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EDITORIAL

I'm writing this from Maryville, which is in the foothills of that part of the Appalachian range that separates East Tennessee from North Carolina. The mountains here are home to the most visited national park in the United States; to *Dollywood*, the theme park set up by the area's most famous native daughter; and to the Smoky Mountain Highland Games, which show the strong Scottish connection in this part of the "Volunteer State" (so called because so many Tennesseans volunteered to fight the British in 1812).

Though more of the Scots who settled in these mountains were from Ulster than the Highlands, many were descended from Hebridean Gaels that the McDonell earls of Antrim had settled on their vast northern Irish estates. The Ulster-Scots flooded into Pennsylvania in the early 1700s, attracted by the promise not only of land, but also of the religious freedom promoted by its Quaker proprietors. They settled the-then frontier areas before moving on down the great central valley of the Appalachians to the western parts of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia — and to the eastern parts of Tennessee & Kentucky — bringing with them an independent spirit which helped inspire the American Revolution and traditional music that formed the roots of Tennessee's "mountain music" and Kentucky's "bluegrass".

There's no better time to be in this part of the world than "the Fall", when the trees that clothe the mountains are turning and falling, in the sun that still shines gloriously and warmly (in the low 80s—in old money—some days, even though it's November). The weather's not all however. Musicians go on tour in the Fall, even all the way from Scotland; and it was a delight a couple of weeks ago to see Kirkhill's Julie Fowlis and Duncan Chisholm performing in Greenville, South Carolina, to a very appreciative university crowd.

A few days later I was in Georgia, giving genealogy seminars at the Stone Mountain Highland Games, one of the largest Scottish events in the USA. Ninety five clans were there with the "Guest of Honor", Steven MacTavish of Dunardry, who is claimed to be the 27th Mac Tamhais Mor; i.e. Chief of the MacTavishes, or at least of those from Argyll. MacTavish is one of those names that occurs in both the southern and northern Highlands; like the MacIvers and Macleays who are both connected with the Campbells in Argyll, but with the MacKenzies in Ross-shire. The southern MacTavishes too were claimed by the Campbells, though in the north, they're connected with the Frasers. Having a MacTavish ancestor myself—from Dores—I'm always on the lookout for the name, and recently saw it as McAish (in 1663).

A new name I found not long ago, in Inverness in the 1690s, is *McFrench*. Since I have an English ancestor called French, that was particularly intriguing. The origins of these names seems obvious—especially in Scotland, given the "Auld Alliance"—but who were the northern McFrenchs?

Graeme Mackenzie.

NEWS

TALK & BOOK SALE

We will be holding our next talk on Thursday 15th February at 2.30 in the Highland Archive Centre. Details will follow in our next Journal. We will again have a sale of second-hand books and some older stock as well as all our new & recent publications being available.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

M.I.s: Beauly, Parish of Kilmorack, Ross-shire. Full surveys of the sites of Beauly Priory and St. Mary's Churchyard, each with an A3 plan, over 400 stones recorded. See GenFair web page under Highland FHS to order online. Price £8.00 ex P & P. The Priory survey encompasses a survey from 1985 and includes stones from the Mackenzie vault now not publicly accessible.

Michael Cope, Chisholms of Leitry: Two Centuries of a Highland Family. Following on from the article on this publication in our last Journal, we have a small number of copies of this book for sale at the special price of £15 ex P & P. See GenFair web page under Highland FHS to order online.

Church Books, Special Offers: The following books relating to Inverness are now reduced to £5 each plus postage & packing: Inverness East Free Church, Inverness Methodist Church, Inverness Queen Street.

M.I. Books, Special Offers: The following Monumental Inscription Books (A5) reduced from £3 to £1: Ardersier Cemetery, Daviot Churchyard, Easter Suddie, Fortrose, Geddes, Killearnan Churchyard, Kilmuir (Black Isle) and Kirkton of Ardersier.

You can order all our books online at the HFHS stand on **GenFair**:

https://genfair.co.uk/supplier/highland-family-history-society-comunn-sloinntearachd-na-gaidhealtachd-65/

Details of all publications are at: www.highlandfhs.org/publications/

NEW MEMBERS

2864. Mr G. Davidson.

2865. Ms K. Groombridge.

2866. Mrs A. Kennedy.

2877. Mr. M. Goldspink.

2878. Mrs A. MacQuarrie.

2879. Mr J. McAuley.

2880. Ms. P. Allen.

RESIGNED

1384. Mrs J. I. G. Cameron.

1387. Mr J. B. Fraser.

1845. Mrs J. Villa.

2452. Mrs M. Thompson.

2657. Mr D. Taylor.

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FROM THE CHAIRMAN

As many of you will know, John Durham has served as our Treasurer for many years, until he retired last year. Since then, he has moved away from the Highlands, to live closer to his family in England. Although no longer as involved, John continues to assist the Society in various ways, including indexing publications. In view of his long association with the Society, it was felt appropriate to mark his retirement by asking him to become our first Honorary President, a position which he was happy to accept.

A Message for Munros in Scotland

Members of the Clan Munro Association, USA are eager to learn about their Scottish heritage. During earlier times of hardship in Scotland their ancestors immigrated to America between the 1700's and early 1800's seeking a better way to provide for their families. Members of CMA-USA desire that Scots carrying the Munro surname will agree to do Y-DNA testing with the hope that the information learned will further their family research. Money has been budgeted for Y-DNA testing of 8 Munro men. Because the test will be paid for by CMA-USA, there are guidelines that must be followed.

The prospective applicant must have a working knowledge of his Munro paternal line and where they lived going back 3 – 4 generations; be willing to have that information shared with his close DNA matches; have a Scottish postal address.

The participant is welcome to correspond with those who match him closely, but that is not a requirement. The test management company for the Munro Project is Family Tree DNA based in Houston, Texas. The DNA test is saliva based, facilitated by a scraping of DNA from each cheek using 2 small, soft brushes.

If you wish to explore the Munro Project public website, log onto https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/munro-dna.

There are 40+ Munro groupings in the Munro Project. The 3 largest are: The Foulis Munros; the Lochfyneside Munros, who hailed from the area around Inveraray in Argyll; those descended from John Munro, a prisoner of war after the Battle of Worcester who was banished to the colonies, settling in Bristol, Rhone Island (he is the ancestor of Marilyn Monroe).

As mentioned, money has been budgeted for Y-DNA testing of 8 Munro men. Plans will move forward with the first 8 who meet the criteria. If you are interested, please contact the co-group administrators:

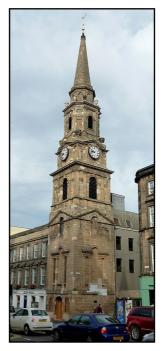
Margaret Bardin: mbardin731@comcast.net Mark A. Monroe: markamonroeftdna@gmail.com

The Executioner

This article was found in the Highland Archives, Inverness, in the papers of Margaret MacDougall who had been the Librarian in Inverness Library in the 1950's, and had also been the Curator of Inverness Museum.

The first executioner to be named in the Town's records was William Davidson whose name first appears in a minute of 10th January 1736. This does not mean that William Davidson was the first executioner in Inverness, it merely records for the first time the name of the individual who held the appointment.

In all probability the office of Executioner (called Deemster in earlier times, and common hangman in the late 18th century), was one of the earliest employments under the Town Council.



The Tolbooth Steeple

The Deemster pronounced and carried out all sentences passed on lawbreakers in the Burgh Court. In the 16th century the Deemster was kept busy and his duties included floggings, putting people in the pillory, the jougs, and the stocks; he cut off criminals' ears, thieves' hands, and carried out sentences of death. It may be that in the 16th and 17th centuries the duties of Deemster were carried out by the Burgh Officer who normally served warrants and attended the Magistrates. In a small town, such as Inverness then was, this was probably the arrangement. However by the time the 18th century came in there is ample evidence to show that the post of Deemster was not joined to that of Burgh Officer.

In the earliest existing accounts of the town's treasurer under date 30^{th} March 1733, the sum of £3.17.4 was paid for repairing the Deemster's house which was situated in the Chapel Yard burial ground. In the same year the Deemster's salary is stated as being £16 Scots per annum. He also received fees of office and got any

perquisites. He received 8/- (Scots) for every flogging, and for each execution he got the sum of £1.7/- (Scots). The perquisites included a house, a suit of clothing every other year, shoes, a hat, fuel, and meal, also fish and other edible commodities, which were brought into the town's market for sale.

On 10th January 1736 the Council record in their minutes that William Davidson, "from about Aberdeen" had offered himself for the post of Deemster and Executioner and the Council "suppose him to be fitt for his imployment" and employ him as Deemster. He had, however, taken up duty the previous Michaelmas (1735) and the entry of 10th January 1736 appears to be a notification by the Provost to the Council that Davidson had been appointed.

William Davidson was supplied with a new suit of clothing at a cost of £22.19.8 (Scots) and his fees were approximately the same as above, but 6/- was noted in the accounts as the fee for flogging a woman. Davidson seems to have done well out of his fees – in September 1737 he got 18/8 for flogging an unruly prisoner who had been in jail, and in April 1739 he was paid 15/- for cutting off a thief's ears, the money to cover the cost of a razor.

It was during Davidson's term of office than an incident occurred which caused new arrangements to be made in the terms of the executioner's employment.

About 1st May 1740 two criminals were sentenced to death by the circuit court judges. The story is told that they were MacDonalds and that some MacDonald clansmen coming into town fully armed so frightened the executioner that he fled from the town. That Davidson fled is proved true by the payment of the town council to two men, John Scott and David Wause, who got £1.4/- for their services in searching for William Davidson when he fled from the town. The execution had to be postponed and the Council record their annoyance at this which they called "a great inconvenience to them". William Davidson had been paid his year's salary on the last day of April and it is quite likely that with a year's salary in his hands he decided to decamp, but this does not rule out the possibility that the MacDonald clansmen frightened him.

The next executioner was Murdo McEan who commenced his work about the middle of May 1740. The Council decided to make new rules regarding the executioner and ordered that for 14 days

before every execution he was to be "lodged in the jail" until released to carry out the sentence of the court. For each night he spent in jail he was to receive the sum of 1/- as compensation. At a later time this changed to 7 days confinement. Murdo McEan was given a new suit at a cost of £10 (Scots), the Town Council being further annoyed with William Davidson when it was learned that he had decamped with a new suit supplied to him a few days before and which had cost them £11.16/- (Scots).

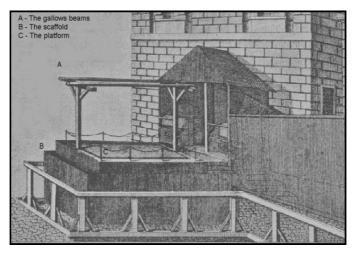
There is no note of how long McEan served as hangman; the treasurer records in his books the salary and fees paid to that individual but does not record his name. It was not until 1788 that an executioner's name appears and in that year a John MacRae was recorded as hangman. Three years later, according to the council minutes, on 17th May 1791, Robert MacNeal was appointed "common executioner in place of John MacRae, deceased". In October of the same year Robert MacNeal is reported to have gone away and William Taylor had been appointed in his place. Taylor was to receive the same salary, then £2.10/- Sterling per year, the same fees of office and perquisites (which were not listed) plus some additional perquisites given as

- 1. One bushel of coal out of every cargo of English coal imported at the harbour.
- 2. A piece of coal as large as he can carry ashore from ship-board from every cargo of Scots coal.
 - 3. A peck of salt out of every cargo.
 - 4. A peck of meal out of every 100 bolls.
 - 5. 36 peats each week from the tacksman of the Petty Customs.

It had long been a condition in the executioners employment that when there was no meal in the market the Burgh treasurer would pay him a sum for maintenance, usually 1/- per day.

William Taylor continued in his employment until his death about the end of 1811.

On 20th April 1812 the Council appointed Donald Ross alias John Mackay, servant to William Douglas, tenant in Drumnalarch of Aigas. Donald Ross was then in Inverness jail on a charge of sheep stealing and though I have not been able to prove it, he is said to have been under sentence of transportation for life. On 24th April 1812 he was released from prison on warrant from Thomas Gilzean, Deputy



The gallows at Newgate (London) in the early 1800s

Sheriff, on condition that he took the post of executioner of Inverness, and if he deserted his post he was to be re-arrested and to stand trial for the original crimes against him. This would suggest that he had not been tried and sentenced. Ross accepted the post and remained as hangman until after the Reform Act when he was dismissed, the Council having no further use for a hangman.

The house in the Chapel Yard had become so ruinous that the council paid Ross a yearly sum in lieu of house rent, and his salary was, eventually, raised to £20 per year. He was not a very popular figure, none of the executioners were, and his Christmas habit of demanding an Xmas box was resented by the townspeople. With his salary of £5 for every execution, his yearly income was between £50 - £60, plus perquisites.

After the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, Donald Ross was dismissed, and when an execution was required thereafter the National Executioner came north to do the work.

On his retiral Donald Ross was fairly well off, having saved £700, which he deposited with a bank agent, with interest, but the agent became bankrupt some years later & the Ex-executioner (Donald Ross) lost all his savings; but got a very small dividend on his capital. He died in very poor circumstances.

Donald Ross's perquisites were as follows:

- 1. A house, bed & bedding.
- 2. 36 peats weekly from the Ferry Customs Tacksman.
- 3. A barrel of English coal from every cargo.
- 4. A piece of coal as large as he could carry from every cargo of Scots coal.
 - 5. A peck of oatmeal out of every 100 bolls.
 - 6. A fish out of every creel coming to market.
 - 7. A penny for each sack of meal sold at the market.
 - 8. A peck of salt out of every cargo arriving at the harbour.
- 9. A suit of clothes, two shirts, two pairs stockings, a hat, and two pairs of shoes every year.
 - 10. £5 for every execution at which he presided.

General Notes

The executioner was often given extra work for which he received extra pay. He helped to clean out the jail, to sweep some of the alleyways and vennels, cleaned the fish market and, in effect, did similar unpleasant tasks. Executioners were never popular and though the post was well paid it seems it was always difficult to get a man for the job. It this became common practice to give the post to a convicted criminal who was under sentence of death or transportation.

Inverness sometimes lent the town's executioner to other towns, particularly Elgin, when that town required his services. Apparently certain conditions were laid down before the executioner was lent, the main conditions being that an armed guard had to come from Elgin to Inverness and escort the hangman and, after he had carried out his work, the armed guard to escort him back safely to Inverness. The town borrowing his services had to pay his execution fee plus expenses.

In May (29th) 1734 the Provost of Elgin wrote to the Magistrates of Inverness asking for the loan of the executioner to carry out sentence of death on "a man MacKgrigor found guilty of murder and condemned to death by the Lords of Justiciary". The guard came for him on the 6th of June the captain of the guard being George Anderson, Sheriff officer in Elgin. On 14th June 1734 the guard returned him safely to Inverness and delivered a letter from the Elgin Magistrates: … "The Executioner has now done his business

very well and now we have sent him back again to you under a guard commanded by George Anderson in Elgin, and we hope he will Deliver your Executioner to you safe and sound and wishing it may be in our power to return the compliment & Favour done us at this time."

There are many old stories connected with this custom it being alleged that the Executioner was once set upon and killed when he was returning from Elgin. That all executioners were detested and the butt of bullies is well known and it is certainly true that a guard was necessary for their safety when lent to other towns to protect him from mob violence.

There is a story to the effect that an Inverness executioner was murdered on his way from Elgin and the guarding of the executioner commenced after this murder, but this is incorrect. Both Joseph Mitchell in his "Reminiscences of my life in the Highlands" and Munro in his "Recollections of Inverness" name the murdered executioner as William Taylor who was returning from Elgin after executing a Sergeant Cullen who had murdered his wife. Like most old stories this one has been distorted but the grain of truth is still there. The true story is as follows:- Sergeant Cullen, in a drunken condition, murdered his wife and then tried to commit suicide. This took place in 1813 at Fort George and Cullen was executed at Inverness in that year by Donald Ross the last executioner.

The "Elgin murder of the executioner" story is as follows:-William Taylor the Inverness Executioner went to Elgin in March 1811 to execute a man named Gillan who had murdered an eleven year old girl after he had raped her. Gillan was sentenced to death (the murder took place at Speymouth) and ordered to be executed at the spot where the child's body had been found. Apparently Taylor bungled the execution and his unskilful manner of carrying out the work resulted in the condemned man being kept on the scaffold for a long time before he died. This horrified the mob who demonstrated against Taylor. On his way back to Inverness (Taylor seems to have been without a guard) he was set upon by two Elgin apprentices James McCurroch and John Davidson, who stabbed and beat him. The two young men, apprentice shoemakers, were sentenced at the Inverness circuit court in April 1811 (see Courier of 26th April 1811) to seven years transportation for assaulting, stabbing and otherwise

maltreating William Taylor, late executioner in Inverness. It has been assumed that William Taylor was murdered, but had this been so the young men would have received a death sentence (instead of 7 years transportation) and the charge would have been murder and not assault, stabbing and maltreating. There certainly were rumours at the time that Taylor had been murdered and I have seen a newspaper cutting (F.M.2367) from an un-named newspaper referring to a report that the Inverness Executioner had been murdered a few days previously. This, however, is not reported in the local press, nor is there any mention of the assault. It may well be, however, that Taylor died shortly after the young men stood trial and were to be transported because, at the time of Donald Ross's appointment as executioner, William Taylor is stated (in the Town council minutes) as being "deceased". In all probability he died between April 1811 and April 1812. In the report of the trial in the Inverness Courier, Taylor is mentioned as "late executioner"; but I am of the opinion that at this time Taylor was unfit to carry out his work as executioner and was not dead.

In the "Courier" of 7th Nov 1867 an article "Its Sixty Years Since," by Lochcarron, says "The old man Dawson, mentioned as building the dyke, had a son, a shoemaker, who was working in Forres and transported afterwards for sticking his awl in Willie Taylor the Inverness hangman, who was killed in Forres and his body trailed through the streets up to Cluny Hill and thrown into the Devil's hole. This was a short time after poor Willie had hanged Gillan in chains below Elgin". (Note None of the men transported were named Dawson – see above).

Margaret MacDougall

Executions were held at the Gibbet on the Old Edinburgh Road, shown on Hume's map of Inverness of 1774, later being conducted on the Longman. Young (1998) notes that Donald Ross and the post of executioner was dispensed of by a meeting of the Town Council of 19th December 1833.

Sources

HCA/D390/3/2

D. F. Young, "Encyclopaedia of Scottish Executions 1750 to 1963".

Clann Ualraig: The Highland Kennedies

Graeme Mackenzie

An edited version of the talk given to the society on the 21st of September 2023.

The genesis for this talk was a commission from Peter Kennedy of Macgregor in Australia, who came to see me lecture in Canberra some years ago on Scottish genealogy, and sometime



McIan's picture of a Kennedy and the tartan traditionally associated with the clan in Lochaber

after that asked me to research his Kennedy ancestors who he believed lived here in the Inverness area. Since we didn't get terribly far with his line of Kennedies, he then encouraged me to research the whole clan in the Highlands, and has generously sponsored the many hours of research that have gone into this.

I also have to acknowledge the excellent work done by Iain Kennedy of the Kennedy One-Name Study – available online at www.kennedydna.com – which gave me a head start on this project, along with the piece on the Kennedies of Leanachan by Somerled MacMillan in his book "Bygone Lochaber". There was more to discover about the Highland Kennedies in Norman Macdonald's "Clan Ranald of Lochaber", and a useful note too in Edward Ellice's "Placenames in Glengarry and Glenquoich" which provided me with the perfect place to start – which is in Glengarry, in 1745.

Prince Charles Edward Stuart arrived on the mainland of Scotland on the 25th of July 1745 at Loch nan Uamh in Lochaber where he was sure of a welcome from members of Clanranald and hoped to persuade Cameron of Lochiel to join him. If he succeeded, the Hanoverian garrison at Fort William would be in grave danger. In order to bolster the defence of Fort William, a Captain Sweetenham was ordered there from the British barracks at Ruthven, in Badenoch – a march that entailed traversing the pass of Corrieyeraick on the "great road" constructed a quarter of a century before by General Wade.

On the 14^{th} of August, Sweetenham was captured in an ambush at the head of the pass by a party of MacDonell of Glengarry's men. On the 16^{th} of August, two companies of the Royal Regiment of Foot who were marching



from Fort Augustus to reinforce the garrison at Fort William were confronted at the old High Bridge that spanned the River Spean by a small force of MacDonell of Keppoch's men. The government force was driven back up the road towards Fort Augustus by Keppoch's men and a party of Camerons who came to join them, eventually reaching the watershed between Loch Lochy and Loch Oich,

where their way was blocked by about fifty of Glengarry's men who were waiting to ambush them. The ensuing firefight ended when the redcoats ran out of ammunition and they surrendered to Keppoch.

In both actions, the ambushers are said to have been Kennedies, a kindred normally associated with the old province of Carrick in the far south west of Scotland, rather than with the Highlands; though, as we'll see, they had a long history in the north.

A few years after The '45, a Lowlander called Bruce was sent by the government to survey the Highlands and its clans, and he reported that "Glengarry could raise about 500, Strong Fierce fellows, who are all McDonalds except a small Tribe of 30 or 40 Men called McWalrigs, who have taken the name of Kennedy. They have, it is imagined, taken Sanctuary here some 100 Years ago, after having Committed some Crime for which they were obliged to Fly their own Country: they inhabit that part of Glengarry called Lagganachadrom, and the Glengarry Family have always repos'd Greater Confidence in them than in any of the McDonalds, as none of this name could ever Equal them in Villainy and Wickedness of all Kinds." Laggan Achadrom was precisely where the two companies of redcoats were ambushed in August of 1745; they'd been driven right into the hornets' nest.

In 1775, the Reverend Lachlan Shaw in his "History of the Province of Moray" tells us that "From the south end of Loch Eoich, to the north end of Loch Lochie (the utmost boundary of Moray) is 1 mile, called Achadrom; a fertile little valley, not above a half mile broad, betwixt chains of high hills. Here are Lagan-Achadrom, Dunan, Kyleross, &c. ... The inhabitants of Achadrom are Kennedies, called Clan Ulric, from one Ulric Kennedy, of whom they are said to have descended."

William Buchanan of Auchmar in his "Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy and Present State of Ancient Scottish Surnames", which was also published in 1775, named then as McWalricks, who he said, "derive their origin from one Ulrick Kennedy, ... the principal person of whom is McWalrick of Linachan in

Lochaber, who with his sept are dependants of the family of Kepoch." It was Keppoch's Kennedies who captured Captain Sweetenham in the first ambush of 1745, and Keppoch's men who then drove the Royal Scots into the arms of Glengarry's Kennedies in the second ambush. As you can see from this early map—created by Herman Moll in about 1714 and published in 1745—Linachan/Leanachan is to the south of Keppoch and Glen Spean.



James Logan, in his text for McIan's "Costumes of the Clans", published in 1845, says that "Ulric Kennedy went from Carrick at an early period and settled in Lochaber, from whom and his followers are descended the MacUlrics of that county, who put themselves under the leading of the Camerons". This association with the Camerons was repeated half a century later by Frank Adam in his "Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands", though he notes that "... later, some of the MacWalricks attached themselves to MacDonell of Keppoch".

Alexander Macbain, in his "Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language", derives Kennedy itself from *ceann*, head, and *éitigh*, ugly, and then adds: "also **M'Ualraig** from Walrick Kennedy (sixteenth century) who first settled in Lochaber ..." and says that "Walrick may be Gaelic **Ualgharg** confused with Teutonic *Ulrick*, older *Uodalrich*, 'rich patrimonially'".

George Black, in his "Surnames of Scotland", has separate entries for Kennedy and MacWalrick, and says of the latter that it is "in Gaelic MacUalraig and MacUaraig, and sometimes MacCuaraig. He then repeats the story about Ulrick or Walrick Kennedy fleeing from Ayrshire to found the sept of M'Walrick of Leanachan along with Macbain's derivation of the name from Ualgarg, which Black says was an old personal name in Galloway and Carrick, meaning "high temper". He cites no records of the name Ualgarg, or indeed Ulric, in this entry; but separately, under Ulgric – which he equates with Ualgarg/Ulrick – he notes that it was the name of one of the Galwegian leaders killed at the Battle of the Standard in 1138.

The name Ulgric does not however appear again in any contemporary records, and nor does Walrick, Ulric, or Ualraig, either in Galloway or the Gaidhealtachd. The origin of this kindred name therefore remains a mystery, though it appears to have been well-established by the 17th century; and not only in the northern Highlands. In 1748-9 there were eight McCualrig tacksmen holding farms on the Isle of Tiree, which came down to four in 1770 (though there were no doubt many more sub-tenants not listed in the rentrolls). The full census of the island taken in 1779 for the Duke of Argyll includes fifty two McCualrigs and three Kennedies, while the list of inhabitants drawn up in 1792 includes forty one McVolrics, nine McVorlics, and fifteen Kennedys. The national census of 1841 lists just one McUrich and over one hundred and forty Kennedys. A possible explanation for the appearance of these members of Clann Ualraig on Tyree may be the fact that the Duke of Argyll's factor for the island in 1738, when these MacCualraigs were given their tacks, was Argyll's political ally the Lord President of the Council, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, whose tenants and neighbours in Nairnshire and Inverness-shire included many Highland Kennedys

The Gaelic name can also occasionally be found in Perthshire. So, in 1705 we find a *John Kennedy alias McWarlick* recorded in Dunkeld. And in 1601 there was a *John McOlurich* in Strathbraan – which is to the west of Dunkeld. If the latter is indeed a version of MacUalrig then it may be the second earliest example of it anywhere, since the only previous record that might stand for it is that of the *Duncani McOlrig/Makolrik* who was the possessor of the Chaplaincy of St Ninians in Glen Urquhart sometime before 1556.

Since the name is specifically associated with the Kennedies of Leanachan, we might expect to find it most frequently amongst their records; but in fact, there are only a few certain examples of it there, all in 1683 when *Angus McValrick in Leonachine, Duncan McEwin VcInduy alias McCorig in Leonachinbeg* and *Kendoch & Duncan McQuollaric in Leanachanbeg* are recorded in the Register of the Privy Council.

Before we try and trace the line of the MacUalraig Kennedies of Leanachan, we need to note two earlier accounts of Kennedies in the north. As George Black records, there were Kennedies in Aberdeenshire in the 14th century when Duncan Kennedy was the Provost of Aberdeen in 1321/2; Peter Kyneidy was a Burgess there in 1333-42; and David Kynidy was a Bailie there in 1376. A Thomas Kennedy was the Laird of Auchcorthies in 1390, and a family of Kennedies were the Lairds of Kermuck for several generations.

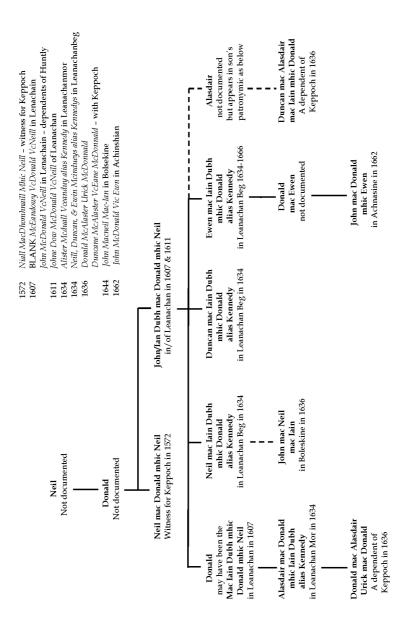
A century or so later, we find the first record of a Kennedy in the Highlands, when, in 1498, *Johanne Kennady magistro* witnessed an instrument in the chapel at Cawdor on the birth of a daughter to John the Younger of Cawdor. In 1505/6, the Exchequer Rolls record that *Johannis Kennedy* was liable to tax for the lands of Drumine, Presley, and Logie-Outlawell, in the

Moray parish of Edinkillie. These were lands that in 1501 King James IV had granted to his mistress Janet Kennedy – a daughter of John, Lord Kennedy and Elizabeth Gordon (the daughter of the Earl of Huntly) – along with the castle of Darnaway. According to the histories of the Kennedies of Dunure and Cassilis in Ayrshire, Janet Kennedy the Lady of Darnaway had a brother called John about whom nothing else is known in Ayrshire. It must be a possibility therefore that he, as a younger son, went into the church and then accompanied his sister north to Moray where she granted him some of the lands she had received from her royal lover. Forty or so years later we find a Duncan Kennedy, notary public in Inverness, who may well have been the Duncan MacOlrig who had the Chaplaincy of St Ninians sometime before 1556. It may be significant that the two records he notarised – in 1543 and 1548 – were both concerned with Lochaber.

From 1613 to 1616 there are entries in the Register of the Privy Council concerning an action against Macintosh of Borlum and others for the murder of John Clark of Tarbonnay, taken by a group of his relatives and friends in parishes on the border between the counties of Inverness and Nairn, and they included a Thomas Kennedy of Blakhillis. This looks likely to be the Blackhills in the parish of Auldearn – on the Cawdor estate – so it's probable that this Thomas Kennedy was a descendant of the John Kennedy who was associated with the Cawdor family in the late 15th century and who had lands in nearby Edinkillie in the early 16th century.

According to Historic Environment Scotland, Leanachan was the site of a medieval motte (i.e. a primitive castle). In 1466 the lands of *Achdrome, Glengarre, Lettirfinlai, et duarum villarum do Lanachynnis* [the two townships of the Leanachans] were among the lands that John MacDonald the Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles reserved for himself when granting Keppoch and the rest of Brae Lochaber to Duncan Macintosh, the Captain of Clan Chattan. Then in 1500 – following the forfeiture of John MacDonald – *the duas Lanachquhanis, Auchnaschene, Scheane in Auchidrome, Pitmaglassy, Culynros, et Lettirfynlay* were granted to Alexander, Lord Gordon.

In 1572 we find the first record of an individual who can be identified as one of the Kennedies of Leanachan, though when he witnesses McDonald of Keppoch's bond of manrent to Macintosh in that year he has no surname or territorial designation and simply appears as Neill mac Donald mhic Neill. His identification is based on the records in 1607 of another follower of Keppoch who appears to be his brother, and who, in 1611, was the Tacksman of Leanachan; John Dubh mac Donald mhic Neil. In 1634, John Dubh's sons – Neil, Duncan, and Ewen – are all recorded in Leanachan Beg with the alias Kennedy, as is their nephew in Leanachan Mor, Alasdair mac Donald mhic Iain Dubh.



In 1636 the Register of the Privy Council records two more individuals who look likely to be members of the same family, though in this case they have no aliases to identify them for certain as Kennedies; though one has an additional name that may serve to say the same thing; i.e. *Urick*. In 1636 the Valuation Roll for the parish of Boleskine & Abertarff includes a John mac Neil mhic Iain who may have been another cousin of the Alasdair mac Donald mhic Iain alias Kennedy who was in Leanachan Mor in 1634. We don't normally associate Kennedies with this parish, but its minister reported in the Statistical Account of 1798 that "Formerly, Abertarf was inhabited by the numerous and hardy race of the names of Macdonald, Macgruers, Kennedies, and Frasers ...", and the Kennedies' presence there may be explained by the fact that much of Abertarff had once belonged to the MacDonells of Glengarry.

On 20 February 1659, Angus Kennedy in Lenochan Mor and Auchnaschiane was granted a wadset charter of half of these lands by the Marquis of Argyll [i.e. Angus paid the Marquis to acquire temporary hereditary ownership of these lands – with the right to collect the rents from them – until such time as Argyll or one of his successors redeemed them by repaying Angus or his successor the money he had received for the wadset]. At the same time, Duncan Kennedy was given a wadset of half of Leanachan Beg, which we're told, was then still occupied by his father Hew [Hugh was an alternate English equivalent for the Gaelic name Eoghan]. Finlay Kennedy in Leanachan Beg – probably a brother or uncle of Duncan – was a witness, and the "baillie" [legal official] for Duncan's sasine was Angus in Leanachan Mor, with Angus's son Neil Kennedy as another witness

Angus Kennedy was clearly the chief of Clann Ualraig at this time since he was cited to appear before the Privy Council to take responsibility for the actions of members of his clan a number of times in the 1660s, '70s, and '80s. His last appearance on the record was in 1683 when is recorded as Angus McValrick, and his cousin Duncan Kennedy of Leanachan Beg appears as Duncan McQuollarie [clearly a mis-transcription of McQuollaric]. Angus appears to have been succeeded as chief by his son who is cited in 1684 by the Privy Council as one of those heads of families or branches who "do daily infest, trouble and molest the peace of the Highlands". Sometime in the 1690s - as early as 1691 according to Somerled MacMillan in "Bygone Lochaber" -Alexander Kennedy had become the possessor of Leanachan Beg. It's not known how he was related to his predecessor, and while the natural assumption would be that he was Duncan mac Ewen's son - especially if it was still held under wadset - it's possible that Leanachan Beg was the traditional holding of the chief's eldest son and/or apparent heir, and that Alexander was in fact the son of Neil Kennedy of Leanachan Mor.

Unfortunately neither Angus or Neil of Leanachan Mor appear with a patronymic – only ever with their English or Gaelic surname – so we can't connect Angus with the family tree of the earlier Kennedies of Leanachan. We might hazard a guess however, given his name, that Angus was a descendant of the *Donald M'Innes Woir* (i.e. Donald son of Angus Mhor) who we find recorded in the Gordon of Huntly rentals of 1600 as the possessor not only of the Two Leanachans and Achnacochine, but also of Laggan Achadrom – as follows:

DONALD M'INNES WOIR, posses fywe mark land thairof, conteinand the tounes following: SCHEANE PETMACKLASSICHE CULLINROS

THE OFFICEAR, tene mark land thair of conteinand the tounes following: TUA LENACHANES AUCHINCHENE

AUCHADROME and SLEISCHEGARVOCHE, ten mark land in Lochabre, possessit be M'Innes Voir. This land is wedset to Glengarie in anno 1607

Spalding Club Miscellany IV, pages 294-5.

If this Donald son of Angus Mhor was indeed a Kennedy – which we can't be certain of, though it does look likely – that would suggest Clann Ualraig may originally have been put in possession of their lands in the Great Glen and Brae Lochaber by the Gordons; and indeed, the record of them in 1607 says they were "dependents of George, Marquis of Huntly". We've already seen that Janet Kennedy, the Lady of Darnaway in the early 1500s had a Gordon mother, and the original Gordons of Huntly were, like the Kennedies, from the old province of Galloway in the south west of Scotland.



James Logan, in McIan's *Costumes of the Clans*, describes for Kennedy, the "armorial bearings" of the Marquis of Ailsa—as shown left—but goes on to say that "... we have seen the seal of a MacUlric in which the lymphad or galley appeared in base, and the crest was a hand grasping a dagger".

Clann Ualraig: The Highland Kennedies will be continued in the next edition of the Journal, and a more complete account will eventually be published as a fully-referenced booklet.

Caithness Stories

These stories are from a folder of Notes by Hugh Oag, and contain some stories that were originally printed in the John O'Groat Journal from the 1890's to the 1920's.

The Oags of Caithness

Many years ago I enquired of Donald McLeod an old Caithness historian, where the Oags of Caithness originally came from. He said we were McLeods. One of the old Vikings named Loud, the son of a King of Norway, had conquered along with his brothers much of the north of Scotland. His home was Dunvegan Castle, Skye. He was married and in his first family there was a son called Torkel (there was a case in Thrumster exactly the same). The second son was called young Torkel as in Gaelic, "Torkel Oag", Oag being the Gaelic for 'young'. From this man came the Oags.

The first of the Oags or McLeods, came to Caithness to collect a Crown Tax, which was abolished in 1816. The Oags came to Thrumster to manage affairs for the Sinclairs who were proprietors of it in that days. Old Donald said there were other McLeods in Caithness who were called Little McLeods. But his clan and ours were the big McLeods from Skye. Our Chief's seat being Dunvegan Castle, Skye. I omitted to state that the old Vikings name was Loud, and his sons were called Macloud in Gaelic, meaning in English 'the son of Loud'. Since the spelling has been altered to McLeod. Such is a rough summary of Donald's letter.

An Old Country Wedding in Caithness.

Most things have changed greatly in Caithness during the last sixty years, and the country wedding of our day is very unlike that of the days of our forefathers. In the northern parts of the county along the sea coast where the inhabitants were crofters and marriages. 'Combined Marriages' nearly always took place in winter.

On the night before the marriage, a party of the nearest relatives of the bride and bridegroom met in the house of the former, to 'wash the bride's feet', when a very enjoyable evening was spent. On the wedding morning, one party met at the bride's house and another party at the house of the bridegroom, where breakfast was served (in the districts referred to). This meal consisted of buttered fish, eggs, scones, oatcakes and ale; tea was then almost unknown. Before leaving for Church or Manse, each guest got a glass of whisky on which no duty had been paid. When two or more marriages were to take place at the same church in the same day, the breakfast would be sometimes at an early hour, as it was believed that all the good luck attended the pair who were first married.

Last summer (1889) an old man told the writer that he remembered when a boy, a marriage party coming to the Kirk of Canisbay at 5am that they might be first on the ground. Although living in the same locality the bride and bridegroom never came to church together, each party set out separately at an appointed time, the bride to arrive first, as it was not considered lucky that day to see each other till they met before the Minister. At that time it was no unusual thing for about 40 pairs to walk out with a marriage (the writer, when a little boy remembers, perhaps the last big wedding that went to Bruan Church, there were 33 pairs in the procession and they had nearly 5 miles to walk).

In old times the dress was also peculiar, the men usually wore black hats, blue coats with large brass buttons, white knee breeches, white stockings and buckled shoes. The females were dressed in white muslin gowns with a ribbon around the waist and on the head a cambric cap and ribbons. After the ceremony the party formed in procession, the newly married pair leading the way. A piper usually played all the way home. At every house as they went along the people turned out to see the wedding party and anyone who had a gun was there to fire in their honour.

When they reached the door of the wedding house, they were met by a matron with the wedding cake. The party who took out and broke the bride's cake had to be a married woman and the nearest relative of the bridegroom. The cake was of oatmeal baked with butter and enriched with raisins and sweetened. The ceremony always took place outside. The relative in question met them in the close on their return from church. She had the cake rolled up in a towel and holding it above the bride's head she gave it a stroke with her hand and then shook the contents from the towel among the wedding party. This was followed by a scramble among the lads and lasses who pressed and struggled about the bride to get some of the falling fragments, each wishing to secure a bit of the cake to put under their pillow to dream on.

On entering the house everyone got another glass of whisky. They then went out to the barn where a row of planks covered with a web of homemade linen served as a table with seats on either side. Dinner usually consisted of barley broth, beef, mutton, fowls and oatcakes (pork and potatoes were thought too common). The broth was served in pewter plates, once common in Caithness. For such large companies it was not easy to find plenty of plates. This difficulty was met by two or three supplying themselves with their ram's horn spoons from one plate. The bridegroom and best man did what they could to see that everyone was served. The bride had the place of honour at the upper end of the barn. The barn was usually lighted with the old fashioned black lamp and fish oil (the goose neb) and rushes, a lamp being hung at each end of the barn.

After dinner came the 'bride's-cog' and bread and sweet milk cheese. The bride's-cog was a large wooden vessel with two handles made expressly for this purpose, out of which the wedding also was drunk. It held more than three scotch pints and each guest after taking a draught, handed it on to the person next him and so on till it went round the whole company. All drank, health and happiness to the newly married pair. The old folks then all retired to the house, the barn was cleared of seats and tables, the piper or fiddler was placed on a high seat out of the way and dancing began in earnest.

At midnight the bride was let away by the lasses and put the bed. The young men followed with the bridegroom whom they also undressed and put to bed. The bride's-cog was again filled and produced and went round the whole company. The young man and wife had to sit up and pledge the company in a parting drink. The guests then returned to the barn and danced till daylight. It may be wondered how poor people could make such big weddings. It really cost them nothing as each guest provided something suitable for the feast so that they had more than was required.

The writer when a boy, had the following account of a marriage that took place at Halkirk upwards of 70 years ago, from a man who was present at the ceremony. He died in Thurso a few years ago nearly 90 years of age. He was a man of excellent character and had a wonderful memory till last.

At the time of the marriage, he was a young man working as a mason at Brawl. Being able to sing a song and tell a story, he got an invitation. The party had a considerable distance to walk to Halkirk Manse. The Minister at that time was Rev. Mr Cameron of whom many a good story is told. They had not got far on their way when a storm of wind and sleet began to pelt upon them. Umbrellas were then unknown among common people so that before getting to the Manse, they were drenched and must have presented a miserable appearance. But Mr Cameron was equal to the occasion. When they stood up before him he said "My friends, you will find plenty in St. Paul's Epistles about marriage. You can read that at your leisure. Join hands and be going."

On their way home the storm increased and it was difficulty that some of them got there. All were drenched to the skin. Here another difficulty presented itself. The farm was a pretty large one but the house was not. It was one of the old style where the farmer and his cattle entered at the same door. The house was full of guests; where then, were the young ladies to change their wet clothes? Someone suggested that they should go "but" to the byre, go up between the cattle and change there. Party after party did this till all got through with their toilet in this strange dressing room. Then the feast went on with all the usual mirth and song, unheeding the storm that raged outside.

The Rosemarkie Poor of June 1843

Concluding the Notes of Cases of Paupers Visited in the Town of Rosemarkie, Tuesday, 20th June, and Thursday, 22nd June 1843.

- 39. **Widow Mackenzie**, aged sixty-six, received 3s. a year: paid 12s. rent. She was Irish. Had no potato ground, as she did not "understand the work here." She depended chiefly on Provost Gillander's family, who gave her tea. Her son, a carpenter at Banff, had sent her lately a few shillings to pay her rent. She had no other children. She had a little sewing now and then from Mrs Gillander, but her eyesight was not good. Room barely furnished; no bed-stead what there was, neat.
- 40. **Betsy Bain**, aged sixty, unmarried, received 2s. 6d. Paid 12s. rent a year. She gathered eggs for farmers and others, and got assistance from the people for whom she collected them. She had two quarters of potato ground.
- 41. **Margaret Clark**, aged forty-one, unmarried, received 2s. 6d a year. Rent £1. She was employed making a net, at which she said she did not earn 4d a day. She had one sister, a widow with a large family. She had four quarters of potato ground, for which she worked in harvest, and gave dung. The nets kept her pretty well in employment. She had a pig and poultry, and a small piece of garden. House small, but tolerably well furnished, and neat.
- 42. **Helen Ross**, upwards of seventy, received 2s. 6d a year. Paid £1 rent; lived in a garret very barely furnished, but very clean. Somewhat eccentric. She had been in service with a lady in London for many years. She could knit and sew. She said she had been promised a pension of £6 a year from her mistress's family, but had never received more than £3, and that the person who paid it had lately died, and she did not know whether it would be continued. She would not go and beg "What she gets she pays for."
- 43. **Widow Gordon**, sixty-six, received 3s. a year. Her house was her own, but tumbling down, and she was to leave it. She lived alone. She had two quarters of potato ground, for which she paid 1s. a quarter. She knitted stockings, and earned 2d a day. She also used to work at harvest, and make 1s. a day; but she was "weary from it now." She had two sons, one in the army, but they did not help her. She lived on potatoes, and had oatmeal now and then. Two chairs, two tables, and turf roof supported by poles. [1841 Census High Street Widow A. Gordon, 63].

Paupers visited in Landward Part of the Parish, Wednesday, 21st June 1843.

- 1. **Sinclair**, aged sixty, unmarried, in the receipt of 2s. 6d a year. She lived alone in a solitary house, and was stone deaf. She worked for a farmer, and could earn something by spinning. A drunken man broke into her house one night, and gave her such a fright, that she received permission to remove her bed down to the neighbouring farmhouse, where she had slept ever since. She had potatoes in the house, and a hen and chickens. The house was poor and wretchedly furnished. She appeared strong, although deaf. [1841 Census Broom Hill Margaret Sinclair, 60].
- 2. **Widow Mustard**, aged sixty, in receipt of 3s. a year. Had her house rent free. Had six children of whom four were deaf and dumb. Of these, two were in service and two lived with her. Of the two latter, one was a lad of 20, the other a girl of 22. She had one son in the army, and a daughter in service in Edinburgh. She had about two acres of ground which a neighbour ploughed for her, she and her two children who lived with her, did the rest of the work. The ground did not grow enough to keep them. It had been taken in from the moor by her husband, who had likewise built the house. The house was dilapidated, and consisted of two apartments. She had a cow, and also kept chickens, and sold eggs. [1841 Census, Belmongy Margaret Mustard, 60]
- 3. **Widow Thomson**, aged eighty, in the receipt of 3s. a year. Had her house rent free. Her daughter who was strong and able to work, lived with her, also a grand-daughter, an orphan. Her daughter was in the habit of going to work at harvest time to Morayshire. She was able to spin, and did spin, but complained that there was not much to do. She had a cup of tea now and then, and said she had never wanted yet. She had a cow and calf, and the house was clean and comfortable. She had a daughter married, whose husband was the best help she had. She had two quarters of potato ground. [1841 Census Kincurdy Widow Thomson, 70; Margaret Thomson, 25; Margaret Clarance, 10].
- 4. **Widow Williamson**, past sixty, in the receipt of 2s. 6d a year. Her rent was paid by her son, who was in service with a neighbouring farmer, and arranged matters for her. Had her house from a small farmer, whose house adjoined hers. Plants her own potatoes, for which she gives dung. She has no cow, but gets a little milk, but cannot get tea. She had a pig and seven quarters of potato ground. One room, and the furniture good and clean.
- 5. **Widow Gow**, aged sixty-two, not on the poor's roll. Paid 25s. rent. Possessed a small croft, which her husband had reclaimed from the moor. She had a little pig and two hens. Her rent was paid by her son, who was a weak lad in service. She lived chiefly on potatoes, with sometimes a little

meal – no tea. She said she could not stand a day's work, and had been confined to bed during last winter. She said "The doctor did not come. There was nothing here to make him a recompense. I could not give him the trouble." The house was very poor and dilapidated, no chimney, and the windows not glazed. Hardly any bed clothes, two stools, one table, and one chest. [1841 Census, Belmongy – Ann Gow, 60].

- 6. **James Junor**, about sixty, in receipt of 2s. a year. His wife was alive, and lived with him. He had a croft for which he paid £3 a year rent. He kept a cow and a pig. Furniture of the house, three chairs, two stools, and one table. Two rooms. His son was a fisherman, and had a 10s. a week, constant wages, throughout the year. He in fact seemed to support his parents. His mother said "We would not have a home at a', were it not for him. It is a pity when one is dependent on one's bairns." [A James Junor is recorded in 1841 & 1851 Census at Gamrock, but has 2 daughters, not mentioned in above entry].
- 7. **Widow Davidson**, aged sixty-seven, in the receipt of 3s. a year. She had a son an idiot, aged thirty, who lodged with her, on whose account she received relief from the poor's fund. She paid no rent; her house had been built by a son. She had a pig, and about six quarters of potato ground. Her son went about through the day, and got his food, but "he kens to come home at night." She had spoken to Mr Wood (the minister), wishing to get her son into the Infirmary at Inverness; but Mr Wood would not hear of it, saying it would cost a guinea a month. She used to spin, but could make nothing of it now. She got potatoes and "a drink of gruel." She got a little milk from Mr Baillie's forester, who lived near her. She said that a farmer was good to her son; "he would starve with me; he is no unruly." The son slept in a wretched room, not weather tight. [1841 Census Beryhill Isabella Davidson, 66; Barnet Davidson, 35; Shoemaker].
- 8. **Christian Frazer**, past sixty-six, in the receipt of 2s. 6d a year. Pays no rent. She has potato ground, and works for the farmer, if she is able. She has a brother with a family, but he cannot help her because times are so hard. Has a hen, but no cow or pig. The farmer helps her, and gives her a little milk. The house was scantily furnished, but clean no chimney, two chairs, a table, and crockery.
- 9. **Widow Williamson**, -, in the receipt of 3s. a year, a French woman by birth. Her husband was a soldier, and married her in Spain. She had a son and daughter, both able to work, and living with her. She was not found at home, but the house externally appeared good, and the garden remarkably well kept. [1841 Census, Drytown Margaret Williamson, 55; Margaret Williamson, 25; John Williamson, 10].

- 10. **Widow Barnet**, aged seventy, in the receipt of 2s. 6d. a year, had her house rent free; it was built by her husband on the moor. She was not able to do anything for herself; but her son, who was unmarried, lived with her. She had also a daughter living with her, who was able to work. The son was an intelligent man, about thirty years of age, and worked for a neighbouring farmer. He earned 1s. a day, by day's wages, but earned still more by piecework. He described his diet as being porridge for breakfast; cake made of barley and peas for dinner, with which he got generally some milk at the farmer's, and potatoes and herrings for supper. They had a bit of garden, in which potatoes were growing, and they had also potato ground from the farmer. They had some hens and a pig.
- 11. Margaret MacAndrew, aged eighty, in the receipt of 2s. 6d a year. Her rent was paid "partly by a lassie (aged forty), and partly by the pig." There was no window nor chimney in the house. The roof was of turf, with several holes in it. There was but one room, in a corner of which was the pig-stye. The house was in great confusion. She had potato ground, for which she gave dung, and "the lassie" planted the potatoes. She seemed quite cheerful and contented
- 12. **Ronald MacDonald**, upwards of eighty, in the receipt of 1s. 6d a year. Paid 20s. rent. His son, twenty-eight years of age, and his daughter, twenty-six, lived with him; they were both unmarried. He made wooden dishes, which his son was at the market selling. He had a small garden, and planted potatoes on a farmer's ground, and gave dung for them. His son worked "at anything he could get." He said his daughter and "the lad" were good to him. The house was tolerably clean, but indifferently furnished. The daughter spins.

Unfortunately early Poor Records for the Parish of Rosemarkie have not survived. Surviving Minute books and Registers only start from 1865, though a Register of Applications from 1855 does survive (all held in the Inverness Archives).

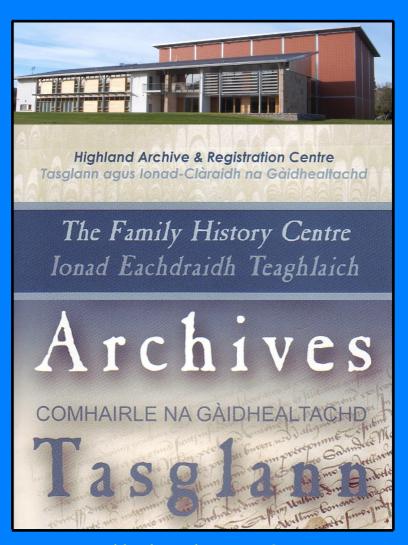
Stuart Farrell

Please consider writing for the Journal

All contributions on topics that may be of interest to fellow historians of Highland families and clans welcome, be it a short note or a long story. **Email Address** for articles, enquiries etc: HighlandFHS@gmail.com.

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