant of 42 acres Glen Mavis, Balbardie Mains, Bathgate, next to the distillery. The twins are said to have been concerned with sheep stealing. Replies to Maj. J. West (ret.), 627 Water Gardens 6, Waterport, Gibraltar.

THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY CONSTITUTION

- The objects of the Scottish Genealogy Society are: To promote research into Scottish Family History.
 To undertake the collection, exchange and publication of information and material relating to Scottish Genealogy, by means of meetings, lectures, etc.
- 2. The Society consists of all duly elected Members whose subscriptions are fully paid. An Honorary President and up to four Honorary Vice-Presidents (who will be ex officio members of the Council) may be elected at the Annual General Meeting.
- 3. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council consisting of Chairman, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Editor, Honorary Librarian, ex officio Members, and not more than ten ordinary Members. A non-Council Member of the Society shall be appointed annually to examine the accounts.
- 4. Office Bearers shall be elected annually. Ordinary Members shall be elected for a period of three years and may be re-elected for a further three years, after which they shall not be reelected until the lapse of one year. At meetings of the Council a quorum shall consist of not less than six members. The Council may appoint a Deputy Chairman from their members.
- 5. An Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on a date to be determined by the Council, at which Reports will be submitted. Nominations for new Office Bearers and Members of Council shall be in the hands of the Honorary Secretary at least one calendar month before the meeting, a nomination being signed by the Proposer, Seconder and Nominee.
- 6. Members shall receive one copy of each issue of The Scottish Genealogist, but these shall not be supplied to those subscribers who are in arrears.
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- 8. The Council shall have power (in brief) to employ persons to carry on the work of the Society, to publish magazines and pamphlets, to appeal for funds, to hold property and raise money on security of it.

Property

The title to all property, heritable and moveable, which may be acquired by or on behalf of the Society shall be vested in the names of the convener, Vice convener (where appointed), the Secretary and Treasurer for the time being ex officiis or in the names of the Trustees of a Trust established for that purpose.

10. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at an Annual General Meeting of the Society when a two-thirds majority of members present and voting will be required for an alteration to be passed.

11. Dissolution

If the management of the Committee by a simple majority decide at any time that on the ground of expense or otherwise it is necessary of advisable to dissolve the Society, it shall call a special general meeting of the Society, of which meeting not less than 21 days' notice (stating the terms of the resolution to be proposed thereat) shall be given. If such decision shall be confirmed by a two-third majority of those present and entitled to vote and voting at such meeting, the management committee shall have power to dispose of any assets held by or on behalf of the Society. Any assets remaining after the satisfaction of any proper debts and liabilities shall be given or transferred to such other charitable organisation or organisations having objects similar to the objects of the Society, as the management committee may determine.

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