

THE MACGILLIVRAYS OF SKYE

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GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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This book is dedicated to Angus MacGillivray who is buried
in a lonely, long forgotten grave in a forest in North
Carolina. His monument reads:

"Here Lies Angus MacGillivray

Born Brodas, Isle of Mull

Who Survived the Hazards and Hardships

Of a Strange Country

To Die A

Free Man"

Arms of the deceased
FARQUHAR MACGILLIVRAY of DUNMAGHLAS
who flourished in or about the year 1672
Chief of the Clan Macgillivray.



Matriculated the 14th day of October 1967 by the Lord Lyon
and filed on page 64, Volume 51 of the
Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.

FOREWORD

To say one's ancestors were Scottish invariably brings to mind colorful visions of craggy, heather-covered Highlands, separated by forested glens, from whence come strong, red-haired clansmen, dressed in brilliant tartans, swinging flashing swords and shouting Gaelic war crys as they fall upon and decimate their foes. And all of this takes place as the haunting melodies of the bagpipes fill the air.

Is this a romantic delusion kept alive by those of Scottish descent? Perhaps! Without parallel, the Scottish Highlander is one on the most romanticized figures in history. Whether all the legends of the Highlander's deeds of valor are true is immaterial. What is important is that Highlanders are endowed with an aura that grips the imagination and stirs the souls of Scots the world over. It is a part of the amalgam that binds them together regardless of how far they are removed in time and distance from the "dear auld land" called Scotland.

When we began this project we were quickly led to the fascinating question that has been asked by almost all others who have tackled the Scottish problem. What is the umbilical attachment that binds those of Scottish descent to a land that many of them have never seen and never will? The attachment is real, there can be no question of this, and is of a magnitude that is difficult, if not impossible, for those without Scottish blood to fully understand.

Perhaps the beginning of an answer to the fundamental question posed above was best provided by Robert MacGillivray in the opening anecdote in his preface to the "History of the Clan MacGillivray." We liked it so much, and felt it was so appropriate, we requested his permission to repeat it here. As reported by Robert, a small lad of the Hebrides was asked who had taught him to speak such excellent Gaelic. With all the innocence of youth he replied, "Bha i agam nuair a rugadh mi" which means "I was born with it."

Like that youth of the Hebrides, we like to think that the Highland Scot's love of Scotland is not something that can be taught or acquired, but something they are born with. And this single-minded affection is not unique to those who have remained on Scottish soil. For we have observed that regardless of how far Scots travel, and regardless of the travail they experience along the way and regardless of how many generations they are removed from the heather their love of Scotland is something they are born with and apparently they keep this devotion forever.

This is not to imply, however, that only those of Scottish descent can love Scotland because we know this is not true. The experience of one of the

authors of this book can attest to this. The enthusiasm for this effort between the two authors sprang from different sources. One is a true MacGillivray of the blood. For her the enthusiasm and love of Scotland was natural - she was born with it. The other author's Scottish connection hangs by a much slimmer thread. The Austins of Scotland are a minor sept of the Clan Keith, however, for him no Scottish connection along that line has ever been established. It is probable that his roots are Scotch-Irish and go back to the Lowlands or perhaps even England. Nevertheless, the effort put into this book is an adequate testimonial that one's ancestors do not have to be Scottish in order to become fully immersed in Scottish customs and history. And outlanders can truly learn to love the land. As the old saying goes, converts make the best disciples.

Regardless of whether one is of Scottish descent or a convert the search for Scottish roots begins with ancestors. When we began our initial interviews with MacGillivray¹ family members in America, whose ancestors were from the Isle of Skye, we found they shared and perpetuated the same romantic view of Scotland we have espoused herein. Their pride in their Scottish descent was universal and unequivocal. They were eager to learn more about their ancestors; to see how they fitted into the Scottish lore that had been handed down from generation to generation. The highlights and major parts of the family history were known, but, as with so many other Scottish families, there was a lack of understanding of the scope and depth of the internal and external forces that had caused their ancestors to emigrate and become a part of history.

Our desire to fill this void of knowledge among our close relatives was the seed that germinated into this book. It soon became apparent, however, that what had begun as a simple project to satisfy a local requirement could not in good conscience be kept simple. There was too much material available and too much family curiosity at stake. Besides our own natural curiosity once again began to dictate our actions. Questions arose that could no longer be ignored. Slowly, but inexorably, our literary horizons broadened to encompass a comprehensive review of all the MacGillivrays of Skye.

Within this expanded concept, we approached the project with the view that if we are to understand the MacGillivrays then we must know and understand all of the events that motivated their thoughts and actions. It was by this process of rationalization that we arrived at the format for this book. Some readers may object to the minutiae of the contents whereas the serious scholar may find this useful, even if incomplete. In any event, the social and economic processes that were generating the minutiae were also affecting the lives of all the MacGillivrays of Skye and again this caused the scope of our efforts to change.

Biologically, the blood lines of every living individual go back to some point in the dimmest beginning of mankind. A perfect family tree would

1. As will be discussed in the text, the spelling of the surname covers a broad spectrum. For consistency we have used throughout this history the original and most common spelling of the surname - MacGillivray.

include all of the members of this family that have ever lived. This is the idealistic view, but, realistically, such a family tree is improbable. Very few families can trace their roots further back than the Middle Ages. The MacGillivrays are no exception. Those that can be identified in history date only from about the 13th century, and they were not from Skye.

This being the case, the title of this book may be misleading. True, we began by being primarily concerned with a particular MacGillivray family of Skye. In essence, that is what motivated this book. However, it was soon apparent that if we are to understand the MacGillivrays of Skye, we could not confine the scope of our efforts solely to Skye. The MacGillivrays role there has been brief. The saga of the MacGillivrays began long before their tenure on Skye and continues today all over the world. If this were not true then this book would be a fruitless effort.

A brief explanation of the format used in some parts of the book is useful. We have been genealogists for more than a score of years and during that time have learned to abhor the usual family history that is a succession of facts such as, "Seth begat Enos and Enos begat Cainan and Cainan begat Mahalaleel, etc" ad infinitum. Here we have tried to breath life into the characters, to give them substance, to make them seem like real people who had the same needs and desires as any modern reader.

Admittedly, a certain amount of literary license has been necessary to try to achieve the desired result. For example, nowhere is it documented that the author's ancestor, Archibald MacGillivray, walked across the muirs of Teangue trying to decide whether to emigrate to America. But human nature does not change and we know he must have given such a momentous decision almost constant thought. Therefore, our description of his agony of uncertainty that summer day is certainly plausible and establishes a sense of realism to the event.

To strive for perfection is an admirable trait, but perfection is seldom achieved. As we look over the tangible results of all the years of research that are recorded here, we see many places where they could be improved. But striving for perfection can be a time consuming process, and always there comes that point in time when it is impractical to proceed further. Reluctantly, one knows it is time to stop. Things must be brought to an end. Such was the case with this family history. It is not perfect, but, in the final analysis, we believe we have made some contribution to the knowledge of the MacGillivray families, both those who remain on Skye and those who chose to reside in other parts of the world. Whether this contribution to knowledge is large or small ultimately rests in the hands of the readers. Just to know that we have made a contribution is our reward.

Harold Austin Steiner and Doris McGilvary Steiner
Las Vegas, Nevada
August 1985

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Trustees of the Clan Donald Lands Trust for allowing us to have access to the Macdonald Muniments and for permitting us to extract pertinent parts that pertain to the early MacGillivrays of Skye. Without their gracious permission to use this unique source of early Skye history, this book could never have been written.

We also wish to acknowledge the personal help and encouragement by Rob Macdonald Parker and his charming wife, Deanne, both of the Clan Donald Centre, Isle of Skye. Their permission for us to review data on file at the Centre provided access to a valuable source of early Skye history not available anywhere else.

And, of course, this history could not have been possible without the assistance of the staff of HM General Register House in Edinburgh. This assistance is especially noteworthy because our research coincided with the time the staff was cataloging the Macdonald Muniments and they changed their work schedules to accommodate us. Their patience and forbearance during all of those months we spent at the Register House is gratefully acknowledged.

In any undertaking, such as compiling this history, there are long periods of literary anguish when nothing seems to come together. These are the times when close friends and relations pull you through and we wish to recognize their help and encouragement.

A very special tribute must go to Lily McGilvary of Virginia who exhibited the patience of Job when answering our interminable questions about the family. Unfortunately, Mrs. McGilvary did not live to see the completion of her daughter's effort and for this we are truly sorry. She was a wonderful lady and is sorely missed by all the McGilvarys. In a sense, this book is a memorial to her.

Raymond and Marge McGilvary, now of Atlanta, Georgia but formerly of Raleigh, North Carolina, deserve our special thanks. They generously provided bed and board during those long periods of research in North Carolina. And without their moral support this book might never have been written. Likewise, William McGilvary of Petersburg, Virginia also graciously opened his home to us when we were using Virginia as a research base.

We cannot emphasize too strongly how important has been the help and encouragement of Allie, Loas and Lucille McGilvary of Lemon Springs, North Carolina. Their enthusiasm for this project from the very beginning has been contagious. Moreover, they possess an old family trunk that seems to have magical properties. From deep within its dark recesses they always seemed to

be able to find an old family letter or document that was just what we needed to fill a critical gap in our story. In addition, we owe special thanks to Patty May McGilvary, the Recorder of Deeds for Lee County, North Carolina, who gave us valuable help in sorting out the old land records of the early MacGillivrays who settled in that area.

Another person who contributed valuable information on the Pocket Creek MacGillivrays was Mrs. Ruth Cameron of Lee County. And the following, who were all octogenarians when we interviewed them, shall not be forgotten: Mrs. Margaret Campbell, Miss Lottie Morris and Mr. Will Buie, all of North Carolina. Each was frequently asked to search the dim recesses of his or her memory for a fragment of history that could help unravel a troublesome problem.

One other person helped us greatly and we would like to thank her personally but, unfortunately, she too has passed on. Mrs. Juanita Vollintine, of Fort Worth, Texas, spent most of her lifetime working on MacGillivray genealogies. Through the generosity of her sister, Mrs Fay Earp, of Springtown, Texas, we were privileged to have unlimited access to Mrs. Vollintine's papers and for this we are extremely grateful.

Not all help came from America. We owe special thanks to all the MacGillivrays who have kept their roots on Skye. Mrs. John (Flora) MacGillivray, of #8, Camuscross, Isle of Skye, has been a great help and inspiration. She and her family are among the growing number of Scots who are working hard to bring back the Gaelic traditions to the islands. Flora's tea and scones, accompanied by a "wee dram," were always a welcome buffer against Skye's unpredictable weather.

Another Skye MacGillivray who has also been a great help to this project is Charles MacGillivray, of #7, Aird. Charles runs the ferry at Ardvasar. Every MacGillivray who returns to Skye from other parts of the world always seems to find "that chap at the ferry." Charles greets each visitor with typical Skye hospitality and invariably MacGillivray roots on Skye become a subject for discussion. Charles, in turn, passes to us all pertinent genealogical information he gains from those encounters.

Alexander MacGillivray, a retired marine engineer who now lives in Uig, Isle of Skye, provided us much needed assistance in sorting out some of the intermingled MacGillivrays of Sleat.

On the Isle of Mull we found a delightful and welcome source of information on the Mull MacGillivrays in the person of Lachlan MacLean of Knock Farm, Gruline, Mull. Mr. MacLean's permission to use his library, which contained many rare volumes, gave us an added insight into the history of those troubled lands. Also on Mull, we shall never forget the pleasant and informative time we spent with Helen and Angus MacGillivray, brother and sister of Aros, Salen, Mull. Of all the MacGillivrays we met, they represent probably the truest example of the simple life the MacGillivrays must have lived before the world got so complicated.

Last, but certainly not least, our acknowledgments would not be complete without expressing our sincere thanks and appreciation to Robert and Pauline MacGillivray, of Dunlichty, Edinburgh. We have visited with Robert and Pauline many times and their gracious hospitality, as well as their continuing

encouragement and constructive criticism, have played an important part in the preparation of this family history. They have served as valuable literary sounding boards and in the process have become true friends. Robert's repertoire of Scottish lore is boundless. He is truly the modern Sennachie of the Clan MacGillivray. Also, as editors of the Clan Chattan Journal, Robert and Pauline have provided an invaluable forum for announcing the publication of this book to Clan Chattan members the world over.

Finally, to all those individuals we have noted herein, and to all the other unnamed people who have helped in the many small ways necessary to complete a project such as this, we say again - Tapadh leat (Thank you).

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS....

Colonel Harold Austin Steiner retired from the United States Air Force in 1973. Harold is a graduate of Florida State University and McGill University in Montreal. Serving as a Development Engineer Harold specialized in the application of environmental science and technology to the development of military systems. He has published more than 40 technical and scientific reports. Although his profession was oriented toward technical subjects, Harold has always maintained a strong and healthy interest in history and genealogy and is now self-employed as a genealogist, historical researcher and free-lance writer. Harold, and his wife Doris, make their home in Las Vegas, Nevada where, among their many activities, they are active in efforts to acquaint the many visitors to Las Vegas with the culture, history and scenic beauty of Southern Nevada.



Doris McGilvary Steiner was born in the Commonwealth of Virginia and the historic Colonial environment of her place of birth nurtured an early interest in the history of Southern Virginia and North Carolina. This heritage has contributed significantly to this literary effort. Doris' Scottish roots go back to the Isle of Skye where Archibald MacGillivray, her great-great-grandfather, flourished on Teangue Farm, in the Parish of Sleat, in the 18th century. Doris' lineage includes fourteen of the twenty-five Sureties who signed the Magna Carta. Doris is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Colonists, the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century and the National Society of Magna Carta Dames. Like her husband, Doris is very actively involved with preserving the cultural, historic and scenic wonders of Southern Nevada.

Many things do not happen as they ought; most things do not happen at all. It is for the conscientious historian to correct these defects.

Attributed to Herodotus, Histories, 470 BC

The subject of history is the life of people and of humanity.

Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace

PART ONE

A FUSION OF SCOTTISH PEOPLE

To me there is something thrilling and exalting in the thought
that we are drifting forward into a splendid mystery
- into something that no mortal eye hath yet seen,
and no intelligence hath yet declared.

Reverend Edwin Hubbell Chapin,
1814-1880

THE EARLY PEOPLE

For days they had wandered aimlessly in a northwesterly direction, and now they stood on the brow of a small hill overlooking a broad fertile valley. They were a small group, certainly no more than twenty-five or thirty. The men were taller than the women, but each sex was long of limb with fair skin and aquiline features. They were representatives of the most advanced branch of Homo sapiens and if it were not for their dress and language they could have gone unnoticed in any crowd today.

Their dress was strange because they were fully clothed in warm furs for the climate was cold in those northern latitudes. The time was about 9,000 B.C. and the earth was just coming out of the fifth and last great period of glaciation. In fact, the broad valley the leader of this group was so carefully surveying was partially the result of this glaciation. So much of the earth's water was impounded in the great ice sheets that sea levels had dropped exposing much of the continental shelves. This broad valley was one such exposure. It was part of the great land bridge that connected the British Isles and the European mainland during the great ice ages.

The extent of ice and changes in coastlines during the last of the Newer Drift and Wurm glaciations are approximated in Figure 1.

Discerning no apparent danger, the small group began a slow descent into the broad, wooded valley. They gestured and shouted excitedly to each other as they came upon each new food source. For food was their primary concern. They were the vanguard of the hunters and gatherers who had slowly spread from the cradle of civilization in the Middle East to inhabit the western European Continent.

The crossing of the valley was leisurely, taking weeks that stretched into months. They were in no hurry. Gathering food was their most important function and their path was dictated by its availability. Besides, their route northward was not yet an open road even if they had wanted to hurry. Nature still placed constraints in their path.

To the North the retreating ice sheet still covered the land. Adjacent to the ice, the land was inhospitable to man and beast alike. The climate was surprisingly dry near the glacier. Strong, high-pressure winds blew constantly changing the landscape daily as the fine glacial sands were deposited and redeposited. Flora, the beginning of the food chain for all living creatures, could not yet take root on these shifting, barren steppes.

However, the glacial transition zone had long ago passed where the small group was hunting and gathering and the soil had quickly stabilized. Nature, abhorring a vacuum, sowed the fertile new land with a variety of plants.

Members of the animal kingdom soon followed and an ecological system was formed that was conducive to the coming of man.

And that is what the small group of hunters and gatherers was doing. They were incomers. They were populating a new land. Always seeking, always gathering they pressed on towards the northwest, and one day the broad valley ended. As they climbed the hills that were remarkably white they knew they had entered a new region. Later men would call this new land Britain.

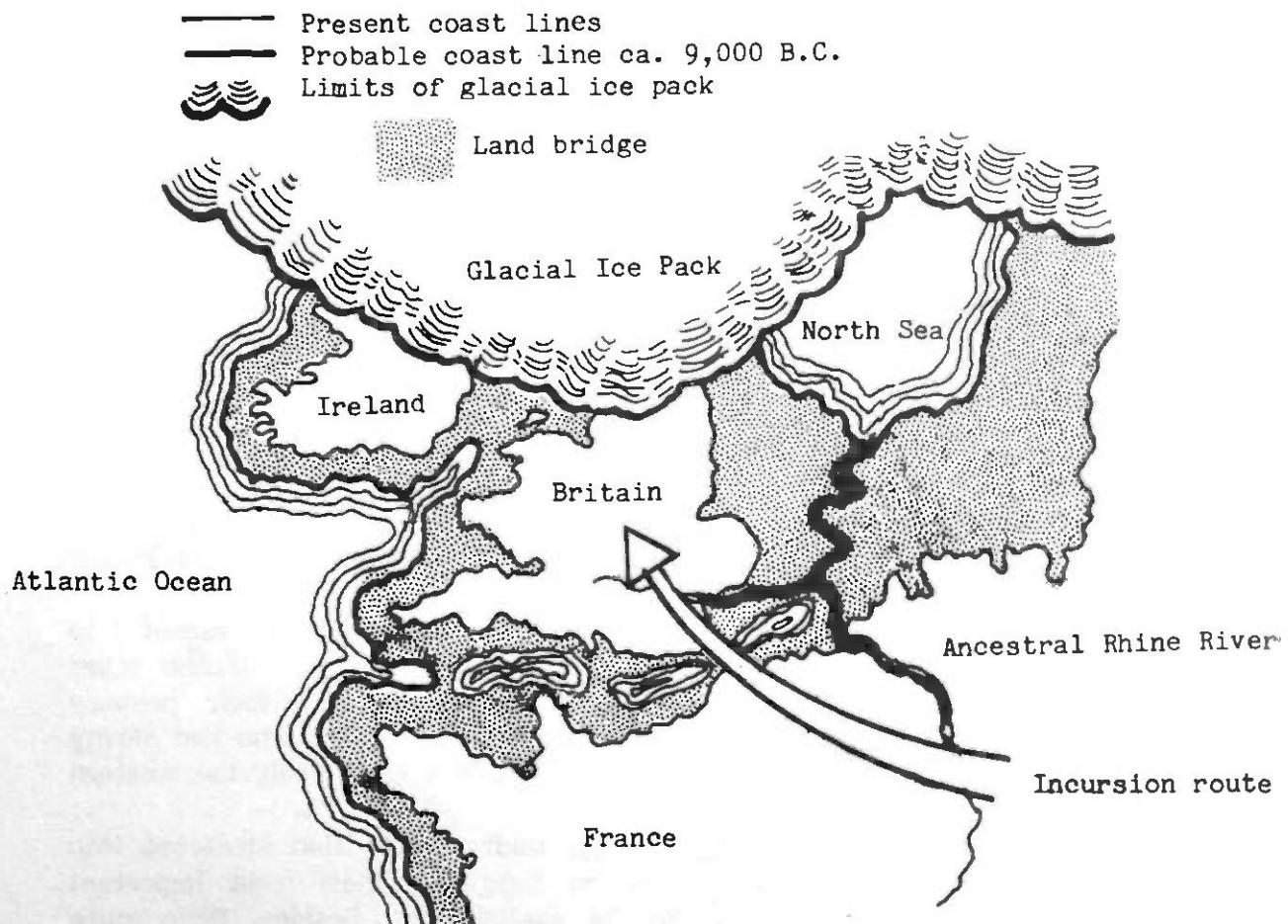


Figure 1. A comparison of the present coast lines with probable coast lines circa 9,000 B.C. when northern Europe was coming out of the last ice age. Due to lowered sea levels, the English Channel was dry making Britain a promontory of the Continent permitting migration of man and animals across the land bridge.

Archeology does not reveal whether this small group encountered others of the genus Homo, but it is possible. The land bridge was of great extent and mankind was on the move. Whether they were alone or there were others is immaterial. In either case, because of an areal constraint, there could not have

been many incomers in ancestral Britain. Hunters and gatherers required hundreds of square miles for subsistence and by 9,000 B.C. only the southern part of Britain would have been habitable.

As the natural processes of birth and death distributed the descendants of the original group of incomers throughout habitable Britain, the climate entered a new, more hospitable phase. The average annual temperature gradually increased until it reached an optimum about 5,000 years ago. By that time most of Great Britain was covered with extensive deciduous forests. Since then the climate has slowly deteriorated again.

As the climate warmed, the ice sheets retreated slowly northward releasing their vast quantities of stored water. Sea levels began to rise and, in southern Britain, another geologic phenomenon occurred simultaneously. The great land bridge between Britain and Europe began to subside. This double process was slow, but relentless. In time the land bridge disappeared and became the floor of the English Channel. Britain was once again an island.

As the northern lands became more hospitable and the food supply continued to expand, the descendants of the original group that crossed the land bridge into southern Britain migrated slowly northward, always hunting, always gathering. And one day, many, many years later, another group did as their ancestors had done before them. They too stood on the brow of a hill and gazed northward in awe and wonder. Spread before them was not a valley to be crossed, but a vast panorama of mountains that in any language and in any time period could only be called the Highlands. Man had arrived at this point in the long, slow journey that had begun thousands of years ago, and, as his ancestors had done along the way, he too would sink his roots and establish a home in this new land that men of a later day would know as Scotland.

* * * * *

There were never many of these post-paleolithic inhabitants. It has been reliably estimated that there was probably less than three hundred of these hunters and gatherers in the whole area that corresponds to modern Scotland.¹ Generally they wandered near the coasts and rivers where fish and mollusks were plentiful. Their tools and implements were simple flints and fire-hardened bone, and only a few tantalizing fragments have been found from which we can gain some insight into their culture.

The culture of Britain's early people was, as a whole, always less advanced than that of their contemporaries on the Continent. The reason for this disparity was a simple matter of geography.

Civilization began in the Middle East and spread westward through

1. Piggott concludes that prior to the arrival of Neolithic colonists the population of what is modern Scotland could hardly have exceeded a few hundred people. Churchill, citing other authorities, states that even in the more genial clime of southern Britain the land could have supported probably no more than seven hundred families.

Europe. The British Isles were at the fringe of the European ecosphere. Culture that had reached a certain level in central Europe might take hundreds or even thousands of years to reach the same level in England, and even longer to reach Scotland which was at the outer limit of civilization.

However, the progress of mankind was accelerating, and change was inevitable at all levels and at all places. The early inhabitants of the British Isles were visited by others groups from abroad, each bringing a slightly more advanced level of culture.

These new incomers came to both coasts of Scotland. Fishers and beachcombers came from Ireland to the western isles and mainland. Northern European "forest folk" came to the rivers and estuaries of the east coast. These early incomers apparently intermingled peacefully with the "in situ" inhabitants, who were the descendants of the early immigrants. For many hundreds of years, the heterogenic descendants of this intermingling hunted and gathered along both coasts. But nothing in history is static and by about 2,000 B.C. the stage was set for an influx of a more advanced culture, one that would establish the first true settlements on Scottish soil.

* * * *

It was a late summer day about two thousand years before the birth of Christ. The location was the west coast of present-day Scotland. The weather was unusually warm for those latitudes. Menacing dark cumulus clouds shrouded the Highlands to the northeast as a rag-tag band of men, women and children combed the seashore. Although it was supposed to be the bountiful season, food was scarce and hard to find. Fish, normally abundant, had moved offshore because of the unseasonable weather. Mollusks had dug deeper into the mud flats to escape the heat. The band was ill at ease. Each day they had to scavenge further distances along the shore to find enough food for subsistence. Tempers were short and quarrels were frequent. Perhaps that is why they were not as alert to danger as normally.

Suddenly, all discomfort was forgotten as they rounded a rocky point and saw before them a sight none had ever seen before. An array of strange sea craft was pulled up onto a sandy beach. This in itself was startling, but milling around these craft were a strange people obviously so different from the natives that all they could do was gaze in awe and wonder.

Before the impact of these unusual people could be fully accepted, the natives were struck by another strange and equally startling observation. Apparently the new people had tame animals. Their only experience with animals had been at the hunt and the apparent docility of these strange new creatures was as difficult to grasp as the presence of their masters. Later the natives would come to know these strange new animals as cattle and sheep, and, although it was not apparent to them on that particular hot summer day, they were a step closer to alleviating perpetual hunger.

These new incomers, who had brought the strange animals to Scotland and who would move inland to colonize the western shores, were the vanguard of a "long headed" people whose ancestors had originated in the Mediterranean area.

Through the millennia they had slowly migrated around the Iberian peninsula, moved up the coast of France, paused briefly at points along the southern coasts of England and Wales and eventually made their way up the Irish Channel to colonize Ireland. Now they had reached the Hebrides and west coast of present day Scotland. The cultural changes these "long headed" people brought with them to Scotland would be enormous and far-reaching.

These newcomers were of the late or new Stone Age (Neolithic) and they had mastered a primitive form of agriculture. They had learned to sow edible grasses and grains that could be harvested and stored to offset winter famine. They had also learned it was more profitable to domesticate and keep animals for food rather than to have to depend solely on hunting. The hungry hand-to-mouth existence of the nomadic hunter and gatherer gave way to a more stable and secure lifestyle. Since these Neolithic folk did not have to rely solely on hunting and gathering, they could congregate in larger groups in smaller areas and thus the first permanent settlements could begin.

The sites of these settlements are revealed by the great chambered cairns where these Neolithic folk buried their dead collectively. Because of the large stones they used to build these burial chambers, these people are referred to as megalithic or "big stone" folk. Their cairns, often associated with standing stones, are found as far north as the Orkneys and Shetlands.

About two hundred years later (ca. 1800 B.C.), while the megalithic folk were colonizing the north and west coasts of Scotland, there was a new and different culture developing opposite the east coast. The influx of new incomers, who would transfer this culture, was destined to usher a new age into Scotland.

* * * * *

It was a warm spring day that promised the annual miracle of rebirth after the desolation of winter. A small group of hunters and gatherers slowly descended the hills to forage for food. They were the descendants of those earlier people who had first migrated to Scotland and now congregated near what today is known as the Firth of Forth.

It was the season when whales migrated and occasionally one would become disoriented and beach itself on the Firth shore. Such a find would be a momentous event for it would provide the red meat and fat to replenish the deficiencies of their winter diet. Beach hunts were looked forward to eagerly by young and old alike.

Whatever Gods those pagan people prayed to were benevolent that day for a beached whale was soon found, newly dead and not yet scavenged by four-footed competitors. Quickly, they began carving off great chunks of rich, red meat with their crude flint knives and axes. So busy were they at their tasks that it was some time before they became aware they were not alone on the beach.

A large group of strangers had appeared unnoticed on a nearby hill!

The instinct for hunger was quickly replaced by the instinct for survival as the whale hunters gathered together to face the new potential danger.

Silently the two groups appraised each other. Then slowly, lulled by the absence of hostile action, the natives began to excitedly compare themselves with the others.

The newcomers were similar in stature and their features were not radically different from the natives, but there was a distinct difference in their dress and demeanor. The native people knew nothing of levels of culture but it was obvious at first glance that the newcomers were more advanced in many ways. Their clothing was of better quality although made of the same type furs that clad the native people. They were obviously better nourished. But what was most interesting to the natives was the quality of the newcomers weapons. Even at a distance it was easy to see that the newcomers flint weapons were well flaked and polished to a high degree of efficiency. Almost as interesting were the shiny ornaments worn by the men and women alike. Later the native people would learn these were the rudimentary workings of new materials called metal which were destined to change civilization.

It was in this manner that the native people met the latest newcomers to Scottish soil. These new people were a "round headed folk" who had started their westward journey from the coastal region of Europe that lies between the Rhine and Elbe Rivers, and who were now establishing colonies on the east coast of Britain. In so doing they would assimilate the native people into their culture.

Unlike the megalithic folk to the west, these newcomers buried their dead in individual graves. Obviously they practiced a pagan form of religion for their graves contained distinctive shaped pots and vessels that apparently contained provisions for the journey to the hereafter. Because of the distinctive shape of these burial vessels or beakers, the newcomers are known as the "beaker folk."

The beaker folk in the east had several traits in common with the megalithic people in the west. Both folk practiced elementary farming and animal husbandry. Both folk erected "henge type" stone circles for pagan religious rites. The single most important difference between the two, apart from their apparent different ethnic origin, was that the beaker folk brought with them the rudimentary use of smelting and metal working. Copper, first used as ornaments, when alloyed with tin becomes bronze, and the beaker folk's tools and weapons ushered the Bronze Age into Scotland that was to last for a thousand years.

In time the megalithic folk to the west also began to use metal. Metal tools were more efficient and land could be cleared more easily for farming. This was important as the requirements for new farm land increased. To satisfy this need, both the megalithic and beaker folk began to move inland from the coasts. First they moved over the easy routes up the glens and valleys and later they progressed to the more difficult routes across mountain passes and across lochs and channels. New settlements were founded. Crude trade routes were established. Eventually the megalithic folk met the beaker folk and their cultures merged peacefully in what was probably the first real fusion of a Scottish people.

Throughout the Bronze Age, these indigenous early inhabitants of Scotland

formed a stable population that lived in small settlements whose economy was based on an agrarian society. Unfortunately, this peaceful existence would be short-lived. Over the horizon a new age had developed. An age that would usher in the most perilous, the most deadly and the most turbulent age of all time.

* * * *

The change began innocently enough on a day in about the year 300 B.C. Newcomers appeared at the firths of eastern Scotland where other incomers had appeared before them. But this time there was a significant difference. These newcomers were the harbingers of a new age that was destined to change society, not only in Scotland, but all over the world.

The crossing over the North Sea had been difficult. Autumn storms had forced them back several times and boats and families had been lost. Perhaps this hazardous beginning helped account for the truculent behavior of the new immigrants or it could have been their natural pugnacious tendency. In any event, the peaceful indigenous native folk soon learned that the newcomers did not come in peace and that their bronze weapons were no match for the newcomer's weapons that were forged of a new metal that would come to be known as iron or steel.

The native folk did not give up their homes and lands easily to the newcomers. Native skulls were split and their blood spilled with increasing frequency as the invading warriors began their conquest and assimilation of the population. It was in this bloody manner that the turbulent Iron Age was ushered into prehistoric Scotland.

The language and ethnic origin of these Iron Age incomers is still a mystery. They came to Scotland from across the North Sea, driven perhaps by a changing, less hospitable climate or perhaps as the result of pressure from the mainland Celts. Certainly they had come under the influence of the Celts because they brought with them some of the Celtic characteristics such as late Bronze Age and Iron Age weaponry, cremation and burial in urnfields and, perhaps the most significant trait of all, the aggressiveness of the warlike Celtic society.

Archeology reveals that heretofore the indigenous native folk had been relatively peaceful. The overall population was sparse and settlements were widespread. Conflict and rivalry were kept to a minimum. But the prehistoric society of present day Scotland changed drastically as the Iron Age newcomers brought a different outlook. Whereas the use of iron made agriculture and other peaceful pursuits easier, it also made war and plunder more profitable.

2. About 700 B.C. the climate of Scotland began to undergo a significant change. Prior to that time the climate had been warm and dry and conducive to the growth of deciduous trees. Now the climate became cool and wet and much less hospitable. This same climatic change occurred in northern Europe with variations in severity.

Pillage became an attractive alternative to tilling the soil. Fear replaced candor. Now almost all settlements were built to be defensible against attack. Hill-top forts and duns were developed through necessity. Duns became places of refuge as progressive improvements in iron-age weaponry, combined with the development of social rivalries, led to a dark and bloody period of unending tribal wars.

In the final century before the birth of Christ, other mysterious Iron-Age strangers came to the north and west coasts of Scotland. These newcomers were the builders of the remarkable towers of dry, slab stone called brochs, which means "fortified dwelling." Apparently, these brochs also represent the culture of a conquering, warrior society. They were built close to the sea near good arable land that had been cleared and settled by the indigenous people. It is probable that the incoming warriors conquered the native folk and forced them to work (or slave) for them because the construction of the many brochs would have required the availability of a large labor force.

It has been speculated that the brochs were shelters from sudden attack by an enemy who has not been clearly identified. Perhaps this enemy was incomers from the sea - like the broch builders themselves - or they could have been the dun builders from the south and east. In any event, these two Iron Age cultures took prehistoric Scotland from a peaceful to a warlike era in a relatively short period of time. In so doing, they conquered and assimilated the native folk and established the genetic base for an "in situ" ethnic race who would later be known as the Picts.

* * * * *

As the time of the birth of Christ approached, the prehistory of Scotland drew to a close. Over the eastern horizon a vigorous, militant ethnic force had gained ascendancy over all of civilized Europe and now turned its eyes westward towards Britain.

Gaius Julius Caesar, victorious in Gaul, needed another audacious enterprise to excite the jaded imagination of the Roman Senate and Roman people. The conquest of Britannia would provide just the right kind of novel thrill.

However, before we follow the Romans on their ambitious quest, it is necessary to go back in time and pick up the historical threads of another race of people who were destined to play a prominent role in the forthcoming sequence of events. These people were the Celts.

THE CELTIC INPUT

This part of the story began more than three thousand years before the birth of Christ. It was in this time period that a race of Indo-European¹ people moved westward from Asia Minor into eastern Europe. The Greeks knew these people as the Keltoi. The Romans would call them Gauls. Today, we know these ancient people as the Celts, and if it were not for them the history of the Scottish people might be much different than it is today.

It is beyond the scope of this family narrative to develop fully the history of the Celts. However, because of the importance of the Celtic input into the culture of the Scottish Highlands, a brief resume is useful.

By about 2,000 B.C., the Celts had spread throughout Central Europe and had attained an identity. They were now known as the Celto-Ligurians and were the originators of the funnel-beaker and bell-beaker cultures. The Celto-Ligurians were the beaker folk who had colonized southern Britain as early as 1,800 B.C. and by 1,300 B.C. they had established the Bronze Age there. Gradually this culture spread northward into present-day Scotland.

By about 1,000 B.C., the Celto-Ligurian were the most powerful people north of the Alps, but about 200 years earlier (circa 1,200 B.C.) a new Celtic culture had emerged from the cradle of the Rhine and Danube valleys and were beginning to expand. These new Celts cremated their dead and buried the ashes in urns in fields or cemeteries, hence the designation of this Celtic culture was the Urnfield Celts.

Celts were a warrior society and no respecter of others, even other Celts. By about 800 B.C., the Urnfield Celts had displaced the Celto-Ligurians and confined them to the coast of Brittany in France, the British Isles and a narrow strip along the Iberian peninsula corresponding to modern Portugal.

While the displacement of the Celto-Ligurians was taking place, the Urnfield Celts themselves were beginning to feel pressure in the east from a newer culture known as the Hallstatt Celts. By 700 B.C., the use of iron had been introduced into southeast Europe by the Greeks and the Illyrians. The Hallstatt Celts, who were a warrior race, quickly adopted this new metal to suit their own expansion goals. By 560 B.C., iron-age weaponry had helped the Hallstatt Celts conquer and occupy almost all of Central Europe and, by 480 B.C., they had established a foothold in the southeast part of Britain.

1. The term Indo-European is a philological designation. It refers to the family of languages spoken in most of Europe and many of those spoken in southwestern Asia and India.

The Hallstatt Celts were at the peak of European prehistoric barbarism, and they were the first barbarians to rise above anonymity. Their far-reaching traditions included a heroic society where kings, chieftans and nobles were created from those warriors who performed valorous deeds.

As the Hallstatt Celts territorial realm expanded so did their culture. Their artisans were great copiers and innovators. As new lands were conquered, Celtic craftsmen adopted and improved the best of the native culture to suit their own specific needs. The Celts refinement of the Etruscan two-wheeled chariot to improve their ability to wage war is an excellent example of this adaptive process.

By 375 B.C., a new culture known as the La Tene emerged from the Celtic heartland in the Rhine-Danube region. The La Tene culture began to displace the Hallstatt culture and by 220 B.C., the La Tene Celts occupied almost all of modern England, Brittany, the Iberian peninsula, as well as most of Central Europe. It was during this period that the Celts began to be referred to as Gauls.

The extent of the La Tene development is illustrated in Figure 2 which also shows the main thrust of Celtic migrations to the remote parts of Europe, not the least of which was towards the British Isles.

The La Tene culture, which reached its zenith between 500-100 B.C., was the high-water mark of Celtic achievement on the Continent. During this period, Celtic culture flourished into a magnificent style and, in some cases, surpassed that of the Romans.

But Rome was in its ascendancy and exerting expansion pressures of its own. The Celts began to feel these pressures and Caesar's Gallic campaigns against the Celts are a classic part of Roman history. By 44 B.C., the Romans were triumphant and the Celtic kingdoms in central and western Europe virtually ceased to exist.

At the beginning of the Christian era, Belgae Celts² had a strong foothold in southeast England. The rest of the Island as well as Ireland was under the control of the La Tene Celts. These were the Britons the Romans would encounter when Britannia finally became a Roman province.

For our purposes little more needs to be said about the Celts of Europe except a few brief comments on their decline. As shown in Figure 2, at the peak of their power the Celts inhabited Europe from the plains of Germany in the north to Iberia in the south and from Britain in the west to Galatia in the east. St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians was to the descendants of Celts in this latter province.

All of the people under the influence and control of the Celts spoke an Indo-European language known as Continental Celtic. No remnant of that language exists today. Primarily, this is because the Celts lost their dominant position in Europe and both the race and the language began to disappear as the Celts were inextricably caught between two powerful and destructive forces.

2. A militant tribe from that part of western Europe corresponding to modern Belgium.

From the south, the Roman Empire was steadily expanding its frontiers northward towards the Rhine and Danube Rivers. At the same time Germanic tribes from the north were thrusting southward. The Celts were caught in the middle. By the end of the first century B.C., they were squeezed into a narrow corridor and, under such pressure, it was inevitable that Celtic culture would decline or, at the very least, be drastically altered. History has shown that the Continental Celts were unable to withstand the pressure and both they and their language gradually faded into obscurity.

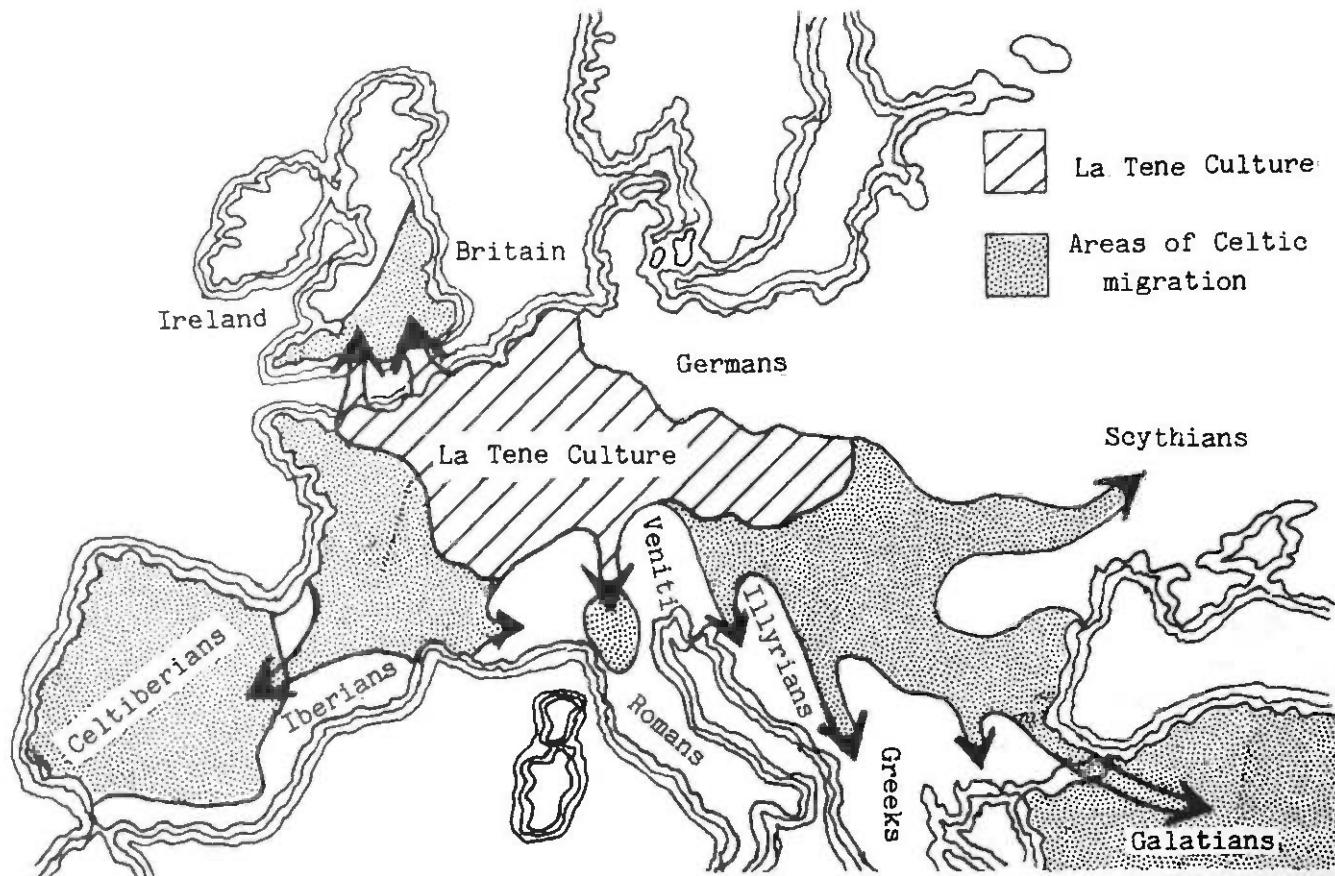


Figure 2. The sphere of Celtic influence about the year 300 B.C. At their peak, the Celts controlled almost all of Europe.

The decline and demise of the Continental Celts did not bring an end to all things Celtic. We have shown that, beginning about 1,800 B.C., Celtic emigrants had colonized the islands to the west and, despite repeated pressure from civilized Rome and pagan Germany, Celtic culture found fertile soil in the British Isles in which to flourish.

The native Britons did not give up their lands willingly or easily. There were fierce and bloody battles, but the Iron Age weaponry of the Celts

combined with their militant use of the horse and chariot proved the deciding factor. By 100 B.C., the Celts had conquered and colonized southern Britain almost entirely and had extended their hegemony as far north as the lowlands of present Scotland.

After the Celts had consolidated their conquest of Britain, it can be generalized that most of England and the lowlands of Scotland were inhabited by a rural, agrarian society dominated by the Celts, who had imposed their language and culture upon the newly conquered Britons and taught them their skills, crafts and art forms.

The Celts were the most enlightened newcomers to occupy British soil. The clothing they wore was bright of color and design indicating a psychological need to rise above the squalor of the time. They were accomplished farmers as well as skilled warriors. They built permanently with stone as well as with wood. The Celts did not rely on the hill-top forts occupied by the native people. Instead they built their villages in the valleys, often below the prehistoric forts on the hills.

The Celtic society was bound together by a traditional system of family and social relationships designed to serve and protect each other. To help achieve this ordered structure, the Celts created kings and tribal aristocracies. Interwoven through this whole social order was a religious fabric whose threads were maintained by the sacred and learned Druids and bards who provided the necessary social continuity.

In time, the Celts themselves became known to the civilized world as the "Britons of Britannia." Their enlightened dominance should have pushed aside the curtains of darkness and ignorance and ushered a long and fruitful period into Britain's turbulent history. But this was not to be. Close behind the Celts was the Roman Eagle, spreading its wings and looking for new lands to conquer. Soon - so very, very soon - the new Britons would have to defend their new-won prize against more aggressive men who had perfected the use of iron weapons and military tactics to the highest degree of efficiency known to the world at that time.

THE ROMAN INFLUENCE

Young Cedric of Myrdd was the first to spot the invasion fleet. It was a hazy summer day in the year 55 B.C. and Cedric was searching for a stray cow that had wandered away from his herd. As he topped a grassy ridge that overlooked the sea off the southeast coast of Britannia, he stopped short, momentarily held motionless by the panorama he saw before him.

Off shore an armada of warships was preparing to land troops on his homeland. Cedric would have known they were Romans even without the glitter of the Legionnaire's armor and the multitude of Roman eagles seen aboard each ship. For more than a year, refugee Celts of the Belgae and Veneti tribes on the mainland had passed the word that the Romans, under the command of Julius Caesar, had reached the western shores of Gaul and had consolidated their positions at a high cost of Celtic lives.

Centuries of contact with the Romans had made the Celts wary. They knew that the Roman Eagle was not likely to remain stationary as long as there were new lands to conquer, especially a land as attractive as Britannia. So the arrival of the Romans offshore was not unexpected. However, the Celts had hoped the sea would prove to be a buffer and an ally, and in a way this was proving to be the case. Tricky, unfamiliar tides and adverse winds were playing havoc with the Roman's attempts at an orderly landing. All of this Cedric noted as he turned to run to alert his village to the danger.

By midday, the Celtic warriors had gathered at the berms overlooking the shore. They were members of the Belgae tribe, one of the strongest in the Gallic confederation. They themselves had established a strong foothold in southeastern Britannia more than fifty years ago. Now they considered themselves Britons and were well motivated to defend what they now considered to be their homeland.

These Belgic Celts or Britons were able warriors and they awaited the landing of the Romans with confidence, a confidence that was not misplaced. The Romans came ashore and their force and tactics weakened the Briton's stiff resistance, but Julius Caesar could not consolidate his position and was forced to withdraw to the mainland.

The Briton's reprieve was short lived. The next year, in 54 B.C., Julius Caesar again launched an invasion of Britannia. As before, the Britons put up a strong defense, but this time Caesar prevailed and was able to call the invasion a success. He returned triumphantly to Rome with sufficient booty and prisoners to win the acclaim of the Senate and the people. No further action was taken against Britannia for a hundred years.

The Britons enjoyed a hundred years of peace but the die had been cast.

Claudius, newly crowned as Emperor of Rome, decided that he should attain a military image. Since Rome already controlled most of the civilized world, Claudius decided that Britannia was the most logical choice for conquest. Thus, in the year A.D. 43, almost one hundred years after Julius Caesar evacuated the island, another powerful Roman army was raised to subjugate the Britons.

There is no useful purpose served by recounting the details of the Roman campaign in Britannia. It was long and the tides of battle changed frequently. In the end the Romans prevailed and southern Britannia came permanently under the control of Rome.

In A.D. 78, a new Governor, with much energy and talent, was sent to govern Britannia. His name was Agricola and, upon assuming control, he immediately took to the field and moved north to extend Roman rule into Caledonia.¹ Agricola's primary objective was to eliminate a potential problem by forcing a confrontation with the remnants of the proud warrior Celts (Britons) who had never accepted Roman rule and who had fled to Caledonia and established a strong foothold there.

The final battle was fought on what is now Scottish soil at a place Roman historians called Mons Graupius. This site has never been satisfactorily identified. Agricola was victorious and the last organized resistance by the Britons ended.

After Mons Graupius, the way was open for the Romans to subjugate the entire island but bureaucratic hindrance from Rome kept Agricola in check. For this reason, the mountains of Caledonia (Scotland) in the north and Wales in the west never fully came under the control of Rome. These two sanctuaries were the last refuges for the freedom loving Celtic Britons.

By A.D. 100, Britannia had become one of the forty-five provinces that made up the Roman Empire and, for better or worse, Britons became reconciled to the Roman system. For the next three hundred years, Britons enjoyed Roman enlightenment as well as the comforts of the Roman lifestyle. Britons were Roman citizens and enjoyed all the rights and privileges that citizenship implies. They were governed by Roman law and order. Troublesome rebels and barbarians were held in check in the north and west and there was peace. Roman culture spread throughout the occupied land. The conquered Britons, like their Celtic ancestors, were great copiers and innovators. They quickly adapted to the Roman way-of-life. Like the Romans, they established a country villa mode of living that flourished into a fine style. This benevolent period became known as the Pax Britannia.

It was during the time of the Pax Britannia - the halcyon period in early British history - that the expansion of the Roman Empire reached its geographic limits. Rome was now an old empire. Uncouth barbarians swarmed around the Empire's periphery. Accurately predicting that Rome had lost its initiative,

1. Caledonia was the ancient name for the area of North Britain that never came under Roman control. It corresponds roughly to modern Scotland. According to Roman historians, Caledonia was inhabited by a tribe known as Caledones or Calidoni.

these barbarians increased the frequency and intensity of their attacks on the Empire.

To help defend the Empire, more organized methods of protection were developed. In its past glory, Rome had always been an offensive power, but in the second century the rulers adopted a defensive policy, never recognizing this was the beginning of the end. The decision was made to construct military barriers or a series of fortifications at the most troublesome spots on the frontiers. One of these troublesome spots was Caledonia.

The northern frontier of Britannia had never been stabilized. The barbaric tribes of the North, no doubt influenced by the influx of rebellious Britons who sought refuge in the mountains, made continuous forays against the Romans. To contain these savage people, Emperor Hadrian personally went to northern Britannia to organize the defenses. Between A.D. 122-128, under Hadrian's supervision, a seventy-three mile military barrier was constructed across northern Britannia from the River Tyne to the Solway Firth. This barrier was known as Hadrian's Wall and its construction was a tacit admission that Rome had neither the resources nor the will to subdue the tribes to the north in what is now Scotland.

Although Hadrian's Wall served its purpose, the northern tribes continued to beat against it so furiously and so repeatedly that another Emperor named Antoninus decided a buffer wall was needed. Twenty years later another wall was constructed across the isthmus in what is now known as the Lowlands of Scotland. This thirty-seven mile barrier from the River Clyde to the Firth of Forth was known as the Antonine Wall.

The purpose of the Antonine Wall was never fully realized. In order to properly man the wall, Roman defenses in other parts of Britannia would have to be weakened. In A.D. 189, the Antonine Wall was abandoned. The northern tribes immediately fell upon the fortifications and in some places it was almost completely destroyed.

In A.D. 208, another Emperor named Severus put his energy to the task of defending northern Britannia and he had the walls reconstructed and refurbished. His retaliation against the barbarians was so fierce that a hundred years of peace followed his passing. But this peace was illusory because a long period of darkness was about to descend upon the land.

The Walls brought a nebulous peace to the North but in the West it was a different story. From the middle of the 3rd century there were continuous raids against Britannia's western seaboard by raiders from Hiberni in the West. These raids became so frequent that the Roman historians replaced the old name Hiberni with the new name Scotti, which is from a Celtic word meaning "raider." The use of this new name became so widespread that early maps depicting the Roman Empire of the 5th century designate what we know today as Ireland as Scotia.

By the latter part of the 4th century the sense of security was rapidly fading from Roman Britannia. Almost daily it became more obvious that the world-wide Roman system was in a state of decline. Barbarians from the North pressed continuously against the Walls. Scotti from Ireland (Hibernia) raided the West with impunity. Germanic tribesmen rowed long boats across the North Sea

and made frequent raids on Britannia's eastern seaboard. The Pax Britannia was falling apart.

However, like all vanishing systems, the Roman Empire did not suddenly die. There were brief moments of regeneration that equaled Rome's former glory. Successful campaigns were mounted against the barbarians. But these military gains against the barbarians were negated by dissention within the Roman hierarchy. The internal discipline that had carried Rome to the heights was gone.

This dissention was not unobserved. The barbarians were ever watchful and, in A.D. 367, the Picts,² Scotti and Saxons formed an alliance and together fell upon the Roman Britons. In Britannia this was a turning point in history. From that time on the Britannia countryside would know only fear. The good life - the country villa life - was extremely vulnerable and it was never to recover. Urban life in the towns and villages, which had decayed under the villa system, suddenly became attractive as places of refuge. At least in the towns there were people about and walls that could be fortified and defended.

By the beginning of the 5th century all the Roman Legions were gone from Britannia. Continued raids by the barbarians caused the Britons to make frantic appeals to Rome for help. But no help was forthcoming. Rome had her own set of problems and had neither the resources nor the will to protect the outer fringes of the Empire. Rome's answer to the Britons was, "Defend yourselves."

The Golden Age, in which the Britons had reached an accommodation with the Romans and had enjoyed the fruits of Roman citizenship and culture, drew to a close. The long dark night of barbaric rule had begun.

The Roman influence on the British Isles would live on, however. The villas, baths and statuary would be mutilated and destroyed in the pagan darkness but the Roman ideas would endure. In a future time the trappings of Rome would return to Britain in a more ecclesiastical form, but that is a different story. For continuity we must return to the Celts.

The Celtic culture, which had once thrived over all the island, was now isolated in a few locations mainly in the West and North. It was very unlikely that this culture could ever spread widely from there. Intuitively, it would seem that Insular Celts were in danger of fading into obscurity like the Continental Celts had done before them. But there was, however, another viable pocket of Celtic culture that had survived the Romans and would survive the long darkness. It was nurtured in a sanctuary in the west. The Romans first knew this sanctuary as Hibernia. Briefly it became known as Scotia. We know it as Ireland.

2. By this time the barbarians in the North were known as Picts. The editors believe them to have been the product of an intermingling of all the incomers who, over the millennia, had migrated to the northern part of the island.

THE WELLSPRING OF GAELIC CULTURE

We are now at a point in time where we can begin to get a very faint glimmer of the origin of the MacGillivrays, as well as the other Scottish clans. But a prerequisite for developing a fuller understanding of this complex subject is an understanding of how the Celtic (hereafter called Gaelic) culture came to Scotland and the Western Isles. The story has its roots in Ireland.

Recall that in a previous discussion we noted briefly that the Celto-Ligurians were the first Celts to expand over all of Europe and into Britain as early as about 2,000 B.C. These Celto-Ligurians began colonizing Ireland at about the same time. Apparently they arrived from three sources. There was some influx from Britannia itself. Other Celts arrived directly from the mainland from what is now France. Still others, more venturesome perhaps, apparently arrived in Ireland from lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Recall that this was the same point of origin of the "long-headed megalithic people" who sporadically colonized the west coast of Scotland at about the same time. Intuitively, this implies that the "long-headed people" were, in fact, Celto-Ligurians. This hypothesis is substantiated by archaeological evidence that suggests the native people who inhabited Ireland at the time of the coming of the La Tene Celts were descendants of the megalithic and beaker folk discussed earlier. The routes of the Celto-Ligurian migration to Ireland are illustrated in Figure 3.

The inhabitants of Ireland (and Scotland), being on the outer fringe of civilization, were not subjected to the frequent social and political changes that the Celts in the Continental mainstream experienced. As a result the Celto-Ligurians had almost two millennia to establish a Celtic-based society on the island. They assimilated the native population and, in fact, the Celto-Ligurians themselves became the natives of Ireland.

We skip ahead now almost two thousand years to the coming of the most advanced Celtic culture, the La Tenes. We have seen how the La Tene Celts, in their expansion across Europe, were never content to rest on their laurels and remain a static society. Even when the Celts were subduing the native Britons and colonizing their land, they were already casting their rapacious eyes towards Ireland in the West, which was occupied by the descendants of the Celto-Ligurians.

By about A.D. 67, La Tene Celts had established a strong foothold in that part of northern Ireland that corresponds to modern Antrim. But apparently the boundary between the La Tenes and the descendants of the Celto-Ligurians was not a rigid one and Ireland was well along towards becoming a homogeneous country. By about A.D. 230, when Rome was reaching its geographic limits, the

La Tenes apparently prevailed and all distinctions had vanished and the entire island was referred to solely as Hibernia (or Ireland) and the people as Irish. The La Tene expansion into Ireland and Britain is also shown in Figure 3.

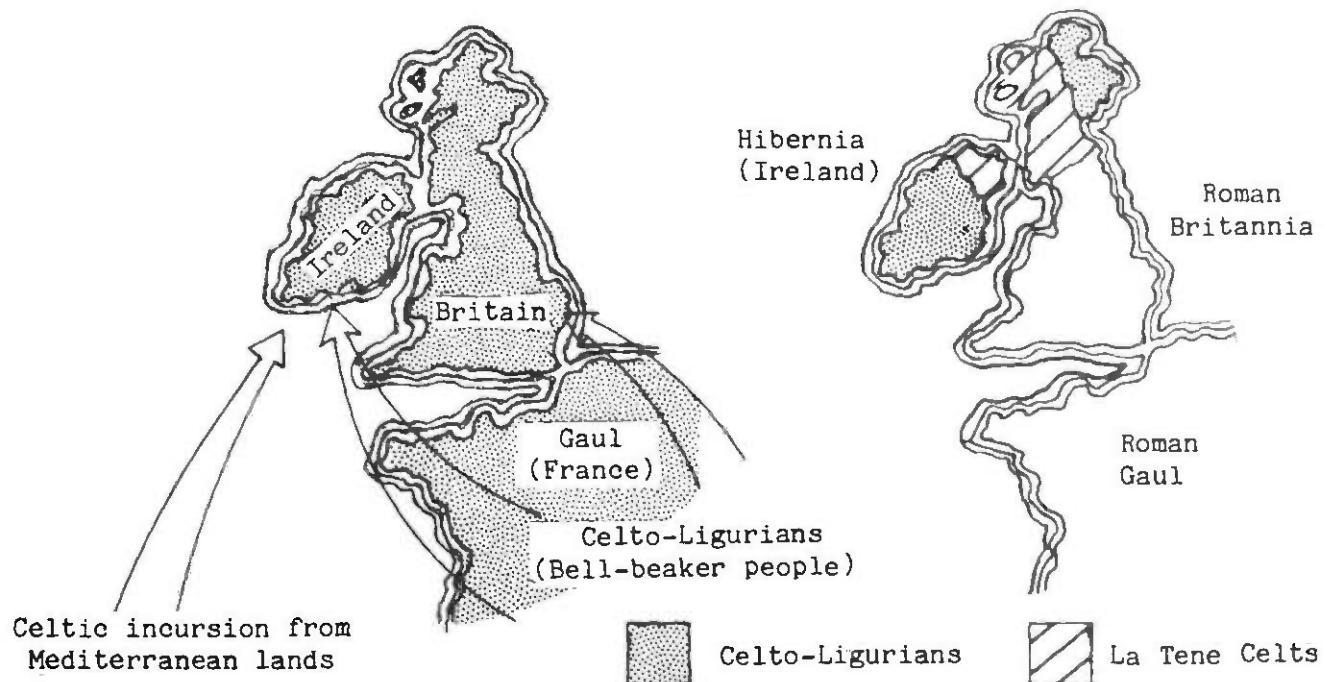


Figure 3. The left figure illustrates the incursions of Celto-Ligurians into Ireland beginning about 2,000 B.C. The right figure illustrates the disposition of Celto-Ligurians and La Tene Celts in Ireland and Britain circa A.D. 138.

By the third century, the Irish Gaels had developed a heroic political system made up of several small, independent kingdoms whose kings authority was primarily based on honor rather than power. Surrounding each king was an aristocracy whose lands were defined by law and whose wealth was in cattle and sheep. A legal system had evolved that included courts of law. As in Celtic Britannia, the individual families were the real units of society, and each family was held responsible for the observance of the law by its kinsmen, serfs and slaves. The pagan Druid religion still flourished. And, most importantly for the furtherance of Gaelic culture, a system of writing known as ogham had been developed.

Prior to the development of ogham, the traditions and laws of the Gaels were handed down from generation to generation by the Fili, who were the learned and trained bards and poets. Their sagas traced the mythology and history of the Gaels from the earliest times. Now ogham permitted the sagas of the Fili to be recorded, and one of the earliest vernacular epic poems in Western literature is a Gaelic version of a military raid on Ulster in the first century B. C.

While on the subject of Gaelic literature, this is an appropriate place to try to put the Celtic language into proper perspective. Linguistically, any investigation into the Celtic variations can become very complex. The layman quickly bogs down in esoteric arguments over P-Celtic vs Q-Celtic, and for our purpose it is not necessary to delve too deeply into the complexities of this subject. It suffices for us to recognize that Britain and Ireland were the sanctuaries where the Celtic language survived.

Unlike Continental Celtic, which faded and died because of external pressures, Insular Celtic, protected to some extent by geography, survived and is spoken today. Insular Celtic can be divided into two major groups.

The first is British Celtic which is referred to as Brythonic from the Welsh word meaning Briton. Brythonic Celtic is the residual language of the freedom loving Celtic Britons who fled to sanctuaries in the mountains of Wales when the Romans conquered Britannia. Brythonic is widely spoken in Wales today and is known as the Welsh language.

Another pocket of Brythonic Celtic survived in Cornwall until the end of the 18th century when it finally disappeared. Although this Cornish Celtic has disappeared from Britain, the language survived when Cornish emigrants carried it back to the Continent where today it is spoken as Breton Celtic by the natives of Brittany in northwest France.

The second Insular Celtic language, and the one of most interest to us, is Goidelic Celtic so-called from the Old Irish word "goidel" which means an Irishman. A similar word from the Welsh is "gwyddel" which means the same. The modern form of Goidelic or Irish Celtic is called Gaelic from the Irish "Gaedheal" also meaning Irishman. Goidelic was once the principal language spoken in Ireland and its modern form can still be heard there today.

There are two subgroups of Irish Celtic; Scottish Gaelic and Manx Gaelic, spoken on the Isle of Man. The distribution of both subgroups came about from the Irish colonizations that took place about the fifth century. Scottish Gaelic and Irish Gaelic did not become separate languages until late in the Middle Ages, about A.D. 1300-1400. Scottish Gaelic, of course, became the predominant language of the Scottish Highlands and Islands and is spoken there today.

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Before leaving the subject of Ireland being the wellspring of Gaelic culture and language, there is one additional element that should be brought into the picture. For this we return once again to Roman Britannia.

At the same time Roman culture was gaining widespread acceptance in Britannia, another social institution was emerging in the Roman world that would shape the foundation of civilization and affect mankind for all time. This institution was the Church.

From the middle of the second century A.D., the Pax Romana was tolerant of all religious activities and there was a growing momentum towards a uniform religion. The life and death of Jesus Christ provided a nucleus to satisfy the need for a uniform religion and the Christian Church came into being. There was no guarantee, however, that Christianity would endure as the

major religion. Other religions vied for control of men's minds. Mithraism, which also stressed the conflict between good and evil, gained widespread acceptance and converts throughout the Empire, even as far away as Britain. For a time it was questionable which religion would gain universal acceptance by the people. But, in the end, Christianity prevailed and, despite early travails, the Church grew and spread throughout the Empire, including Britannia. During the Pax Britannia, the British Church grew into a powerful force complete with bishops, priests and deacons.

Although the British Church had great vitality during the Roman heyday when the darkness came it was forced to retreat to secure refuges in Wales and North Britain. There the British Church languished in the doldrums and might have perished entirely if it had not been for an influx of renewed faith from Ireland.

One of the deacons of the British Church had a son named Magonus Sucatus Patricius. Although the son of a deacon, young Patrick did not embrace fully the religious zeal of his father.

The last Roman Legions left Britannia in A.D. 409 and shortly thereafter Irish (Scoti) raiders descended upon the deacon's villa, which was in the southwestern part of Britannia, and took young Patrick captive. Upon their return to Ireland they sold him into slavery. At that time he was sixteen years old. Eventually, Patrick escaped and made his way to the Mediterranean area where he was converted to Christianity. He then entered the growing monastic movement and spent fourteen years training to be a monk. At the end of those years of preparation, Patrick received a Divine call to return to the island where he had been held prisoner and spread the Gospel to his former captors.

In A.D. 432, Patrick began his mission in Ireland. His zeal was unwavering and his success was rapid. He strengthened the small Christian Church already in existence there, converted the pagans from Druidism and established an Irish Church as a part of universal Christendom.

Thus, it was in Ireland that the bright light of Christianity would survive in the age of darkness. It was from Ireland that the Gospel would be returned to North Briton to be spread among the Picts, Angles and Britons alike. It was the Irish monks who would found the Scottish Church in the new lands to the north that were rapidly being colonized by emigrants from Ireland.

THE COMING TOGETHER

The Irish Gaels, following their Celtic instincts, were ever ready to extend their influence and culture to other peoples and other lands. Sometimes this was done peacefully; other times it was done with the sword.

From the earliest times there had been raiding expeditions from the Irish coast into Britannia. As Roman power began to crumble in the second half of the 4th century, what had been sporadic raids for profit and plunder became more incessant. As fear of Roman power subsided further, these raids became more of a migration as the Scotti - as they were now called - began to build permanent settlements in northern Britannia.

Because of geography, the main thrust of early Scotti migrations was northward from Antrim, through the southern islands of the Inner Hebrides and onto the mainland of Scotland to what the Scotti at that time called "Oir-Ghaidhael," which in Gaelic means "the coast of Gael." This region is now called Argyll. It should be noted that this was not unoccupied territory. It was the homeland of the Picts, who were the ancient people of North Britain whose culture had been modified to some extent by earlier Celto-Ligurians incursions from across the North Sea. In fact, some mapmakers depicting political boundaries in that early period go so far as to designate the inhabitants of Pictland as Celts.

About A.D. 367, the Scotti settlers in Argyll aligned themselves with the Picts against the Romans. As compensation for this military support, the Picts may have recognized that the Scotti had a quasi-legal claim to their lands in Argyll. Regardless of whether their claim was legal or not, by the middle of the 5th century, the Scotti had colonized a sizable portion of Pictland despite increasing resistance from the indigenous Picts.

From the 5th century on, the peoples of northern Ireland and southwestern Scotland seemed to have increased their homogeneity. Ireland, at that time, consisted of seven major kingdoms. One of the seven, located in eastern Ulster, consisted of three smaller kingdoms of equal status. There was Dalriada, which included Antrim and was the home of the Scotti. There was Ulaid, successor kingdom of the ancient Celtic Uluti. And there was Dal Araidi, a kingdom that was predominantly composed of Picts. This political alignment strongly suggests there was an interrelation between the Scotti and Picts in Ireland as well as in Argyll. This close encounter probably established the basis for the claims and counterclaims that would surface in later years as to who were the rightful rulers of the Scottish kingdom.

In A.D. 498, Argyll and the Islands were sufficiently populated with Scotti so that three sons of King Eric, ruler of Irish Dalriada, could move to the

mainland and establish a new, independent Scotti kingdom on Scottish soil. The three princes' names were Angus, Fergus and Loarn. Their new kingdom was also called Dalriada and in the beginning consisted of the northern part of County Antrim in Ireland, Argyll on the Scottish mainland and part of the Inner Hebrides. Their chief stronghold and capital was at Dunadd in Argyll. Legend suggests that the rulers of this new Scotti Kingdom of Dalriada was a triumvirate, but history more aptly reveals that only Lorcan and Fergus ruled jointly. They are considered the first of the long, twisted line of Scottish kings. The geographical extent of the initial Scotti expansion onto the Scottish mainland is illustrated in Figure 4.

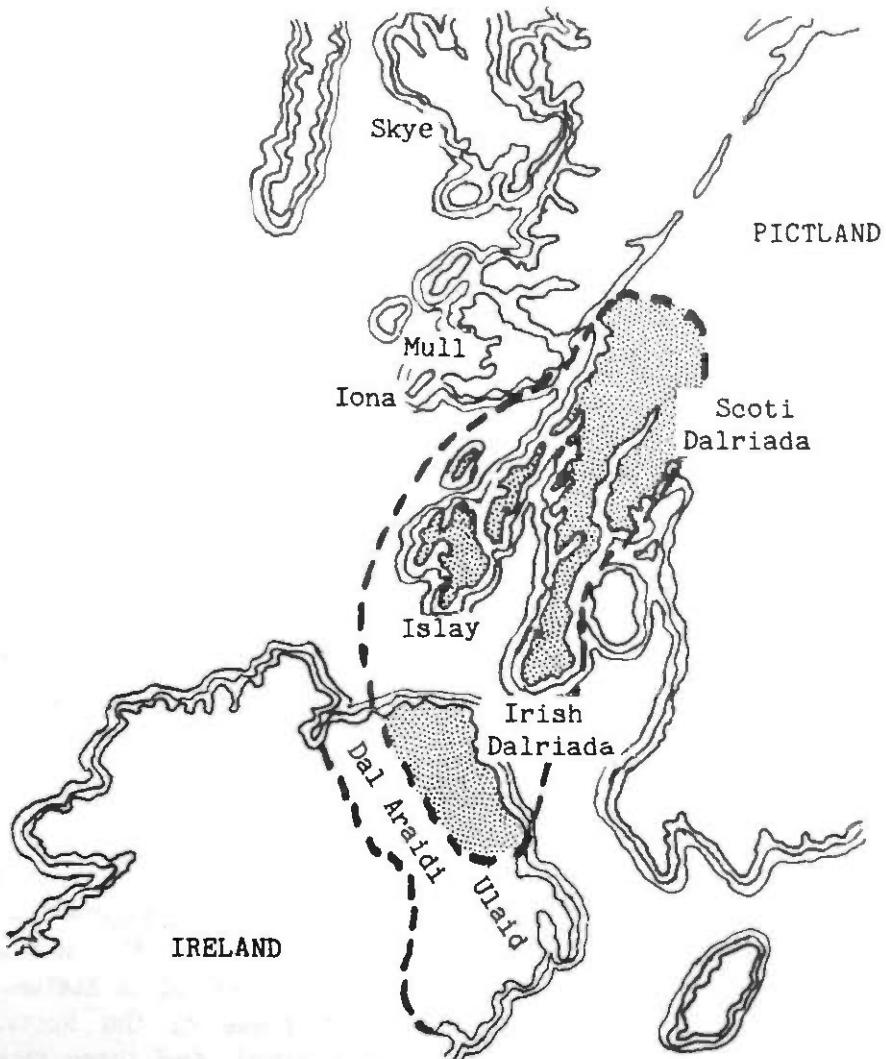


Figure 4. The expansion of the Irish Scotti onto the Scottish mainland to form the new Kingdom of Dalriada in what is now Argyll. The three Ulster kingdoms of northern Ireland are shown for perspective.

The formation of Dalriada may be considered the initial emergence of a

Scottish people in their own kingdom. It was small but it was a beginning and it would grow. However, the forging of a strong, unified Kingdom of Scotland would not be easy. There were other people nearby, equally ambitious, equally aggressive, who would battle the Scots for every inch of soil, namely the Angles, Britons and Picts.

* * * *

In the 4th century, as Roman power in Britannia continued to wane, barbaric Germanic people from the Continent rowed their long boats across the North Sea and, with increasing frequency, raided the now defenseless eastern seaboard. Those Germanic people were the Angles, Jutes and Saxons.

The Angles, from whom the name England is derived, were from the Angulus District of Schleswig. Their invasion of Britain was successful and they formed the Kingdom of Northumbria. From there they pushed steadily northward until, by the 7th century, they occupied the eastern lowlands of present day Scotland. The Angles were early competitors for Scottish soil.

After the Romans departed from southern Britain, the Saxons, from northern Germany on both sides of the Elbe, came in to fill the vacuum. This Saxon pressure forced the Roman Britons (former Celts) northward and they founded the independent, unified Kingdom of Strathclyde. As the name implies, this kingdom stretched from the River Clyde southward to the fringes of Wales, with whom the Britons shared a common Celtic language and heritage.

These Strathclyde Britons had all the attributes we have credited to the Celts. They formed an aristocratic, organized and disciplined society. They lived in hill-top towns as well as rural farms and manor houses. Their society was heroic and legend implies one of their early kings was Arthur of Round Table fame. Strathclyde bordered on Dalriada and the Britons would be another factor the emerging Scots would have to deal with.

* * * *

The Picts inhabited almost all of what is the modern Scottish Highlands and they were the other major people who would have a strong influence on the formation of a Scottish kingdom. Despite continuous efforts by scientists and historians to understand the Picts, they still remain a mystery. Their artifacts are few and no remnant of their literature exists so that knowledge of Pictish culture is based almost entirely on ancillary evidence.

The question of who the Picts were and where they came from has not been fully resolved. It is known there were early people living in northern Scotland in the Stone Age and some scholars share the opinion that the Picts were survivors of these early people. Some support is gained for this hypothesis from a study of the Pictish language.

Despite the considerable debate concerning the relation of Pictish to other languages, the only clear conclusion is that it is apparently unrelated to any of them. The consensus appears to be that the Pictish language was a survival language from pre-Celtic Britain. This implies the Picts and their language either developed "in situ" in northern Scotland or was brought in by

early Paleolithic people from the Continent. In any case, undoubtedly the original Pict culture was modified to some extent by the incursions of Celto-Ligurians from across the North Sea.

The Roman historians have given little help on this issue. They gave the general name Caledonia to that part of northern Britannia that was beyond Roman control. Supposedly that name was derived from an ancient tribe of Caledoni who inhabited those northern regions. Roman chroniclers have described the inhabitants of Caledonia as large of limb with red hair, indicating to the Romans that they were of Germanic origin.

The name Pict was first recorded by Eumenius in A.D. 297 to describe the barbaric people north of Hadrian's Wall. The name was used collectively as Picti which means the "painted people." Apparently painting the body before battle was an ancient Celtic custom and the barbaric Picts were still practicing this custom long after it had been abandoned by the Britons in the South.

It is by no means clear that the Caledoni and Picts were the same people although, because of the time span, it is difficult not to make that assumption. What is clear, however, is that the Picts were the early inhabitants of the region that would become the Scottish Highlands and that they had forged their own kingdom and developed their own distinctive culture. Unfortunately, no Pictish literature has survived but sculptured Pictish stones clearly show bas-reliefs of warriors, churchmen, hunters and animals as well as abstract figures. These stones are works of art indicating the Picts had attained a fairly advanced culture.

In historic times the Picts were divided into North and South Kingdoms. The Romans referred to the northern people as the Caledoni; the southern people were known to the Romans as the Maeatae. The difference between the two kingdoms was apparently superficial and by the end of the 7th century they had united to form one Pictish kingdom that stretched from the Firth of Forth on the South to the northern tip of modern Scotland. This union of the Picts was apparently a political expediency to counter the Scots in the West, the Angles and Britons in the South and an equally formidable foe in the North - the Norsemen. The political alignments of the different races that occupied northern Britain in the middle of the 7th century is illustrated in Figure 5.

* * * * *

The line of descent of the Pictish kings was matrilineal,¹ which means

1. This Pictish custom of matrilineal succession was apparently unique among all the people who inhabited Britain. In the editor's opinion, this bit of evidence, although slim and inconclusive, supports the hypothesis that the ancient, prehistoric Stone Age ancestors of the Picts could have migrated to northern Britain from the Rhine-Danube heartland of Europe where the religious worship of the Great Mother was a widespread practice of the people who were emerging after the last Ice Age. It is possible they carried this reverence of the Great Mother into North Britain and this could be a basis for the Pict's custom of matrilineal succession.

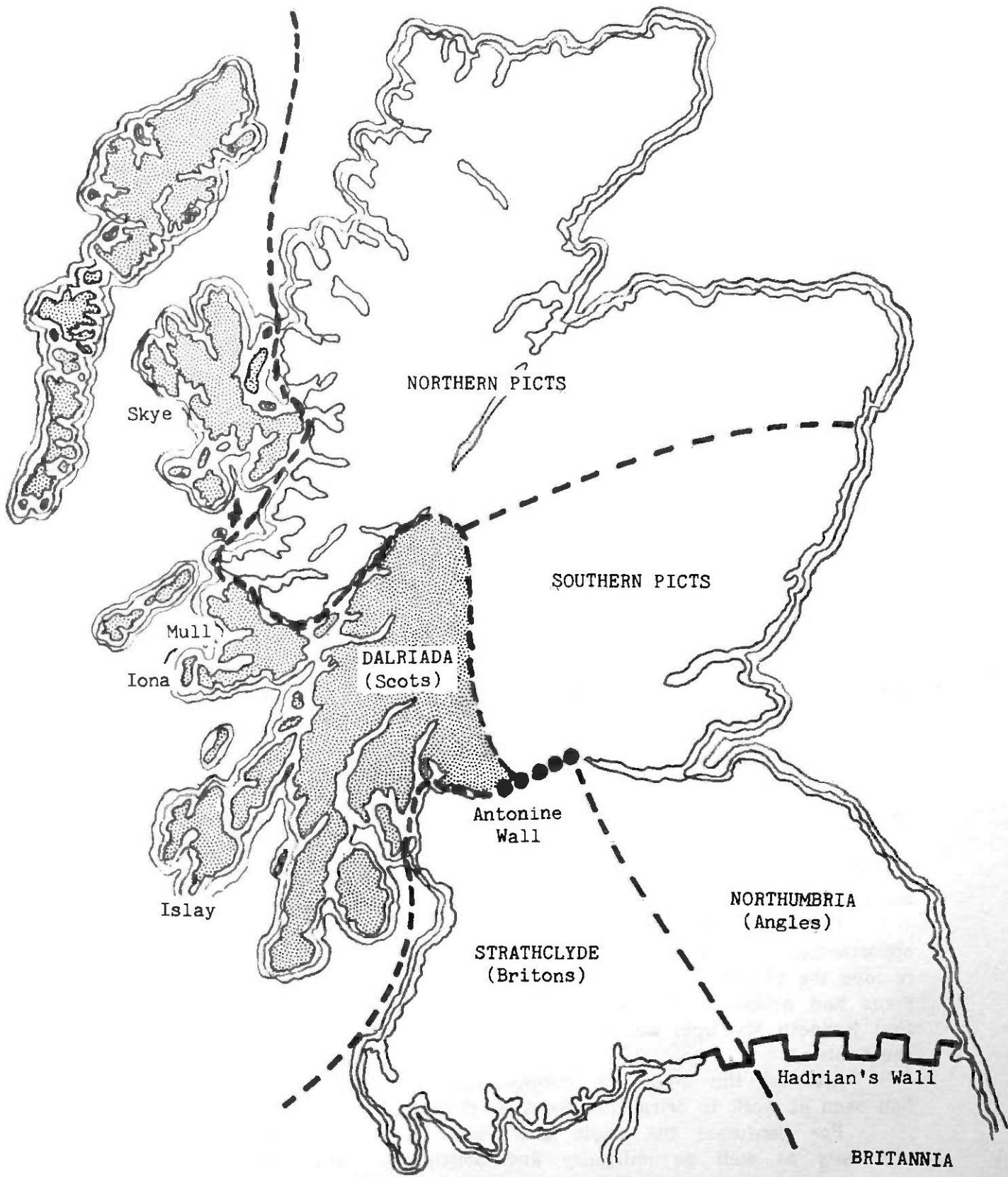


Figure 5. The political alignment of Scotland about A.D. 650. The shaded area is the Scottish Kingdom of Dalriada. The boundaries are arbitrary, but in general reflect the spheres of influence of the different kingdoms.

the succession descended through the female or mother's side of the family. Apparently, this led to much uncertainties in the lineage of Pictish kings and much energy and lives were lost in inter-tribal wars of succession. Despite these internal problems, the Picts were able to mount military campaigns against outsiders that were often brilliant and successful.

Naturally, the Picts were continuously at odds with the Scots of Dalriada who were encroaching on the Picts homeland. Over the centuries, the boundaries of the Scottish kingdom expanded and contracted depending on how successful they were against the Picts.

In A.D. 729, Ungus (or Oengus), 23rd in the line of succession of Pictish kings, ascended the throne of Pictland. He was a man of strong ambition and possessed above average military and political knowledge. To remove any threat from the South, Ungus made peace with the Angles and Britons and brought the full military pressure of the Picts to bear against the Scots of Dalriada. After ten years of war, Ungus had slain the Scottish king in battle, had broken the back of Dalriadic resistance and made the Scottish kingdom a vassal state of the Picts. It would appear at that point that the Picts had emerged as the major power in North Britain.

Ungus, not content with his victory over the Scots, foolishly turned against the Britons and Angles in the South. His army was annihilated. When Ungus died in the year 761, his death created a vacuum in Pictland and the Scots began a long series of military actions to regain their lost kingdom of Dalriada.

Then a new enemy appeared in force on the horizon of Pictland. In A.D. 839, the Picts and the Scots were locked in one of their periodic bloody campaigns. The Picts had slain Alpin, King of Scots, in battle and were winning the war. But they were unable to capitalize on the advantage. At the height of the Picts achievement, an army of Norsemen from across the North Sea invaded Pictland and attacked the Picts from the rear. They had to turn quickly and defend their homeland from the Norse invaders. During this battle, the Pict king was killed and the Pict army totally destroyed.

The Picts now had no leader. Kenneth, son of Alpin, recognized the opportunity. He rallied the Scottish forces and moved against the Picts to remove the Pictish yoke of bondage and to avenge his father. By A.D. 843, the Scots had achieved sufficient military success against the weakened Picts so that Kenneth MacAlpin was able to proclaim himself king of both the Picts and the Scots.

Although this union was precipitated by military action, other processes had been at work to bring this about by more peaceful means.

For centuries the Scots and Picts had competed with one another, culturally as well as militarily and politically. The Picts, having greater resources, were generally the victors in these confrontations. However, during the frequent changes of territory and hegemony, there was a considerable intermingling of the two populations and the bloodlines of the Picts and Scots gradually fused. Over the centuries, this fusion tended to soften many of the differences between the two races. The unifying effect of Christianity also brought about a homogeneity. The lineage of the aristocracy and rulers also

tended to promote a uniformity. For example, Ungus, the Pictish king, had once occupied the throne of Dalriada. On the other hand, Kenneth MacAlpin, who had a Pictish name, claimed a right to the Pict throne through his mother.

For whatever the reasons - legal or otherwise - after A.D. 844, Kenneth MacAlpin united both thrones and brought the Picts permanently under Scottish control. This new Scottish kingdom was given the Gaelic name Alba and it included all the lands north of a line from the Firth of Forth to the River Clyde.

Almost immediately, the new Kingdom of Alba was faced with the threat of a Norse invasion. Although a matter of serious concern, the specter of the Norse had a unifying effect that helped weld the new kingdom together. To help counter the threat, the center of Scottish activity was moved northwestward into the former Pictish heartland. The seat of the king was moved to Scone which was the sacred center of Pictland. The religious center of the Scottish Church was moved to Dunkeld northwest of present Perth.

These geographic moves broke the Scots completely free from the confines of Dalriada and permitted them to establish a cultural and linguistic supremacy over the combined kingdoms. In so doing, the Picts were gradually absorbed and their language and culture eventually faded into obscurity.

By the end of the 9th century, the first major fusion of people - the Scots and the Picts - was essentially complete. But the final coming together of the other diversified people into a unified kingdom of Scots, Picts, Angles and Britons would be a slow arduous process that would not be completed until after the 11th century.

Before this final fusion or coming together would happen, a fifth bloodline would be injected from across the northern sea. These newcomers, who would fuse their blood into Scotland's veins, were the Viking or Norsemen. They were part of that great Scandinavian outflow of formidable fighting men and hardy sea rovers who, in the 9th and 10th centuries, became the scourge of the civilized world.

THE VIKING INFLUENCE

Higher and higher the stone rose into the air until it was barely visible against the slate gray sky. Slowly it arched and began its swift plunge to the sea. Another and another followed this same course as young Aonghus - as all boys are wont to do - tried to reach greater heights and distances with each stone thrown.

So engaged was Aonghus in this pastime it was some time before he became aware he was not alone on the small cliff overlooking the sea. Almost as if by magic, another youth had appeared and stood watching him. Both youths were about the same age and same height but it would take only a cursory glance to tell they were different.

Aonghus was dressed in the homespun woolens of the Scottish Highlands, the strange lad was dressed in the characteristic furs of the Norsemen. It took but a moment for Aonghus to recognize this difference, and instinctively he recoiled in fear. If there was one Norse lad here, surely adult Norsemen would be nearby.

The time was the latter part of the 9th century; the place was a remote part of the northern coast of the Isle of Skye. For more than a century, Skye and the other islands of the Hebrides had felt the wrath of the Viking plunderers. The history of their bloody raids had been handed down in great detail from generation to generation by the sennachies. Their vivid tales crowded all other thoughts from Aonghus' mind as he and the Nordic youth eyed each other.

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Who were the Viking? Where did they come from? What was their motivation? Why were they so successful?

The term Viking can be applied to any of the Scandinavian sea rovers who ravaged the coasts of Europe in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. The Vikings were of two different ethnic groups. The dark-haired Danes were known as the Duthgall or Black Gentiles. The fair-haired Norsemen were known as the Fingall or White Gentiles. There were also Vikings from Sweden.

What motivated the Viking? As a generalization, it can be said that their raids were an outward manifestation of overpopulation. There was only so much arable land along the shores of the narrow fjords. The Scandinavian "odal" or freehold system of land tenure inalienably granted these parcels of land to a particular family, and they were always handed down to the eldest son. Since the estate could not be divided, the younger males in a family had to fend for

themselves. Plunder and rapine were always considered a Scandinavian virtue and, as the population increased, more and more young Danes, Norwegians and Swedes took to the sea in their longboats for careers as sea raiders. As their numbers grew they became a scourge that would change the course of history.

Why were the Vikings so successful? It was due to a fortuitous combination of two things. The first was the longboat and the second was the men who handled them.

By the end of the 8th century, the longboat had evolved to perfection. Shallow of draft, they could be sailed or rowed far up rivers or estuaries. For the same reason they could be anchored in small bays and creeks to avoid detection or to be refurbished for another sortie. At the same time, the elasticity of their construction and simplicity of their lines allowed these longboats to venture upon the high seas and withstand the fiercest North Atlantic gales. They were truly masterpieces of the boat builders art.

The superior longboats by themselves would have been nothing more than fine examples of the technology of the time without the other ingredient that made them the most hated and feared scourge of the sea. This added ingredient was the hardy and resolute pagans who sailed the longboats. Their horned helmets became a symbol of destruction and terror over almost all of the civilized world.

Viking raiders were hand-picked by leaders who had demonstrated their own prowess and leadership on previous raids. All members were volunteers and age was not a criterion, but each had to demonstrate strength and endurance. Each member had to be as good at sailing as he was with weapons. Discipline was strict. No quarrels, feuds or women were allowed on board. All spoils of war were sold and the proceeds divided according to a strict set of rules. This combination of discipline, fortitude, comradeship and skill with arms, coupled with the advantages of the longboat, created a race of warriors the likes of which the world had never known before.

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For Scotland, it might be aptly said that the scourge began in January 793 when the wealthy monastery on Lindisfarne, an island off the coast of Northumbria, was attacked suddenly by a powerful fleet of Danish Vikings. The raiders sacked the monastery, ate all of the edible livestock, slaughtered many of the holy monks, took others prisoner for the slave markets and sailed away with a booty rich in gold, jewels and precious religious ornaments.

Two years later, Iona, the bright jewel of the Celtic Church on the west coast, suffered a similar fate.

These early successes of the sea-roving pirates were so profitable that the taste for raiding spread rapidly throughout all of Scandinavia. Early in the 9th century, the full fury of the Viking storm broke upon the civilized world. The Age of the Viking had begun. For the next 250 years the known world would be harried and devastated by the horn-helmeted, blood-thirsty sea rovers from across the northern sea. Much has been written about the Vikings and their martial achievements. A brief summary of their exploits will suffice

here.

One marauding stream of Swedish raiders, striking southward, penetrated into Russia and occupied river towns as far south as Constantinople.

Norsemen, with as many as three to four hundred longboats, sallied forth to ravish the coasts of Britain and France. More than once, fleets of their longboats sailed up the River Seine and laid siege to Paris.

Another group of Norse raiders sailed down the coast of Europe into the Mediterranean and harassed all the shores of that inland sea.

Other far ranging Norse pirates subdued Ireland and founded several coastal towns on Ireland's shores.

Viking adventurers colonized Iceland and Greenland and Labrador and eventually traveled as far westward as America.

Much more could be written about the world-wide exploits of the Vikings but our primary interest is Scotland and the Western Isles. We shall, therefore, concentrate on the exploits of the Norsemen who harassed North Britain and the Hebrides and left their Nordic mark on the land and people that can still be seen and felt today.

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Why was Britain and Scotland such attractive targets for Viking raids? When the legions of Rome withdrew, the people of Britain fell upon hard times. It is not without reason that the period after the 6th century is known as the Age of Darkness. Teutonic tribes established their presence upon the land. Britain was in a decline. The people, who had been so enlightened during the Roman period, now wallowed in squalor and ignorance.

In this early period, Vikings were not interested in conquering and colonizing land. They wanted to pillage and plunder. The spoils from poor, squalid peasant villages could not have been a great inducement to plunderers. Why then was Britain and Scotland so attractive to the Danish and Norwegian pirates?

The answer to this question is found in the one institution that had survived the long night and prospered - the Church. But in order to understand why churches were lucrative targets it is first necessary to understand the Church itself.

Under the Celts, Britain had been a pagan land. Under Rome, Britain became a Christian land. When the darkness fell, Britain became almost pagan again. As the British Church retreated from the Teutonic onslaught to places of refuge, it languished and likely would have died were it not for the renewed light of Christianity that returned from the West.

From Ireland, the Gospel was carried north by an Irish monk named St. Columba, a follower of St. Patrick. St. Columba was a vigorous, aggressive and authoritative man who possessed the faith and dedication necessary to found a strong Celtic Church in North Britain.

In A.D. 563, St. Columba and twelve apostles left Ireland and landed on a small island off the Ross of Mull. This island, named Iona, was given to St. Columba by the Dalriadans, and it was there that he founded the Scottish

Church. There he and his apostles built a monastery that became the sacred center of the Church. From Iona, St. Columba and his missionaries spread throughout all of northern Britain to carry the Gospel to the Scots of Dalriada, to the Picts of the north lands, to the Britons of Strathclyde and to the Angles of Northumbria.

In the process of spreading the Gospel, monastic communities were formed. Normally, these monasteries were founded in small communities or coastal settlements that were conducive to religious meditation. There was no central Church organization or control, which made the Celtic monastic system markedly different from its Roman counterpart. This difference embraced both the strength and weakness of the Celtic Church system.

The Celtic monastic strength was in its vitality and deep religious principles. Only the most vigorous and devout monks had the stamina and courage to voluntarily leave established monastic communities and go forth into the wilderness to establish new monasteries among the heathen. The weakness of the system was the ever present danger of propagating the narrow and sometimes distorted views of the abbots who, because of their isolation and lack of any centralized control and guidance, had limited means of expanding their theological knowledge and religious philosophy. In time this lack of organization would contribute to the undoing of the Celtic Church.

St. Columba died at the end of the 6th century about A.D. 599. During the final years of his life, the Roman Church, which had been following the ecclesiastical progress of the Celtic Church with much interest, began a mission to resurrect the dominant role of the Roman Church in the south of Britain. By the latter part of the 7th century the Roman effort had been successful. For all practical purposes, the island was by then Christian with the Celtic Church holding sway in the North and the Roman Church in The South.

As Britain emerged from the darkness, the ordinary people had lost all ability to read and write and the Christian Churches, whether Celtic or Roman, were the only repositories of learning and knowledge. The Church was the seat of all intellectual pursuits. The isolated monasteries, abbeys, churches and cathedrals sheltered and preserved all the history and trappings of bygone days. This virtual monopoly on learning and art made the Church indispensable to the kings and nobles of the day. The clerics became the civil servants and often served as statesmen of the Courts.

But this secular service to the kings and nobles did not come free. In the power struggles that followed the darkness, the Church exacted a tribute for its service. It fed upon its own importance and used every available means to fortify and strengthen its position and power. As the prestige of the Church grew so did its coffers.

Sin, according to the Church, was rampant upon the land and the clergy was always quick to point this out to the people. The penitent sinners of those days accepted far too literally the Churches admonition that they could receive absolution of their sins by giving expensive gifts to the Church. In this manner, the pious learned that the salvation of their souls could be a costly endeavor. For those who balked or procrastinated, the priests vivid expose of the eternal damnation of the soul was too horrible to contemplate and the sinners paid.

The treasures of the Church flourished. Surrounded by privation and squalor, almost every church, monastery and abbey possessed treasures of gold, silver and jewels. Their larders were well stocked with rich foods, wines and such other luxuries as were available.

The Church reveled in this power and wealth, but it was to pay a terrible price for its secular achievements. Like moths drawn to a flame, the Church holdings were the lures that initially attracted the horn-helmeted pagans from across the North Sea.

In the beginning, the raids were sporadic against lucrative targets of opportunity. Island monasteries and other small church communities were victims because they were isolated and because they were rich. But once the raiders had come, invariably they would come again. From experience, the Vikings learned the holy monks would rebuild their sanctuaries, restock their larders and replace their sacred treasures.

The holy monastery at Iona was sacked three times in the eleven years from A.D. 795 to 806. After the third raid, the Celtic monks realized that Iona could never be secure against the Norsemen. Their holy relics were sent away, some to Ireland and others to the Celtic Church at Dunkeld near Scone where Kenneth MacAlpin would establish the throne of the future Kingdom of Alba.

The churches and monasteries were hit hard and hit often, but the Norsemen did not restrict their raiding to only the most lucrative targets. They enjoyed debauchery as well as pillage and plunder. For diversion, they often attacked the islands of the Hebrides, which were ill-defended and always ripe for plucking.

The first recorded assault on the Hebrides was, according to Irish historians, in A.D. 795 when the Isle of Skye was devastated from end to end by the Norse. After this initial encounter, the raids against the islands increased and the Hebrides were to be dominated by the Norse for almost 500 years.

At first there were only isolated raids because the Norsemen did not enjoy long campaigns on land. Their method was to land on a shore, attack quickly and then move on to a new target. No attempts were made to colonize the ravaged islands. But this would soon change.

The overpopulation of the Norse homeland had become critical. The Norsemen, coming from such a crowded land with a harsh and severe climate, found the open spaces and less severe climatic conditions of northern Britain and the Western Isles to their liking. In summer, the longboats would visit the islands to plunder and destroy, but each year there was a tendency to linger longer before returning home. As the absences from Norway became of longer and longer duration, some Norse broke tradition and brought their wives and families to stay with them during their sojourn in the Hebrides. Other Norsemen, without families, intermarried with the native Scottish women and started families on the isles. What had started as interludes between acts of piracy was slowly becoming a voluntary resettlement.

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The encounter between Aonghus and the Norse lad was an example of this

voluntary resettlement in action.

After the initial shock, Aonghus sensed that the other boy meant him no harm. Neither spoke the others language but by signs the Norse lad beckoned for Aonghus to follow as he turned and walked away.

Now, more intrigued than frightened, Aonghus followed and after a short journey down a rocky path they came in sight of a small shallow cove that was protected from the open sea by a headland. There Aonghus received the second shock of the day.

Spread before him was a vista that momentarily brought back the old fear he had felt earlier. A Viking longboat was drawn close to shore, sunk low to the gunwales as people - a great many people Aonghus observed - hurried back and forth between boat and shore carrying and storing gear. A ring of Norse warriors ringed the perimeter, obviously on guard. Although all the newcomers were dressed characteristically in furs, Aonghus observed that not all were warriors but were a mix of women and children of all ages.

Obviously, this group had not come to plunder and, judging from the actions of the Norse youth Aonghus had just encountered, apparently meant the Scots no harm. There had been rumors that the Norse had set up permanent settlements on some of the other islands and now Aonghus knew those rumors were true.

Despite the urging by the Norse lad to continue with him on to the shore, Aonghus turned and ran quickly towards his cottage to be the first to tell his family that, for better or worse, they were to have new neighbors. The Norsemen had come again, this time not to plunder but to stay.

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At first the number of permanent Norse settlers was a trickle, but by the latter part of the 9th century the influx of Norse to North Britain assumed a new phase. They came not as isolated colonies of converted raiders but as immigrants fleeing from internal strife and dynastic quarrels at home.

After a long and bloody dynastic struggle, Harold the Fair Hair emerged as supreme ruler of Norway. Many changes were made in his new regime that disenchanted the common people. But the change that was most intolerable was the abolishment of the odal or freehold system of land tenure. In its place, Harold substituted a feudal system whereby the land was controlled by a proprietor - either king or noble - and not by the people as it had been in the past. Rather than give up their ancient cherished concept of absolute right to the land they cultivated, the Norse migrated in great numbers to North Britain and the islands off the northern and western coasts.

Recent archaeological digs in York, England have put these incoming Vikings in a new light. They dispel the myth that the Vikings were good only at seafaring and battle. Conclusive evidence from York proves that by the year A.D. 866, the Vikings had established a thriving center of trade in what they called Jorvik (York). It is estimated that as many as 30,000 Vikings inhabited the town. Artifacts confirm that the Vikings were indeed the terrifying sea raiders of lore but also show that they were skilled craftsmen who could adapt

to a settled, rich and civilized life style. The Vikings made Jorvik a great trading center with imports from all the known world; silks from the Far East, amber from the Baltic, pottery from the Rhineland and cowrie shells from the Indian Ocean are examples of their items of trade. The Vikings maintained their influence in Jorvik until the time of the Conquest in 1066.

Whether gained by fire and sword or by peaceful colonization, by the end of the 9th century, the Norse controlled a sizable part of Scottish soil. By A.D. 875, there were large Norse settlements in Caithness and Sutherland. The Orkneys and Shetlands were colonized and loosely ruled by jarls (earls) nominally subject to the King of Norway. The Norse had also colonized the Inner and Outer Hebrides as far south as the shores of Ireland.

Obviously the Scots did not give up their lands willingly. There were long and bitter confrontations, but in the end the Norse dominated and, over the centuries, fused their blood with the Scottish inhabitants of the lands they controlled. In so doing, the Norse passed on their indomitable, freedom-loving spirit as well as their love of the land. The Gaelic concept of land tenure was not unlike that of the Norse newcomers so that each tended to reinforce the rebellious spirit of the other.

Normally, the control of the King of Norway over his Scottish territory was remote and weak. But, by the latter part of the 9th century, the rebelliousness of the outer provinces had become so open and active that Harold the Fair Hair sent Ketil Flatnose to subdue the troublesome Scottish Vikings in the Hebrides. Instead of carrying out Harold's wishes, Ketil Flatnose renounced his allegiance to Harold, aligned himself with the rebels, set himself up as king of the islands and began a period of conquest of his own.

From the Hebrides, the Norse under Ketil invaded the mainland. They were successful and eventually a large part of the Scottish kingdom came under Norse control. The Norse invaders pushed inland almost as far as Dunkeld near Perth. Three Scottish Kings would die in battle trying to stem the Nordic tide. In the end it was not Scottish prowess that halted the Norse advance but an inherent lack of organization and logistic skills. The weary Scots were happy to sue for peace and to agree on their respective spheres of influence.

Further south the Norse were also successful against other people. They gained territory along the Solway Firth in that part of the Kingdom of Strathclyde that was known as Galloway. There they intermarried with the earlier Gaelic settlers and created a fiery, quarrelsome people now known as the Gallgaels.

The high-water mark of the Norse incursion into Scotland is illustrated in Figure 6. The Norse kept what they had gained in the north of Scotland and in the Western Isles, but their hold on the lands of the western Highlands was always tenuous due to internal dissension and strife. Nevertheless, the Viking influence on Scotland was great. For almost two centuries their presence would be felt upon the land until, in the year 1140, a new hero would emerge who would drive the Norse from the mainland and who would capitalize on this achievement and become the first Lord of the Isles.

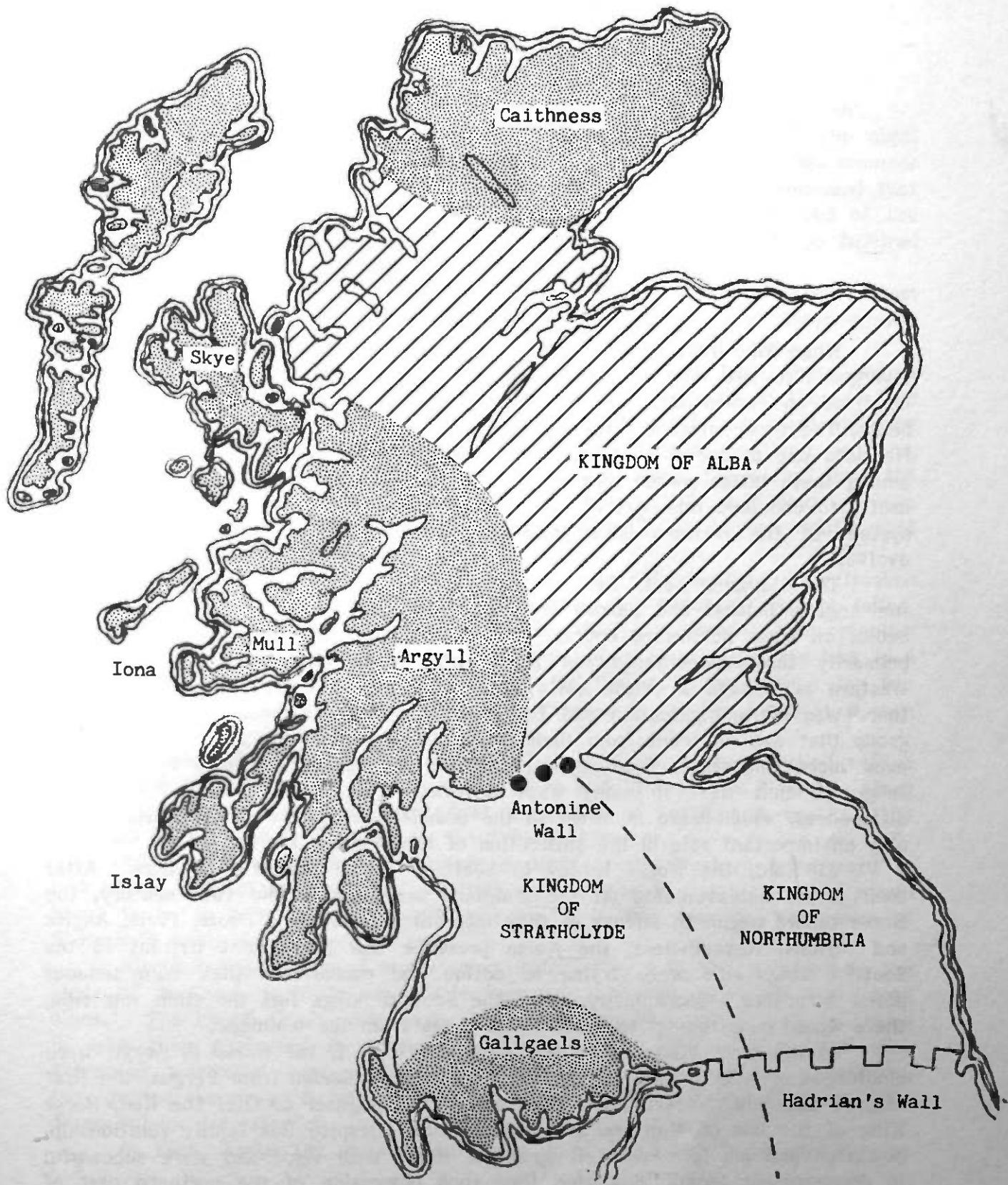


Figure 6. The shaded areas indicate those parts of Scotland that were under the control or influence of the Vikings at the high-water mark of the Norse domination. The mainland holding in Argyll and Inverness were tenuous, but their control of Caithness and the Western Isles was secure.

THE LORDS OF THE ISLES

When the Irish Scoti moved northward from the coast of Antrim they diverged into two migratory streams. One stream branched northeast onto the mainland and essentially produced what has been referred to as the Mainland Scots. The other stream flowed north and northwest into the Inner and Outer Hebrides and produced what has been referred to as the Hebridean Scots. It is among these latter people that we will find the MacGillivrays of Skye and it is useful to conclude this part of the history with a brief overview of the political system of the western isles under which the MacGillivrays of Skye would evolve.

The Mainland Scots first came in contact with the Picts and later with the Angles, Britons and Saxons and still later with the Norse. The Hebridean Scots, on their northward course, had some early contact with the Picts but primarily they encountered the Norse who were moving south through the Western Isles even in those early days. Thus, very early in Scottish history there was an amalgamation and fusing of these various people into a distinct group that was different from their progenitors - the Irish Celts - and, what is even more important, this major group was further divided into two Scottish subgroups that were in many ways different from each other. These basic differences, which were manifest in the islanders fiery, rebellious spirit, was to play an important role in the unification of the Scottish kingdom.

All told, the Norse legacy in Scotland lasted almost 500 years. After their initial achievements on the mainland beginning in the 10th century, the Norse tenure began to diffuse as they intermingled with the Scots, Picts, Angles and Britons. Nevertheless, the Norse presence was a constant irritant to the Scottish kings who were trying to define and consolidate their own tenuous power structure. Sporadically, when the Scottish kings felt the time was ripe, there would be attempts to remove the Norse from the mainland.

In the year 1150, during the reign of David I, the Norse in Argyll were challenged by a Scot named Somerled, who was descended from Fergus, the first king of Dalriada. Somerled was married to the daughter of Olaf the Red, Norse King of the Isle of Man and the Western Isles. Despite this family relationship, Somerled and his followers fell upon the Norse with vigor and were successful in dispossessing them. Somerled then took possession of the northern part of present Argyll, including part of Inverness. As a reward for displacing the Norse from that part of Scotland, King David made Somerled Thane of Argyll.

Soon thereafter, Olaf died and his son, Godred, inherited the title to the Isle of Man and the Western Isles. Godred was a tyrannical ruler and soon the islanders revolted against him. Somerled gave leadership and assistance to the

islanders in this revolt, despite the fact that Godred was his wife's brother.

Somerled and the islanders defeated Godred and his forces on the night of Epiphany in the year 1156. Somerled then claimed the title Rex Insularum or Lord of the Isles. Figure 7 shows the islands and that part of the mainland that was originally under the control of the Thane of Argyll and the Lord of the Isles. Control of this territory would be disputed for the next three hundred years.

Somerled's reign was brief. In the year 1164, he led his forces against Malcolm IV, newly crowned King of Scotland. Somerled was treacherously murdered during the campaign and his lands passed to his three sons.

Despite Somerled's assertion that he was Lord of the Isles, those islands were still under the titular control of the King of Norway. Just as the presence of the Norse on the mainland had provoked the Scots, their continued presence in the Hebrides was also a constant irritant to the kings of Scotland. In 1249, King Alexander II of Scotland mounted a campaign to wrest the islands from the tenuous control of Norway. Alexander was unsuccessful and died on the expedition. Fourteen years later his son, Alexander III, would accomplish what his father had failed to do.

First, King Alexander III tried to purchase the Hebrides from King Haakon IV of Norway, but Haakon refused to sell. When this peaceful attempt failed, Alexander sent the Earl of Ross to subdue the rebellious islanders and establish Scottish control over Norway's island territories. Ross went about his task in a bloody fashion. As an example, he inflicted terrible atrocities against the Isle of Skye by devastating the land, burning churches and putting innocent women and children to the sword.

In 1263, when King Haakon learned of these cruel deeds he sailed with a Norse fleet to the Western Isles to avenge Skye and to reinforce Norway's claim to the islands. Haakon was defeated at the Battle of Largs and, in 1266, the Hebrides were ceded to Scotland by the Treaty of Perth.

After almost 500 years of Norse dominance, the Western Isles were at last under Scottish control. But Scottish control was in name only and would prove to be as nebulous as Norway's had been. In this vacuum, the power of Somerled's descendants began to grow.

Although the Treaty of Perth gave titular control of the Hebrides to the kings of Scotland, it made very little impression on the chiefs of the island clans.¹ The island chiefs were never completely subdued. They were judicious in who they supported in Scotland's wars and when they did go out they extracted territorial concessions from the Scottish kings. More importantly, they gained the power to rule their island possessions as they saw fit with little or no outside interference.

In 1306, Angus Og, great-great grandson of Somerled, befriended Robert

1. By the 13th century, the expression "clan" had become the popular way to describe the Scottish social structure. "Clann" is a Gaelic word meaning "children." In its original context, it meant descent from a common forefather. Later the word clan encompassed all who swore allegiance to a chief of a clan.

the Bruce and gave him shelter and refuge during the early days of his bid for the Scottish Crown. Angus Og and his clan were with Robert at Bannockburn. After the War for Independence was won, Robert the Bruce (now King Robert I) rewarded Angus Og with increased lands and position in the islands.

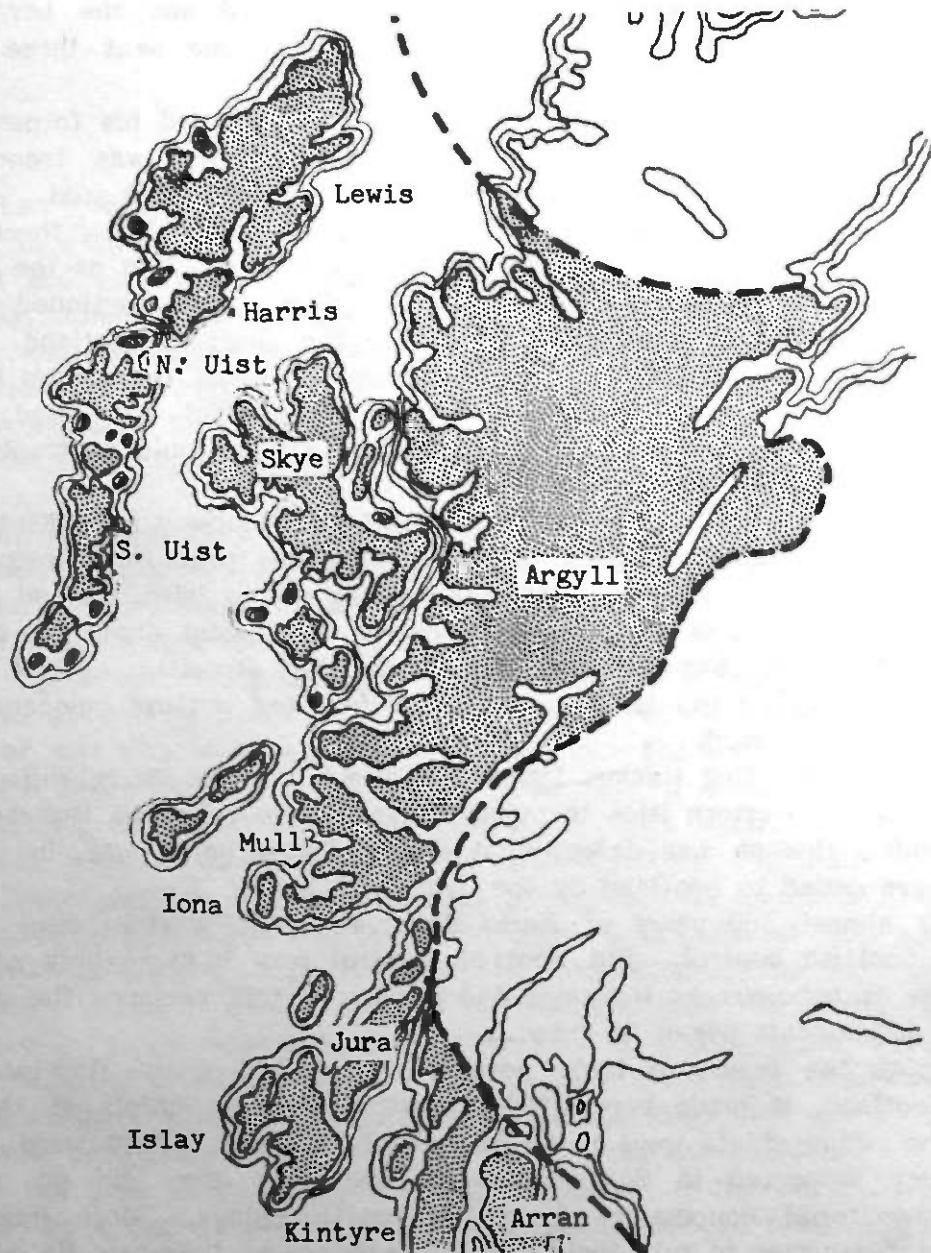


Figure 7. The parts of Scotland originally under the control of the Thane of Argyll and the Lords of the Isles.

When Angus Og died, his son John, who would be known as "good John of Isla," succeeded him and assumed the title of "Lord of the Isles." John was the first of four successive chiefs who would bear that title.

Good John of Isla died in 1386 and his son, Donald of Islay, became the

second Lord of the Isles and the progenitor of the Clans Donald. In 1411, he also claimed the Earldom of Ross through his wife. This claim, however, was contested. Donald sought a solution to this impasse by the most expedient means available. He raised the largest clan army that had ever been assembled and marched against his foes.

Initially, Donald and his army of clansmen were successful in their mainland campaign as they marched eastward into Aberdeenshire. There they met the troops of the Earl of Mar at Harlaw. The battle was long and extremely costly in lives, but was not decisive. Donald's islanders claimed victory, but the bloodshed was in vain. The Earldom of Ross was given to a cousin of the King. Later King James I restored the Earldom of Ross to Donald's wife, and when Donald died his son, Alexander Macdonald, became the third Lord of the Isles and, through his mother, the 11th Earl of Ross.

The Earldom of Ross was a feudal title granted by the King. The Lordship of the Isles, on the other hand, was a heritable claim by the descendants of Somerled. The Lords firmly believed themselves to be independent of any central authority, and believed just as firmly their power was an extension of the ancient Gaelic (Celtic) political system that had begun in Ireland and had been nurtured for centuries in the Highlands of Dalriada. The Lords of the Isles, as well as the island people, passionately believed themselves to be the true representatives of what remained of the Kingdom of Dalriada.

The spirit of freedom and independence that had been so characteristic of their Gaelic and Norse forefathers remained a vital driving force in the clansmen of the Western Isles. The Lords of the Isles held the loyalty of the Clan Donald as well as the other island clans, and under their leadership they were ready to reassert their independence at every opportunity.

The center of government of the Lords of the Isles was at Finlaggan on the Isle of Islay. There they were inaugurated with full Gaelic honors and ceremony and they had their own Court and attendants. Martin Martin, writing in about 1695, offers this description of the inauguration ceremony.

"...There was a big Stone of seven Foot square, in which there was a deep Impression made to receive the Feet of Mack-Donald; for he was crown'd King of the Isles standing in this Stone, and swore that he would continue his Vassals in the possession of their Lands, and do exact Justice to all his Subjects: and then his Father's Sword was put in his hand. The Bishop of Argyle and seven Priests anointed him King, in presence of all the Heads of the Tribes in the Isles and Continent, and were his Vassals; at which time the Orator rehears'd a Catalogue of his Ancestors, etc."

The Lords of the Isles granted charters for land in their domain in the same formal way as any other reigning monarch. It was these assumptions of the royal prerogatives that continuously displeased the Scottish kings and eventually would lead to the dissolution of the Lordship of the Isles.

The fourth and last Lord of the Isles - and the 12th Earl of Ross - was John Macdonald, son of Alexander. We have noted that the Lords of the Isles

were never completely loyal to the Scottish Crown and, in 1462, John aligned his clan with Edward IV of England against the King of Scotland. This action displeased James III so much that when he made a treaty with Edward one of the stipulations was that Edward would renounce all interest in John Macdonald of the Isles. As soon as the treaty was in effect, James III fell upon the Clan Macdonald and, in 1469, forced John Macdonald to submit and surrender the Earldom of Ross to the Scottish Crown.

James III of Scotland died in 1488. Very soon after the new king, James IV, was crowned, John Macdonald and his men of the Isles landed on the mainland to reclaim the Earldom of Ross. They were defeated and, in 1493, the titular position of Lord of the Isles was abolished. However, it was not until the year 1505 that the islands were finally subdued and brought under full Scottish control.

James IV kept the Earldom of Ross and the title Lord of the Isles also reverted to the Crown. Today the title is vested in His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. Benevolently, King James confirmed many of the land charters that had been given by the Lords of the Isles so that the recipients then held their lands directly from the Crown. As we shall see, this action would have an indirect effect on the MacGillivrays of Skye.

* * * * *

We began this brief historical odyssey at the dawn of man's appearance on what is now Scottish soil, and we followed his descendants through the various cultural ages as they struggled to rise above obscurity. We stressed the origin and history of the Celtic people who moved westward from Asia Minor across Europe into Britain where they were subdued by the Romans and finally found their sanctuary in Ireland. From Ireland the Celts (Gaels) moved northward to provide the Celtic rootstock of a unified Scottish kingdom. The long bitter struggle between the Scots and Picts was briefly noted, as was the final dissolution and absorption of the Picts by the dominant Scots. The assimilation of the Angles and Britons was alluded to, but not in detail, because that part of history is not germane to this story. Next, the Norsemen entered the picture and pumped a fifth bloodline into Scottish veins. In the process, the Norse played a major role in the early history of Scotland as the two groups vied for dominance and control on both the mainland and the western islands. Finally, the fortunes and misfortunes - or more appropriately the rise and fall - of the Lords of the Isles brought this brief historical narrative to a close.

What happened in the past was a prologue to the future, and it is appropriate that this first part of the history should end in the Western Isles for those islands were the stage where the MacGillivrays of Skye would play their destined role.

At some point in this brief narrative we would like to say with confidence, "This is where the MacGillivrays first entered onto the stage of history." We know it happened. Every family or clan has a beginning. But the thrill of knowing when and where the MacGillivrays of Skye first emerged may

never be fully ours because the progenitors of the MacGillivrays were - like the Cuillins of Skye - shrouded in the mists of time. They first appear as shadowy figures whose identity and form become clearer as the history of the Western Isles evolves.

Unraveling this tangled web is the next task.

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The origin of all mankind was the same; it is only a clear
and a good conscience that makes a man noble,
for that is derived from heaven itself.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 4 B.C.-65 A.D.

The true past departs not; no truth or goodness realized by man ever
dies, or can die; but all is still here, and, recognized
or not, lives and works through endless changes

Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881

PART TWO

THE ORIGIN

It is not social change alone which is the challenge. It is the rate of change. That rate of change has been vastly accelerated by numerous factors. Peril lies not in change but in that tremendous rate of change.

William O. Douglas, 1898-1980

A TIME OF CHANGE

Every clan or family has a beginning. But identifying this point of origin is never easy, and more often than not it falls into the impossible category. This is generally true for Scottish Highland families and surnames.

Most authorities agree that the earliest identifiable Scottish surnames date only from about the 12th century. Even then, the adoption of the surname method of identification depended almost entirely upon the geographic location and the social conditions that prevailed at that time. For this reason it is useful to review these conditions to help develop a better understanding of where the MacGillivrays of Skye came from.

The need for surnames arose shortly after the Conquest when William the Conqueror ordered a statistical survey of England. To help clarify and understand the statistics that would be generated by this survey, William decreed that the Anglo-Saxons adopt the French practice of using surnames. In 1085-86, the results of this survey were published in what has become known as the Doomsday Book. Many English surnames date from that time.

But this brings up a logical question. How did William's decree affect Scotland and how could it have any effect on Scottish surnames? Supposedly, England and Scotland were two separate, independent kingdoms. Separate? Yes! Independent? Not entirely! Nations were hardly recognizable as such in the 11th and 12th centuries. The common people had almost no nationalistic spirit, and were little affected by borders. But the nobles were a different matter. Nobility recognized borders but, because of their class and social status, nobles in one country had much in common with their peers in adjacent lands. Often they were bound together by blood. Thus, by the 12th century, a duality of interest had formed between the nobles of England and Scotland that would help stimulate the flow of Norman ideas to the North and have an effect on Scottish surnames.

If a happening, such as the spread of vested interests across England and Scotland's borders, can be said to have an identifiable beginning it would have to be in 1040 when MacBeth, of Shakespeare fame, slew Duncan I, King of Scotland, and ascended the throne. Duncan's two sons, both of whom would later become kings of Scotland, were dispersed for safety to diametrically opposite cultural environments. Malcolm, the older son known as Canmore or Bighead, was sent to England where he grew up under the tutelage and culture of the Norman court. The younger son, Donald Bane, was sent to the Hebrides where he grew to manhood under the influence of Norse chieftans and island Celts, both of whom were completely out of touch with European thought and culture.

In the year 1058, Malcolm III (Canmore) became King of Scotland and, in 1069, took as his second wife Margaret Atheling, who in her youth had also spent considerable time at the English court. Because of this exposure, both Malcolm and Margaret developed strong interest and sympathy for the French ideas and customs. As Queen, Margaret was determined to improve the Scottish court and she devoted much time and energy to bring about changes patterned after the Normans. Also much of her time was spent revitalizing the Celtic Church, and it is for this pious action that she has been canonized a Saint.

In 1093, upon Malcolm's death, his brother Donald Bane was elected king in accordance with the ancient Celtic tradition of tanistry, whereby a brothers claim to the Crown could be stronger than a son's. King Donald, then sixty years old, was to be the last Celtic king to sit on the Scottish throne. His reign was brief and, being doggedly opposed to the Norman changes instituted in his country by his brother and his wife, his energy was expended trying to stem the Norman tide. His efforts, however, were to prove only a minor barrier and when he left the throne in 1097, Malcolm Canmore's sons ascended and the flow of Norman ideas and personalities began anew.

David I, Malcolm's son, ascended the throne of Scotland in 1124 and reinstated the social and political changes that had been started by Malcolm and Margaret. David had spent much of his life in England and was, in fact, a prominent Norman baron with extensive land holdings in England. He had also married a Norman heiress. Thus, the renewed Norman interest at the Scottish court had fertile ground in which to grow.

* * * * *

But all this is academic unless it can be related to the environment of those who would be most affected by the cultural changes being introduced into Scotland - the common people. What was this environment like at the beginning of David's reign? Life in Scotland was primitive and brutal to say the least. The common people lived in buildings made of woven sticks and twigs called wattles. Towns hardly existed. The economy was based on an unproductive form of agriculture. Trade and services were in bartered goods because there was no currency. The feudal system had not yet come to Scotland. Allegiance was given to local chieftans who guarded their independence jealously and were reluctant to recognize any higher authority. The different parts of Scotland were separated from each other by uninhabited mountains and vast moors. The inhabitants of these isolated communities spoke dialects that were often incomprehensible to others who were not of their community. The social concept that later developed into the Highland clans sprang from this environment.

The Romans had never colonized Scotland, and one of the consequences was the absence of a good road network characteristic of other Roman colonies. The roads that existed - if they could be called roads - were just paths that were difficult to travel at best and impossible in times of foul weather. Travel was almost exclusively by waterways or by foot. The lack of roads, plus the inborn clannishness of the people, made travel and

communication between communities almost non-existent.

The one institution that was a unifying and stabilizing influence for the people of other lands was missing in Scotland - the Church. The Celtic Church, the legacy of St. Columba, was exceptionally strong in faith but notoriously weak in administration and organization. This would ultimately lead to its absorption by the Roman Church, but, more importantly, the lack of unity and organization furthered the clannishness that was dividing the kingdom. There were no parishes in 12th century Scotland.

Briefly, this is a picture of the Scotland that David I inherited when he ascended the throne. When he came to Scotland he brought many of the Norman customs and ideas he so much admired. He also brought with him many Norman people who changed the character of the court. Included in this Norman contingent were the ancestors of the Bruces and the Stewarts, who were destined to become future kings of Scotland.

The Normans use of land was based on feudal principles that required that the land be managed by men responsible to the King. Shortly after being crowned, David awarded large Scottish estates to his Norman friends and feudalism was introduced as a new way of life and social development.

The common people of Scotland apparently suffered few changes or ill effects from the new feudal system. They still worked the same plots of ground in the same age-old manner. The only tangible difference was that they now reported to a Norman baron rather than to the King. Perhaps they had to work a little harder because suddenly, in addition to agriculture, the peasants found themselves in the role of building castles.

The Normans doted on castles. A castle was a symbol of feudal power; a means of maintaining feudal authority. Many castles were built in Scotland by the new nobility, each requiring its own retinue of minor officials and artisans. Ritchie¹ lists clerks, bailies, falconers, fletchers, foresters, porters, carpenters, masons, tailors, smiths, coopers and others who held positions at the new castles. In many cases the occupations gradually evolved into surnames familiar to us today.

This explains, at least in part, how the use of surnames evolved for the Lowland Scots who were associated with the Normans, but does almost nothing to explain the evolution of surnames in the Highlands. This is a subject in itself. Even information on early Lowland surnames is sketchy at best because the common people spoke Gaelic and were universally illiterate. The new nobles spoke French. The literate class, which was generally the clerics of the Church, spoke and wrote Latin. Consequently, the Scottish people almost never made it into the early written records, and this deficiency haunts us today as we attempt to trace Scottish families and ancestors.

David patterned the administration of his realm along Norman lines. From the royal household, he chose officials to sit with Bishops of the Church as a high-level council whose duty was to advise the King, receive his

1. Ritchie, Robt. L. Graeme, The Normans in Scotland, (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1954), pp. 305-315.

instructions and to handle the difficult problems of administration. Reporting to this council were justiciars who were appointed by the King to travel throughout the land and hear judicial cases and settle political problems. David also appointed Sheriffs, although, at that time, there were no shires. What David was attempting to do was to establish for Scotland a national system of administration and justice; a beginning of rule by law and order similar to the emerging English system of common law.

In England, the King's judges had gradually established a system of law based on precedent. The legal system that evolved from this process insured a uniformity of justice for all men. This was a powerful concept that resulted in the legal system used in much of the world today. It was the system David tried to install in Scotland. Unfortunately, his example was not always followed by the nobles of his realm or the monarchs who came after him.

As the Scottish feudal barons grew stronger, they established their own courts of law that rendered decisions in their own way with little regard for precedent of central authority. The decisions affected only the people involved in each separate case. In the Highlands the chiefs would exercise similar authoritative control and no true system of Scottish common law ever evolved. Today, Scottish law is based largely on Roman law and is akin to that of some European countries.

* * * * *

The one factor so far untouched in this discussion is geography, which was to have a far-reaching and profound effect on the kingdom. Almost all significant political and social changes began in the South and East of Scotland, the part known as the Lowlands. The center of government had been shifted from the Highlands to the Lowlands. The Lowlands were the realm of the feudal barons. The ecclesiastical domain of the Bishops of the Church was there. For all these reasons, the early history of Scotland was primarily the history of happenings and events that took place in the Lowlands.

But Scotland is not a homogeneous land. Geographically, it is divided into two parts. Whereas the Lowlands were fairly open and the natives were generally amenable to the social and political changes imposed upon them by outsiders, the other part of Scotland was isolated both by geography and the character of the people and changes were slow to be accepted.

There begins at Cape Wrath, on the far north coast of Sutherland, a rugged mountain chain that runs south for more than 150 miles. There it joins another mountainous area and together they form what has become known as the Highland heart of Scotland. Early historians knew the north-south mountain range as the Drumalban from the Gaelic "Druimalbann," which literally means the ridge or back of Alban (Scotland). Today we know these mountains as the Northwest Highlands.

Early historians knew the other mountainous area as the Mounth or the mountains south of the Dee. Today we know them as the Grampians. Together, the rugged, lofty peaks of both ranges were an effective obstacle to travel except at a few isolated mountain passes. The Highlands formed by the

Drumalban and Mounth are illustrated in Figure 8, which shows that the so-called Highland Line was, and is, an effective boundary between the two parts of Scotland.

In the historical summation in the previous chapters, we traced the migration of the Scotti from Ireland to their Scottish kingdom of Dalriada. The limits of the initial Dalriadic expansion are also illustrated in Figure 8 where it can be seen that the Celtic (Gaelic) stronghold was almost exclusively in the mountainous areas of the West.

There, in the Western Highlands and Islands, was the very heart of Gaelic Scotland. It was there that the dream of a Gaelic empire remained alive. It was there that the Gaels fought to maintain their ancient ways and resist the changes that were being made in the Lowlands. It was there that the clan system reached its highest state of development with all the accompanying glory and romance that has survived to this day. It was there that we shall find the MacGillivrays of Skye.

Isolated by the geographic barrier of the Drumalban and Mounth and also by the ethnic barrier of Celtic pride, Argyll, Galloway and the Western Isles remained the major strongholds of the Celts. There the Gaelic Highlanders clung jealously to their Celtic heritage and way of life. Gaelic thought prevailed and the people lived by the Gaelic principles their ancestors had brought from Ireland. The Gaelic leaders guarded their prerogatives and when change did come to the Highlands it was usually the result of force or other punitive measures or from sheer economic necessity. Another reason why change was slow coming to this western part of Scotland was because the Norse dominated the region until late in the 13th century.

But, as the Scottish monarchs grew stronger and more powerful they realized they could no longer tolerate a divided kingdom if Scotland was ever to achieve greatness. So they set out to unify the kingdom. The inaccessible and thoroughly Celtic province of Galloway was finally brought under Scottish control when Alan, the last of the Celtic Lords, died in 1234. Argyll, the other center of Gaelic resistance, encouraged by the presence of the Norse, resisted the Scottish kings until the Norse rule ended in 1263. The Western Isles remained troublesome for the Scottish kings until the Lordship of the Isles was abolished in 1493 and finally passed to the Crown in 1505.

The assumption of control of the Highlands and Islands by the Scottish Crown brought the changes that had been bitterly resisted for so long. Gaelic began to be replaced by the English language. Gaelic Christian names and surnames began to be Anglicized. Although we may grieve over the passing of the romantic Celtic era, the process of Anglicization allowed individuals and families to emerge from the mists of time and to attain identities. It was now possible to find, tentatively at least, those island Scots who would bear the surname MacGillivray and whose descendants would become the MacGillivrays of Skye.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS

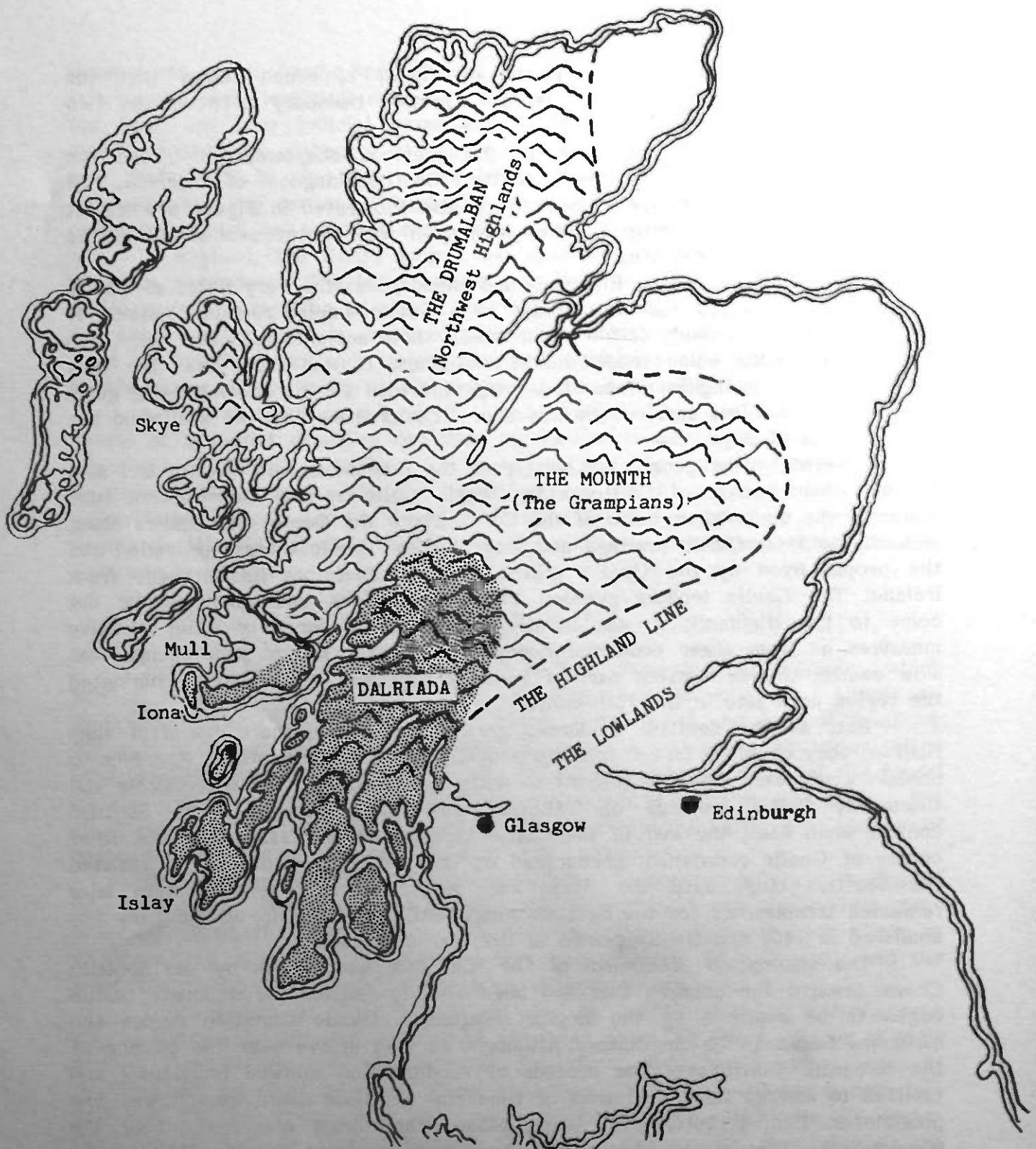


Figure 8. An illustration of the two geographic parts of Scotland separated distinctly by the Highland Line. Also shown is the original Kingdom of Dalriada buffered behind the Highland Line.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

"What's in a name?" Juliet asks.

Without waiting for an answer she continues, "That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."¹

Although these words convey Shakespeare's poetic sentiments quite well, the thoughts they imply are completely unacceptable to a genealogist or, for that matter, anyone interested in finding their ancestors. Names are important. They are the building blocks with which pedigrees and family histories are made. Names are the elusive threads that allows us to trace the roots of a family backward in time. Without names the task would be virtually impossible. Yes, names are important, but they weren't always considered so.

What is a name? The classic definition is: A word or phrase by which a person, place or thing is known. But, of course, Alasdair MacGillivray could not have known this definition. Dictionaries were not commonplace items on the Isle of Skye in the 18th century.

Like most people, Alasdair had always taken names for granted. He had never given the subject much thought until recently when Mr. Beverly,² the schoolmaster from Aberdeen, had started a discussion in the classroom on the origin of Scottish surnames. His observations had whetted Alasdair's appetite for more information on the subject of surnames, especially the name MacGillivray.³

On rare occasions, Alasdair had listened to the Macdonald sennachie extol the virtues of the Macdonalds including their heroic deeds and, more importantly, how they had come to be called Macdonald. But the MacGillivrays of Skye, being only a minor clan, had no sennachie to keep their history straight. Only a few fragments of MacGillivray lore were told around the winter fires; bits and pieces of oral history that had been handed down from generation to generation. As far as Alasdair could remember there had never been a discussion on how the MacGillivrays got their name. If it was ever known, apparently it was long since forgotten.

1. Shakespeare, William, Romeo and Juliet, Act III, Scene II, 47.

2. MacPherson, Rev. Martin, "The Parish of Sleat," in The Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XVI, (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1795), p. 539.

3. From the Gaelic "Seanchaidh" meaning a storyteller.

Nevertheless, the origin of the MacGillivray surname puzzled Alasdair and he pondered all the unanswered questions as he strolled the path through the heather towards his fathers cottage.

* * * *

Unfortunately, Alasdair would never find the answers to the questions he was asking about the MacGillivray surname. Even with the vast reservoir of knowledge available today, finding answers to questions concerning the MacGillivray surname is a challenging task; one that must be approached in a logical manner. But, before we can come to grips with the specifics of the MacGillivray surname, it is essential to have a general understanding of how Scottish surnames evolved.

The use of surnames did not begin in the British Isles until after 1066 when William the Conquer decreed that Anglo-Saxons should adopt the French practice of using surnames to facilitate record keeping, census taking and the general administration of the island. The practice spread slowly, and many English surnames date only from the 13th and 14th centuries. In Wales the use of surnames came much later. In some of the remote parts of Scotland, surnames did not appear in regular use until the 17th century.⁴ Few clan names are traceable before the 13th century.

However, the lack of surnames was not a problem in medieval Scotland. The close-knit clan system was the dominant social structure and individual Scots were identified by one of five ways.⁵

First, there were the patronymics which were the names inherited from the father. For example, in Gaelic "Ian macDhomhnail mhic Aonghuis" quite adequately identified John as the son of Donald who was the son of Angus.

A second method of identification was by occupation. An example is "Coinneach Gobha" which identified Kenneth the Smith.

A third method of identification was by an adjective denoting some personal or physical attribute. For example, "Uillean Ruadh" identified William the Red and "Colla Clotach" aptly described Coll the Left-handed.

The fourth method of identification was by use of an adjective denoting the place from which an individual came or was fostered. Examples include "Iain Muideartach" which identified John from Moidart and "Tormod Uigeach" that informed everyone that Norman was from Uig.

And the fifth and final method of Scottish identification was by the use of a nickname.

In the Gaelic speaking communities of the Scottish Highlands, people were almost always identified by one of the methods described above. In some of

4. Pine, Leslie G., The Story of Surnames, (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1966).

5. Matheson, William, Highland Surnames, (Inverness: An Comunn Gaidhealach, The Gaelic Society, Abertarff House, 1973), p. 1.

the remoter areas of the Highlands they are still identified in this same manner today.

The Highlanders need for surnames arose only when the members of a Gaelic community needed to identify strangers or, as was the usual case, when they themselves had to be identified by others not of their community. Usually this happened when the Gaelic identifier had to be Anglicized to satisfy some official or legal requirement.

These Anglicized versions of the Gaelic identifiers are the ones we are familiar with today, and therein lies the crux of the Scottish surname problem. More often than not, the Anglicized versions of Highland names bear only a faint resemblance to the Gaelic identifiers from which they are derived. Moreover, the English derivations frequently lead to erroneous interpretations of the Scottish surnames. A few examples will illustrate the scope of the problem.⁶

The surname Morrison is an excellent example. Strictly speaking this surname has no place in the Highlands. It is a surname of Lowland Scots or even the English. However, it has gained usage in the Highlands because it bears a faint resemblance to several Gaelic identifiers. It follows then that a Morrison from the Lowlands or England would be no blood relation to a Morrison from the Hebrides. Furthermore, natives of the Hebrides who bear the surname Morrison may themselves be of different ancestral stock from other natives who live close by and who also bear the same surname. Confusing? Yes, very much so. The Morrison situation came about in this manner.

Once there was a hereditary family of poets, originally from Ireland, whose Gaelic identifier was "O Muirgheasain." Their descendants on Mull are now known by the Anglicized phonetic version as Morrisons. Up to this point, the phonetic logic seems to fall into place without too much difficulty. The Gaelic Muirgheasain could easily be Anglicized to Morrison. But as we delve further into this particular case the picture quickly becomes confusing.

There are on Lewis and Harris an ecclesiastical tribe who are also called Morrison as a result of the careless Anglicization of their Gaelic identifier which was "MacGhille Mhoire" meaning "a servant of Mary the Virgin." Thus we see that the Mull and Lewis/Harris Morrison families are of different ancestral stock yet they bear the same surname.

To add an additional bit of confusion to this picture, we note that the Gaelic "MacGhille Mhoire" can be phonetically Anglicized to "MacIlvora," which is one of the surname forms MacGillivrays were known by in some of the early manuscripts.

To add a final bit of absurdity, consider the following. Some of the island Scots who use the surname Morrison derived from "Gille Mhoire" had an ancestor whose Gaelic name was "Cianan." Many related families took their Gaelic patronymic identifier from him and their surname became MacCianan. When this name was Anglicized in the Outer Hebrides it became MacKinnon. This turn of events was indeed unfortunate for genealogists for the surname

6. Matheson, Highland Surnames, pp. 4-5.

MacKinnon is also the Anglicized version of the Gaelic "MacFhionghain" which is the root of the surname of the well-known clan of Mackinnons on Skye and Mull.

In these examples we see Scots, who are of the same ancestral stock, bearing different surnames because of a careless and erroneous phonetic interpretation when the names were Anglicized. By contrast we see Scottish families of different ancestral stock who bear the same surnames because of similar erroneous phonetic interpretations.

Bearing in mind that there can be significant differences between the Gaelic identifiers and Anglicized surnames, we can now take a more detailed look at the surname MacGillivray to try to derive its origin and meaning.

* * * * *

The rationale for the surname MacGillivray began in Gaul which was once Celtic domain. Many of the early Gaulish names implied a deference to the pagan gods. For example, the modern Germanic name Siegfried means "protection through strength." In pagan Gaul, the root word from which the name Siegfried evolved implied the bearer of that name was a slave of Wotan. In this case, slave meant a follower, not a drudge.

The Celts carried the policy of deference in names to Ireland and Scotland. Before the advent of Christianity, the connotation of a slave was embodied by the Celtic word "Maol" which implied one who had a shaved head, which was the hallmark of a slave or servant. Therefore, the use of the word "Maol" in a surname identified an individual who supposedly was a servant or follower of some other person.

Black carried this argument a step further and defined the bearer of the early Celtic modifier "Mael or Maol" as one bald or tonsured like a priest. Here "Maol" had a religious connotation and indicated the person with that name modifier was a servant or devotee of a saintly person. For example, "Maol Mhoire" identified a servant or follower of St. Mary the Virgin. The bearer of the name "Maol Phadruig" was a follower of St. Patrick.

After Christianity was established in the Highlands, names gradually took on a more personal nature and the modifier "Maol" was joined by the Gaelic modifier "mac" which means "the son of." The concept of servants or followers was retained, however, but the modifier "Maol" was gradually replaced by the Gaelic word "Ghille." Thus, the earlier "Maol Mhoire" became "Ghille Mhoire" and "Maol Phadruig" became "Ghille Phadruig," identifying followers of St. Mary and St. Patrick respectively. Sometimes the second possessive noun in a surname took a definite article. For example, "Ghille na naoimh" identified a "servant of the Saints."

With this background, we can begin to converge on the origin and meaning of the surname MacGillivray. We now have the modifier "mac" and the

7. Black, George E., The Surnames of Scotland, (New York: New York Public Library, 1946. Reprinted 1962 & 1965).

noun "Ghille" to enter as the first bits of evidence. Two thirds of the puzzle appear to be solved. The remaining part of the problem is to determine the genitive case of a common Gaelic noun identifier that completes the Anglicized surname MacGillivray - the "vray" part.

We find a clue in the pronunciation of the surname itself. The Old Gaelic pronunciation of MacGillivray was much different than it is pronounced today. The Gaels stressed the importance of the noun identifier we are searching for by putting accent stress on the last part of the name and not on the first part as it is pronounced in English today. It follows from this that we should be searching for a Gaelic root noun that begins with a sound like the English letter "v."

There are at least two Gaelic consonants that satisfy this requirement. First, take the Gaelic consonant "m" as it appears in the Gaelic identifier "MacGille-Mhoire," where the consonant has been lenited or softened by the addition of the letter "h." We have encountered this Gaelic identifier before and know it identifies a "son of a follower of St. Mary." It is true the Gaelic consonant "mh" aspirates as an English letter "v" and if we pronounce "MacGhille-Mhoire" with the "v" sound it sounds suspiciously like MacGillivray. But we have also shown that Gille-Mhoire was Anglicized to the surname Morrison. Therefore, we must look further.

There is another Gaelic consonant "bh" that aspirates to the sound of the English letter "v," where the consonant has been lenited or softened by the addition of the letter "h." It follows from this observation that it might prove fruitful to look for a Gaelic noun that begins with a "b" or "bh," pronounced as an English "v." Such a noun might provide an acceptable common identifier to complete the surname MacGillivray.

This concept is not new and there were several early attempts to use this approach to explain how the surname MacGillivray evolved. None of them offer a completely satisfactory solution. The Siol Gillebride theory promulgated by Skene is an example.⁸ In this theory, Skene cites an old Macdonald sennachie who claimed that, in the time of Somerled, the principal surnames of Morvern, Ardgour and Lochaber were the MacGillivrays and the MacInnes who were the same race.

Skene further professes that the surname MacGillivray evolved from the Gaelic name "Gillebride." If credence could be given to this theory then the MacGillivrays would be of the same ancestral stock as Somerled, whose patronymic was "Somerled mor MacGillebride" from his father Gillebride, who was the "Rig Eilean Shider" or "King of the Southern Isles."⁹ Here the Gaelic "Gillebride" has been interpreted as a follower of St. Bridget or St. Bride, an Irish Saint.

Another traditional tale states that the surname MacGillivray evolved

8. Skene, William F., The Highlanders of Scotland, (London: John Murray, 1836), p. 247.

9. Skene, The Highlanders of Scotland, p. 247.

from the Gaelic "Gille-bhraige," which means the "fair young man of the braes." Brae is the Scottish word for sloping bank or hill.

This version stems from the saga of a young man of MacIntosh stock who committed a serious crime from which he had to flee his home country on the mainland. He fled to the Island of Mull and took refuge on a brae. Eventually he married the daughter of a holy man and gained respectability. Not wishing to reveal his true identity he retained the name by which he had come to be known, "Gille-bhraige" which means the young man of the braes. According to this story, the Gaelic identifier "MacGille-bhraige" would have Anglicized to the present form of MacGillivray when the "bh" was pronounced as an English "v."

This branch of the clan is supposed to have remained on Mull and flourished. Their village in Glencannel was called Bradil. In ancient Gaelic the name had a monastic connotation. In modern Gaelic it means a village on the side of a hill.

While on the subject of the MacGillivrays of Mull, it is appropriate to enter the following observation to illustrate how surnames can change and the difficulties we encounter in trying to follow them. Some of the MacGillivrays who resided at Glencannel on the Isle of Mull became bow and arrow makers for the MacLeans of Duart. An artisan who makes bows and arrows is known as a fletcher. Over the years these MacGillivrays gradually became known as "the fletchers." In time this change was formalized as a surname and today there are Fletchers living on Mull whose ancestral stock was once known as MacGillivray.

Another traditional tale states that the surname MacGillivray evolved from the Gaelic "MacGille-breac," which means "son of a freckled lad." This theory was supported, unfortunately, by McLan in his excellent and widely distributed book on the clans of the Scottish Highlands.¹⁰ Even today, in the back corners of Mull, some MacGillivrays still tell the legend about how their surname comes from the freckled-face lad.

Robert and George MacGillivray, in their excellent history of the clan, point out that, other than bearing a faint phonetic resemblance to the surname MacGillivray, there are no grounds for accepting any of these traditional tales of the origin of the surname.¹¹ We concur wholeheartedly with their conclusion and the search for the origin of the MacGillivray surname continues.

* * * * *

MacBain, an authority on the etymology of the Gaelic language, apparently solved the problem when he proposed that the Gaelic

10. McLan, R. R., The Clans of the Scottish Highlands, (London: Acherman & Co. Sketches by McLan, text by James Logan, 1845-1847. Republished by Alfred Knopf, New York, 1980), pp. 110-112.

11. MacGillivray, Robert and George, A History of the Clan MacGillivray, (Thunder Bay, Ontario: G. B. MacGillivray, 1973), p. 5.

"MacGille-bhrath (or MacGille-bhreith when the name is palatalized by the addition of the letters "ei") was the Gaelic identifier from which the Anglicized Scottish surname MacGillivray stems. The root noun "brath" is the Gaelic word for "judgement" and it goes back in time to the Old Irish as "breth" and to Gaul as "vergo-bretus." Therefore, the surname MacGillivray apparently translates into "the son of the servant of judgement or doom."¹²

The only part of the puzzle remaining is to interpret what the surname MacGillivray means. The word "doom" used in medieval times had a different connotation than it does today. Doom was derived from an Anglo-Saxon word that literally meant to lay down a judgement or decree. It would appear, therefore, that the surname MacGillivray evolved from the occupation or position of an individual who handed down judgements or decrees. One who was a judge or Doomster (or Deemster as they were often called) in the judiciary. Deemsters were a traditional position in the government of the Lords of the Isles.¹³

Donald Gregory, in his classic history of the Western Isles, gave additional support for the judiciary basis for the origin of the surname MacGillivray. The following is an extract from Gregory's history.¹⁴

...On 22 August 1566, Donald Macdonald Gorme protested that he was heir of [the island of] Lewis based on an alleged confession by Hucheou the Breve [the Celtic judge] of the Lewis, that a Torquil Connanach was the son of the said Breve...

...A complaint was entered with the Privy Council that Torquil Dubh was the "Usurper of Lewis." Dubh was summoned to answer the charge but hesitated to trust himself to the power of a Court where one of his enemies had so much power. He was, therefore, denounced as a rebel and soon after treacherously seized, along with several of his followers in Lewis, by the Breve (who acted at the instigation of MacKenzie and Torquil Connanach). They were delivered into the hands of MacKenzie and beheaded in July 1597...

...Neill MacLeod, who had knowledge of these actions, quarreled with his brother but continued to support the treacherous Breve and his kin, the Clan vic Gilvore, as they were called...[Underscoring added for emphasis - editors]

The above extracts, taken out of context, lack continuity, but, according

12. MacBain, Alexander, An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, Appendix B, (Inverness: Northern Counties Printing & Publishing Co., 1896), pp. 41 & 43.

13. Deemsters still hold judicial positions on the Isle of Man, which was the southern limit of the islands ruled by the Lords of the Isles.

14. Gregory, Donald, The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625, 2nd edition, (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881), pp. 213, 271 & 291.

to Gregory, they leave little doubt that a Gaelic identifier with a phonetic sound similar to the Anglicized MacGillivray had evolved into a recognizable form by the close of the sixteenth century. The expression "Clan vic Gilvore," where the "vic (or mhic)" has the same traditional Gaelic meaning as "mac," clearly translates to the "Clan of the sons of Gilvore." Obviously, the title Breve (or Celtic judge) is derived from the Gaelic "bhreith" discussed above, and the surname of his kin "Gilvore" could be a forerunner (or variation) of the Anglicized surname MacGillivray we know today.

This argument for the origin of the MacGillivray surname is supported by several imminent authorities. Black endorsed the "MacGille-bhrath" theory of origin and suggested the surname may have originally been "MacMaol-bhrath,"¹⁵ the Maol being replaced later by the more traditional Gille.

William Matheson, Senior Lecturer at the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University,¹⁶ supports the theory that MacGillivray is derived from a judicial occupation. And, Sorley MacMillan, a Scottish historian of note, pointed out that old Irish tribal customs included a Brehan or Judge and he also believed the surname MacGillivray was derived from those who exercised that function.¹⁷

We now know things about the surname MacGillivray that the early bearers of that surname on Skye could never have known. Admittedly, our present level of knowledge is based on much tradition, tempered with a few salient facts. But, we know, with a fair degree of confidence, who the MacGillivrays are, how they got their surname and what the surname means.

Buoyed by this modicum of success in developing an understanding of the MacGillivray surname, we are now ready to tackle the even more perplexing problem of determining from whence the MacGillivrays came.

15. Black, The Surnames of Scotland, p. 502.

16. Personal communication. Isle Ornsay, Isle of Skye, August 1978.

17. Personal communication to Robert MacGillivray, Edinburgh, 31 October 1968.

FROM WHENCE THEY CAME

It is an axiom of biology that every living person has ancestors that reach back to the beginning of man. In other words, the roots of a family did not spring into existence in some mystical way. There had to be a beginning; a point of origin. This fact establishes the limits of genealogy as well as defines its challenge.

But the task of finding ones roots is never easy. Very few people living today will ever be able to trace their ancestors past the Middle Ages. Even the nobility, who have had access to bards and historians throughout the ages, do not find it an easy task to trace family lines much past the 11th century. What hope then for the common man to ever know his earliest ancestors? Almost none. But man is indomitable, and it is the hope that we can break through this barrier that keeps genealogists pursuing this goal. As elusive as the ancestral threads may be, it is sometimes possible to determine with a fair degree of confidence and accuracy from whence a family came. The purpose of this section is to try to find a plausible point of origin of the MacGillivrays of Skye.

The story that the MacGillivrays sprang from a progenitor named Gillebride has largely been discredited but is still worth retelling because of the insight it gives into the early evolution of clans and surnames. Robert and George MacGillivray, in their excellent history of the Clan MacGillivray, quote, with a good deal of skepticism, a tradition contained in a 19th century manuscript that concerns¹ the origin of the MacGillivrays and the lineage of the early chiefs of the Clan.

In A.D. 1263, a young man named Gilbrai (or Gillebride) supposedly committed an accidental murder and had to flee his homeland. He fled to Strathnairn and placed himself and his posterity under the wing and tutelage of Ferquhard, 5th Chief of Mackintosh, and was bound to him by oath. According to tradition, this Gilbrai was the progenitor of the Clan MacGillivray.

Who this Gilbrai was, from whence he came or whether he actually existed are questions that in all probability can never be satisfactorily answered. However, the dates he is supposed to have flourished provide an interesting point for historical speculation. In 1263, Alexander III, King of Scotland, defeated the Norse fleet off Largs and the Western Isles came under Scottish control. This change caused upheaval in the traditional Celtic

1. MacGillivray, Robert & George, A History of the Clan MacGillivray, (Thunder Bay, Ontario: G. B. MacGillivray, 1973), p. 4.

provinces of the West. If an individual, such as Gilbrai, felt indisposed by the political changes, and expressed his feeling with violence, it would be natural for him to flee and seek a more favorable position elsewhere. This coincidence of the dates provides a thread of plausibility to the tradition.

In view of the above, another point should be made. It is generally conceded by some of the early historians of the Clan Chattan - of which the MacGillivrays are an integral part - that the ancestors of the MacGillivrays, who flourished in the region of Strathnairn, did indeed come from the Western Isles.

Another interesting version of the origin of the MacGillivrays was recorded in the 19th century manuscript by John Dewar.² According to Dewar, the origin of the Macgillivrays also began with a murder, but in a different context and locale. Dewar's version goes like this.

This is the beginning of the story of the MacGillivrays, but it is not known how old the story is. The chieftain MacIntosh resided at Moy and there were many of the MacIntoshes around him. One time a man of the MacIntoshes killed a neighbor of his. Search was made for seizing the murderer, but he managed to flee and cross the Sound of Mull into Mull. He was for a time hiding himself through the high and rough grounds of Mull. At that time a landed proprietor of the name of MacMillan dwelt in Braghadal in Glencannell who had three daughters. Two of them were married and in their own houses, and the other one kept house for her father.

The murderer was frequently hiding himself in the moor above Braghadal in Glencannell. When MacMillan went from home, he was wont to come down to the house and keep company with the daughter, and at last they grew very great with one another. He did not tell her his name but that it was Gille-braigh, lad of the brae.

One day that MacMillan was in with his daughter, and nobody with them but themselves, he said to her, "Who is accustomed to come in when I am not in? You are wont to have the modest, soft eye of a maiden; but, today, what you have is the slow eye of a housewife." "Gille-braigh usually comes down from the mountain," replied the daughter, "and comes in with me when you are away." "I should like to see that Gille-braigh," said MacMillan. "He will not come but when you are away from home." remarked the daughter.

The next day MacMillan went out as if he were going from home, and when he was away the Gille-braigh came down to the house and went in with the daughter. When MacMillan had gone a short distance from the house he returned home, and got

2. Dewar, John, The Dewar Manuscripts, Vol. I, Edited by Rev. John Mackechnie, (Glasgow: William Maclellan, 1964. Original in Gaelic. Translated by Hector Maclean), pp. 260-261.

Gille-braigh in with his daughter. He drew his sword, and the two began to fight. There was a likelihood that Gille-braigh could not be overcome by MacMillan and when MacMillan saw that he was likely to get the worst of it, he said, "If you will marry my daughter you shall get her, and you shall get all my land after my death." "I will marry your daughter," said Gille-braigh. MacMillan and Gille-braigh agreed then.

When Christmas Day had come MacMillan thought that he would go to see his daughters' houses to learn which of them was keeping Christmas best. He reached first the house of the daughter who was married to Gille-braigh, and the odour of the roast inside was enough were he not to taste it at all. He thought then that he would go to the house of the next daughter to see how she was keeping Christmas. She dwelt at a place called Clachaig. When he reached [her house], his son-in-law and daughter were in bed without any other heed of Christmas than if it were another day. The hens had scraped the ashes of the fireplace away through the house in such a manner that it could hardly be known where the fireplace was. MacMillan thought that he would go to see his third daughter to learn how she and her husband were keeping Christmas. He went. The house of his daughter was at a place called Knock. When he reached [her house], his daughter was in bed but his son-in-law had risen, and was out giving some hay to the beasts. The fire had not been kindled, and they had no more heed of Christmas Day than if it had been another day. This manner did not please MacMillan and he went back to where his first daughter was, and he took his Christmas along with her and Gille-braigh.

It was to her and Gille-braigh that MacMillan left his land, but he left nothing of any great worth to the other two daughters. The descendants of Gille-braigh were called thereafter the MacGillivrays of Glencannell.

These two accounts of the traditional origin of the MacGillivrays are interesting stories or tales - no more than that. Both have unusual similarities as well as disparities. Both involve young men accused of the violent crime of murder, who flee from retribution. One tale implies the MacGillivray progenitor traveled to the East to MacIntosh land where the Clan MacGillivray evolved. The other tale implies the MacGillivray progenitor was a MacIntosh man who fled to the West to Mull where the clan evolved.

We have presented only these two tales of how the MacGillivrays emerged as an identifiable family. There are other stories. Although there may have been a basis for all these legends buried somewhere in the dim historic past, none are substantive enough to lay to rest the many unanswered questions that still remain. More importantly, none touch on the crucial question of the origin of the MacGillivrays of Skye. The search continues.

* * * * *

We begin our search with a review of the literature starting with the earliest known works on the subject. In 1834, Dr. William Skene presented a

series of genealogies to the Iona Club. He had extracted these genealogies from an ancient Gaelic manuscript that had been discovered accidentally by him the previous year in the Advocates Library. This manuscript, dated in 1450 and hereafter referred to as the 1450 MSS, consisted of eight parchments written in the Irish manner.

In addition to the genealogies, Skene submitted three major conclusions. These conclusions were: (1) there existed at a very early period a tradition in the Highlands of a common origin of almost all the Highland clans, (2) the traditional origins of the different clans was a comparatively late invention and (3) there was a mutual relationship of the various clans which had hitherto been supposed to be altogether disconnected. These three conclusions were to have a significant impact on the studies of clan histories for years to come.

The next significant event occurred about 1680, during the reign of Charles II (1660-1685). Hugh Macdonald, a sennachie of the Macdonalds of Skye,⁴ presented a manuscript history of the Macdonalds that read in part,

"...Godfrey Du had possession of the Isles of the North side of Ardnamurchan from the King of Denmark. Olay compelled the inhabitants of some of these Isles to infest Morvern by landing some forces there. The principal surnames in the Country were MacInnes and MacGilvrays, who were the same as the MacInnes. They being in sight of the enemy could act nothing without one to command them. At length they agreed to make the first person that should appear their general. Who came in the meantime but Somerled, with his bow, quiver and sword. Upon his appearance they raised a great shout of laughter. Somerled enquiring the reason, they answered they were rejoiced at his appearance. They told him that they had agreed to make the first that would appear their general..."

Hugh Macdonald's manuscript history continues with a description of how Somerled routed the enemy and went on to become Thane or Regulus of Argyll. Some later authorities designated him as Rex Insularium or King of the Islands. All authorities considered him to be the progenitor of those who founded the Clans Donald as they are known today.⁵

For MacGillivrays, this tale is intriguing. Taken literally, it means the

3. Iona Club, The, Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis (Transactions of the Iona Club), Vol. I, Part 1, (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Printing Co., 1834), pp. 50-62.

4. Macdonald, Hugh, The History of the Macdonalds, Manuscript written circa 1680. Original translation in the Donald Gregory Collection, Document MS 2132, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 153-363. Also in: MacPhail, J.R.N., editor, The Highland Papers, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1914), pp. 2-102.

5. Macdonald, Donald J., Clan Donald, (Loanhead, Midlothian, Scotland: Macdonald Publishers, 1978), p. 17.

MacGillivrays and MacInnes had attained family identity at least as early as the 12th century because Somerled died in 1164. Although not conclusive, this assertion establishes a rudimentary time frame of reference from which to proceed.

Unfortunately, other early chroniclers were not so lucid on the composition of the clans of Argyll. Dean Monro's account of his travels through the Western Isles was published in 1549. It contains genealogies of Somerled and his descendants, but no mention is made of any MacInnes or MacGillivray association with Somerled in the early years.⁶

Martin Martin, who also traveled through the Western Isles in 1695, likewise discussed Somerled and the descent of the early Macdonalds, but he too made no mention of either the MacInnes or MacGillivrays.

It remained for Dr. Skene to make the most positive assertion as to the history of the Highlands and the origin of the Highland clans, including the MacGillivrays. In 1836, drawing heavily upon the 1450 MSS and the Hugh Macdonald history, Skene promulgated several distinct - and controversial - theories, foremost of which was the Siol Cuinn Theory. According to Skene, the ancient district of Oirir-Gael (from whence the modern Argyll) was, in the 12th and 13th centuries, inhabited by a number of powerful clans, particularly the Macdonalds and Macdougalls, as well as other clans of the same race. Skene asserted that the Macdonalds presaged their future role as rulers of Argyll and the Isles by exercising an almost regal sway in those wild and unsubdued regions.

Skene included all these different clans and septs under the generic denomination of Siol Cuinn or the race of Conn. Supposedly, the genealogies contained in the 1450 MSS, as well as other ancient Irish manuscripts extant at that time, induced Skene to conclude that those Argyll ⁹clans and septs were descendants of the Irish hero, Conn of the Hundred Battles.

In a like manner, Dr. Skene promulgated his Siol Gillebride or Gillevray theory wherein some of the other clans that sprang from the original stock of the Siol Cuinn are identified. In essence, the 1450 MSS stated that in the 12th century there lived a certain Gillebride surnamed "rig ellan" or "King of the Isles." It further stated that this Gillebride was descended from a brother of

6. Monro, Donald, High Dean of the Isles, Description of the Western Isles of Scotland called Hybrides, (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1884), pp. 64-68.

7. Martin, Martin, A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, circa 1695, (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1884. An exact reprint of the original edition published in 1703), p. 211.

8. Editors note: We do not propose, in this limited review, to get involved in the controversy whether the Highland clans were of Pictish or Irish origin. We accept carte blanc that clan roots go back to Ireland, but recognize bloodlines were undoubtedly modified after the Celts reached Dalriada.

9. Skene, The Highlanders of Scotland, p. 247.

Suibne, who was the ancestor of the Macdonalds.

Reinforced by the Hugh Macdonald MSS, Skene formulated the Siol Gillebride Theory wherein the clans of Argyll were supposed to have descended from Anradan (Henry), the son of Gillebride.¹⁰

"...In the time of Somerled [who died 1164], the oldest and principal surnames in Morvern, Ardgour and Lochabar were the MacInnes and the MacGillivrays who were the same as the MacInnes, and there was a very traditional connection between the Clan A Mhaisdair [MacMaster] or MacInnes of Ardgour and several of the clans descended from Anradan MacGillebride. It seems to establish the identity of this tribe with the old MacGillivrays of Morvern..."

This genealogy has come under intense scrutiny and, because of the many unanswered questions, has been rejected by modern scholars. But as with all theories there is probably a kernel of truth buried somewhere within and that is what must be sought out. Browne, for example, concluded that the traditional affinity which seemed to have existed at such an early period between the clans and branches of clans of Oirir-Gael and the ancestors of the Macdonalds (Somerled, et al) would seem to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprang from the same stock.¹¹

McBain, who edited a later exact version of Skene's earlier work, called the entire Siol Gillebride theory a mistake.¹² And, apparently Skene himself, in later years, had second thoughts on this matter and did not adhere to his earlier convictions.

In 1890, Skene published a comprehensive three-volume history of Ancient Alban (Scotland) in which he traced the legendary descent of the Highland clans. The genealogies contained in this work were based primarily on two Irish manuscripts written in 1467 and 1540. Neither supported the Siol Gillebride theory and, in fact, the MacGillivrays were not mentioned at all.¹³

However, once a theory has been promulgated it is tenacious and difficult to revise or even discard. For example, Browne, a contemporary of Skene, states in his history,¹⁴

10. Ibid., p. 247.

11. Browne, James, History of the Highlands and Highland Clans, Vol. IV, (Glasgow: A. Fullerton, 1834-1838), p. 451.

12. McBain, Alexander, editor, The Highlanders of Scotland, by the late W.F. Skene, 2nd edition, (Stirling: E. MacKay, 1902), p. 412.

13. Skene, William F., Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban, Vol. III, 2nd edition, (Glasgow: David Douglas, 1890), pp. 458-490.

14. Browne, History of the Highlands and Highland Clans, Vol. 14, p.451,

"...Besides the Macdonalds and MacDougalls, various other clans in Argyllshire appear to have sprung from the original stock of the 'Siol Cuinn'...[and] in the time of Somerled, the principal names in that country were MacInnes and MacGillivray, who were the same as the MacInnes..."

Frank Adam, in his history of the clans, summarized these ancient chroniclers and asserted that the original home of the Clan Gillevray was in Morvern and Lochabar, and they were intimately associated with the MacInnesses, the MacMasters and the MacEacherns.¹⁵

It is difficult to know how much credence to give to these various statements concerning the clans of early Argyll. The conclusions reached by the various historians appear consistent and tend to support each other. Ideally, we would like to believe that each of the historians reached his conclusions independently. But idealism is an elusive factor and we strongly suspect each conclusion is based on data that has been propagated from one study to another. Moreover, the Reverends Macdonald, in their history of the Macdonalds, state categorically that almost everything that has been written about the life of Somerled is based on the manuscript history of Hugh Macdonald.¹⁶

It appears, therefore, that we are almost entirely dependent on Hugh Macdonald, that ancient Skye sennachie, for all the earliest knowledge of the MacGillivrays. This admission brings up several critical questions. Why did Hugh Macdonald use the specific surnames MacInnes and MacGillivray when he wrote his history in 1680? Could it be that he had access to original material that is no longer available? Answers to these questions may never be known. Neither will we know how much, if any, of the Siol Gillebride theory is valid as it applies to the MacInneses and MacGillivrays. However, from all the verbiage written about the clans of early Argyll, two apparently irrefutable facts stand out. There was a very close relationship among the early tribes of Argyll and the Clan MacGillivray originated in the West. It is logical, therefore, to look more closely at the histories of these early clans to ascertain if there are clues applicable to the MacGillivrays.

* * * * *

First, consider the Anglicized surname MacEachern, one of the clans associated with the MacGillivrays of early Argyll. According to Black,¹⁷ this

15. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 8th edition, (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnstone, 1952 and Johnson & Bacon, 1970), pp. 244-245.

16. Macdonald, Rev. A. & Rev. A., The Clan Donald, Vol. I, (Inverness: Northern Counties Publishing Co., 1896), p. 38.

17. Black, The Surnames of Scotland, p. 489.

surname goes back to the Old Irish where it appeared as "Ech-tigern." In Gaelic it appears as "Mac Each-thigh-earna" which means "the son of the horse-lord." According to a modern historian, the MacEacherns were one of the oldest clans in Argyll, and were once third in the list of great clans from which all other clans derived. Tradition states that the ancestors of the MacEacherns were breeding horses at the time of Agricola, the Roman governor of Briton, who died in A.D. 93.¹⁸

Skene apparently believed the MacEacherns noteworthy because he formulated a Siol Eachern theory wherein the MacDougall Campbells of Craignish and the Lamonts were under the MacEacherns. Both of these sub-clans were very old in Argyll. According to Skene, the 1450 MSS contained a genealogy of the MacEacherns, showing they were not from the Campbells but were from Murdoch, the father of Gillebride, ancestor of the Siol Gillevray. This, of course, implies the MacEacherns were of the same stock as the Macdonalds. Since the MacInnes and the MacGillivrays were also supposed to be branches of the same clan, Skene professed little doubt that the MacEacherns, the MacInnes and the MacGillivrays were all of the same stock.¹⁹

McBain refuted Skene's Siol Eachern theory as strongly as he did the Siol Gillevray theory. He does acknowledge, however, that the MacEacherns were a small clan that flourished in Kintyre under the Lords of the Isles. Colin Makauchern of Kilblane, in 1499, was "mayr of fee" for South Kintyre as he had been under the Lord of the Isles.²⁰ Also there was an old family of MacEacherns that occupied Kingerloch that borders on Ardgour, the ancient domain of the MacInnes. This proximity of residence suggests there may have been a close relation between the two clans.

Some of the MacEacherns were followers of the Macdonalds of Islay and Mull where they undoubtedly were closely involved with the MacGillivrays. However, despite this relationship, the MacEacherns apparently did not follow the Macdonalds to Skye. The surname MacEachern is rare on Skye but is widespread on Islay and the western mainland.

There seems to be little doubt that the MacEachern ancestral stock was a part of the Dalriadic migration that moved northward from Ireland, up the island chain and then on to the Scottish mainland. The verification of this migration is one of the important points gained from this brief review of the MacEachern clan. This strongly suggests that the ancestral stock of the MacGillivrays was in the same migratory stream. The other important point gained from this review is that, in spite of the span of time, some clans, such as the MacEacherns, can broadly trace their Gaelic identifiers back to their

18. McEachern, Leora, The Descendants of Daniel McEachern of Brunswick and New Hanover Counties, North Carolina, (private printing, 1971. Copy at NC State Library), pp. 1-2.

19. Skene, Wm., The Highlanders of Scotland, p. 252.

20. MacBain, Alexander, The Highlanders of Scotland, p. 412.

Celtic roots in Ireland.

* * * *

Next we consider the surname MacInnes. As noted above, the MacInnes are referred to in almost all the histories of the Clan Donald, yet surprisingly there is no forthright history or genealogy of the Clan MacInnes itself. Adam, in his history of the clans and septs, ²¹ concurs that remarkably little of the MacInnes clan history has been recorded.

It is generally conceded that the clan is descended from a progenitor named Angus. Black, in his history of Scottish surnames, states that MacInnes is the Anglicized version of the Gaelic identifier "Mac-Aonghuis" meaning "the son of Angus."²² Which particular Angus had the honor of founding this clan has not been determined. This question is compounded by the fact that Angus is one of the oldest and most common occurring names in Scotland, and the name goes back to the Old Irish suggesting this identifier also reached Scotland by way of the Dalriadic expansion.

Black further states that, with the Macdonalds of Islay, Angus is a favorite name, and it is possible the MacInnes were a branch of the Macdonald family. This assumption by Black leads to an interesting - but highly speculative - line of investigation concerning the MacInnes and Macdonald relationship. However, before proceeding along those lines it is first necessary to briefly review the line of descent of the Macdonalds, and from this we shall attempt to surmise a scant and sketchy heritage of the MacInnes.

According to the Irish manuscripts that have been used to establish the basis for the Macdonald pedigree, there was a descendant of the Irish hero, Conn of the Hundred Battles, whose name was Caibre or Cairbre. He is credited with founding the Dalriadic race. Caibre had three sons (or grandsons)²³ all named Cholla, plus some other name that distinguished them from each other. These three Chollas had a falling out with the High King of Ireland and fled to Alba (Scotland). Later, the King recalled the trio, but one of the brothers known as Cholla Uasis preferred to remain in Alba and build up his powers there.

Cholla Uasis remained in Alba for about fifteen years before returning to Ireland where he died in A.D. 337. The followers and progeny of these three Chollas were known to ancient Irish bards and writers as the "Clann Cholla."²⁴

21. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, p. 249.

22. Black, George F., The Surnames of Scotland, p. 23.

23. Whether these three were sons or grandsons is debatable. Stirling (aka Pickering), in her pedigree of the Macdonalds, indicates that they were grandsons of Caibre.

24. Macdonald, Donald J., Clan Donald, p. 8 and Macdonald, Rev. A. & Rev. A., The Clan Donald, Vol. I, p. 537.

Apparently their sojourn in Alba (Scotland) was merely a colonization and in no way pre-empted the founding of the Kingdom of Dalriada a century and a half later by Lorn, Eric and Fergus, who were the direct descendants of Cholla Uasis and the ancestors of Somerled.

The line of descent from Cholla Uasis to Somerled and on to the Clans Donald has been well documented. This early lineage is based largely on tradition and is within the purview of this narrative only so far as it pertains to the MacInnes and ultimately to the MacGillivrays.

* * * * *

Almost all of the early historians have claimed that the Clan MacInnes was traditionally associated with the early exploits of Somerled, and the Reverends Macdonald, in their history, cite the 1450 MSS as a basis for proof of this relationship. According to their interpretation, Subne, the direct ancestor of the Clans Donald, had a brother who was progenitor of the several clans of Argyll that inhabited Morvern, Ardgour and Lochabar. The MacInnes were one of those clans. The Reverends Macdonald concluded, therefore, that while it is evident ²⁵ the Clan MacInnes is of the Clan Cholla, it is not strictly of the Clan Donald.

This was a subtle interpretation of the lines of descent that bears further clarification. The early historians seem to have had little doubt that all the clans of early Argyll, including the MacInnes and MacGillivrays, were of the same ancestral stock, in this case from the Clan Cholla. The Macdonalds were also from this same ancestral stock. However, the genealogies of the Clans Donald do not show any other clans branching from their direct line of descent. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Macdonalds and MacInnes (and MacGillivrays) had common ancestors, but the lines of descent branched long before there ever were Macdonalds. It is highly unlikely that the individual progenitors of these related clans can ever be positively identified.

In light of this, it is difficult to reject a tentative conclusion that the MacGillivray ancestors may have once been known as "the sons of Angus," as implied by Browne, Skene and the other historians. There is a modern counterpart that substantiates this conclusion. Today there are families of MacInnes in the Outer Hebrides who are referred to locally in Gaelic as "MacGillebhreithich." Our earlier discussion on the Anglicization of Scottish surnames leaves little doubt that this typically Gaelic identifier would Anglicize to MacGillivray. This being the case, we would find MacInnes known as MacGillivray and the circle of confusion over Scottish surnames would continue ad infinitum.

Further evidence of a long and close association between the Macdonalds and MacInnes is provided in this old tradition. After returning from an expedition in which the MacInnes had borne themselves very bravely, the Chief of the MacInnes clan was addressed by the Lord of the Isles, "My blessings on

25. Ibid., p. 537.

you, Chief of Kinlochaline! While Macdonald is in power MacInnes shall be in favor." The MacInnes' ancestral castle was at Kinlochaline in Ardgour and, according to Hugh Macdonald, the event described took place early in the 14th century.²⁶

But alas! The MacInnes did not remain in the favor of the Lord of the Isles for all times. About fifty years after the Chief of the MacInnes had received the above accolade, an event happened whereby MacInnes fell from favor. There are two distinct histories of this event and each presents another facet of the surname problem.

Hugh Macdonald, in his manuscript history, tells how MacInnes of Ardgour, who was the foster father of John, Lord of the Isles, advised John to give up one of his favorite concubines and marry Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II. John took MacInnes' advice and, in about 1350, married the daughter of the King. Algive, the rejected concubine, bitterly cursed MacInnes for giving this advice and eventually she was instrumental in having MacInnes killed by Donald Maclean. Maclean then possessed the MacInnes lands in Ardgour and he and his posterity flourished there up until the time Hugh Macdonald wrote his history (circa 1680).²⁷

There is another extant version of this same tradition. The gist of the story is essentially the same except for one major variation in detail. According to Sinclair, in about 1432, the MacInnes were dispossessed by Donald Maclean, who became the first Maclean of Ardgour. Donald received these MacInnes lands from Alexander, third Lord of the Isles who died in 1449. Alexander was supposed to have been displeased with the MacMasters, who had possession of these lands but had no legal claim to them. Apparently, with Alexander's blessing, Donald Maclean invaded Ardgour, slew MacMaster and his son and took possession of the lands.²⁸

One immediately notes the major discrepancies between the two traditions. First, there is a wide variation in the time these events were supposed to have occurred. Second, the surname is MacInnes in the Macdonald version; MacMaster in the Sinclair version. We shall not attempt to resolve these discrepancies, but they do lead to an obvious and pertinent question. Were the MacMasters the same as the MacInnes, as the MacGillivrays were supposed to be? As before, there is no definitive answer, but it does call for a review of the fourth major clan name of the Argyll tribes, the MacMasters.

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26. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, p. 249.

27. Macdonald, Hugh in MacPhail's Highland Papers, pp. 26-27.

28. Sinclair, Rev. A. Maclean, The Clan Gillean, (Charlottetown: Hazard & Moore, 1899), p. 305.

The surname MacMaster is Anglicized from the Gaelic identifier "Mac a' Mhaighstir" that means "the son of the master or cleric." Like MacGillivray, the surname MacMaster is not from an Old Celtic or Old Irish identifier like MacEachern or MacInnes. This suggests the surnames MacMaster and MacGillivray came into existence sometime after the Dalriadic expansion. Also, like MacGillivray, the surname MacMaster is apparently derived from an occupation or profession.

Black records that MacMaster was a surname of a family in Ardgour traditionally supposed to have been dispossessed in the 15th century by the Macleans. Gregory clarifies this by stating that Donald Maclean, son of Lauchlin, third Lord of Dowart, had Ardgour, which formerly belonged to the tribe named MacMaster.²⁹ Colin, son of John Macmagistir, was a canon of the Church in Argyll in 1433.³⁰ This tends to confirm that the MacMasters were in Argyll at the same time as the other clans previously mentioned, but does little to explain the interchange of surnames.

No attempt is made to connect the MacMaster bloodline with that of the MacInnes or the MacGillivrays or the MacEacherns, however, there is always that possibility. What we have attempted to show is that, in the 15th century, MacGillivrays, MacInnes, MacEacherns and MacMasters did indeed inhabit the same parts of Argyll, and apparently there was a very close relationship between the four clans. Two of the clan's roots go back to Dalriada, whereas the roots of the other two clans are still somewhat obscure. Two of the clan's surnames stem from patronymics and this helps to understand their point of origin. The other two clan names apparently stem from occupations or professions that suggest their progenitors were of the upper class; one a judge, the other a cleric. Accepting this premise as a source of clan surname requires further development.

Under what circumstances would occupational surnames, such as MacGillivray and MacMaster, come into existence? At the beginning of this analysis we noted that social changes in the Highlands and Islands were suppressed by geography and ethnic pride. The new society fostered by the Scottish kings primarily depended on Anglo-Norman clerks and judges who held sway and wrought their changes in the Lowlands. The Highlands were largely ignored and left to the chiefs of the clans to govern. Under such circumstances, where would Gaels, such as the progenitors of the MacGillivrays and MacMasters, learn their trade or profession? The answer to this question, of course, could be found in the Western Isles where fiercely proud Gaels defied the Scottish monarchs and developed their own government based on Celtic principles.

Historically, the Isle of Islay had been an important asset to the Celts since Angus, the third son of King Eric of Irish Dalriada, established his part of the Scoti kingdom there in A.D. 498. For centuries, Islay, like Iona, remained a

29. Gregory, Donald, The History of the Western Isles, p. 71.

30. Black, George F., The Surnames of Scotland, p. 451.

bright jewel in the Celtic crown. The Lords of the Isles ruled their kingdom from Islay. Their form of government included a Council and all the usual trappings of royalty. The Celtic Church fostered the official religion of the island kingdom. In short, the government of the Lords of the Isles was almost an exact counterpart of that of the kings of Scotland. It was within this framework that occupational identifiers developed that eventually led to Anglicized surnames like MacGillivray and MacMaster.

From the earliest days the laws of the Celts were unwritten, but were preserved and handed down from generation to generation by the "brehon" or wise man of the clan. Clan justice was administered by the brieve (breitheamh) or judge. By the 14th century this system was becoming unreliable - even in the Western Isles - and written laws were needed along with a more formal system to administer them.

In the middle of the 14th century, John of Islay, known as Good John because of his gifts to the Church, recognized these deficiencies and instituted a system of justice that included cadres of justices and clerks to administer the system. It was in this environment that the surnames MacGillivray and MacMaster evolved.

For their service as Doomsters or Deemsters, the MacGillivrays gained an identity as well as social status and positions of trust with the Lords of the Isles. And, beginning in the 15th century, the surname MacGillivray began to appear in the official records, although it was then spelled in ways that bear little resemblance to the way MacGillivray is spelled today. From this source, the MacGillivrays began to spread throughout the kingdom, both on the mainland and the islands. A summary of the migratory path the MacGillivray root stock followed from Ireland to the Western Islands and the mainland is shown schematically in Figure 9.

The extent of the MacGillivray dispersals shown in Figure 9 appear to have been a function of time. In the early records the MacGillivrays show up in areas not too far distant from the southern islands of the Western Isles and gradually spread northward and eastward to the other parts of Scotland. Such a migration route tends to substantiate a conclusion that the MacGillivrays did have a point of origin in the Isles and spread outward from there.

One cannot, however, discount collateral origins of the surname. Since the surname apparently evolved from a universal profession, it is not unreasonable to assume that the surname MacGillivray may have evolved at several widespread locations at approximately the same time and spread outward from these focal points. A factor that favors this argument is that the surname MacGillivray was not too common and distributions did appear to be localized.

* * * * *

The earliest known reference to a MacGillivray was recorded in a public document late in the 15th century. In 1497, the Lords of Council handed down a Decree of Relief in favor of Ross of Kilravock against Farquhard Mackintosh and a number of his followers. Note that the expression "umquahile" as used in

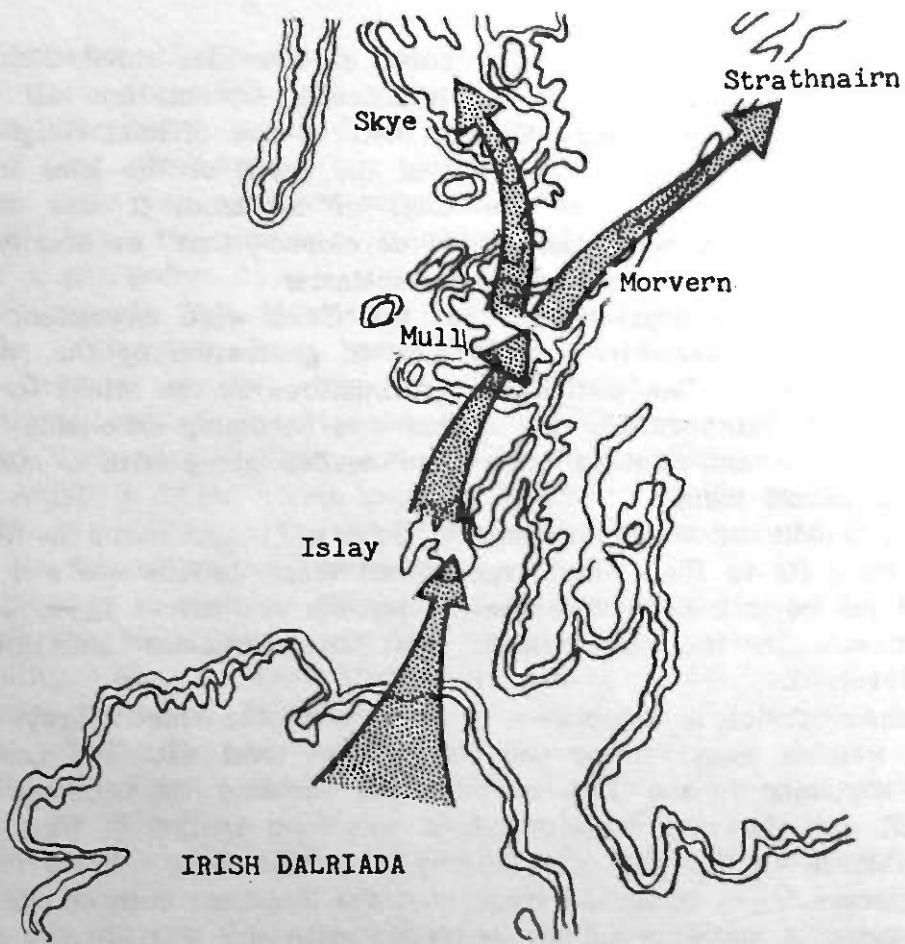


Figure 9. Migratory route of the MacGillivray root stock from Ireland to Islay thence to Mull and Morvern and on to Skye and Strathnairn.

this extract means "the late." It is used in official documents when referring to someone recently deceased. The extract reads,

"1 February 1497
Anent the accione [action] and cause persegwit be Huchone the Ross of Kilrawic agane Ferchquhare Makkintosch, son and aire of Umquhile Duncane McKintosh and his followers including...
Duncane Makgillemory...Beane McAne Keyr...Donald McGillecriest...Ewen McGillymartin...Gilleis McKeyr McPersons...Donald More McGillemore, Ewer McGillepatrik..."

The above extract is useful inasmuch as it illustrates the widespread use

31. Neilson, George & Henry Paton, editors, Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, A.D. 1496-1501, (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1918), p. 96.

of the modifier and noun "MacGille" in the Scottish surnames of that period. It is also useful because it refers to a Beane McAné Keyr which is the Anglicized version of Bean McLan Ciar [Bean son of John the Brown] who was a younger brother of Duncan, 1st Chief of the MacGillivrays of Dunmaglas in Strathnairn. In fact, if we stretch our imagination and recall our previous discussion on the pronunciation of Gaelic consonants, it is possible to speculate that the name Duncane Makgillemory could be an Anglicized variant of MacGillivray. Although the incident referred to does not name a MacGillivray per se, Ian Ciar is in the documented line of descent of the chiefs of the Dunmaglas clan so it is evident the MacGillivrays were well established in Strathnairn by the 15th century, and, as we shall see, fairly well distributed elsewhere.

There is a space of about forty years before we find another reference to a known MacGillivray, and for this we skip to the Isle of Benbecula. There, in 1535, Archibald Makilewray, a cleric or priest, was presented to the Rectory of the Parish Church.³²

The next entry in our chronological sequence of events involving MacGillivrays comes from Islay, the seat of government of the Lords of the Isles. In 1541, an early MacGillivray was recorded on the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland as follows,³³

"The Mydward of Isly
Tawlnt, ij mark half mark. Assedatur Neill McGiltreive por
spatio predicto, payand yerly iiiij martis iiiij wadderis X S
money xxx stane cheis xxx stane meill iiiij geis iiiij foulis
..."

The interpretation of this combination of Latin and Old Scottish is,

"The Midward of Islay
Neill McGiltreive [MacGillivray] assessed 2 1/2 merk land in
Tawlnt [Tallant-about a mile southeast of Bowmore] to pay yearly
by 4 March, 4 wedders, 10 shilling money, 30 stones of cheese,
30 stones of meal, 4 geese and 4 fowls..."

The 1541 Roll of the Exchequer also shows that MacGillivrays were apparently widely dispersed in Ardnamurchan.³⁴ The entries were in the same combination of Latin and Old Scottish as in the example above. For convenience they are interpreted as follows. In light of our discussion on the Anglicization of Scottish surnames, it is interesting to note that the surname

32. Fleming, David Hay, editor, Registrum Secreti Sigillum Regum Scotorum (The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland), Vol. II, 1529-1542, (Edinburgh: H. M. Register House, 1921), No. 1881, p. 272.

33. McNeil, George Powell, editor, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Vol. 17, 1537-1542, (Edinburgh: H. M. Register House, 1897), pp. 615 & 636.

34. Ibid., p. 645.

MacGillivray is spelled three different ways in the same official record.

"The Lands of Ardnamurchan

Ronaldo McAlane McIllverie assessed 2 1/2 merk land in Alsor to pay yearly 12 shillings six pence money, 25 stones cheese and 25 stones of meal...

Ronaldo McAllen McIllverie assessed 6 shilling 8 pence land in Crag to pay yearly 2 shilling 6 pence money, 5 stones of cheese and 5 stones of meal...

Ronaldo MacGillivray assessed 2 merk land in Ardto [a small bay on the north side of Ardnamurchan] to pay yearly 10 shilling money, 20 stones cheese and 20 stones meal..."

In 1542, there were two entries in the official records involving Archibald MacGillivray, the cleric or priest. On 1 April 1542, Archibald McIlliwray was presented as the Chaplain of Ell and Finlaggan and St. Columba. The chapel stood on an island in Loch Finlaggan, near the center of the Parish of Kilarrow, on the Isle of Islay.³⁵ Apparently, this Archibald MacGillivray moved frequently and he did not hold the position of Chaplain long. On 17 September 1542, he was cited as resigning as Rector of Benweall in Ewist [Uist].³⁶

In 1545, the records contain the following entry,³⁷

"Ane respit maid to Johnne McFarlane Williamson and ...
Archibald McIlworre alias McIntyre [plus others-editor]
...for thair treasonable assistance to George Strivelin,
of Gloret, captaine of Dumbertane, and his cumplices in
halding of the said castel in contrar oure soverane lady,
my lord governor and hir autorite...on Juli 1545"

Apparently, John McFarlane and his followers, including an Archibald MacGillivray also known as MacIntyre, had helped George Strivelin commit treason by holding a castle at Dumbertane contrary to the wishes of Her Majesty, Mary Queen of Scots.

On 18 March 1547, at Edinburgh,³⁸ a respit or reprieve was given to Ewin Camroun of Lochell [probably Locheil (now Fort William)] and others who had given assistance to Matho, sometime Earl of Lenox, who was accused of giving aid to the old enemy, England. Others named in this reprieve included

35. Fleming, David, editor, Registrum Secreti Sigillum Regum Scotorum, Vol. II, No. 4566, p. 691.

36. Ibid., Vol. II, No. 4880, p. 739.

37. Ibid., Vol. III, 1542-1548, No. 2188, p. 350.

38. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 2204, pp. 353-355.

Johnne McGillevorie in Mammore [probably Mamore Forest in Lochabar], Johnne Dow McIlvorie, there and Angus McIlvory, there.

During the period from 1546 to 1553, the ecclesiastic Archibald MacGillivray, whom we have met before, was entered several times in the official records. On 22 February 1546, apparently elevated in status, he was presented as Sir Archibald McGillewray, Rector of Kilmolowok, Diocese of Insularium.³⁹

On 2 August 1547, a letter was presented to "...Maister Archibald McGilwray, persoun [parson] of Kilmolowok, his heirs and assigns..." giving him goods from an estate forfeited in 1544.⁴⁰

On 8 August 1547, Archibald Makylwray was presented as Rector in Kilcomman in Islay, Diocese of Sodorensem.⁴¹

On 8 January 1548, Sir Archibald McIllwray was proclaimed Rector of Kildaltan in Islay.⁴²

In June 1553, Archibald Makgilwray, Rector of Kilcomman, was mentioned twice in the assignments of land from Hector Maclean of Dowart [Duart].⁴³

Other activities involving MacGillivrays continued to be intermittently recorded in the last half of the 16th century. On 26 December 1577, a caution⁴⁴ was established for "...Duncane McFarlane, and in 100 merks for Malcolme McGillevoray, his servant, that they shall appear to be tried for art and part in the slaughter of umquhile [the late] Ra, and will keep the peace meanwhile..."⁴⁵

In 1591, there was a particularly interesting entry in the records of the Privy Council that involved a MacGillivray in a heretofore unheard of situation - witchcraft.⁴⁶

"...For a sketch of the history of that complex case of Highland family dissension (Catherine Ross, Lady Foulis, and her stepson, Hector Ross of Foulis vs Munro) concerned with witchcraft, poisoning or attempted poisoning and other horrors

39. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 2164, p. 342.

40. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 2358, p. 381.

41. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 2370, p. 383.

42. Ibid., Vol. IV, 1548-1556, No. 28, p. 5.

43. Thomson, John Maitland, editor, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum (Register of the Great Seal of Scotland) Vol. 4, 1546-1580, (Edinburgh: H. M. Register House, 1886), p. 180.

44. A security or bail. The person who becomes or puts up security; a surety.

45. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Vol. III, 1578-1585, p. 60.

46. Ibid., Vol. IV, 1585-1592, p. 591.

running for fourteen years from 1576 to 1590, and for the names of the Highland wizards and witches with whom the two principals were alleged to have trafficked, i.e., William McGillivray, Agnes Roy, Martin McLean McAlister, Christian Ross Malcomson, John McNillan, Marion M'Ingaroch, etc..."

As the 16th century drew to a close, Robert Mcilvorie, son of umquhile [the late] Malcolm Mcilvorie in Camstrodane, and others were denounced as rebels for not appearing to answer charges that they "...cruellie and unhonestlie slew Duncane Buchannane alias McWattie..."⁴⁷

We could continue with entries naming MacGillivrays, similar to those cited above, on into the next century but no useful purpose would be served. We have shown that, by the beginning of the 17th century, MacGillivrays had apparently scattered throughout Scotland. In retrospect, we have presented a picture of early MacGillivrays strongly biased towards evil-doings that included treason, murder and even witchcraft. This should not be construed as an indictment against the clan, but merely a reflection on society, then as well as now. Just as today, ordinary, honest, law-abiding citizens seldom had their names entered in the official records. Those who did wrong or evil almost always got recorded. It is this latter category that genealogists most often find in the records.

* * * * *

The Lords of the Isles ruled their kingdom within a kingdom through a Council that sat on an island in Loch Finlaggan on Islay. In Gaelic, this small island was known as "Eilean na Comhairle," the "Isle of Council."

There are four extant descriptions of the composition of the Lordship's Council of the Isles. Although not at variance with each other as far as the composition of the Council is concerned, there are differences as far as MacGillivray participation is concerned. The earliest and most detailed description of Islay and the Council is contained in a manuscript written by Dean Monro, based on his travels through the Hebrides in 1549.⁴⁸ The composition of the Council was not specified in the original manuscript but was included in the 1961 version that contains many of Dean Monro's previously unpublished notes.⁴⁹

"...In this Ile thair conveinit 14 of the Iles best Barons, that is to say, four greatest of the Nobles callit Lords: to wit Megillane of Doward [Maclean of Duart]. Megillane of Lochbuy [Maclean of

47. Ibid., Vol. V. 1592-1599, pp. 381-182.

48. Monro, Donald, Description of the Western Isles of Scotland called Hybrides, p. 24.

49. Munro, R. W., editor, Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans, 1549, (Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), pp.102-103.

Lochbuie], mecloyde of Haray [MacLeod of Harris] & Mecloyde of Leozus [MacLeod of Lewis]. This four Barons forsaid might be callit Lords, & were haldin as Lords at sic time. Four Thanes of les living & estate; to wit Meginnihin [Mackinnon], Mcnaie, Mcneill of Gighay & Mcneill of Barray [Barra]. Uther four great men of living of thair royll blude of Clan-donald lineally descendit; to wit Clan-donald of Kintyre, Meane of Ardnamirquhame [Ardnamurchan], Clan-Ronald & Clan-Alister Carryche in Lochabar; with the Bishop & the Abbot of Icolmkill..."

In about 1680, Hugh Macdonald, the Skye sennachie, wrote the following description of the Council of the Lords of the Isles.⁵⁰

"...Macdonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen, viz.: - four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say, Lords or sub-Thanes, four Bastards (i.e) Squires, or men of competent estates, who could not come up with Armins or Thanes; [and ⁵¹] that is, freeholders, or men that had their land in factory, as Macgee of the Rinds of Isla, MacNicoll in Portree in Sky, and MacEachern, Mackay, and MacGillevray in Mull, Macillemhaoel or MacMillan, etc..."

MacPhail, in his Highland Papers, modified the Hugh Macdonald version of the Council slightly. According to MacPhail there were four Thanes (or great Chiefs), four Armin (lesser Chiefs or sub-Thanes), four Bastards (Squires of freeholders or men who held their land in factory). The remainder of the Council consisted of Churchmen and scions of the main families. MacPhail did not mention a MacGillivray on the Council.⁵²

The last of the four accounts of the composition of the Council of the Isles was by Martin Martin who wrote in about 1695.⁵³

"The High Court of Judicature, consisting of fourteen, sat always here [Loch Finlaggan]; and there was an appeal to them from all the Courts in the Isles; the eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge..."

Only the Hugh Macdonald version of Council membership refers to a MacGillivray member by name. In this case, apparently he was a landholder. There was, however, another MacGillivray associated with the Lord of the Isles

50. Macdonald, Hugh, History of the Macdonalds, p. 24 in MacPhail's Highland Papers, Vol. I.

51. The Gaelic expression for men who held their land in factory was missing in the original document.

52. MacPhail, J. R. N., editor, The Highland Papers, p. 24.

53. Martin, Martin, Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, pp. 240-241.

in a different context.

On 23 July 1545, Donald Dubh, the new Lord of the Isles, held a meeting on the Island of Ellancarne [Eigg] where a commission was formed to recognize the Earl of Lenox as Regent of Scotland. It was further decided that two of the Commissioners would travel to England to enter into a treaty, through the Earl of Lenox, with King Henry VIII. Sinclair states that Archibald MacGillivray,⁵⁴ Vicar of Killane, was one of the witnesses to this Commission.

Johnson gives three possible locations for Killane (or Killean).⁵⁵ One at Musadale on the Isle of Rum, one at Lismore at Oban in Argyll and another at Torosay on the Isle of Mull. In view of earlier discussions, Mull is the logical choice for the aforementioned MacGillivray's domicile. This conclusion is enhanced by the fact that Torosay also contains Glencannel, the traditional home of the Mull MacGillivrays.

Gregory documents the same actions described above, but gives a more comprehensive version of the composition of the Council that made the decision to send plenipotentiaries to bargain with King Henry VIII. Seventeen Barons and Council members are named by Gregory but there is no mention of any MacGillivray participation as a witness.⁵⁶

* * * * *

Despite their individual and collective achievements, the MacGillivrays of the Islands never attained major clan status. For all intents and purposes, they have always been followers of some larger and stronger clan. After the Lordship of the Isles was abolished, the MacGillivrays who remained on Mull aligned themselves with the Clan Gillean or the Macleans, who were the major power on Mull. During their tenure with the Macleans, the MacGillivrays retained their positions of trust and authority. Their names appeared frequently in the records.

By the end of the 16th century, the power of the Macleans began to decline. They held their lands on Mull from two different sources. The Ross of Mull and Iona were held from the Bishops of the Isles. The remainder of Mull was held from the Crown. When the Macleans became arrears in their annual rents increasing pressure was brought to bear on them by both the Crown and the Earl of Argyll, who was their principal creditor. Tensions increased to the point where open warfare broke out between the Clan Campbell (Argyll) and the Clan Gillean (Maclean). The MacGillivrays of Mull, as followers of Maclean, were caught up in the middle of this controversy.

54. Sinclair, Rev. A. Maclean, The Clan Gillean, pp. 97-98.

55. Johnson, James B., Place Names of Scotland, (London: John Murray, 1934), p. 219.

56. Gregory, Donald, History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 24.

After a long and bitter struggle, the Macleans were persuaded to pay their debts and a payment schedule was set-up. Included as assets were the rental lists for the Maclean lands. Listed for the year 1674 were Duncan and Hew M'Ilvrays who possessed half-penny land at Scour on the Ross of Mull. Rent was 30 pounds, one quart of butter, one stone of cheese, one wedder and one stone of victuals.⁵⁷ The fact that Duncan and Hew were listed by name, rather than listed just as tenants, indicates they were probably superior tenants and well positioned within the Maclean hierarchy.

For the Macleans, the above financial arrangement did not last and their resources and political situation deteriorated further. In May 1675, the Earl of Argyll cited Maclean and his followers to appear at the Court of Inverary to answer for crimes and treasonable acts. The islanders, not daring to venture into the Campbell stronghold, ignored the summons. For this act of defiance, they were "put to the horn,"⁵⁸ and a warrant was prepared for their apprehension. This warrant is of considerable historical interest since it contained the names of the followers of Maclean including the following MacGillivrays.⁵⁹ Note the wide disparity in spelling when a common Gaelic surname was Anglicized.

Angus M'Ivorish in Sheba
Archibald M'Ilvray in Starfine
Archibald M'Irvays in Teerfine
Donald M'Iraw in Balliwilling
Donald M'Ean vic Ilvray in Kilvicewn
Donald grave M'Ilvray in Starfine
Donald M'Ichallum vic Iloray in Forwachlie
Donald Gorum M'Irvay in Pennygaill
Donald M'Ilorayes in Larsaig
Donald M'Ilvray in Teerfine
Duncan M'Ilvray in Scur
Ewin M'Ilvray in Scur
Hector M'Illoray in Pennycross
John M'Ivorrie in Isle of Erraie
John M'Ilorayes in Larsaig
John Dow M'Iloray in Glentiddell
John Dow M'Ilvray in Knock
John M'Ivorich in Kentalline
Lauchlan M'Ilvray in Knock
Malcolm M'Ilvray in Killive
Malcolm M'Iloray in Glentiddell
Malcolm M'Iloray in Tormtarroch
Malcolm M'Ivorrie in Forwachlie

57. MacPhail, J. R. N., editor, The Highland Papers, Vol. I, p. 280.

58. To be denounced as rebels, outlaws or breakers of the law. To have a price put on ones head.

59. MacPhail, J. R. N., editor, The Highland Papers, Vol. I, pp. 296-303.

Martin M'Donald vic Ilvray in Larnish and Teerfine
Martin M'Donochie vic Ilvray in Larnish and Teerfine
Neelchallum M'Ilvray in Ardchevage
Neil M'Ilvray in Sallochar
Neil M'Ilvray in Dissag
Neil M'Ilvray in Glenrannar

* * * *

The primary objective of this part of the history was to determine the origin of the MacGillivrays. First, we developed an understanding of the social and economic conditions that existed in Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries when the use of surnames began. We noted that in reality there were two Scotlands. One in the Lowlands where the Scottish monarchs introduced and nurtured Anglo-Norman customs and culture. The other Scotland was isolated behind the Highland Line and there rugged people lived in a rugged land, determined to hold on to their Celtic heritage. Obviously, such a division of basic ideas and principles could not long endure. Eventually, the Crown prevailed in the struggle for supremacy and the Anglo-Norman customs were imposed on the Highlands. One result was the Anglicization of traditional Gaelic identifiers that evolved into the Scottish surnames we know today.

Once the use of Scottish surnames was established, we began a search for the origin and meaning of the surname MacGillivray. After a lengthy review of the literature and an examination of all the theories concerning the MacGillivrays, we accepted the plausible conclusion that the surname MacGillivray stems from the Gaelic identifier "MacGille-bhrath" which means literally "the son of the servant of judgement or doom." This interpretation implies that it is an occupational surname derived from the profession of doomster or deemster, from the Anglo-Saxon word for "judge." Since deemsters held prominent positions of trust in the government of the Lords of the Isles, it follows that the surname MacGillivray originated most likely on the Isle of Islay where the Lords of the Isles had their seat of government. We concluded further that MacGillivrays were known by that surname - albeit with sometimes almost unrecognizable spellings - as early as the 15th century, and that the MacGillivrays and their surname spread northward and eastward from there.

After arriving at a plausible conclusion on the origin of the surname, the next task was to try to determine the MacGillivray ancestral stock. Since MacGillivray was an occupational surname, existing in definitive form only from about the 15th century, we accepted the premise that the MacGillivrays were known by some other Gaelic identifier prior to that time. To verify this, we reviewed all the early theories on the origin of the MacGillivrays. Most were traditional and all were interesting, but none were conclusive. There was, however, a unifying thread running through each of the dissertations of the early historians, one that could be unraveled for closer scrutiny. This unifying thread was their almost universal acceptance that a blood relationship existed between the MacInnes and the MacGillivrays, and the apparent close inter-relationship between all of the early clans that inhabited parts of Argyll. Included were the Macdonalds, the MacGillivrays, the MacInnes, the MacEacherns

and the MacMasters.

After reviewing the histories of each of these clans of Argyll, we reached a general conclusion that all of these clans were part of the original Dalriadic expansion from Northern Ireland to Scotland beginning in the 6th century. Of course, with the exception of the Macdonalds, none of the roots of the individual clans could be followed minutely that far back in time.

Finally, a synthesis of the historical literature, combined with personal input from present day authorities, led to the following major conclusion. We submit that the MacGillivrays and MacInnes were from the same ancestral stock as the Macdonalds, but they branched long before there ever was a Clan Donald so there is little chance, if any, of ever establishing the bloodline.

We concluded this part of the history with a summary of early documentation of MacGillivray actions and achievements. As the 17th century drew to a close, it was apparent the MacGillivrays were fairly well dispersed on the southern part of Mull. Also the records show that they were widely scattered on the mainland. However, as interesting as the generic MacGillivrays may be, it is time now to get specific and focus our attention on one particular branch of the clan - the MacGillivrays of Skye - and to follow their fortunes and misfortunes in the changing economic and social world of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.



Dunmaglass (or Dunmaglas), Strathnairn, Inverness, circa 1850, seat of the Chiefs of the Clan MacGillivray. Courtesy of Peter MacGillivray, Inverness, Scotland, who painted the original in 1982 based on historic sketches and descriptions.

PART THREE

THE MACGILLIVRAYS ON SKYE

A brighter dawn awaits the human day...
When poverty and wealth, the thirst of fame,
 The fear of infamy, disease and woe,
War with its million horrors, and fierce hell,
 Shall live but in the memory of time.

Percy Bysshe Shelly

THE EARLY YEARS

Readers may justifiably question why, up to this point, so much emphasis has been on the MacGillivrays of other locales and almost nothing has been said about the MacGillivrays of Skye. The most plausible reason for this disparity is because the MacGillivrays, as an identifiable group, did not inhabit Skye in those early days.

When the whole of the Hebrides was ceded to Scotland by Norway in 1266, the Western Isles were divided into four administrative groups. Skye and Lewis were placed under the Earl of Ross. The other three groups were placed under Macdonald in Islay, MacRuari in Uist and MacDougal in Mull. It was not until 1435, when Alasdair Macdonald acquired the Earldom of Ross, that Skye came under the administrative control of the Lord of the Isles. When the Macdonalds established a base on Skye their MacGillivray followers went with them thus introducing that surname to the island.

The odyssey of the MacGillivrays from Islay to Mull and on to Skye was, in many ways, a chronicle of decline. Not because they, as a people, declined but because they were caught up in a time of rapidly changing social and economic conditions. On Islay and Mull the status of the MacGillivrays had been high. They occupied seats on Council, held positions as clergy and served as factors or tacksmen for the Macdonalds. The MacGillivrays who remained on Mull continued to enjoy an elevated social status as followers of the Macleans of Duart until the power of that clan declined in the 17th century. The MacGillivrays who settled in Upper Strathnairn in Inverness-shire became the major branch of the clan. They were active in making history and had high visibility in clan circles until the 20th century when the succession of Chiefs of the Clan ended with the death of John Farquhar MacGillivray, who died in 1942 without issue. John Farquhar was a Canadian who would have been XIV Chief had he been so inclined to seek that honor.

Initially, the MacGillivrays on Skye held the same positions of trust and responsibility they had held on Islay and Mull. The early records show the MacGillivrays on Skye served the Macdonalds frequently in both legal and administrative actions. This type of service indicated that some of the MacGillivrays enjoyed a high level of trust and also had acquired a fairly high level of education. Unfortunately, this state of achievement would soon pass.

Almost from the time the MacGillivrays became established on Skye an undercurrent of change began in the Highlands. Many of these changes were imperceptible at first, but with time they inexorably accumulated into major issues that would motivate these brave Scottish people towards actions that would culminate in the agony of the '15 and '45 Risings.

After 1745, the future for most of the ordinary Highlanders became uncertain. The unifying effects of the clan system broke apart. The new social and economic mores no longer cemented the bonds between Chiefs and Clansmen. Instead, the rapport faded and the Highlanders entered into less binding agreements between lairds and tenants. Eventually, the economic and social conditions reached a nadir, and for many Scots emigration became an attractive alternative.

In this section we shall try to reconstruct the conditions on Skye that caused so many MacGillivrays - as well as members of other clans - to take that fateful step and leave their ancestral home for the mysteries of a foreign land. To help achieve this objective, two additional bits of information may be helpful. First, we shall present a brief description of Skye which was the habitat of the MacGillivrays. And, since the fortunes of the MacGillivrays were so inextricably tied to the Macdonalds, a brief discussion of the vicissitudes of that family are also presented.

* * * * *

The Isle of Skye is the largest island in the Inner Hebrides. Its proximity to the mainland - about 1/4 mile at the closest point - has made Skye a mecca for travelers from the earliest of times. And the impressions carried away by these myriads of visitors have made Skye the most romanticized of all the Western Isles.

The name Skye is an Anglicized version of what is believed to have been the colloquial Gaelic expression Eilean Sgiathanach which means Winged Isle. There are some, however, who believe the name of the island may be derived from the Norse despite the almost overwhelming evidence of Celtic origin in both history and legend.

One of the more prevailing legends as to the origin of the name goes like this. In days of old, a great Celtic Chief demonstrated to the natives of Skye his prowess in battle and they were so impressed they made him King of the Island. The new king built a castle in the north of Skye and ruled his new subjects justly and wisely.

One day the King ordered out his galley and informed his crew that he wished to sail around his new kingdom. The journey took ten days and when he returned his first act was to visit his lady, who was a beautiful Hibernian princess.¹

"What a large island it must be to have taken so long to sail around it. What is it like?" she asked.

"Like a bird with wings," the King replied.

"How pretty," said the Princess, "I will call it Eilean Sgiathanach, which means the Winged Isle."

Some hundreds of years later, the great Gaelic poet Ossian called the Isle

1. MacIntyre, Duncan, Handbook and Guide to the Misty Isle of Skye, (Portree: MacIntyre Stationers. Printed by Northern Chronicle, Inverness, 1931), pp. 1-2.

of Skye Eilean a cheo in his songs which is interpreted to mean the Misty Isle or Cloudy Isle.

The date of the earliest mention of the name Skye in literature is disputed, but it is certainly of great antiquity. A poem attributed to MacRossá Ruaid, an Irish poet who is supposed to have flourished in the 1st century A.D., describes the exploits of a king of Ireland named Labhraíd the Exile who, according to the poet,

"He wasted the great broad sea regions of the men of Fagrach...He razed eight towers in Tir Iarth [Tiree], he ravaged the lands of Idrig. And he destroyed eight encampments of the men of Skye ..."

The word used for Skye in this ancient poem was Scithach which is the genitive plural meaning "the men of Skye."²

The winged connotation of the island seems to have prevailed throughout history.³ In 120 A. D., Ptolemy of Alexandria compiled a map whereon Skye was identified as Sketis. Since Ptolemy flourished at least 700 years before the advent of the Norse, one cannot avoid equating the early name of Skye with the Old Celtic Skeitos and its modern Gaelic equivalent Sgiath meaning wing. In 581, the island is referred to in The Annals of Ulster as Sgith, while a few years later it is mentioned as Seith. Adamnan, in his chronicle of the life of St. Columba written in the year 700, refers to the island as Scia.

Another interesting facet in the puzzle of the name of Skye becomes apparent when we consider that the Celtic root word ski means to cut or slice. Hence the cut-up or indented coast of Skye may have provided a natural topographical reason for the name given to the island rather than the metaphorical reasons we have alluded to. Moreover, when we consider that the Celtic root word ski could be the basis for the Gaelic word sgiat and the Norse skidh, it is obvious that more than this perfunctory comparison is required to truly clarify the philological origin of the name of the island.⁴ We accept quite readily that the name Skye is of Celtic origin and continue with our description of the island.

* * * * *

Geologically speaking, Skye's multi-faceted surface presents a striking memorial of the earth's physical history. From the predominant Cambrian sandstones of Sleat, which are the by-product of a time when great seas covered much of the earth's surface, to the relatively more recent Miocene

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Nicolson, M. A., Handbook of the Isle of Skye and Adjacent Islands, (Glasgow: The Celtic Press), p. 12.

4. MacIntyre, Duncan, Handbook and Guide to the Misty Isle of Skye, p. 3.

basalt deposits in Strath and Trotternish, the Isle of Skye presents a continuous geologic record not equalled for interest and completeness in any other part of Scotland. For the layman, the most interesting and spectacular of the geologic features of Skye are probably the Cuillins of Strath and Minginish, the magnificent sea-cliffs of Staffin and the awe-inspiring escarpment that forms the spine of the peninsula of Trotternish, and which reaches its most spectacular in the Quiraing and the Storr. The ancient volcanic activity that precipitated these geologic features would have been wondrous to behold.

Evidence shows that the Red Cuillins were the first to emerge and the Black Cuillins came forth at some considerable time later. The contrast between the two formations is remarkable. The syenite and plutonic igneous rocks of the Red Hills are soft and they have weathered to an almost artificial smoothness and roundness. This is shown most clearly in the Glamaig on the east shore of Loch Sligachan. The Red Hills are so named because they give the appearance of having had a red dust or ash sifted down over them.

The Black Cuillins, on the other hand, are composed primarily of hypersthene, a rock so incredibly hard that weather has had almost no effect upon them. For this reason, the Black Cuillins offer a dark, forbidding, rugged facade that has become symbolic of Skye. They dominate the island whether viewed from land or from sea.

Aside from the spectacular terrain features described above, the remainder of the island is mostly moor and hill pasture with arable patches scattered here and there. The total land area of Skye is 670.3 square miles or 428,992 acres. The length from SE to NW is about 49 miles, but the coast is so deeply indented that no part of the interior is more than five miles from the sea. The climate is more suitable for raising sheep and Highland cattle than for raising crops.

In 1841, the population of Skye was 23,082 people, the largest ever recorded. Ninety years later, in 1931, the population had decreased to 9,908 people. And in 1981,⁶ the population had further decreased slightly to about 9,300 people. The religion of the inhabitants is predominantly Presbyterian and the island is divided into seven major parishes as shown on the map in Figure 10. The Macdonald lands whereon the MacGillivrays lived, as well as other prominent place names important to this history, are also shown in the figure. The individual parishes will be covered in more detail later, but, while on the subject of geography, a few brief comments on the two parishes that have been primarily inhabited by the MacGillivrays are in order.

Trotternish, in the early days of Macdonald's tenure, was also MacGillivray country. We call attention to this fact because the majority of the MacGillivrays that will be discussed in this history were from Sleat and

5. Miller, James W., Skye, Gairloch, Eigg and Loch Maree, (Oban: James Miller, 1877) p. 33.

6. Preliminary results of the 1981 Census for Skye and Lochalsh. Verbal report provided by the Skye-Lochalsh Regional Council, Portree, May 1982

Strath. Apparently, however, the MacGillivrays of Trotternish never established deep roots in the North and by the 19th century they had disappeared almost entirely from that region. This was unfortunate because the Trotternish peninsula has always been the most fertile and most coveted wing of the island. The greatest battle in Skye history was fought for possession of Trotternish. And the Norse coveted it so much that, at Blar-a-Bhuailte near Kilmuir, they made their last stand before being banished from Skye forever.

In the 6th century, St. Columba first landed in Trotternish on the shore of Loch Snizort. Nearby was an enclosed lake that subsequently was given his name - Loch Chalium Chille. Many years later this lake was drained and so much fertile land was reclaimed that for more than twenty seasons abundant crops were produced without any care or feeding. "To reap in Monkstadt" became an expression synonymous with getting something for nothing or receiving riches without labor.

Trotternish, as were the other parts of Skye, is believed to have been a heavily wooded part of the vast Caledonian Forest that covered most of the Highlands until recent times when the hills were gradually denuded for fuel and agriculture.

Sleat,¹⁰ on the other hand, is truly MacGillivray country; it is now and always has been since the Macdonalds first came to Skye. The peninsula of Sleat is the southernmost wing of the "Winged Isle," and it is a separate, distinct entity unlike any of its northern counterparts. Sleat's climate and vegetation are different and they combine to create what has become known as the "Garden of Skye."

There are those who claim also that the people of Sleat are different from the other Skye inhabitants, even to the point of claiming they are of a different race. Apparently the inhabitants of the north and south of Skye have never mixed and even today, other than the ubiquitous tourists and summer residents, one finds very little communication between the southern and northern ends of the island. Although they bore the same surname, the MacGillivray family groups of the north and the south apparently flourished within their respective spheres with little if any contact with each other.

The practical reasons for this lack of communication between the north and south of Skye was most likely due to geography and the absence of a good

7. Swire, Otta F., Skye, the Island and Its Legends, (Glasgow: Robert MacLehouse & Co., Ltd., The University Press, 1973), pp. 196-197.

8. Ibid., pp. 196-197.

9. Ibid., p. 38.

10. Sleat! Pronounced Slate. Not many Scots even appreciate this pronunciation other than local inhabitants. The "ea" in Highland names and words is usually pronounced "ay," e.g. Maclean, MacBean, etc. This may help to explain why so many clanfolk have changed the spelling of clan names to Maclaine, MacBain, etc to insure the correct pronunciation.

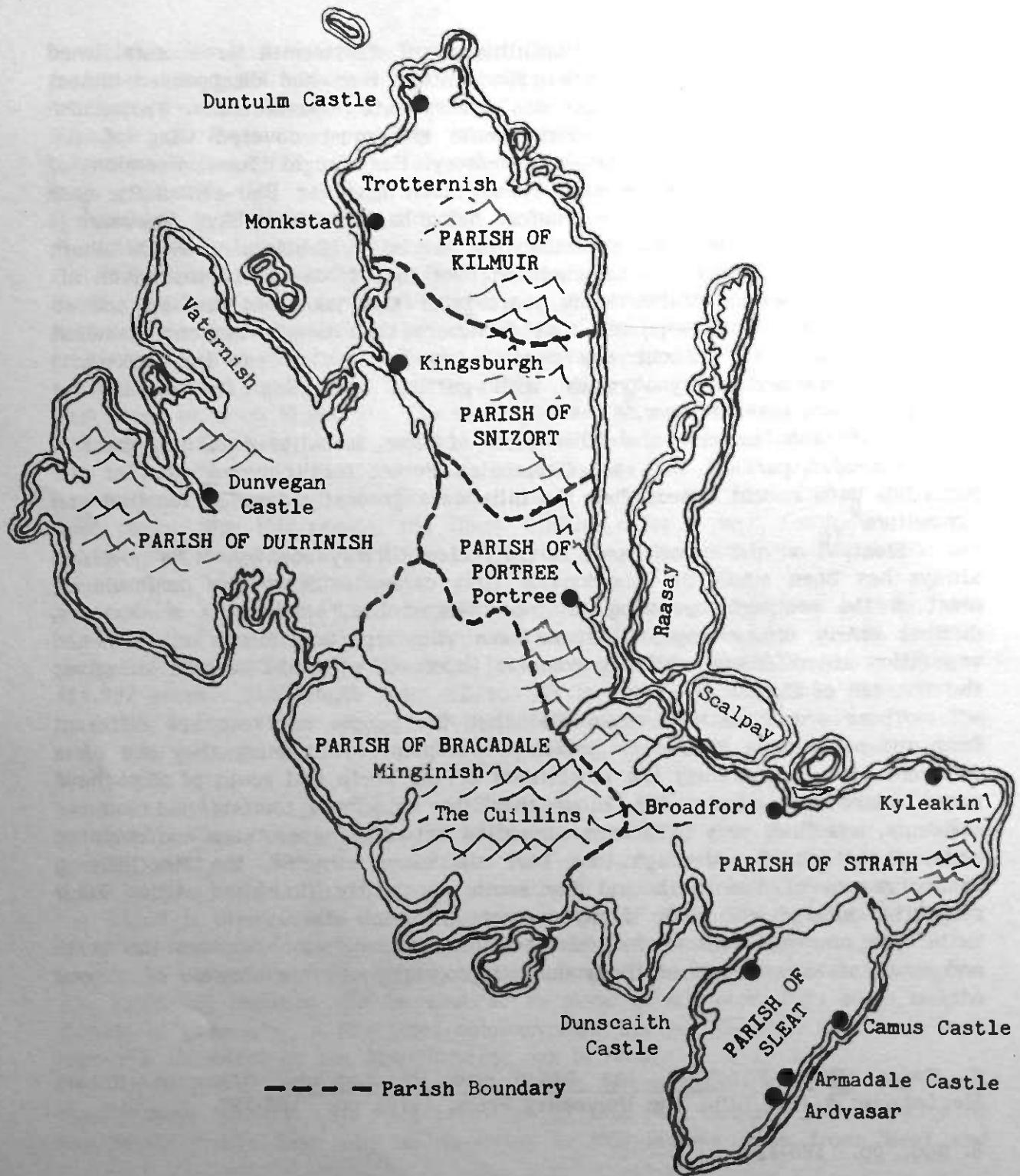


Figure 10. Schematic map of the Isle of Skye showing the approximate parochial boundaries and some general topographic and cultural features.

transportation network. However, the abstruse reasons for the lack of communication are far less definable but much more interesting, as illustrated in the following examples.

There are those who believe the isolationism to be a legacy of the bitter clan wars between the Macdonalds and the MacLeods. Others believe it is due to a difference in the blood. Those of that view claim that, to this day, Sleat is inhabited by the descendants of an original race of small, dark-eyed people who may have been Pict, Iberian or what have you. Swire suggests these smaller people were originally from elsewhere on the island and were driven into isolation in Sleat by the larger Celts. They became the "Little People" or fairies who, according to legend, lived by their wits or by magic, and became the basis for the fairy stories told elsewhere on the island. This is nebulous conjecture, of course, but it is curious that there seems to be no fairy stories among the people of Sleat. Instead, they tell tales of giant people who lived in the hills and were mighty in battle.¹¹

We moderns tend to treat such fairy stories with skepticism until one day, while exploring the back roads of Sleat, we encounter a native whose most striking features are a small stature and dark, piercing pixie eyes. It is then the legend springs to mind and causes us to wonder. Are there really fairies on Sleat?

* * * * *

Near Teangue, on the Sound of Sleat, stands the ruins of Castle Camus, better known by its modern name as Knock Castle. The ruins dominate a headland that in early times was the key stronghold of Sleat. Legend reminds us that except for the carelessness of the warden of the castle, who held it for the MacLeods and who let himself be surprised, the Macdonalds would never have obtained a foothold on Skye.

The Macdonalds made no such mistake and after they gained control of Castle Camus they made it their residence as well as the major stronghold of the Lord of the Isles. When the Macdonalds left Camus Castle for Dunseaith, it remained a fortress for the Barons of Sleat and withstood siege from the MacLeods as late as the end of the 15th century. In this last confrontation, the castle was successfully and bravely defended by the legendary "Mary of the Castle" who held off the MacLeods long enough for the Macdonalds to gather and arm and repulse the invaders.¹²

Camus Castle was last occupied about 1650.¹³ It is best known as the residence of James of the Castle, son of Donald Gruamach, 4th Chief of Sleat.

11. Swire, Skye, The Island and Its Legends, pp. 194-195.

12. Swire, Skye, The Island and Its Legends, pp. 196-197

13. Macdonald, Donald J., Clan Donald, (Loanhead, Midlothian: Macdonald Publishers, 1978), p. 414.

James' grandson, Donald of Eriskay, founded the cadet family of Camus Castle that later became known as the Macdonalds of Kingsburgh.

On a headland of the Druim Dubh, on the western shore of Sleat, stands the ruins of another castle that was the second major residence and stronghold of the Macdonalds of Sleat. The Celtic name of this fortress is "Dunsgathaich" but it is now generally written as Dunseaith. It was a castle in the true sense of the meaning, complete with moat and drawbridge. Dunseaith Castle was first held by the MacAskils and then by the MacLeods when that clan claimed all of Skye. The Macdonalds gained control of Dunseaith as early as 1389, and it remained their chief residence and stronghold until about 1539 when the family moved north to occupy Duntulm. Dunseaith was still occupied in 1572. It is now in ruins.¹⁴

We have seen that the Macdonalds had access to parts of Skye as early as the 14th century but their claim was not legitimized until 1469. That year Hustean (Hugh) of Sleat, progenitor of the Clanhuistean, received a charter for lands in North Uist and Skye from his brother John, the 4th and last Lord of the Isles. When the Lordship of the Isles was abolished in 1493, Hugh of Sleat accepted the inevitable and made his peace with the Scottish Crown. In 1495, Hugh's claim to Sleat was confirmed by a Royal Charter from the King of Scotland.

After 1498, the hegemony of the Macdonalds in the southern part of Skye remained fairly stable, but the stability of their tenure in the northern lands of Trotternish was an entirely different matter. Perhaps, the Macdonalds cherished Trotternish so much because their claim was cloudy and disputed. For whatever reason, many of their early years on Skye were spent there. Because of the enhanced presence of the Macdonalds in Trotternish, we find much of the early history of the MacGillivrays recorded in that province also.

Which Clan - the Macdonalds or the MacLeods - was the rightful owner of the lands of Trotternish was a point of contention for many years, and also the cause of much bloodshed. By a charter granted under the Great Seal in 1495, Hugh of Sleat obtained legal right to the lands in Trotternish, Sleat and North Uist. When Hugh died in 1498, his ineffectual son John renounced all rights to these lands in favor of Clanranald. However, John's nephew Donald Gruamach of Sleat, a strong individual, ignored this renunciation and Clanranald was never able to take possession of the disputed lands.

In the meantime, the monarchy changed. In 1513, James V acceded to the throne at the age of one year.¹⁵ During the young king's minority, the Regent made numerous grants to powerful individuals whose interest he wished to attach to his party. One of these grants was to Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan for the lands of Trouterness [Trotternish]. The basis for this grant was

14. Nicolson, M. A., Handbook to the Isle of Skye and Adjacent Islands, p. 74.

15. The basis for this part of the discussion is from two sources,(1) Macdonald, Donald J., Clan Donald, p. 136 and (2) MacKenzie, Alexander, History of the Macdonalds, (Inverness: A. & W. MacKenzie, 1881) pp. 158-159.

the claim by MacLeod that these lands had formerly been held by the MacLeods under the Lord of the Isles. Donald Gruamach, 4th Chief of Sleat, naturally did not recognize MacLeod's claim and, with the help of his brother-in-law Torquil of Lewis, expelled MacLeod from Trotternish in 1517. Thereafter the Macdonalds maintained control of these Skye lands by force of arms.

In 1528, at the age of sixteen, James V escaped from the domination of the Regent and assumed personal control of the government. One of his first official actions was to revoke all the grants that had been made during his minority, including the grant to MacLeod. The young king did not, however, do anything positive to establish the rightful owner of Trotternish. MacLeod naturally claimed that he had a legal right but the Macdonalds claimed otherwise. The ensuing quarrel over Trotternish was a festering sore between the two clans for years.

It was during this same period that the controversial question arose as to who would be chief of the many branches of the Clann Domhnuill (Donald).¹⁶ After much bickering it was finally resolved that the family of Sleat alone stood in direct line of succession from the traditional Macdonalds of the Isles. In 1598, in offers to Queen Elizabeth I, Donald Gorm declared that the Captains of the Clan Donald had sworn to follow, serve and obey him along with all their forces, thus settling once and for all time that the family of Sleat was indeed the line of succession of the Chiefs of the Clan. A chart of the descent of the Chiefs of the Macdonalds of Sleat is presented on pages 97-99 to help establish the time frame of events involving MacGillivrays that will be discussed throughout the text. The primary source of these data is the Clan Donald Centre, Armadale, Isle of Skye.

In the early period, the Church seemed to play an important part in the lives of the Macdonalds of Sleat. In 1561, we find a reference to "Tua Airmadilles" [Armadales] as lands which had previously been gifted to the Church by the Lord of the Isles.¹⁷ In 1630, this favor was apparently returned when Sir Donald Gorme Og Macdonald (8th Chief of Sleat) was granted a tack by the Bishop of the Isles, to wit.¹⁸

Tack by John, Bishop of the Isles, for the Tiends of
Trotternish, and Others to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, 1630

... left to the said Sir Donald Macdonald his maill and
assigneis q^t somevir My third Cummilie callit the bischopis third
of all and sindrie the tiend scheavis and utheris efter mentioned
viz the fourscore merklands of Trouterness the twenty pund lands

16. Macdonald, Reverends A. & A., The Clan Donald, (Inverness: Northern Counties Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 164-167.

17. MacInnes, Duncan, Armadale Castle Fact Sheet, prepared for distribution by the Clan Donald Center, Armadale, Sleat, Isle of Skye, April 1982.

18. Macdonald, Reverends A. & A., The Clan Donald, pp. 651-654.

of Slaitt quhairof the two merkland of Armadellis haldin of auld of the bischopes of the Isles is proper pairt and pertinent The fourtie pund land of North Wist quhairof thair was aucht merkland haldin of all the bischopes of the Isles ...

Fingone McMillen
Vicar of Ico'keil
Deane of the Eylis
consents

Master Thomas More
Minister at Cumbray
Prebender Consents

Johannes Leslaeus
Epus Sodorensis

Francis Hay
witness

A. Alexander
Minister at Killerow
Prebender consents

Mr. Patrick Stewart
Persoun [parson] at
Rothesay consents

A. Guthrie
witness and consents

James Logie
witness

Mr Merteanne [Martin] McIlievra [MacGillivray]
Minister at Killeane in Mull consents

This medieval Scottish is hard to read and even harder to understand, but essentially the tack states that the Bishop of the Isles leases to Macdonald the eighty merk land of Trotternish, the twenty pound land of Sleat including the two merk lands of Armadale and the forty pound lands of North Uist. Interest is added by the fact that Martin McIlievra (MacGillivray) of Mull was one who consented to this transaction. Martin was a well-known minister of Killeane.

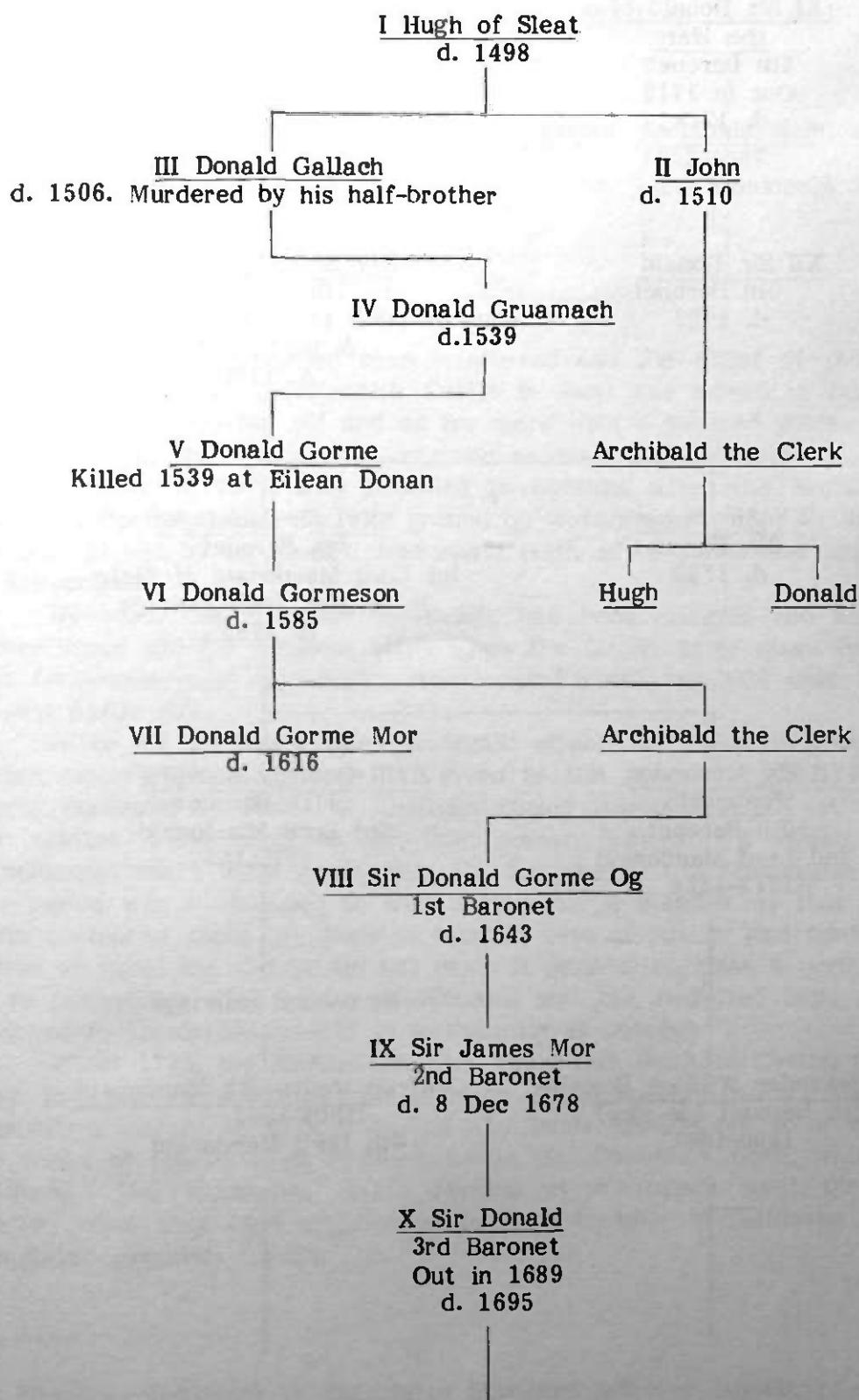
In 1616, Donald Gorme (7th of Sleat), in order to secure the Macdonald claim to Trotternish, declared Duntulm as his principal place of residence. Duntulm first appears in history as Dun Dhibidh and is said to have been an ancient Pictish fort that was seized by the Celts. The ancient fort was taken by the Norse early in the Norse invasion and occupied by them until they in turn were driven out by the Lord of the Isles, who built a new and improved fort on the site. Duntulm, as it was renamed, changed hands again and became the property of the MacLeods. In the 16th century, during the troublesome times of the Trotternish disputes, the Macdonalds seized Duntulm and Trotternish from the MacLeods, but the MacLeods rallied and drove the Macdonalds out again.

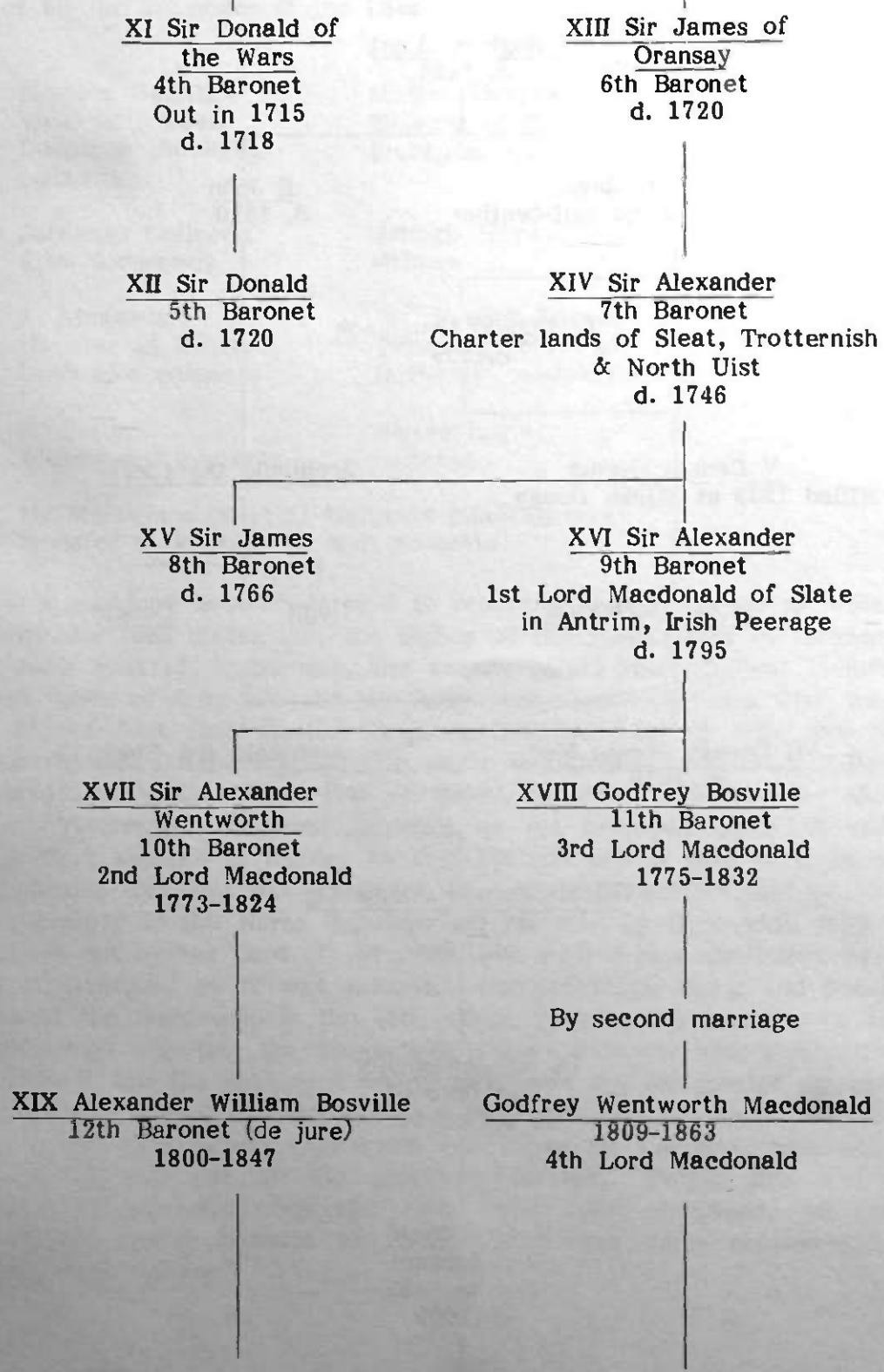
In due course, the Macdonalds came again, as was their custom. This time they not only seized Trotternish but drove all the population across the Snizort River and out of the peninsula forever. Partly this was to rid themselves of the MacLeods and those who owed allegiance to the Clan MacLeod, and partly because the Macdonalds were early proponents of the "scorched earth" policy.¹⁹

19. Swire, Skye, The Island and Its Legends, pp. 50-51.

LINE OF DESCENT OF THE MACDONALD CHIEFS OF SLEAT

Source: Clan Donald Centre, Armadale, Isle of Skye





XX Godfrey Wentworth Bosville
13th Baronet (de jure)
1826-1865

XXI Sir Alexander Wentworth
Macdonald Bosville
14th Baronet
1865-1933

Somerled James Macdonald
1849-1879
5th Lord Macdonald

Ronald Archibald Macdonald
1853-1947
6th Lord Macdonald

By 1630, Duntulm had been reinforced and the Chief of the Macdonalds and his family vacated Dunseraith Castle in Sleat and moved to Duntulm where they stayed in residence off and on for more than a hundred years.

In 1670, the Macdonalds returned to Sleat and occupied the mansion at Armadale. But, in 1690, they returned to Duntulm after the Armadale mansion was bombarded and burnt to the ground by Government troops in retaliation for the part played by Sir Donald Macdonald (11th of Sleat) in the Scottish victory at Killecrankie.

By 1695, the Armadale farmhouse had been restored and was used as a Dower house and for frequent visits when the family came down from Duntulm. This farmhouse, now demolished, was located about one-half mile south of the present castle site.

After the '15 Rising, the Macdonald estates were forfeited because of the active support the Macdonalds had given to the Jacobite cause. However, the family continued to reside at Duntulm during this period. While in forfeiture, the estates were managed by Government factors. It seems more than coincidence, and a little ironic, that the manager of the Trotternish lands during this period was a MacLeod so that once again a member of that Clan had de facto control of those oft disputed estates, even if not de jure control. After a period of time, the Crown did not deem it prudent to make a permanent enemy of so powerful a Clan as the Macdonalds and the forfeited Skye estates were returned to Macdonald control as expediently as possible.

About 1725, the Macdonalds once again left Duntulm Castle, but this time they took up residence at the mansion at Monkstadt [Norse: Munka=monk + bolstadtr=steading] so called because the lands appertained to a monastery on the banks of nearby Loch Chalium Chille (St. Columba's Lake, which was later drained). The Macdonald chiefs resided at Monkstadt until the early 19th century when they once again went to Sleat to take up residence in the newly completed Armadale Castle.²⁰

20. Nicolson, Handbook to the Isle of Skye and Adjacent Islands, p. 25.

While the Macdonald chiefs were in residence at Monkstadt, the Armadale properties were occupied by other family members. In 1738, the farmhouse and lands were leased to Macdonald of Kingsburgh, who was Estate factor to the family.

In 1745, during the Rising, the Armadale property was leased to Hugh Macdonald, stepfather of the famous Flora Macdonald. In 1746, Flora was arrested at Armadale for her part in helping Bonnie Prince Charlie escape after the Battle of Culloden. In 1750, Flora married Alan, son of Hugh Macdonald of Kingsburgh. The wedding took place at the Armadale farmhouse.

In 1773, Dr. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell visited the Macdonalds at Armadale during their tour of the Hebrides.

In 1798, a new manor house was built on a new site at Armadale. Later this became part of the castle. Part of this old mansion is now occupied by the Clan Donald Centre.

By the early 1800's, Armadale had once again become the principal residence of the Chiefs of the Clan Donald. In 1815, Armadale Castle was designed and built by Gillespie Graham. The castle per se was built onto the southern part of the mansion house, which in turn became the kitchens and servants quarters. At that time the old Armadale farmhouse was demolished. By 1820, the gardens were completely landscaped much as they appear today.

The Macdonald tenure in their new castle was relatively short-lived as castles go. By 1925, slightly more than one hundred years after it was built, the family left the castle to reside at Lower Ostaig House. In 1955, the contents and furnishings were sold and Armadale Castle gradually fell in ruin. The gardens and appurtenances have in recent years been acquired by the Clan Donald Lands Trust which is gradually restoring the property (except the castle) to its former state.²¹

This final note in our chronology of the Macdonalds emphasizes the irony of fate. Despite their status as Chiefs of the Clan Donald, and their almost unbroken dominance over the lands of Skye, the Macdonalds have had exceedingly bad luck with their places of residence. Camus (Knock) Castle, Dunseraith, Duntulm, Monkstadt and Armadale are all in ruins; and Kingsburgh is in a pitiful state of disrepair.

By comparison, Dunvegan Castle, seat of the Chiefs of MacLeod, has been occupied by the same family continuously for more than 700 years and is still inhabitable today. A staunch follower of MacLeod, searching for a rationale as to why things are like they are on Skye, might claim the present dissimilarity between the two seats of power is a small measure of retribution for the discomfort the MacLeods suffered at the hands of the Macdonalds throughout the years.

During all of these ups and downs of the Macdonalds of Skye, the MacGillivrays were their followers. The records contain numerous reference to MacGillivray activities and from these it is possible to follow them both geographically and socially.

21. MacInnes, Duncan, Armadale Castle Fact Sheet.

* * * *

There is no record of when the first MacGillivray came to Skye. The Macdonalds were there as early as 1465 and presumably the MacGillivrays were there also. In 1597, when Donald Gorme Og (7th of Sleat) was Chief of the Macdonalds, we find the earliest official record that contains information on MacGillivrays. On 7, 14 and 15 December 1597, John MackGillivray in Kilmore and James²² MackGillivray in Inverloch witnessed a land transaction for Macdonald.

One additional bit of information can be gleaned from the MacGillivray participation in the above land transaction. Robert and George MacGillivray in their excellent history of the Clan MacGillivray²³ note that the use of the prepositions "in" and "of" in official documents was very important and they were very carefully used. If "of" had been used in the above cited land transactions it would have indicated that John and James MacGillivray were proprietors of Kilmore and Inverloch, whereas the use of "in" indicates they were only residents or tenants.

By the above document, we can establish a MacGillivray presence on Skye as early as 1597, but there is a space of almost fifty years until the next official reference is found.²⁴ On 30 June 1644, Sir James Mor Macdonald offered a tack to a John McKenzie. This instrument was witnessed on Slate (sic) by Angus McGillievry, legitimate son of Donald Moir McGillievry, deceased.

In 1657, a MacGillivray witnessed two documents for a Donald Macdonald. On 20 June 1657, Ewin McGillivay witnessed a land transfer in Trotternish. On 22 June 1657, Ewin McGillievay witnessed a similar land transfer in Slate (sic). In both cases, Ewin was listed as a tenant in North Uist.²⁵ There is little doubt both of these Ewins were one and the same despite the variation in the spelling of the surname. Moreover, listing his place of residence as North Uist does not create any problems. The 1469 charter gave Hugh Macdonald possession of North Uist as well as the Skye lands, and it follows that some MacGillivrays would have migrated to North Uist as well as Skye. Although these MacGillivrays had the same point of origin as the Skye MacGillivrays, and in all likelihood were of the same bloodline, we have not pursued this line of

22. The Macdonald Muniments, 1600-1935, GD221/158/Box 1, H. M. Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland. These muniments are the Macdonald family papers and they provide an invaluable contribution to the history of Skye. We will use this source extensively. Hereafter references will be cited as GD221 followed by the appropriate file identifier, e.g. GD221/158/Box 1 for this citation.

23. MacGillivray, Robert & George, History of the Clan MacGillivray, (Thunder Bay, Ontario: G. B. MacGillivray, 1973), p. 80.

24. GD221/158/Box 2

25. GD221/158/Box 1.

investigation.

The last extant reference we have found involving the activities of a MacGillivray of Skye in the 17th century occurred in 1665. Early that year, Donald McDonald, son to Sir Donald MacDonald (8th of Sleat) and brother of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, renounced his title to the lands of Tortamurraig & others in Sleat. This renunciation document, dated 17 January 1665, was executed at Sleat and was signed by Donald McGilovry as "witness and writer thereof." This statement indicated that this Donald MacGillivray²⁶ was a learned individual capable of writing legal documents for the Macdonalds.

This last action brings us to the threshold of the eighteenth century.

26. GD221/106/17.

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The 18th century was to be a fateful one for all of Scotland and the Highlands in particular. Early in the century there would be a union with England. Two attempts would be made by the Stuarts to regain the Crown. Both would fail. The clan system that traditionally had unified the Highlands would fall apart. And, by the end of the century, sheep would have replaced many of the people in the Highlands. The impact from all these events would combine to create unimaginable social and economic pressures on the Highlanders and Scotland would never be the same again. The MacGillivrays of Skye would not be immune to these changes.

The new century dawned with the MacGillivrays continuing to serve the Macdonalds in many ways. On 22 May 1700, Articles of Agreement were drawn between the Laird of McIntosh and Coll Macdonald of Keppoch. Sir Donald Macdonald of Slait (sic) was cautioner.¹ This document was witnessed by a John McGillibray.

Another interesting example of early MacGillivray association with the Macdonalds is illustrated in the following extract from an official Acts of Court document,

McDonald Acts of Court made at Duntulm
Febrieye [February] 24th, 1705

...anent [concerning the] shoemakers

The former acts anent shoomakers are ratifyed excepting so far as they do not contradict this and its now speccally [specially] stateid & ordored that neither laird or oyr [others] have liberty by upon any protence to give licience [license] to any to bark lethor [leather] or & make shoos except men of are hand work pay and ye [the] allowd Shoomakers after namd to witt

John Bain McOrkin & his son Alexr. McCoillorkin, Murdock bain in garlock if he comes, patrick MaKilloir makillis, john

1. Caution - Security or bail. An obligation whereby one party becomes surety for another.
2. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/1-67.
3. GD221/104/42.

MegoillmakWilliam, george [this part of name undecipherable] oill
and Mebokound [?] ...

[There is a fold in the document here and some names are
unreadable]

...Donald oig McIllivory & Duncan his broyr [brother], John Megoill
bain Mackian mak neill, Duncan Mcilliogllmoig, melan bain
Mackgoill mak illess, makangus bain McGaillovr, angus mor
Mcillivory, neill Mcillivord & Mackighoin & 4 oyrs to be namd in
the breabem [?] Malcolm his uncle & cussin [cousin] John & further
it is ordained that after ye 25th of febrie [February] & non [none]
export any lethor [leather] under the penaltie of £10 [part of
document obscured] quoties [quotas] are non to take except for a
great English cowes hid [hide] of about 4 merks find [fine] on the
penaltie of £4 [obscure] quoties & that non of ye shoemakers
take after ye 1st of May next paying 8 p [pence] for mens shoes &
half a merk for womens & till the 1st of May 10 pence for the
one & 8 p for the oyr & this under ye febrie [February] all
penalties in the former acts upon the contrabeenors [contrabanders]
...

In addition to being an early reference to MacGillivrays on Skye, the
above document is interesting in several other respects. It establishes that
some of the early MacGillivrays were cobblers or shoemakers. But, most
importantly, it illustrates with remarkable clarity the continuing problem
associated with the Anglicization of Scottish surnames even as late as the 18th
century. Of course parts of the ancient document are unreadable but it appears
there were at least five individuals listed who had the surname MacGillivray in
one of its many variations. Although the document was apparently executed at
Duntulm, it does not give any indication of the place of residence of the
individuals named therein.

The MacGillivrays continued to serve the Macdonalds in a juratory
capacity until well into the 18th century. On 14 February 1710, Donald
McGilliovry, tenant in Ostaig, witnessed a letter written by a Daniel
McKinnon.⁴ On 16 May 1710, a certificate of arrestment of money due to a
James Dunbar was placed in Sir Donald MacDonald's hands. This certificate
was signed by Daniel McKinnon, messenger, and witnessed by Ranald
MacDonald⁵ and Charles MackIlivray, servitors to the said Sir Donald
MacDonald.

Charles MacGillivray continued to be an active jurator for some time.⁶
In 1712, he witnessed a factor's account between Sir Donald Macdonald and John

4. GD221/89/65.

5. GD221/12/83/3.

6. GD221/103/12.

Mackensie. In the text of this document he was designated Charles MackGilbray, servitor, but he signed his signature as Charles McGillibray, witness. Also in 1712, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat executed a registered bond in favor of Aneas MacDonald of Scots House. This bond was signed in Glasgow on 17 October 1712 and registered in Inverness on 14 August 1716. The bond was witnessed by Charles MackGilwrae and David Ross.

In 1715, Sir Donald Macdonald (12th of Sleat) executed a document naming the trustees of his will which he had written at Duntulm on 1 February 1710. The trustees included Margaret Macdonald "my present spouse." Witnesses were Angus MacQueen of Garafad; James Gavin, chirunfern [?] in Trotternish and Charles McIlivray "my servant."⁸ This document was certified in Edinburgh on 8 February 1722.

It should be noted that these sundry references to Charles MacGillivray as Macdonald's servitor or servant should not arbitrarily put him in the class of an ordinary servant. He wrote documents for the Lord as well as served as a legal witness. Apparently he was well educated for those times and was a high-grade employee, more like a secretary and not a domestic servant.

* * * * *

The union of Scotland and England in 1707 was a major political alignment and understandably there would be considerable friction between the two parts of the kingdom, especially at the beginning. The reasons for the discord are legion but these few examples will suffice to illustrate the problem. The Scots chafed under certain provisions of English law that was newly imposed upon them. The Presbyterian Church resented the English tolerance to those of non-Presbyterian faith. Most important was the overriding question of succession; would the united Crown remain Hanoverian or become Stuart? The end result of all this turmoil was a political event that would have a major impact on the Macdonalds of Sleat as the proprietors of Skye and to a lesser extent on their tenants, such as the MacGillivrays.

In the summer of 1715, there occurred the first Jacobite Rising to attempt to restore a Stuart to the throne. To help achieve this, the Earl of Mar raised an army and called on all Highland chiefs to rally to the cause. On Skye, Lord Macdonald (11th of Sleat) summoned his clan to arms and mustered about 800 men who went forth to join Mar and the other Jacobites. The Skye clansmen were commanded by two of the chief's brothers, James of Oransay and William.

The military confrontation occurred at Sheriffmuir near Dunblane, about five miles from Stirling. There Mar's army met Government troops under the command of the Duke of Argyll. Technically the battle was a draw but Mar retired from the field and, for all practical purposes, the Rising of the '15 was

7. GD221/12/18.

8. GD221/89/39 and GD221/66/35.

over. After the battle some Scots were executed and hundreds of others were transported to America. We have found no record of any Macgillivray of Skye being in either contingent.⁹

Insurgent chiefs, who had supported the Jacobite cause, were ordered to present themselves at the castle of Inverlochy or else suffer the penalty of attainer and forfeiture of their estates. Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat ignored that summons and, in June 1716, was declared guilty of treason. Subsequently, actions were taken to forfeit his estates and Royal troops were sent to Skye to enforce the order. When they arrived the Clan was disbanded and Sir Donald fled to North Uist.¹⁰ It is worth noting at this point that the action at Sheriffmuir was the last time the Macdonalds of Sleat and their septs ever fought together as a clan.

Sir Donald Macdonald (11th of Sleat) died in 1718 and, after 1720, the chieftanship passed to his brother James of Oransay (13th of Sleat). The Skye estates were restored to the Macdonalds in 1727.¹¹

Although the Macdonalds were distressed during their eleven-year hiatus from their Skye estates, certain legal actions and land transfers were necessary during that period and the MacGillivrays continued to perform juratory duties.¹² On 19 September 1716, a sasine was granted in favor of Farquard Matheson whereby he regained lands in the Barony of Sleat, Parish of Kilmore [sic]. This sasine was witnessed by Charles McGillivray, Ranald Macdonald, James Macdonald of Aird and James Macdonald of Oransay.

On 5 June 1717, a heritable bond was negotiated between Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat and Farquard Matheson, tacksman of Fernagin. One of the witnesses was "Charles McGilivray, my servitor; sic subscribitur."¹³ Other witnesses included Lord Macdonald's brother and nephew, thus placing the said Charles MacGillivray in good company.

The aforementioned Charles MacGillivray was apparently well educated for those times and for at least a seven-year period (1710-1717) enjoyed a close working relationship with the Macdonald family. However, after Sir Donald Macdonald died in 1718, MacGillivray's service as a jurator apparently came to an end. Perhaps he was not as close to the new chief or perhaps he became infirm or even died. We may never know the real reason why he stopped appearing in the records.

There was, however, a Charles MacGillivray still around after 1718

9. Scotland, Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, XX, p. 160.

10. Nicolson, Alexander, The History of Skye, (Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 1930), pp. 211-213.

11. Moncrieffe of that Ilk, Sir Iain, The Highland Clans, (Edinburgh: Barrie & Rockclift, 1967), p. 62.

12. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/12/1.

13. GD221/12/8.

although we cannot be sure he was the same Charles MacGillivray noted above. This Charles appears in an account of the Lady Margaret Macdonald extracted below. Note that the shoes that were "sold & bordored" were "soled & bordered."¹⁴

An Accompt of the Lady Macdonald of Sklat [Sleat] Living at the blair [place of the flax?] for Skin gotten [gotten] to her Ladyships servants from William Couslon Shoemaker in Culros from the 19th day of June 1718 to the 9th of April 1719...

25 July 1718	To Charles McKilawrae one pair shoos	£ 1 - 4 - 0
	To Janet McDonald one pair	£ 1 - 0 - 0
27 October 1718	To Angus Stuart one pair	£ 1 -10 - 0
1 November 1718	To Charles McKilawre	£ 1 - 4 - 0
17 November 1718	To Janet McDonald one pair	£ 1 - 0 - 0
23 February 1719	To Charles McKelowray one pair sold & bordored	£ 0 - 8 - 0 ...

signed/ Margaret McDonald

* * * * *

We have now reached a point in our narrative where, in order to appreciate later events, it is useful to present a rudimentary picture of the socio-economic conditions that prevailed in the Highlands in the first half of the 18th century. Basically, this requires an understanding of the clan system and how it evolved.

The roots of the modern clan system in the Highlands go back to the 11th century and, if a time of beginning can be generalized, the system began when Malcolm Canmore moved the seat of Scottish government from Scone to Dumfermline in the Lowlands and introduced new policies into Scotland based on the English system. These policies, which were continued by Malcolm's successors, were to cause much unrest within the kingdom, especially in the Highlands.

One of the most fundamental and far-reaching of these changes was the introduction of feudalism. The Gaels who inhabited the Lowland provinces of ancient Caledonia gradually accepted feudalism and, in that respect, the Lowlands soon became indistinguishable from England. There were, however, two

14. GD221/149/1/5/24 and GD221/149/2/1/1.

distinct parts of Scotland, and in that part that had been Dalriada, and which is now known as the Highlands, the changes instituted by the monarchs were resisted. Because of this resistance there began a schism between the Highlands and the Lowlands that gradually grew wider and wider.

This incipient division of the kingdom, nurtured at best by the Highlanders sense of isolation and smoldering frustration, became even more pronounced when they saw their King, who was sworn to uphold Celtic law, doing all within his power to subvert these ancient laws and substitute unacceptable changes. Feudalism was not acceptable to the Highlanders nor was it compatible with the Celtic system of tanistry and gavel¹⁵ which reigned supreme until abolished in 1745 after the Rising.

The removal of the Royal Court from the Highlands to the Lowlands brought other changes considered undesirable by the Highlanders. The seat of power was now so far removed from the Highlands that administration and laws - never well exercised at best - for all practical purposes became inoperable. The end result was a state of internal turbulence and social unrest that developed and grew in the Highlands, and it was in this fertile environment that the seeds of the clan system took root.

It is an axiom of natural science that nature abhors a vacuum. When a vacuum occurs, for whatever reason, nature moves quickly to restore balance or equilibrium. To a great extent this same axiom applies to society and when there is a void within the social system something or someone will move to fill it and restore equilibrium. Such was the case with the Gaels of the Highlands. The Kings removal had created a social void or vacuum and it was only natural that something would rise to replace it.

The absence of the monarch and his influence intuitively caused the Highlanders to realize that they must look elsewhere for order and protection. But the nature of the Highland terrain was not conducive to any surrogate centralized government system. Instead the Highlands promoted fractionation and gradually every district isolated by an arm of the sea or by a mountain chain or even by islands became an independent de facto state within a state. The inhabitants of each of these individual communities purposely preserved their own unique characteristics. Marriages with outsiders were seldom made and after a time the members of the clan, as these communities became known, were related both by blood as well as by affinity. This evolution of the Gaels into clans or tribes encouraged the development of many of the customs, institutions and usages that have become the hallmark of the Scottish Highlander we so admire today.

Because the Crown failed to exercise the proper leadership, the clans instituted their own power structure to fill the void. At the apex of this

15. Tanistry - An ancient Celtic system whereby a tanist or successor of a Celtic king or chief was elected during his predecessors lifetime from within a select circle of the king's or chief's relatives. Gavel (from gavelkind) - A Celtic system of land tenure whereby a parcel of land was partitioned among the whole tribe or sept at the death of the holder.

hierarchy were the chiefs of the respective clans who were selected by their clansmen by virtue of their position, courage, strength and talent for leadership. These chiefs, who held large areas of land often with very doubtful legal title, exercised an absolute power within their territory that was almost entirely independent of any Royal authority. They served as judges and arbiters and held life and death control over their followers. Yet, despite these almost dictatorial powers, the chiefs position, rights and power were encouraged and insured by the resolute allegiance of his clansmen followers.¹⁶

As the clan system developed, it was a constant struggle for each clan to maintain its status quo and at the same time try to wrest additional land and chattel from other clans. To achieve this required manpower, large amounts of manpower, and for this the chiefs depended on their clansmen whose duty was to propagate and provide manpower to insure clan continuity. And therein lay the basis for the economic conditions that prevailed in the Highlands prior to the middle of the eighteenth century.

The economy of the Highlands was agrarian. There was no industry. The clansmen lived on patches of poor soil, ineptly cultivated, with limited privileges of common grazing on the hills for their sheep and cattle. The end result of the over crowding and poor agriculture meant for the clansmen a bare subsistence existence. There was no diversity and even in good years the annual crops were often insufficient to feed the inhabitants. In periods of severe climate or weather calamity, inevitably there would be dearth and destruction among the clansmen and their families. This had happened in the late 1690's, in 1709 and would happen again in 1740 and 1760.

The clansmen were as poorly housed as they were fed. Their cottages were primitive and always overcrowded and were shared with the animals. The men wore hand-woven trews or the belted plaids (*breacan-feile*) of their chief's tartan. The women wore dresses of coarse material they could card, spin and weave from wool.

Intuitively, one might conclude that, given these conditions, the Scottish Highlanders should have degenerated into a faceless, nameless peasant society similar to those that existed on mainland Europe. Such was not the case. Despite the brutal conditions and almost continuous adversity, the Highlanders possessed a dignity and bearing that was almost regal. Moreover, these unique people possessed another attribute that cannot be ignored - their culture.

Although unconformable with their standard of living, the culture of the Highland Scots was remarkably well developed. By the 18th century, particularly on Skye, piobaireachd (*pibroch*) and Ceol Mor, the great or classical music, had reached a high stage of development that rivaled the musical culture of the rest of Europe. And, of course, the Highlanders deep love of song and poetry has been known through the ages.

Sustained by their inner strength and culture, the clansmen accepted the grinding poverty with resignation and, according to some, even with a careless

16. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, (Edinburgh & London: W. & A. K. Johnson, Ltd., 1908), pp. 24-27.

contentment. They were the building blocks of the clan system and were always ready to rally around their respective chiefs when the fiery cross was raised.¹⁷

In this manner, the inseparable relationship between the chiefs and their clansmen existed for hundreds of years. Each depended upon the other and for the Highlanders the system worked well. The chiefs provided a paternalistic position of authority and the clansmen served as workers and warriors when the need arose. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that the connotation of a clan is a "family," and like families the clans endured until the 18th century.

The social structure of the clan system also existed on Skye. Macdonald of Sleat was the Chief and the Macdonalds, as well as other families or septs, gave their allegiance to him. The MacGillivrays of Skye were of this latter group.

* * * * *

By 1727, the Skye estates, forfeited in 1716, had been restored to the Macdonalds. During the Macdonald hiatus, life among the Skyemen, who had not been directly involved in the Rising, went on with very little disruption. Not so with the Macdonalds. They had been separated from their estates and forced to live a restricted existence elsewhere. During that time they had acquired large debts and undoubtedly much bitterness. When the Macdonald estates were finally returned to the family, the management was motivated by pecuniary circumstances which, although not new, were certainly more crucial than they had ever been before. The overriding consideration was revenue, or more aptly how to circumvent the lack thereof.

Some indication of the Macdonald's financial discomfort is revealed in a memorial written about 1730 that discusses some of the abuses in the management of Lord Macdonald's estates. Sir Alexander Macdonald, a minor, had recently acceded to the chieftanship (14th of Sleat). Some items of the memorial contain the seeds of future actions that will directly and indirectly affect the Skyemen, including the MacGillivrays.¹⁸

Memorial anent [concerning] the Management of Sir
Alexander Macdonald's Estate.

Sir Alexander's predecessors their great debts, their living out of the Country, and forfeiture of the Estate & Minority of the present possessor have made several abuses creep into the management such as

17. MacDonald, Colin, Crofts and Crofters, (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1955), p. 4. and Graham, Henry Gray, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 4th edition, (London: A. & C. Black, 1937), pp. 183-185.

18. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/2/48.

1st There are many wadsetts¹⁹ on this Estate which were granted long ago at 6 percent of the money lent, which continued till very lately to be possessed by the wadsetters in the same way & still there are some very lucrative, particularly Mugstot & Koll pay 420 or 440 mks [merks] and are wadset for 7,000 mks & and the lands of Cuidreach are wadset for 3,000 mks, but the possessor having had them the 50 or 60 years the rent & value cannot be particularly known tho its believed with good ground he has 8 or at least 7 percent for his money.

2nd The wadsetters have the best farms in the Estate & possess them without any tack or Suspension of the Redemption so that if a method could be fallen on to Redeem them & and the land set in tack the Heretor [the minor²⁰ Chief, Sir Alexander Macdonald] would get considerable grassume, almost as great as he pleased to exact because the tennents [tenants] are very throng [many], & therefore would readily & heartily bid for the best farms.

3rd Tho the wadsetters & others who have money in the Heretors hands are not at all careful to pay their rents punctually but let part of them ly [lie] over for 2 or 3 years till perhaps their Rests [remainder] swell to 400 or 500 mks, yet they Retain always their full rent for the Summs contained in their Bonds or other Securities.

4th Some of the tennents presume on their Relation to the Heretor or some considerable man in the Clan & without any pretense alledged keep their Rents in their own hands or squander them away & many of the tennents never pay their Rent till the 2nd Michaelmass [29 September] or Martinmass [11 November] after their Entry whereas within the last 24 or 25 years they paid Regularly at the Mart[inmass] immediately following their Entry & as these abuses have not been vigourously corrected they increase daily.

5th There are several abatements of the Rent given to favourites at several times particularly when the Estate was managed by the Trustees for forfaulted [forfeited] Estates [who was] their factor, & tho the lands can well bear to pay the old Rent yet they have never been Raised since the first diminution.

6th There are several abuses committed by the factors who not being Regularly & yearly brought to account both slip the exacting

19. Wadset - Scots law: To convey land in pledge for or in satisfaction of a debt or obligation, with a reserved power to the debtor to recover his land on payment or performance; to mortgage.

20. Grassum - An anticipation of a rent in a gross or lump sum, or a fine paid in consideration of a lease for a term of years.

the Rents from the tennents, & keep part of what they get for their own uses perhaps for several years ...

8th It's observable none pay so ill as these Gentlemen [presumably the tacksmen -editors] they Generally squeeze a higher Rent from their subtenants than they pay the Heretor, and always oppress these subtenants with service ...

9th What above all prejudices the Masters Interest most & at the same time Beggars the tennents is their Luxury in Brandy, Tobacco and fine Cloathes, which three articles cost them Incredible Summs, & their loss by the first is occasioned by their having little or no Barley of their own Growth, & their ignorance of Malting & drawing Spirits & fineries of all sorts are coveted by them to that degree that they sometimes spend more on a fine suit or Silk Gown than will answer their Masters Rent ...

The above document is cumbersome and certain parts are of limited interest. However, the intrinsic value is read between the lines. The cash flow pressures on the Macdonalds would not abate but would become increasingly more intense. The actions the Macdonalds took to correct the abuses so that the revenues from the Estate could be increased would have far-reaching effects on the inhabitants of Skye for the next 150 years.

* * * * *

By 1733, the Skye estates had been restored to the Macdonalds and they were under the proprietorship of Sir Alexander, 14th Chief of Sleat. The Macdonalds had two major operations on Skye; one at Trotternish and the other at Sleat. Trotternish, under the factorship of Martin Martin of Kingsburrow [Kingsburgh], was divided into 49 income producing farms. Sleat, under the factorship of Alexander Macdonald, also of Kingsburrow, was divided into 33 income producing farms.²¹

In 1733, an event occurred that is of historical importance because it provides considerable insight into the operation of the Macdonald estates as well as providing genealogical information on the people who lived there. This event was the set or allocation of the farms on the estates and it is described in a document entitled "The Judicial Rental of Skye, 1733."

The preamble to the Judicial Rental of Sleat in the year 1733 reads in part:²²

At Armidale, the 21st day of August, 1733. In presence of
Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburrow, Bailey of the Barony of
MacDonald, sitting in judgement in a court of the said Barony

21. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/2.

22. GD221/118

lawfully pened and affirmed Compeared the Honorable Sir Alexander MacDonald of that Ilk, proprietor of the said Barony and of the whole lands therein Contained and Represented that he, Inclining to have a full Judicial Rental taken of his whole lands and Estate lying in the said Barony has caused an officer conveen the whole tenants of that part of the Barony called Slate to Compear in a Court to be held at Armidale this day to make faith on the Extent of the Rents of their proprietors and they being now present He Insisted that they might be Examined thereon recordingly which Decide the Baillie finding reasonable He ordained the tenants present to be Severally called and the compeared and being examined thereon Despond as follows:

Following the above Preamble are 127 pages of depositions from the tenants of Sleat many of which involve MacGillivrays. Extracting each deposition that contained a reference to a MacGillivray would be cumbersome and serve no useful purpose. However, it is useful to know what the depositions contained and the first one on the list involving a Macgillivray is reproduced verbatim as an example.

p. 3 Martin McIlivray, tenant in Tormore, being sworn and interrogated in the Irish (*) language Desponts that he possesses one penny of the five penny land of Tormore and that he pays of silver duty for the same 26 merks Scots. Eleven shillings six pennies as Kingsmeall and one pound Eleven shillings two pennies of Coss and six merks of send duty. That he is to pay the twenty six merks of Silver duty to the Lady MacDonald Liferentrix of the said land and the Kingsmealle, coss and bend to Sir Alexander himself or his factor and Desponts that besides the said Money Rent he pays to the Lady as the Casnallie [?] annually due of his possession ten pecks of meal one stone of butter and one stone of cheese one Wedder [a young male sheep] four hens two pecks of horse corn and four stones of straw or thereby with the usual Carriages and this is the truth or he will answer to God. He cannot write and the five words delete in the third line of his oath was done before signing.

Alexr. McDonald

* Five words deleted here

The above is an example of the interrogation that preceeded the acceptance of each rental agreement. Of the 127 pages of depositions taken for the Rent Roll of 1733, which involved more than 400 people, six were taken in the Scots tongue,²³ two were taken in English and the rest were taken in the Irish (Gaelic) tongue.

Each interrogation followed the same general format as the above

23. Language of the Lowlanders. Best example of this is in the writing of Robert Burns.

example for Martin MacGillivray. Because of their historical importance, the pertinent parts of each interrogation are extracted below. Information on all the individuals interrogated on Sleat are presented. Those who were literate and could sign their names to the interrogation are so indicated. MacGillivrays are highlighted by an asterisk (*). The original spelling of surnames and locations is retained.²⁴

Extracts from the 1733 Rent Roll for Sleat

Tormore (5 penny lands)

* Martin McIllivray	John MacDonald alias
Donald McIver	McIndie
Donald McEwen	Donald McGinnish
* John McIllevray	Donald Ray McMurrich
Shawn Hubrian	

Dalville (1 penny land) James MacDonald

Calligarybeg (5 penny lands)

Alexander MacDonald	
Donald MacDonald [signed name]	
* Mary McIllevray	

Calligarymore (5 penny lands)

John Robertstone	John MacDonald
Florence MacDonald relic of Donald Robertstone	Angus MacDonald
* Niell McIllevray	* Donald McIllevray [signed]
Donald Robertstone	Donald Alexander
	Malcolm McPhersone

Ostaigbeg (8 penny lands)

John McIntosh [signed]	Donald Stewart
Ferquhar Oddacharty	John McIntosh alias
Myles Morrison	McAlaster
Lauchlan McKinnon [signed]	

Ostaigmore (5 penny lands)

The Lady McDonald
John McIntosh, Grounds Officer

24. The 1733 Rent Roll has been discussed in other documents. See, for example, Macdonald, Lachlan, The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters(Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1886), Sheet XII.

Kilmore (5 penny lands)

Malcolm McIntyre
Duncan Robertsone
Donald McIntyre [signed]

Finlay McPherson
Alexander McDonald [signed]

Ferndonell (5 penny lands)

James McDonald
Donald McArline
John McDonald

Alexander Nicolson
John McIver
Ewan McPherson

Sasaig (5 penny lands)

John McKinnon [signed]
James McQueen [signed]
____ McQueen, father of James

Kilbeg

Donald Chisolme [signed]
Donald McDonald

John McLurioch
Duncan Robertsone

Gleneryo (4 penny lands)

Ewan Robertsone
* Alexander McIlwray

Ord and Crossevaig (5 penny lands)

James McDonald [signed] plus two unidentified
cottars

Tarskvagmore (5 penny lands)

Patrick McKillias
Duncan McRorie
Evander McIver
Angus Robertsone
Malcolm McInish
Malcolm Beathune
Roderick Anderson
Ewan Robertsone

Niele Beathune
Malcolm McIntyre
Mary Beathune
Katherine McDonald relic
of Angus McKinish
Alexander Anderson
* Duncan McIlloir [?]

Aird (9 penny lands)

Mr. Edward McQueen plus the following cottars
Donald McDonald
Donald McIntyre
* John McIllevray
Patrick Buchanon
John McInish

Duncan Robertsone
* Angus McIllevray
John McKinnon
* Kenneth McIvore
James McPhadrick

Tokavaig (2 penny lands)

John McKay
Finlay McKinish

Donald McKinish
John Robertsone [signed]

Tarskavagbeg (5 penny lands)

Angus Macdonald [signed]

Armadalebeg (5 penny lands) The Lady McDonald

Morsaig (1 penny land) Donald McKinnon

Teang (5 penny lands)

* Charles McIlivray [signed]
Malcolm Robertsone
Alexander McDonald
Donald Anderson
* John McIllevray

* Donald McIllevray
* Martin McIllevray

Knock, Borraig and Castil (total 17 penny lands)

Donald MacDonald [signed] plus eleven cottars	
Donald Glass	Donald McKinnon
John McKinnon	Donald Kennedy
James Glass	Lauchlan McInnish

Borraig (subtenants to Knock)

* Ewan McIlvray	Donald Kennedy
Niell Nicolson	Donald Nicolson
Kenneth Matheson	

Cammesserross and Allen (4 1/2 penny lands)

John MacDonald [signed] plus five cottars	
John Martine	Dougalle McPherson
Archibald McShieve	John Anderson
Rorse McConill	Ludovich Martin

Tortamurrich and Isle Ornsay (5 penny lands)

Roderick McDonald plus five cottars	
John McPherson	Donald McMoran
John Bain	Duncan Robertsone
John Robertson	

Duisdalemore (1 1/4 penny land)

Donald Nicolson plus two
Alexander MacDonald

Katherine MacDonald

Duisdalebeg (1 1/2 penny land)

Angus MacDonald plus three
John Ray
Ferquhar Martine

Kenneth McIver

Letterhalluch (1 1/4 penny land)

Robert Monro

Ranald McDonald [signed]

Drumfearn (1 1/2 penny land)

Angus Robertsons plus two
Donald Robertson

James McDonald

Keill, Leidag, Lehener and Craigach

John McDonald [signed]

Scalpa Roderick McDonald interrogated for Charles
McKinnon

Point of Callach and the two Grimeras

John McGraw [signed]

Armadalemore The Lady McDonald

Ardnamaichan (1/2 penny land) Alexander McDonald

Ashagg and Teangleachkach Charles McKinnon

On this Rent Roll we find at least fifteen MacGillivrays identified by recognizable surname, including one woman. Ten MacGillivrays were offered tacks or leases. Two of the MacGillivrays were literate and signed their interrogations. One of these was Charles MacGillivray of Teangue who could have been the "servitor" of Sir Donald Macdonald (11th of Sleat, deceased) who we have encountered before. Note that there were more MacGillivrays on Teangue farm than on any other.

At this point it is necessary to confirm that there were MacGillivrays in other parts of Skye as well as Sleat; not many but a few. An interrogation was held at Portree similar to the one held at Sleat and Lord Macdonald's northern estates were set at that time. As a result of this interrogation, on 9 May 1734, a seven-year tack was offered to Florence McIllovray and others for the three-farthing lands of Achanahanad [Achnahannait] which is located in Portree Parish just north of Loch Sligachan. Also a John McIllovray paid rent in Trotternish in 1733²⁵

The 1733 rental interrogations apparently were completed satisfactorily and approved by Lord Macdonald or his representative. Based on these interrogations, a series of tacks or leases were offered to the tenants early in 1734. With regards to the MacGillivrays, additional information is obtained when we take a closer look at some of the individual tacks. For example, a draft tack for the farm at Calligarymore is summarized below. Note that this particular tack does not include the same names as did the interrogation for the same farm. For some unknown reason, John MacDonald and Donald Alexander were interrogated but were not included in the tack. John McPhail and Malcolm McIntyre are substituted in their place.²⁶

Tack for Calligarymore, 1734

To All and Sundry whom it afeirs to whose knowledge these presents shalle come Sir Alexander McDonald of that Ilk, Baronet for the Land afermentation for myself and as taking Burden on me for Dame Margt McDonald Liferentrix of the same wit ye me to have Lett and in tack and Apedation Lett As I hereby for payment of the Grassume & yearly tack duly underwritten Lett and in tack and Apedation Lett to Malcolm McPherson, Nielle McIllevray, John Robertsone, Donald Anderson, Donald Robertsone, John Mcphail, Angus McDonald, Angus Mcphaile, Florence McDonald, Malcolm McIntyre and Donald McIllevray all in Calligarymore and their heirs and assignies All and Haile The five penny Lands of Calligary more with the houses bigings & pertinents thereof being a part of My Lands of Slate to be possessed by them according to the following Division vist Half a penny thereof by the said Malcolm McPherson Half a penny thereof by the said Nielle McIllevray Half a penny thereof by the said John Robertsone a farthing thereof by the said Donald Anderson Half a penny thereof by the said Donald Robertsone a farthing thereof by the said John Mcphaile another farthing thereof by the said Angus Mcphaile one penny thereof by the said Florence McDonald Half a penny thereof by the said Malcolm McIntyre and the other half a penny thereof by the said Donald McIllevray and that for the space of Seven years and Cropts from and after their entry which is hereby Declared to begin and Commence from Whit [Whitsunday] next to the houses and grass and to the arable Lands at the separation of the Current Crop from the ground and so further to Continue without Interruption till the said Seven years Determine and Expire ... As by their hereof They bind and Obligate themselves proportionally & Efeiring to the Extent of their Several possessions of the said lands themselves and their heirs to make payment to me and my heirs or assignes or to my factor in my names of the Sum of £ 106-13-4 of Grassume or Entry money at the term of Whitinmass next but also to make payment to the said Dame Margt McDonald During her life and after her decease to me and my aforesaids yearly and

Each year of this tack Of the sum of £ 86-13-4 Scot of money
rent Three bolls of mealie five Stones of Butter five Stones of
Cheese five Wedders with hens Horse Corn and Straw Carriages &
Services ... to make payment to me & my aforesaids yearly as Said
to as well before as after the death of the said Dame Margt
McDonald of the sume of £ 30-13-6 Scots for my relief of the
publick burden due out of the said lands...

The above tack, dated 19 April 1734, was not signed by the leasees. We
are not certain how much emphasis should be placed on this; some tacks were
signed, others were not. The lack of signatures is no guarantee that the terms
of the tack were not honored by both parties. For our purposes that is not
important. What is important is that the tacks identified MacGillivrays and
pinpointed where they lived at that time. For this reason we have extracted
the MacGillivray data from the other extant tacks listed below.²⁷

The 1734 tack for seven years for the five penny lands in Teangue was
offered to:

Roderick McDonald in Tortomurrich - 1 1/2 penny land
John McIntosh in Ostabeg - 1 penny land
Charles McIllevray in Teang - 1/2 penny land
Alexander McDonald there [Teang] - 1/2 penny land
John McIllevray there [Teang] - 1/2 penny land

The above tack was not signed by the leasees. There is also an obvious
disparity in the text. The tack was written for five penny lands but the above
allocation totals only four pennies. No explanation is given. The Charles
MacGillivray apparently was the same one who consistently witnessed documents
for the Macdonalds. From the interrogations we can surmise that he was one of
only two MacGillivrays who were literate and who could sign their names.

Another MacGillivray was offered a tack for part of the four penny lands
of Gleneroy:

Ewen Robertson in Gleneroy - 1 penny land
Alexander McIllevray in Gleneroy - 1 penny land
Donald Mckinnon in Gleneroy - 1 penny land
Duncan O'Kelly in Gleneroy - 1 penny land

This tack was also dated 19 April 1734. It was not signed.

In another seven-year tack, dated 19 April 1734, a MacGillivray was
offered part of the one and one-half penny land in Dustilbeg [Duisdalebeg]. This
tack was not signed.

James McDonald in Dustilbeg - 1 1/2 farthing land
Niel McInnan in Dustilbeg - 1 1/2 farthing land
Kenneth McIver in Dustilbeg - 1 farthing land

John McIllevray in Dustilbeg - 1 farthing land
John McIllias in Dustilbeg - 1 farthing land

Another unsigned seven-year tack, dated 20 April 1734, offered the five farthing lands of Letterhallich and Lephon to the following,

Robert Munro in Letterhallich
John Robertson in Letterhallich
Malcolm Morrison in Letterhallich
Charles McIllevray in Letterhallich
Kenneth Didocherty in Letterhallich

Although fifteen identifiable MacGillivrays were interrogated for the 1733 Judicial Rent Roll, of which ten were eligible for tacks, the available records indicate only the above seven were apparently considered for tacks. The fact that the tacks summarized above were not signed by the leasees apparently was not significant. For example, Roderick Macdonald and Charles MacGillivray did not sign their tack for Teangue but apparently possessed lands there anyway as indicated in the following document. In August 1735, the following discharge was executed,²⁸

... I, Donald Macdonald of Knock, grant me to have received from Archibald Macdonald of Ostaigbeg as factor for and in the name of Sir Alexr. McDonald of that Ilk the sume of two hundred and twenty-two merks Scots money as one years annuals out from Whitsun 1734 to Whitsun 1735, of the principal Sum of four thousand five hundred merks Scots money due to me by the said Sir Alexander Macdonald upon Bond, therefore I hereby Discharge the said Sir Alexander Macdonald and his heirs of the said years Annual rent and of all proceeding annual rents due upon the said principal sum. In Witness thereof, I have signed these presents (written by Donald Macdonald of Castleton) at Knock the 16th of August 1735 before these witnesses, Roderick Macdonald of Tortamurich and Charles McIllevray tenant in Teangue.

s/Donald Macdonald

Witnesses: Rorie McDonald of Tortamurich
Charles McIllevray in Teangue

Other genealogical information is provided for the same time period by sources other than land records. In 1734, the following was recorded:²⁹

Accompt of Wages resting to Sir James McDonalds Servants
paid by Sir Alexander's order, 1734

28. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/97/49/14

29. GD221/63/Part 2/66-58

Donald Mephallin Knock	£ 9 -10 - 8
Evander McIver	15 - 3 - 4
Angus Roy Conileow	13 - 4 - 8
Donald Roy McCorren	6 - 6 - 8
Kath Nicolson	12 - 0 - 0
Katherine nean Robert	2 -13 - 4
Ann Monro	4 - 0 - 0
John bain McGillichrist	6 - 6 - 8
Katherine nean William	16 - 0 - 0
Maren nean Jan ban	10 -13 - 4
* Katherine nean Illevray	4 - 0 - 0
Donald Dow McEwan	3 - 6 - 8
Angus McDonald	5 - 6 - 8
Katherine Foster	2 -13 - 4
Malcolm McNeil vic Conillroy	2 -13 - 4
Donald Bain McEan Jan	3 - 6 - 8
Donald McNeill vic Conillroy	8 - 0 - 0
* Ferquhar McIllevray	2 - 0 - 0
Katherine nean Donald vic Neill	5 - 6 - 8

Sume £ 132 -12 - 0

For those who may not be familiar with Scottish lines of descent, the above list of names requires some clarification. Note that the use of "neyn, neik, nein, neen or nean" with a girls name means "the daughter of." Whereas the use of "mac or vic (mhic)" means "the son of." The last name on the list reads Katherine daughter of Donald who was the son of Neil. No surname was used and, at that point in time in that particular community, apparently none was needed. To her contemporaries, the delineation used above identified Katherine completely.

Another account of disbursements in 1734 provides some interesting insight into the activities that went on around a manor house.³⁰

Account of Smaller Deburseiments Laid Out by
John MacDonald, Crop 1734

To the price of two cow hides given the Smith for bellows	£ 6 -13 - 4
To the Carpenter for helping the six oar boat	4 - 0 - 0
* To Sir Alexander's servant McGillivray when he went to the woods	6 - 9 - 8
To Alexr. McLeod fisher for his wages this year	5 - 6 - 8
To Martin Martin for his wages	13 - 6 - 0
To Rory Mckenzie fisher his wages	6 - 0 - 0
To Rory Mckenzie in (?) his wages	8 - 0 - 0
To Archibald McQueen for keeping the	

woods of Erlish	6 - 13 - 4
To Alexr. Martin officer his wages	20 - 0 - 0
To Cash paid for 4 Barrels 4 1/2 pecks of Salt for Salting the Salmon & a 5th barrel afterwards	27 - 0 - 0
To the Coopers wages for packing the fish	6 - 8 - 0
To Pat McQueen opner his wages	26 - 13 - 4
To Cash paid for two horses bought for your uses	30 - 13 - 4
Sume	£187 - 2 - 4

There is a skip of about two years to 1736 when next the records identify another MacGillivray of Skye. Note that this is only a partial list.³¹

Note of Kitchen given to Servants by
Alexander Maclean, 1736

...To the Slater	£ 3
To florence Beton for wool	£ 3
Spent at making plowing & delving irons at Smitty	£ 1
To James Gow for making toulds [tools] for John Ross, mason and Scaffold nails...	£ 2...
...To the ploughwright & shoemaker...	£ 2...
...To Angus McIlvriy employed to John Ross mason in making a drain about the new house...	£ 1½

In August 1736, we come across another discharge whereon a MacGillivray performs juratory service,³²

I, John Nicolson, of Scudbrugh grant me to have received from Alexander Macdonald of Kingsborrow, factor to Lord Macdonald of that Ilk, the sume of one hundred merks Scots money as one years rent from Whitsun 1735 to Whitsun 1736 ...

... signed these presents (written by Roderick Macdonald writer in the Isle of Skye) at Scudbrugh the seventeenth day of August 1736 before these witnesses John MacIllwray servant to Donald Macdonald at Castletown and the said Roderick Macdonald. Signed in the Isle of Skye

John Nicolson

31. GD221/14/Bundle 1.

32. GD221/149/2/2.

John McIllivray, witness
Roderick Macdonald, witness

Next in the chronological listing there was the following entry that identifies another MacGillivray and his role with the Macdonalds,³³

Mugstote, 2 November 1737. Accompt to the Honourable Sir James Macdonald of Macdonald [by] William Ross for the Services of Mugstot from 21 April...

...To Donald McGilovrie 5 halters for the stabil [stable] horses

0 - 1 - 3...

At this point it is necessary to clarify an inconsistency. Note that the location of the above action was written as Mugstot. The Macdonald family was residing at Monkstadt at this time and we can only conclude that Mugstot was a phonetic way of referring to Monkstadt at a time when spelling was not standardized. This inconsistency will occur again and again throughout the text.

* * * * *

At the beginning of this chapter we stated that one of the major social upheavals in the Highlands in the 18th century would be the dissolution of the clan system. As calamitous as this event would be for the Highlanders, it did not occur overnight. A general loosening of the bonds between chief and clansman began early in the century when chiefs, whose ancestors may have been benevolent to a fault, were forced to bow to economic and peer pressures. Cash money had become an increasingly important necessity to further the chiefs life style. Since there was very little opportunity for revenue from industry in the Highlands of that time, chiefs looked more and more covetously at their only source of income - the land and its rentals.

Manpower for war and plunder was no longer required per se. Instead of looking upon the clansmen as potential warriors, the chiefs now saw them as tenants or even as chattel. This emerging concept of land use was anathema to the Scottish Highlanders who for centuries had considered the tuath or clan to be the virtual owner of the land. Rents and the way the chiefs wanted to use the land became increasing points of contention between the chiefs and the clansmen. And one of the basic precepts that grew out of this widening breach was the policy whereby chiefs (or landlords as they were becoming known) would try to rid themselves of the weak and unproductive clansmen (tenants) as well as potential troublemakers. Few clans escaped this process of forced elimination, even on Skye.

The decay in the social structure of the Highlands is perhaps no better

illustrated than in the following contemporary letter penned by an unidentified author who, at that time, apparently resided in Dunaghadie, which is located in Antrim on the northeast coast of Ireland. The recipient of the letter is also unidentified although he evidently ³⁴ lived in Scotland. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized for clarity.

Dunaghadie,
November 26th, 1739

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 24th instant, for answer in relation to your countrymen, as follows. One Norman Macleod, son of Donald Macleod of Barnary in the Island of Skye, sent several letters to merchants here since June last informing them that he had a parcel of convicts, as he termed them, in the Island of Skye for transportation, which induced one William Davison, a master of a ship and half owner, to go there. It's supposed here at his arrival that said Norman Macleod let him into the secret and said he had the consent of all the lairds of said Island Skye viz. Sir Alexander Macdonald, the Laird Macleod, several other proprietors of the place, to take away as many men, women and children as he could provide shipping for and carry them to America or we suppose where else he pleased. The said Norman Macleod produced several papers under said Sir Alexander Macdonald and Laird Macleods hands as he said which contained Instructions to their Bayliffs and officers to take such persons as mentioned in a list which they said was sent them, whom they say were convicted at their courts assuming greater authority than His Majesty King George has unless legally tried and convicted. Accordingly, the said Lairds, Bayliffs and officers did in three different harbours or creeks in said Island of Skye force and violently put on board at said three different places about one hundred and thirteen men, women and children, most of them taken out of their beds or from about their labour, not one person in confinement or even tried before any court of judicature, and all in about two nights and one day's time; then set sail for this port in order to rig and victual the ship; but finding about 12 or 13 of said persons not very fit for sale, 6 being under six years old, three big with child and a few very old, they put about the last number on shore in three different islands at night without seeing any care taken of them and brought here 96 men, women and children, about twenty of them from six to ten years old, who by no law in any Christian country could be guilty of capital crimes. Upon examination taken here from the several persons and the sailors of the ships, except always Davison, the master, all agreed that said persons were forced out of their country contrary to the law of all Christian nations. The said Norman Macleod and said Davison finding that

34. GD221/104/43X.

the plot was discovered by the sailors, made their escape, warrants being issued against each of them by the justices of this Neighborhood. The said 96 were scattered about this country. There is about forty of them within six miles of this town. If said Norman Macleod had been got apprehended he would be transmitted to Edinburgh to appear before the Lords there to clear himself or fix the guilt upon the honourable lairds of Island Skye. He was to pay five pounds for each of their freight to America as he and Davison said but he offered them to sale here for three pounds each. If the Lairds of that Island be innocent of the villainy they ought to hang up all concerned, first said Donald, the father, and Norman the son, each subscribing to letters sent here to that head.

I am sorry your country is so hard set for money that they have fallen on the Guinea trade. Said Norman Macleod says in one of his letters, which is here ready to produce, that there is but about ten heritors, as he terms them, concerned or private to this trade in all Scotland; so far he aquits the rest.

Dear sir (etc).

signed Luke St [Lawrence ?]

The contents of the above letter represent one man's viewpoint of an incident that caused widespread consternation at the time it happened. Prebble, in his narrative of events leading to Culloden, refers to the incident twice. He indicates that the ultimate destination of those unfortunate souls was the colony of Pennsylvania in America.

Swire also comments on the incident and identifies the culprits as Normand Macleod of Unish, son of Macleod of Bernera [probably Island of Berneray]. Apparently they had developed an excellent "Guinea" trade in carrying off young men and girls and shipping them to America to be sold as slaves.³⁵

Understandably, the discovery of the slave trade became a sensitive issue to those even remotely involved. For this reason, the list of offenders tried at the Court on Skye and sentenced to deportation have been removed from the records. We have no knowledge whether any MacGillivrays of Skye were ever among those unfortunate victims.

After the publicity that resulted from the chance discovery of the slaver off the coast of Antrim, the slave trade from Scotland was stopped and the perpetrators made to answer for their misdeeds, if not in a court of law, at least in the court of public opinion. Macleod's defense was that he was only shipping known thieves and ex-convicts. Although the incident caused a momentary uproar, especially in the Lowlands, nothing of consequence ever resulted from it. And no serious effort was ever made to return to Scotland

35. Swire, Skye, The Island and Its People, p. 176.

any of those who had been deported previously.

There were accusations that Macleod was backed by people in high places but this was never proved. As Prebble implied, the power of the chiefs was too great and they "swaggered" their way out of the uproar without ever having to answer for any part they played in such a reprehensible deed.³⁶ But incidents such as this were only small perturbations on the sands of time as the Highlanders moved inexorably towards their hour of destiny in 1745.

To some the Rising of the '45 would be the Highlands most glorious hour; to others it would be a dream doomed from the beginning. Regardless of which side the active participant or casual observer favored, the Jacobite's bid to restore Prince Charles Edward to the throne in 1745 would be a fateful turning point in Scotland's turbulent history. The repercussions would reverberate through the Highlands for generations to come. And, when it was over, a way of life that had once been would be gone forever.

36. Prebble, John, Culloden, (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1967), pages 37 & 204.

AFTER THE '45

It began in August 1745 when Prince Charles Edward Stuart raised his standard in the valley of Glenfinnan. It ended in April 1746 when the blood of his Highland supporters drenched the Culloden heath. During that brief eight-month period, the Jacobite dream materialized, rose to its zenith and then, like a falling star, faded never to rise again. The dream died hard, but die it did, and the Highlands would never be the same again.

In retrospect it is easy to see why the effort to restore the Stuarts to the throne was doomed from the start. The reasons for failure were many, but a primary one was because Prince Charles did not receive the support he expected from many of the great chiefs of the clans. Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, wary because the Prince did not bring with him the expected foreign support and perhaps remembering the outcome of the '15, did not go out for the Jacobite cause. Neither did MacLeod of MacLeod.

This is not to say, however, that Macdonald of Sleat remained neutral during the Rising. He was an active participant, but, recalling how the Macdonalds had been distressed after giving their support to the Jacobites during the '15, this time he gave his support to the British Government. He provided two independent companies that formed part of Lord Loudoun's forces that held Inverness for the Government for the first six months of the Rising.

The role of the men of Skye was not confined solely to this type of garrison duty. Shortly after Culloden, Macdonald and MacLeod marched their militia the length of Glenmoriston and pillaged and plundered that traditional home of the Clan Grant, who had supported the Jacobite cause. Incidents such as this give credence to the oft repeated statement that, after Culloden, defeated Highlanders received harsher treatment from their own people than they did from the English.¹

Nothing is ever absolute, and some of Sir Alexander's Skye clansmen undoubtedly were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause. However, the records we have researched do not indicate whether any MacGillivrays of Skye favored the Prince. There are extant records that indicate MacGillivrays were part of the Independent Militia raised by Sir Alexander, but it is not known whether this service was voluntary or whether they were recruited by the press-gang methods used frequently during that time.

Evidence of MacGillivray militia service is verified from the militia list

1. Prebble, John, Culloden, p. 204.

extracted below. The readers should note that this list, and most of those that follow, usually contained numerous surnames. The redundant surnames provide little, if any, MacGillivray genealogical information. Therefore, we have extracted only the data that are pertinent to the MacGillivrays.²

Skerenish, Nov. 19, 1749

A List of Clothing Money paid the Soldiers in Captain James' Company Conformed to a List given in by John McKay
[this is a partial list]

No. on List	Name	Money Paid
7	Charles McIlivray	7 shillings
12	Angus McIlivrie	do
16	Murdo MacIlivrie	do
20	Donald MacIlive	do
29	Murdo MacIlivrie	do
37	Nile MacIlise [?]	do
40	Angus MacIlivrie	do
50	Nile MacIlloir	do
51	Callan ban McIlvorey	do
52	Charles MacIlivray in Sleat	do
55	Alexander MacIlivrie	do
60	John MacIllore	do
63	Donald MacIlise [?]	0 - 3 - 6
64	John MacIlise [?]	0 - 3 - 6

Other than the Charles MacGillivray identified on the above list as being from Sleat, the place of residence of the other militiamen is not known. However, not all³ of the Skye militia were from Sleat as evidenced by the following extract:

An Account of Cash payed to the Trotternish people who were soldiers in Captain John MacDonald's Independent Company...
paid june 1749 [this is a partial list]

...To Loduvick MacIlivie	4 - 4 - 0
To Angus MacIlivie	4 - 4 - 0
To Duncan MacIlivie	4 - 4 - 0...

Included in the following record is an action involving a MacGillivray, presumably of Sleat although we have been unable to identify his place of residence.⁴ Recall, however, in 1733 there was a Martin McIlivray at Tormore and in Tormore grazing there is a place with a Gaelic name that begins with

2. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/10/21/5.

3. GD221/10/21/6.

4. GD221/10/21/2.

Doire.

A List of those yt [that] Comprised the leather given the militia from Sleat tenants... [this is a partial list]

Allen MacKensies leather was comprised by
Neil Mckinnon at Duistil and
Martin McGillivray at Doiriehiulm [?]
for Shoulder belts and Targets...

The only other extant entry concerning MacGillivray militia service is the following extract,⁵

Sleat factors account Crop of 1750...Branch Third being payment made the following persons by Lady Margaret's orders, who served in Hugh Arinadale's Company & their pay being given Sir Alexanders by Arinadale in order to be given to the soldiers...[a partial list]

...Donald MacGillivray 4 - 16 - 0...

* * * * *

Sir Alexander Macdonald, 14th Chief of Sleat, died in 1746 and the Chieftanship passed to his son, Sir James Macdonald. Afterwards there is a noticeable change in the records. Mainly they cover petty events, some of which involve MacGillivrays.

Again note that these lists or entries generally contain several surnames. We have extracted only those that appear to have some relation to the MacGillivrays. The first is an example that pertains to an account of the Lady Macdonald,

Account of Charge & Discharge twixt The Right Honourable Lady Margt. Macdonald & William Ross, Kilmuir in Trotterness & Killmaluag, 21 April to 18 May 1747 [a partial list]

Charge against William Ross from May 18 to Nov 2 Allowance of Meal [oatmeal] Given 1747 [a partial list]

...To Donald McGilvray in the garden
from May 18 to Nov 2 at 1 1/2 pecks
per week 2 [bushels] 1 [firlot]...

Here is another account of meal given out.⁷ The data are from an

5. GD221/89/34.

6. GD221/103/80.

7. GD221/148/5.

account book containing miscellaneous entries, possibly covering events at Trotternish.

Meal Given Out

...30 May 1746 To McKeilrvie in hen hil [Hen Hill] went
to Slet [Sleat] — 1 peck meal [oatmeal]

28 July 1747 To John Mcleire as wages — 2 pecks meal...

Here is another account of money paid to servants at Mugstot. Note that this entry and the next five entries are from the same source.⁸

Accompt of money paid to Servants at Mugstot for Wages due to them from Whitsunday 1747 to WhitSunday 1748 All consisting with Lady Margaret's knowledge [a partial list]

...To Donald McGilbury, Groom
12 - 0 - 0 Scots money...

And here is still another account of wages paid to servants.

Accompt of Wages Paid to Servants at Mugstote preceding May 1747
by Ranald McAlister [a partial list]

...To Donald MacGilbury in the
Garden from March 45 to May 47, 1 - 10 - 0 Sterling...

The Macdonalds frequently used the tenants as laborers to help in construction as illustrated in the following entry involving pyners, or more aptly piners, who were labourers, specifically a mason's labourers, although sometimes a labourer who cut peat.

Account of pyners who Wrought in the Quarry for Stone to the Chapel & other works at Portree. Their wages and maintenance paid [a partial list]

...To John MacGillivirie [pyner] for 11 weeks at
a merk per of Wages — 11 - 0 - 0 merks
[to John MacGillivray] his allowance at a peck
& half per — 8 - 2 - 4

To MacGillivrie in Nlbachy [?] 2 weeks at a merk
— 2 - 0 - 0 merks To his allowance as
above — 1 - 6 - 0...

In the following account of wages, two more MacGillivrays are identified.

8. GD221/14/Bundles 1, 2 and 4.

Kingsburrow, Nov 16th, 1749
An Account of Pyners Wages and Maintenance Who Wrought at
Mugstote & Portree Kirk Since March 1749 the time they Served
as follows [a partial list]

...To Angus MacIlliivrie of Wages & maintenance, 24 at 2—2 - 0 - 0
To Murdo MacGoilvore 8 at 2 — 16 - 0 - 0...

Like above account consists with my knowledge
Alexander McDonald

And as the mid-point of the century drew near, there is another account of wages that sheds additional light on a probable MacGillivray.

A list of pyners & the time they Served twixt Portree, Sleat &
the Miln of Romasdale in the year 1750 as attested by John McKay
& William Munro, Mason [a partial list]

...John MacKilve alias Stuart served 9 weeks
at 12 shillings — 0 - 9 - 0 Scots...

For a change of pace there was this entry.

John McKay, Sheriff officer in the Shire of Inverness charges
to Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburrow [ca. 1751]

To traveling from Kingsburrow to Culnaknock eight miles to
summon Samuel MacDonald yr [there] 0 - 2 - 6...

...To writing & traveling a mile to cite John MacIlliivrey as a
witness against the said Samuel...

With this entry in 1750, we have arrived at mid-century and a crucial point in Scottish history. Socio-economic changes that started after Culloden were beginning to accelerate. Many of these changes were relentlessly imposed against the will of the people and ultimately the effects spread throughout the Highlands. A way of life was changing and it is useful at this point to put some of the reasons for these changes in their proper perspective.

* * * * *

In our chronological review of the activities of the MacGillivrays of Skye, we have now entered into the last half of the 18th century, and it is appropriate to again take a cursory look at the conditions that would ultimately lead to the mass emigration of Scots to other lands. These emigrations can be categorized as personal emigration (or emigration by choice) and emigration by force. We have already touched on an incident of forced emigration and there would be other similar cases. But, as we shall see, the emigrations during the latter part of the eighteenth century were to be primarily by choice. When we consider the Highlanders love of his native land and his almost umbilical

attachment to his clan, it is reasonable to ask what circumstances would cause him to choose such a fateful step? The answer to this question, as does so many others, began at Culloden.

In the generation after the defeat of the Jacobite forces, the British government made a concentrated effort to disrupt and dissolve the Highland way of life. Their repressive measures began immediately after the battle when the wounded Highlanders at Culloden were exterminated. Harsh martial law was declared and fugitive Highlanders, who were suspected of supporting the Jacobite cause, were ruthlessly hunted down and shot or hanged on sight. Their sheep and cattle were confiscated and their homes and cottages burned. Rapine and plunder was practiced indiscriminately by the British and their Scottish allies alike. Highlanders were forbidden to bear arms under penalty of death. And the bagpipes, so dearly loved by the clansmen, were ordered to be silenced forever.

Other repressive measures were imposed upon the clans, but the one restriction that was most effective in destroying the clan social structure was the prohibition of the wearing of the tartan. The ramifications of this one act cannot be over emphasized for the banning of their traditional dress took from the clansmen their pride and sense of belonging to a unique people. This one act of repression did as much to tear down the clan system as any other single factor.

These repressive acts were some of the immediate repercussions the Highlanders suffered from the failure of the Jacobite cause. But what was to have an even more far-reaching effect on the Highland ecosystem was the changes in the use of the land.

The Acts of 1747-1748 curtailed the heritable authority of the Highland chiefs. By these Acts, the chiefs lost their power to administer justice and to exercise absolute control over their people. But at the same time these Acts allowed the chiefs to gain absolute title to what had formerly been traditional clan territory. This induced a significant change in the social structure. The chief and clansman relationship, already strained before Culloden, quickly gave way to a landlord-tenant relationship. No longer was there a paternal constraint on the part of the former chiefs, instead they were now given a clear field and, as avaricious landlords, they could exploit the land as they saw fit. And this quickly began to happen.

Another consequence of the new land-use system was that land in the Highlands could now be purchased. Wealthy Lowlanders, heretofore stymied by the clan heritable system, could now bring capital to the Highlands and gain

9. Much of this discussion is synthesized from the following references:(1) Prebble, John, The Lion in the North, (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1973), pp. 301-302, (2) Graham, Ian Charles Cargill, Colonist From Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Society, 1956), pp. 3-4 and (3) Glover, Janet R., The Story of Scotland, (London: Faber & Faber, 1977, pp. 190-191.

control of former clan territories. These new owners, of course, had no traditional feelings for the people and they used the land for whatever purpose was most profitable regardless of the hardship it imposed upon the tenants. When those estates that had been forfeited were returned to private ownership in 1784, the new owners - who were frequently the former chiefs - quickly adopted these same new land-use concepts.

In the long run, the improvements introduced by the new capitalist farmers would benefit the whole country. But from the former clansman's limited viewpoint, it was questionable whether the potential gains were worth the personal suffering he and his family endured as these changes were brought about.

As we can imagine, the new era brought significant changes in the life style of both the landlords and the tenants. Landlords were now forced to live within the constraints of charters, deeds, titles and other instruments of Scottish law. And they quickly learned this cost money, much money. Also, as the rapport with their former clansmen became more and more strained, life in the Highland glens was not as appealing to the former chiefs (now the new landlords) as were the drawing rooms of Edinburgh and London. For the ex-chiefs, a more luxurious life style became the standard as the traditional clan life faded further and further into the past. This new life style required even more money causing each new landlord to ask where the money was to come from? There was only one answer. From the land! But not in its present state of wasteful use and cultivation. The traditional unproductive system would have to change.¹⁰

Traditionally, land tenure in the Highlands was held in three ways. In Scots law, a tack is a lease and at the top of the hierarchy were the tacksmen who held land on lease from the landlord. Generally the terms of the lease were vague and there was no restriction on sub-letting. Tacksmen considered themselves gentleman farmers and some even adhered to feudal principles. Often tacksmen were related to the landlord. Frequently they were educated but this was not always the case nor was it a criterion for obtaining a tack.

Many tacksmen kept large retinues of servants or laborers. These large pools of laborers were required because the grossly inefficient cultivation and husbandry made excessive demands on labor. And, since there was no day-labor available in the Highlands, it was necessary to keep large staffs throughout the year in order to meet peak seasonal demands.¹¹

Next in the hierarchy of land tenure were the tenants-at-will or, as they became known, the crofters. Tenants-at-will held their land without lease and technically could be evicted at the landlord's pleasure. The majority of the crofters occupied their farms under the traditional run-rig or strip-farm system. Run-rig was a ruinous system of land use and was abandoned in most of

10. MacDonald, Colin, Crofts and Crofters, pp. 5-6.

11. Leigh, Margaret M., The Crofting Problem, 1780-1883, Misc. Pub. No. 9, (Edinburgh: Dept. of Agriculture. HMSO, 1929), pp. 12-14.

Scotland in the 18th century, but was still practiced on Skye as late as 1850.

Each farm was occupied by a group of tenants known as a township. The land was let to the body as a whole and they bound themselves jointly for the rent. In cases of default, the whole body was held responsible. Pastures were held in common and arable land was divided into individual lots that were redistributed every year so that shares would be equalized. Without tenure, these small farmers did not find it worthwhile to improve their holdings and in this manner the system put a premium on mediocrity. Everyone was dragged down to the level of the lowest tenant. There was no incentive to rise because, as long as the crofter stayed in this environment, there was no place to go.¹²

The third and lowest level of those who depended upon the Scottish land for subsistence was a substantial faceless, nameless, landless strata of society known as sub-tenants or, as they would come to be known, cottars. They held their land from the tacksmen or the larger tenants-at-will (crofters) and had no contact with the landlord. This practice of sub-tenancy was the most serious land abuse in the rural Highlands. It led to a reckless increase of population which in turn led to exhaustion of the soil to a point where the land could no longer support a fraction of those who depended upon it.

Although the rents cottars paid were low they were excessive in relation to the land they occupied. These wretched people were exploited by the superior tenants who depended on the cottars to pay them enough rent so they in turn could pay the landlord. This way the superior tenants did not have to depend on the inconstant product of their own farms. Cottars were also expected to pay part of their rent as day labor, which was ruinous to these small farmers because invariably their services were needed at the same time their own work needed to be done.

This in essence was the land-use system the new Highland landlords inherited. It was an unproductive, ancient system whose roots went back to the time of the Norsemen, and the native Scots inborn tenacity for holding on to ancient customs offered little prospect for spontaneous change. But for the landlords, who viewed the situation from a different perspective, the problem was well defined. More income was required than this system could provide. The solution was equally obvious. By whatever means - fair or foul - the land must be made to produce more money. And the first logical step was to raise the rentals.

So by degrees rents were increased. In 1750, the total rental for Skye was £3,500. By 1774, these rents had tripled to £10,500. These rack-rents, which often equalled or nearly equalled the full value of the land, were intolerable to the people and were to be one of the prime reasons for emigration.¹³

The landlords soon learned that increasing rents was only a partial

12. Lenman, Bruce, An Economic History of Modern Scotland, 1660-1976, (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1977), p. 146.

13. Leigh, The Crofting Problem, pp. 15-16.

solution to their money problems. The land itself must be made to produce more income, if not by agriculture then by some other means. Britain's series of wars in the last half of the 18th century, coupled with a growing population, provided an answer. The Highlands would become a grazing ground for the black Highland cattle, whose price had doubled during the period.

But cattle grazing was not compatible with small land holdings. Therefore, landlords ruthlessly merged small holding into large units, resulting in a further deprivation of the former clansmen of their traditional land. The anguish this caused among tacksmen, crofters and cottars alike, in many instances, found relief only in emigration to the Colonies.

Once the die had been cast to maximize profits from the land, the landlords were always on the lookout for more remunerative ventures. And in the last quarter of the century one such promising venture appeared from below the southern horizon. The harbinger of this sudden wealth was a wooly, four-footed creature known as the Cheviot, and its impact on the Highlands was to be far-reaching and severe.

It was in this manner that the invasion of the Highlands began by what would come to be known as the "four-footed clansmen." The Cheviot sheep would thrive where black cattle would starve, and their financial benefits to the landlords became legendary. Profits produced per acre by black cattle could be increased as much as 1,000% with sheep. The landlords were delighted. And there is little wonder that bards and seers traveled from township to township warning, "Mo thruaighe ort a thir, tha'n capraich mhor a' teachd!"¹⁴ "Woe be to thee, oh land, the Great Sheep is coming!"

Of course the socio-economic changes brought about by the introduction of sheep, and the resulting changes in land-use, were exceedingly more complex than presented here. What we have attempted to do is to give a thumbnail sketch of the environment of the Highland Scots in the waning years of the 18th century. In so doing, we have digressed somewhat from the chronicle of the MacGillivrays of Skye, but such digressions are necessary to help understand the reasons for the dispersal of these proud people around the globe.

Between the years 1751 and 1769, no mention of the MacGillivrays of Skye has been found in the Macdonald records. No reason can be found for this fourteen year gap. Those were turbulent years for all Highlanders, but obviously the MacGillivrays did nothing to get entered into the records.

* * * * *

We have noted that Macdonald of Sleat did not support the Jacobites in 1745, but other Macdonalds did, and those that supported the Prince felt the wrath of Cumberland, whose solution to post-Culloden political problems in the Highlands was stated succinctly in the following quotation from Prebble, where the additional text in brackets has been added by the authors for clarity in

14. Prebble, John, The Highland Clearances, (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1969), p. 24.

establishing the roles the Macdonalds played.¹⁵

"...[the problem could be solved by] the transporting of particular Clans, such as the entire Clan of the Camerons and almost all the Tribes of the M'Donalds (excepting some of those of the Isles) and several other lesser Clans, of which an exact list may easily be made."

Theoretically, the Macdonalds of Sleat should have been spared any punitive measures handed out to other clans considered enemies of the State, and the records do not reveal otherwise. There is, however, a document that implies the Skye estates, at the very least, may have been considered for annexation after the '45. This document is the 1764 Walker Report. In addition to raising the question of annexation, the report sheds additional light on the social and economic conditions of the island during the post-Culloden period. Parts of the Walker Report are extracted below.¹⁶

Report by Dr. John Walker, Professor of Natural History, University of Edinburgh, to the Commissioners of Annexed Estates on the Island of Skye, 1764

Skye contains approximately 256,000 English statute acres.

The whole island is in the hands of three proprietors. Alex. MacDonalds rentals amount to £2,500, Macleods to £1,300 and Mackinnons £140. Total is £3,940 pounds so that the island is at present let at about three pence half penny per acre.

The island contains seven parishes which, with the parish of Eig, make up the Presbytery of Skye. The parishes with the number of inhabitants are as follows:

Strath	1,200
Slait	1,868
Bracadale	3,333
Snizort	1,700
Kilmuir	1,900
Duirinish	3,600
Portree	1,466

15,067 people

Compared with the number of acres there is about sixteen acres for each inhabitant.

The island sent about 500 men to the last war, who everywhere supported the character of a warlike, faithful and high spirited [people]. They belong to the three Clans of MacDonald,

15. Prebble, John, Culloden, p. 232.

16. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/104/104.

Macleod and Mackinnon and are all Protestants...

Here, MacDonald's surgeon began the statutory practice of inoculation anno 1763 between the first of November that year and the first of September following. He inoculated in the Isle of Skye 287 persons of whom only three died. At the same time Macleod's surgeon inoculated eleven who all lived...

...Wages for a Plowman for the whole year are one pound fifteen shillings Victuals & wages for a Labourer per week is three shillings.

Exports and Imports

They export annually about 3,000 black cattle which at one pound sixteen shillings a head amounts to	£5,400
About 200 horses at four pounds each	800
200 tons of Kelp at three pounds fifteen shillings per ton	750
516 Barrel of Herring at one pound	516
Four tons of dried Cod valued at	70
	£7,536

There are only 4 or 5 stills in the whole Island so that they import all their Aqua Vitae from Femtosh, to the yearly extent of about £1,500.

They have wool to serve themselves, but export more. There is but little lint sown in the Island & and they buy from other countries almost all their linen.

There is a great number of open boats, but not a decked vessel of any kind in the whole Island.

Agriculture

The possession of land here, as in most of the other parts of the Highlands, are of three different kinds, tacksman, tenants and sub-tenants. The tacksmen hold their lands of the proprietor by lease. The tenants hold their farms without any lease at the will of the landlord. And the sub-tenants have small possessions of land, let out to them from year to year, by the tacksmen and tenants.

Most parts of the Island is in the hands of the tacksmen, who are generally relatives of the Chieftan, and many of them men of education. The farms they possess are from £15 to £55 a year. The tenants are of a lower class & their possessions run from £2 to £10 per annum. The sub-tenants have small panels of land, let to them by the tacksmen and tenants, from 15 shillings to £2 of yearly value.

A farm of £30 per year will have ten such sub-tenants upon it, each of whom has a family & besides these [there may be as many as] eight servants, two boys & six women. Take [such] a [large] number of people living by agriculture upon so small a property, is not to be found perhaps any where else.

The duration of the leases within to granted, has been from seven to nineteen years...

Grain

The only grain sown in Sky are gray oats, Bear [a type of barley. Hardier, but inferior, to the ordinary kind] and Rye. They have not yet got into the practice of sowing white Oats & by this neglect they have not so much grain by a third, as the country might otherwise afford...

Here, as in all the other Islands, the farmers are much to blame for being late in sowing their grain; by which means they did not begin their harvest this year til the first of September & frequently it is not even as early as this. The hazard to which the crop is exposed by the autumnal rains is here the common complaint & yet by an attachment to an idle piece of superstition they scruple not to retard, both the sowing & reaping of their grain, as it is a custom invariably observed, never to begin either to sow or to reap, except on a Tuesday...

...No pease [peas], beans, turnips, clover or rye grass are cultivated, without which their agriculture must remain in the most imperfect state. And so ignorant are the people of these green crops, that Lord MacDonald of Kingsburg, having once raised a field of pease, gave out in order to save them from depredation, that it was a poisonous plant he had sown to kill the Foxes...

...The sowing of Rye grass & Clover would be the best remedy for that scarcity of winter provender which is so fatal to the Cattle in this Country, but the farmers are positive in alledging that these sown grasses would not be made into hay because of the rains...Wind & rain & the badness of the climate, is the usual objection over all the Island against any improvement in husbandry...The first natural hay was made in Sky just 30 years ago [ca 1734]...and yet the hay still made in the Island is sufficient only to fodder their starks [a bovine animal saved for slaughter at 2-3 years of age] in the winter. All their aged black Cattle & Horses run abroad the whole winter without receiving a mouthful of dry forage.

It is scarce to be credited, that in a Country where Cattle is their chief Production & where there is the greatest difficulty to Support them in winter, the inhabitants should burn their provender, yet this is really the case, over all the Islands & Highlands in the manufacture of their Grain for bread, in which the best part of the straw is burnt in order to dry & prepare the corn for grinding.

Coal

I have found an appearance of coal at two different places in Sky. The first at Bhigorian in the Farm of Strichan on the N. side of Bracadale Loch, in MacLeod country. Here there is a small seam of Coal of 6 inches...Another seam of the same kind appears in the rocks on the S. side of the Loch of Portree...

Dr. Walker's report reveals several interesting items. First the triform

land-use structure is emphasized, with the sub-tenants (or cottars) singled out as examples of Scots living in crowded, squalid conditions trying to subsist on a sub-standard diet. Second, the potato apparently had not come into general use in the Highlands and Islands, and, surprisingly, Dr. Walker did not stress it as a desired crop. Third, apparently sheep had not yet come to Skye, at least as a commercial venture.

* * * * *

By 1769, the Macdonald records once again begin to reflect MacGillivrays, as shown by the following extracts of activities at Trotternish.¹⁷ [Note that these are all partial lists where only MacGillivrays have been extracted.]

An Account of Wedders [a young male sheep] Bought in 1769

Donald Mathewson in Rhae	1 wedder
Malcolm MacGillies there	1 wedder
Archibald MacGillies there	1 wedder
Charles McKinnon in Puninish	1 wedder
Charles MacGillivray in Rigg	2 wedders

Loch List for 1770 Donald MacDonald, Overseer

...Duncan MacGilvire Herbosda [Herbustal] 0 - 6 - 6
Donald MacGilvirie do 1 - 1 - 6...

An Account of Farm Bolts given in by Charles McKinnon, ground officer for the use of the family of Cropt, 1769

To Sir Alex MacDonald family in 1770

To John Megailevare for meal he gave Madame Moisele...

Account of the Hens received in 1770 for use of the family when Sir Alexander was at Mugstote

[Note the peculiar way of allocating poultry. One-fourth of a hen seems a strange division - editors]

...Duncan McGilrve in Herbestag [Herbusta] 1 1/4 hen...

Account of wedders sent to Mugstote in 1771 when Sir Alexander was there

...from John McGailvare in Airlish [Erlish] 1 [wedder at] 0 - 5 - 0...

Account of Peat - Mugstote, May 1771

I acknowledge that Duncean McGillevie tenant in herbesta [Herbusta]

sent 86 lots peat to Mugstote for the use of the familie a peck of
hors [horse] corn one hen one 1/2 [apparently this last item meant
one & one half a hen - editors.]

by me Charles McKinnon

Mugstote, February the 10th, 1774

That Alexander MacIlvrey, shoemaker in Kilmuluag, hath acknowledged
before me that he received in the year 1771, a pound sterling from
Dr. John MacLean as a gratuity from Sir Alexander Macdonald to assist
him in maintaining his twin children is attested by

Don. Macqueen

It is not until 1778 when the next MacGillivray appears in the record.
However, before skipping to that date and resuming the chronicle, it is useful
to digress again to establish a proper historical perspective, because 3,500 miles
to the West events were happening that would have a profound effect on all of
England and Scotland.

THE REVOLUTION AND POST-REVOLUTION PERIOD

In the period 1776-1781, the American Revolution was in full swing and was occupying almost all of the energy and resources of the British government. When France chose to support the American cause, the Crown deemed it prudent to strengthen the home guard or fencibles, as these units were called. In 1777, Lord Macdonald received a letter of service empowering him to raise such a militia regiment in the Highlands. The individual who wrote this letter is unidentified. Although badly frayed and incomplete, parts of the letter are extracted below. The data in brackets were added for clarity.¹

19 December 1777

...[the need for a militia unit apparently offers you an] opportunity to distinguish yourself in the eyes of the Administration. I was asked whether you could exert yourself in person to raise a Regiment among the subordinate chieftans of your name and from your own strength. Accept of the Carte Blanche which Lord Barrington gave me and which you find enclosed. Send Lord Barrington or me your names and plans. I am given to understand [by the Administration that] the old Proverb a friend will not be forgot.

Call together every respectable man of your name or of any other connected with you. Your family will forever be [? missing data] and respected. And I have ventured to use your name as ready to go in person.

If you cannot with your friends complete a Regiment you will lose nothing as Government will buy your men from you.

I sent this by express that one hour may not be lost...

This letter of service planted the seed that eventually grew into a fencible unit that would be known as Macdonalds Highlanders or the Old 76th Highland Regiment. Lord Macdonald was offered command of the Regiment but he declined in favor of Major John MacDonell of Lochgarry.²

The Regiment, with a complement of 1,086 men, was inspected at Inverness in March 1778. About 750 of the regiment personnel were Highlanders,

1. GD221/102/17.

2. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, (Edinburgh & London: W. & A. K. Johnston, Ltd., 1908) p. 294.

the rest were two companies that had been raised in the Lowlands and a third company recruited principally in Ireland.

Recruiting for the Macdonald's Highlanders was done in a manner not unusual for those times. It may not have been press ganging in the true sense of the word but there was certainly a great amount of duress involved. Either parents gave up their sons for service with the Regiment or they were evicted from Macdonald's lands. It was as simple as that. Those that did cooperate and send their sons for service were given guarantees - for what they would prove to be worth - for continuing to occupy³ their plots of land. An example of one of those guarantees is extracted below,

...Angus Mathison in Raigil, having given one of his sons for the Service, I hereby promise the said Angus preference always to the lands which he now prospers especially as he bears an exceeding good character. His children shall also have the same indulgence.

Cuidrach 17th March 1778 [signed] MacDonald

The Macdonald papers concerning the Highland Regiment do not contain much information on the roster of troops. There are only a few references pertaining to MacGillivray military service and they concern people from Trotternish.⁴ These references are extracted below. Undoubtedly some MacGillivrays from Sleat served in the Regiment but their names did not get into the records.

Macdonald Highlanders, 1778
List of men of Lieutenant Cole, Commander, John MacDonnel's
Company [partial list]

...Sent by Lieutenant Angus Martin

Murdoch Nicolson [of]	Tallinilean
John McLeod	Ellishadder
Collin Murchison	Peinknockerisgo
Murd Mathewson	Glentenisdale
Alexander Mathewson	there
Patrick Murchison	Holme
John McGillivray	Rigg
Christopher McLeod	Belloch...

Macdonald Highlanders
A list of Lieutenant Martin's men who marched of 28 March 1778
[There followed list of 25 names including]

3. GD221/102/18.

4. GD221/102/20 and GD221/102/21.

...Angus McIlleivee of Glentelline...

On March 1779, the 76th Regiment, known as Macdonald's Highlanders, was moved to Perth and thence to Burntiland where they embarked for America. The regiment served in different parts of Canada and what is now the United States. They were, unfortunately, part of Lord Cornwallis' force that surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. The members of the 76th remained prisoners in Virginia until the Peace of 1783. When peace was restored the Regiment embarked at New York for Scotland and was disbanded in March 1784 at Stirling Castle.⁵

These few references to MacGillivray service in the military are all that we have found in the Macdonald muniments.

* * * * *

Next in the chronology there is a series of documents concerning some MacGillivray activities in Trotternish.⁶

List of Arrears due by Tenants of Trotternish
for Crop and year, 1778 [partial list]

Duncan McIlivrie in Herbestay [Herbusta]
1 - 14 - 4
Archibald McGillivra in Rigg 0 - 3 - 2/3...

Submitted to Lord Macdonald
5 July 1780 by George Jeffrey

The next series of documents also concerns bills and payments by tenants of Trotternish. [all are partial lists]

No. 15 An account of payments received by Lord MacDonald
from the Tenants on his Estate of Trotternish for Arrears
of Cropt 1777 as per Bills

...Upper Tott Coilmore Duncan McGilvray 0 - 13 - 10/10...

No. 19 Account of payments received by Lord MacDonald on his
Estate of Trotternish of crop 1778 and to be credited to them
and George Jeffrey his factor on the said Estate

...Coilmore Duncan McGilvray paid in full 0 - 6 - 1...

5. Adam, Frank, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, p. 295.

6. GD221/63/Part 2/66-67.

7. GD221/11.

No. 20 Bill remitted but not paid 23 December 1778

...John McIllivrey 6 - 6 - 0

No. 23-1 Trotternish Estate Rents collected 31 May 1779

...Coilimore

Duncan McGillivray - for bill 0 - 13 - 10/10
in part for 1778 0 - 6 - 1 ...

None of the above entries provide much genealogical information except to establish that there were MacGillivrays living in Trotternish at the time of the American Revolution. However, as the following rental roll for 1778 shows, there was a far greater concentration of MacGillivrays in Sleat than any other part of the island. Note that there is an interval of about 45 years between this rent roll and the classic rent roll of 1733 discussed in Chapter 2. For continuity we once again extract the rentals in their entirety to provide a historical reference. Original spelling has been retained. For ease in search, the MacGillivrays are again identified by an asterisk (*). Included in this rent roll are the dates of tacks or missives [letters of intent]. Farms without tacks or missives are left blank in the Remarks column.⁸

State of Possession in Slate as
Presently Set

Total Rent of Each Possession Whither by Tack (or Missive)
at Knock, 28 July 1778, for the Current Year

Name of Possession	Name of Possessor	Remarks
Teang	* Charles MacGillivray & Son Angus MacIntosh Donald Kelly Widow Chisolm John MacIntyre Angus Kennedy	
Saasaig	Angus Macdonald John Macdonald Kenneth MacIver John MacIver Duncan Gillies John MacLeod John MacIntosh	
Ferindonald	Alexander Macdonald Donald Macdonald	

	Angus Kennedy John Kennedy Donald Kennedy * Niell MacGillivray * Archibald MacGillivray Malcolm Robertson Donald Gillies	
Kilmore	Angus Macdonald John Macdonald Ranald Macdonald Donald Macdonald Roderick MacIntyre John Chisholm	
Two Ostaigs, Kilbeg and Lingary	Mr. Martin Mepherson	Tack 1771-1790
Armadale	Archibald Macdonald	Missive 1771-1790
Calygarymore	John Robertson Normand MacPherson Donald MacPherson John MacPherson Malcolm Anderson Donald MacInnes Angus MacInnes * Ewan MacGillivray Ewan Robertson * Niell MacGillivray * John MacGillivray * Donald MacGillivray Donald Robertson	
Tormore & House of Tormore	Capt. Donald McDonald	Missive 1774-1793
Capistole	Donald Kelly Duncan MacIver Kenneth MacIver Normand Anderson Donald Macdonald John Robertson John Macdonald Donald Robertson Angus Macdonald	
Aird	Donald Nicolson	Tack 1752-1780

[Editors note: It is indeed unfortunate that the rental list for Aird was handled in this fashion. We know there were MacGillivrays at Aird. Apparently, however, they were sub-tenants and were not recorded in the rental records]

Dalvile & Gillin	James Macdonald Angus Macdonald Ranald Macdonald
Auchinicloich	* Martin MacGillivray Angus MacPherson Ewan Macdougal Donald Macdonald Niell Buchannan Malcolm Gillies
Tarskavaig	Angus Robertson John MacIntosh, Senior John MacIntosh John MacPherson Malcolm Beatton * Niell MacGillivray Niell MacInnes Lachlan MacKinnon
Tockavaig	Donald MacPherson Widow MacPherson Kenneth MacLeod Hector MacIntyre
Glenelroy	* Alexander MacGillivray Miles MacInnes Alexander MacDougal Peter Macphaich
Druimfern	John MacInnes, Senior John MacInnes, Jr. John MacInnes, Youngest Duncan Macpherson Duncan Robertson Donald Robertson * John MacGillivray
Ruinicallish	Lachlan Macdonald Widow MacLean Kenneth Campbell Donald Campbell Donald Nicolson Malcolm MacInnes John McVormer Kenneth & Donald McMillan
Kyle Beach	Hugh Macdonald Charles Macdonald * Donald MacGillivray Duncan MacInnes Angus MacInnes

	John MacIntosh Archibald MacDonald Malcolm MacPherson	
Letterfur & Glen	John MacInnes Donald MacInnes	
Kenlochdale & Ardenimeakin	Donald Macdonald	Missive 1774-1791
Possessor says he is allowed another year by direction of the Lord Ordinary.	Duisdlemore & Letterchattich	
Miles MacInnes		
Duisdlebeg & Morsaig	Niell MacKinnon & son	Missive 1778-1790
Camuscross, Barvaig & Aislaiy	Roderick Macdonald	
Knock, Castle, Ord & Crossvaig	James Macdonald	Tack 1774-1793
Change of Kilmore	Ranald Macdonald	
Change of Kylebeach	John MacIntosh	
Milns	George Munro	

There are thirteen MacGillivrays identified as on this rent roll. They were apparently all tenants-at-will and appear to have been fairly well distributed around Sleat. In 1751, Lord Macdonald had acquired a large portion of the Parish of Strath and later MacGillivrays will be identified there. However, the 1788 rent roll for the Strath estate does not identify any MacGillivrays in that parish.

After 1780 there were only occassional references to MacGillivray activities on Macdonald's estates.⁹ For example, the following entry identifies a MacGillivray who lived in Sasaig,

March 1785...
Clerks dues [for] Summons against Mr. Donald McGillivray
in Saasaigg [sic] "1"

Prov. fee and Lybelling [labeling] said Summons "5"...

An account for the year 1789 contains the following reference to a MacGillivray,¹⁰

9. GD221/149/1/2/44X.

10. GD221/149/2/112.

Account current between Lord Macdonald and William McEwan, 1789

Allan McGilvray - Footman - Hired for Lord Macdonald
at 10 pounds per annum.

This entry may not have applied to a Skye MacGillivray. The given name "Allan" was not a typical Skye name. It is possible this Allan McGilvray was of the mainland who was hired for service at one of Lord Macdonald's city residences such as at Edinburgh, for example.

As we enter the last decade of the 18th century there were other entries involving MacGillivrays, such as:¹¹

Accompt 8 May 1790
Normand Macdonald, Factor of Strath & Sleat, to Mal. McCrimmon,
Sheriff Clerk Deputy, Skye

A lybelled [labeled ?] Summons of	
Neil McKensie in Torrin	
Donald McInnes in Borreraig	
Neil MacGilvray in Breakish	7
Three copies for Execution	3
To enrollment, production &	
sentence money	1 - 2
To Durest	5
	<hr/>
	0 - 16 - 2

In June 1790, there was the following interesting entry from which we can get the first faint glimmer of a MacGillivray family structure on Skye.¹²

Kilmore, June 24th, 1790

I, Margaret McGillivray, Widow of Ferrindonald acknowledge to have received from Mr. Normand McDonald, Factor for Lord MacDonald on the Barony of Sleat, the sum of eleven shillings one penny and one third sterling, being the Pension allowed me from Whitsunday 1789 to Whitsunday 1790, as one of the poor on his Lordship's pension list in the Parish of Sleat & I hereby discharge the same.

her
Margaret + McGillivray
mark
James Buraly, witness
John Robertson, witness

If we look back at the 1778 rental list we see there were two MacGillivrays

11. GD221/149/1/2/43X.

12. 221/149/1/2/60X.

listed for Ferrindonald - Neill and Archibald. Twelve years later Margaret was a widow of Ferrindonald. Obviously she was the wife of one of those two MacGillivrays. With only these sparse data it is impossible to tell which.

Here is another entry involving a MacGillivray,¹³

Account - Major Campbell to Thomas Thorburn, Undertaker for work done at Sundrie places, 1797-1799 [partial list]

Armadale Smitty...Porch at Knock...Armadale Gardens...Barn & Brae at Knock

...Charles McGillivray, Sawyer who worked on Barn & Brae at Knock
45 days at 2/ 4 - 10 - 0

2 pints Whisky given the men 0 - 7 - 0...

This same Charles McGillivray apparently also did work for a Mr. George Davidson on the schoolhouse at Portree and the Kilmore manse.

* * * * *

When the 18th century drew to a close there had been almost fifty years of the landlord-tenant relationship in the Highlands and Islands and many abuses had crept into the system. There was widespread dissension among the people, tacksmen and tenants alike. And the mood of the people of Skye was no exception. The following extract, while providing no MacGillivray genealogical value, does illustrate that some of the people had reached a point where collective bargaining and mutual assistance seemed to offer a solution to their problems. The gentlemen who signed this document were apparently all tacksmen from Trotternish.¹⁴

At Portree 24th April 1795

We Solemnly Swear that the no Member of this Meeting Shall at any time divulge the opinion or opinions expressed by any of the Members relative to the Subject of discussion nor Shall express any hints or conjectures as to who might have been the first Movers of this Meeting among the Members here Met -

We likewise Solemnly Swear that no individual and no number less than the whole shall ever settle with Lord Macdonald for the Farms now in our possession or for any other Farms in Trotternish either Directly or Indirectly through ourselves or any other Medium without the concurrence of all the Members of this Meeting nor Shall we have any Interst in any other Farms -

We also Solemnly Swear that we shall not accept of the

13. GD221/149/1/2/6.

14. GD221/148/2/58X.

Farms in our Possession but precisely according to the Rent affixed to them upon Honour and conscience as per particular List Signed by us with a Lease of Nineteen years to each man and a power of Assignation -

We also Solemnly Swear that if his Lordship shall make no satisfactory answer to our address we Shall in course of Summer 1795 began to Desplenish [deplete] our Stocking of Cattle to the best advantage and Shall surrender our Farms to his Lordship at Whitsun 1796 and each of us Shall give due and Legal Intimation to his Lordship of said Surrender, the Spirit of this Oath Implies that none of us Shall accept of apart of our Farms So help us God -

(signed)

Malcolm Nicolson
Malcolm Nicolson
Soirl Macdonald

Angus Martin
John Nicolson
Angus MacAulay

Donald Martin
John Martin
John Nicolson...

* * * * *

From todays perspective, anything as commonplace as salt should not be a problem. But this was not the case late in the eighteenth century when the lack of salt to preserve food could impose a severe economic hardship on the people. The magnitude of this problem is illustrated in the following memorial.¹⁵

Memorial to Lord Macdonald Concerning a Custom House
at Portree, 1796.

As Lord Macdonald, the Proprietor, has resolved to establish a village at the well known Harbour of Portree in the Island of Sky by granting feus and otherwise encouraging merchants, mechanics & fishermen to settle there, it is humbly suggested to his Lordship that in order to promote the Fisheries in particular, the establishment of a Custom House in that Harbour is absolutely necessary.

At present no Salt can be Landed on any part of the Sky Coast (the Center of the Fishing Ground) without calling for a Salt Officer all the way from Fort William, the delay created by this inconvenience subjects the Merchant often to heavy demurrage, and as often may be the cause of losing a Fishing to the inhabitants, which may cast up in the very Harbour in which the Vessel loaded with Salt happens to be a[lt] anchor. The greatest evil of all in this case is that the Merchant is deterred from bringing Salt to the Coast of Sky by its great distance from a Custom House, and the dread of not being able to make up regular reports of the use made of the Salt, there being no resident Salt Officer in the Country.

15. GD221/13/31.

The Fishing is often lost to the Country for want of Salt and when the inhabitants catch and cure fish for sale or consumption they are seldom able to make use of it when they wish as they dare not either eat or sell it until it is inspected by the officer from Fort William who makes up the Salt Account, and hitherto no fisherman in the Country have ever received a shilling of the bounty allowed on Salt Herring...

The establishment of a Custom House at Portree could not long remain a burden upon the revenue but on the Contrary it might in a few years add something to the Public Stock after paying all its Officers.

Up to this point in our narrative we have implied that Highlanders were a proud, thrifty, industrious people who persevered despite great hardships. They had all of these attributes and more, but every society has its wrongdoers and the people of Skye were no exception. The following extract illustrates both sides of the Highland personality.¹⁶

List of People who had no lands on Lord Macdonald's
estate prior to 1796 and who have since got them

...Stenshole - Donald Campbell, Son to one of Lord Macdonald's Tenants, this man was strongly recommended in year 1797 by Scalpay and Lyndale and he the year after got some Lands at Stenshole in which he has remained ever since, his character is good and his circumstances also, he was put in the room of [place of] a Widow Ross and her son who were proved Thieves in a Court held by the Sheriff and Capt. Angus Martin at Aird, and punished by standing in the Pillory, at the Sheriff's recommendation, they were turned out as an example to others. Rent pay by him 5-12-7

[signed] John Campbell

The above extract refers to a civil crime, but Scots, being human, were also susceptible to moral temptation. And when they weakened and succumbed, the Church usually became involved. One such case involving a MacGillivray is illustrated in the following extract from the Presbyter minutes taken earlier in the century. Again note the difficulty in interpreting the Anglicized versions of the Scottish surnames.¹⁷

Presbytery of Skye Records, 1712

p. 11 By reason of Mr. Martin Mcpherson's [Minister of Sleat] absence & no report from [him] the presbytery knows not

16. GD221/38/24.

17. Church Records on file at H. M. Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland, CH2/330/1.

whether Donald McGilesbig & Margaret Nin Doil bain have satisfied Church Disciplin [therefore] the former appojument [judgement] on the said persons is continued.

p. 15 Donald McGillorby Adulteror in Sleat & Margaret Nic Phail Mkeail adulteress with him compeared before this presbytery desiring to be absolved from the scandal of Adultery, they were remitted to the Session of Sleat to be absolved when they show cause.

p. 23 Mr. Martin Mcpherson reports that Donald McGillorbie & Margaret Nic Phail Mkaoile adulters in Slate are absolved.

* * * * *

In the closing years of the 18th century, the star of Napoleon was in its ascendancy and Britain again called up the fencibles. The 23rd Regiment of the Isles or Macdonald Fencibles was raised in 1798 by Lord Macdonald on his estates in the Isles, having on his own application, obtained permission from George III for that purpose. The Regiment was embodied in Inverness in June 1799. A large portion of the men of the Regiment were from Skye and Uist. The Macdonald papers do not show that any MacGillivrays served in the Regiment of the Isles.

The Regiment was called to Liverpool where it was used to put down a disturbance by seamen of Whitehaven who were trying to get higher wages by preventing vessels from leaving the port. Because the seamen had a salutary dread of the Highlanders, no violence or force was necessary. The Regiment saw no other active service. In 1802, the Regiment of the Isles was marched to Fort George and disbanded when the threat of a French invasion faded and the home guard was no longer needed.¹⁸

* * * * *

Lord Macdonald was always on the lookout for ways to increase the profits from the land, and one possible way was to exploit the mineral resources of the island. As an initial step towards achieving this end he authorized a mineral survey be made in 1799. The report of the survey contains no genealogical information but some of the collateral comments are so revealing on the way outsiders viewed the Highlanders and Islanders that we have extracted portions of the report here.¹⁹

Memorandum taken on an Expedition to the Island of Sky
in the Empire of the Right Honourable Lord Macdonald
15 June 1799 to 16 July 1799

18. Browne, Dr. James, History of the Highlands and Highland Clans, p. 283.

19. GD221/13/39.

"...20 June 1799 Set sail and are speedily carried thru the Douk[?] more by the most tremendous current imaginable. I now discover that I am embarked with a crew who don't understand English and what is worse don't seem by any means to be expert seamen, however, having observed the way they frequently crossed themselves while in the current I concluded they are good catholics though surprisingly inexperienced and Nervous seamen.

21 June 1799 A thick fog now coming on and no compass on board are at a loss to know where we are. The seamen are now so discouraged that they make no other efforts but Gaelic prayers. At last we hear the lowing of cattle, I now insist on steering in the direction of the sound and sending the [small] boat ashore to learn where we are, which was done. A sweet situation this for a fresh water sailor like me. - Left in utter darkness with only a small boy on board and it blowing hard. - At last the men returned and seemed so confident of knowing where they were, that it is resolved to push thru the fog for the Sound of Mull - But the wind increasing and the mist as thick as ever, the poor men's courage again failed and a variety of short sentences in the Earse [Irish/Gaelic] language were repeatedly pronounced or rather Howled in the most desolate tone - But whether prayers to God, or spells to chase away the darkness, I cannot say tho I am rather inclined to believe the latter from what I could learn from the Boy, who spoke a little English. At last we got sight of Castle Duart after which we went on cheerfully but the wind becoming contrary we took shelter in Loch Ailen [Aline] in Morvern...

22 June 1799...[Ashore] The people here don't seem possessed of the hospitality for which the Generality of the Highlands are so remarkably [known]. They not only refused to Sell any sort of provisions (and that in a very surly manner) but even denied the Boy I had along with me a little Milk till at last a very poor looking woman brought him some. I gave her six pence when in a moment a Dozen dishes [of milk] were brought out but not being disposed to purchase any more at that rate I quietly walked away...

30 June 1799 [On Skye] Sunday, however set out again in search of men [assistants] and with as little success as formerly. Am at a loss to what motive to attribute this strange Backwardness in the people to accept of work which I offered them Liberal Payment and begin to suspect they have had some bad advisors. Some hints which I picked up in a company into which I accidentally fell at Broadford (and who did not know what I was) gave me reason to think that our Visit was not altogether to the satisfaction of a certain description of the Inhabitants...

6 July 1799 Rain and could not work out of doors...Attempted to protract my Survey but now discover that my wretched lodgings rains [leaks] in every quarter which obliges me [to quit] after trying every means I could think of to guard my

papers from the sooty deluge.

7 July 1799 Sunday, however again began to work on paper when another deluge obliged me to go to Church in order to pray for fair weather or dry quarters.

9 July 1799 [Re seaware as fertilizer]...I mentioned the seaware which abounds in his neighborhood [Duisdalebeg] and [the farmer] informed me that he had tried it on two different spots and owns that the first year it produced excellent crops but that afterwards it did not answer his expectations. On my observing that probably he laid on too small a quantity to provide a lasting effect he readily agreed that the great labour of carrying so weighty a substance in panniers had obliged him to content himself with a much less quantity than his own judgement taught him to believe was sufficient. This circumstance, among others, points out the necessity of increasing the quantity of timber in Sky as the present scarcity precludes the use of sledges which, Bad as they are, would greatly facilitate the labours of the people.

As this man seemed intelligent and not altogether so miserably bewitched with the manners and customs of former times as those of his Country[men] I have yet met with seem to be, I asked him many questions...[Re winter weather]...a snow of three weeks duration has invariably proved the destruction of half the cattle belonging to the small tenants. This can only be remedied by the introduction of green Crops and Hay...

...On the farms before mentioned, in spite of the frequent scarcity of winter food which every man upon them has woefully experienced, the experience of making Graddan meal still prevails in consequence of which the best part of the straw is entirely wasted [burned] and every grain of Corn which by escaping the Flail might otherwise fallen to the share of the miserable cattle, is burned to ashes.

The method of thatching the houses is another direct cause of scarcity [of fodder], this consists of a thin covering of straw spread upon a layer of Turf and kept down by Ropes made with great labour either with Straw or heather, the number of these ropes serve in some degree to guard against the wind, but the slight covering of straw is instantly soaked with Rain and of course rotted. The consequence is that the Roofs (generally speaking) requires an annual coat of Straw which greatly increases the consumption of that article...

Toast by Mr McCaskil of Skye: "Caul mlagarlin ajus flachalain fact s'heaihel bliana air na Foanjich" which means, "May the French Nation be deprived of Teeth and Toenail for Seven years." [Editors note: The above item had nothing to do with the agriculture and mineral survey, but apparently intrigued Mr. Wilson enough for him to include it in his diary. It is interesting to note that the prevalent dislike of the French had penetrated even into the remote Gaelic-speaking Highlands.]

12 July 1799 Excessive rain. Wet to the skin in bed.

(Begin to tire of this business) The Country seems accursed of God and neglected by Man...[Note: Apparently Wilson, realizing this entry might be prejudicial, had second thoughts and crossed this phrase out in his diary. However, it was still legible and we have included it as a point of interest.]

[Re living conditions for outside workers to mine the minerals] Although the quantity of arable land allotted to each cottager [new worker brought in for the mines] ought to be very limited yet it is absolutely necessary that it should be in some measure adequate to supply their wants as I am already convinced a stranger on these islands finds it no easy matter to procure the necessities of life at any price, and as this disposition [exploiting minerals] is new to Highlanders (and particularly to the inhabitants of Skye) it must proceed from their natural antipathy to everything that has the smallest tendency to innovation; there is much reason to fear that in the infancy of a new settlement of this nature, everything is to be apprehended from the effect of these unfortunate prejudices which have in all probability originated amongst a class of the inhabitants who certainly ought to have known better, and by them have been promulgated to the Lower orders.

To whatever cause this obstinate Biggery of the people of these Islands (to jog on in the antediluvian stile [style] of their forefathers) is to be attributed, it is a melancholy fact that it is almost universal...

These candid comments by Mr. Wilson tend to confirm that the Islanders apparently wished to adhere to their present way of life with the same tenacity their forefathers embraced and adhered to the clan way of life. Apparently it was their desire that nothing would ever change if they could help it.

But, regardless of how much they might resist, change was inevitable, much of it brought about by over population and famine. By the end of the century the plight of the people of Skye had deteriorated badly. Rents had been raised to rack-rent levels. Famine had scourged the countryside in 1766, 1778 and with sharply increased severity in 1782. Emigration had taken its toll of the population and the future looked bleak for those who remained. But fortunately for the Islanders there was one bright spot on the horizon. Their promise of salvation was from their constant companion - the sea.

* * * * *

During the Napoleonic War years the importation of foreign alkaline substances used in the manufacture of soap and glass products was curtailed by the wars. There was, however, a reliable substitute that could be derived from the kelp that abounded in the seas surrounding the Hebrides. One ton of alkaline ash could be obtained from the burning of twelve or more tons of seaweed (or seaweare as the natives called it). By 1800, with kelp priced at £22 Sterling per ton, a large unskilled labor force was needed to collect the seaweed, lay it out to dry and burn it for its ash content. The work was hard and dirty, and not

to the crofters liking, but an industrious family could earn up to £7 per year from kelp.²⁰

The following table shows the importance of the kelp industry to both the Proprietor and crofters alike at the turn of the century.²¹

As usual, the main profits from the kelp industry went to the Proprietors. For example, at a conservative price of £20 per ton, the 1796 kelp manufacture at Strath and Sleat would have netted Lord Macdonald a gross return of more than 900% over the cost of manufacture. Not all of this was profit but, nevertheless, the return was substantial. We will learn more about kelp manufacture later.

TABLE I

Skye Kelp Report

Note of the Kelp Manufactured on Skye for Lord MacDonald
in 1796 with the Supposed Quantity of 1797

Where Manufactured	Quantity Made 1796 (Tons CWT)	Expense of Manufacture (£ Sterling)	Supposed for 1797 (Tons CWT)
Strath & Sleat	17 6	£36 - 6 - 7½	50
<u>Remarks:</u> From the constant rains last year a great part of the ware was lost after it was cut. It is hoped this year will prove more favorable.			
Trotternish	3		No kelp this year
<u>Remarks:</u> The kelp shores of Trotternish are sett with the farms, but the Farm of Flodigary, being unoccupied last year, 6 tons were cut, 3 of which the manufacturers got for their trouble.			
	20 6	£36 - 6 - 7½	50

signed/ John Campbell

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20. Glover, The Story of Scotland, p. 192.

21. GD221/13/33.

Despite the availability of the resources of the sea, the lot of the Skye crofters did not improve significantly. In our chronological narrative we are now approaching the time period when so many Scots willingly left the Highlands by their own choice because of the adverse conditions that existed. Many MacGillivrays would be among those who emigrated to various parts of the world, and it behooves us to present as complete a picture as possible as to why they would choose to do so. Fortunately, the data are available to present this picture.

The statistical accounts of Scotland rendered by the ministers of the various parishes between 1791 and 1799 provide an excellent insight into the conditions that existed on Skye at that time, and we shall draw heavily upon them. In a sense these accounts of the Highland lifestyle complement the observations of others, such as those of David Wilson and Dr. Browne, extracted previously. Each of the original statistical accounts was generally quite lengthy and the discussions ran the gamut of topics from anthropology to zoology. Here, however, we shall confine our extracts to those that describe in some manner the way the people thought and lived.

It should be noted, however, that, despite the authors wide range of interest and intellect, these accounts are the product of men of the Church, and, as such, tend to be highly subjective. The Presbyterian ministers of that day were not without their pride and prejudices. Although they were often very critical - sometimes unjustly - of the proprietors and the social and economic system, there was a natural reluctance to be overly critical of their own parishes. The readers should bear this in mind. The first extract is from the statistical account by the Reverend Martin Macpherson, Minister of Sleat,²²

"The east side of the parish [of Sleat], particularly from the farm of Knock to Tormore, forming an extent of five miles in length, and from one to one and a half in breadth, is arable...[The land] produces middling crops of oats and potatoes, though, in spite of its southern exposure, the harvests are in general late, owing to the ground being damp...

There is hardly any barley, the sea ware [kelp] growing on the shore being almost entirely laid out in manuring potatoes. That useful root is much, and indeed necessarily, cultivated here, the inhabitants living a great part of the year on potatoes and various sorts of fish, chiefly herring...

Nature, indeed, seems to have made some provision for the support of the inhabitants of this land, as the fish casts up nearly at the time the meal is consumed. There may be planted in the parish of Sleat about 300 bolls of potatoes. Their measure is a herring barrel filled, of which they allow three to a boll; what proportion this bears to the legal measure in the Low Country, I

22. Sinclair, Sir John, editor, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 16 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1815), pp. 534-540.

know not, but there may be 900 barrels planted annually, but it is to be understood, that this is almost altogether done in the lazy bed way. What attaches the inhabitants to this mode of planting potatoes, that they conceive the ground requires less preparation than when planted in the drill. Of oats there are 4 to 6 return; potatoes from 10 to 14; there have been from 34 to 38 returns [of potatoes planted] in the drill way, but this has held nowhere but in small plots, where the preparation of the ground is much attended to. There are only 12 ploughs in the parish; the other implements of tillage are garden and crooked spades...

The fuel is entirely turf or peat; it is unnecessary to describe the process of cutting and drying it; but I am sorry to observe, that this article takes up a great proportion of the farmer's time, and that very often their labour is in vain, particularly when the latter end of summer, and the beginning of autumn, happens to be rainy, which unfortunately is too often the case in the Western Highlands, and this circumstance must make the husbandman and grazier bid adieu to all regular calculation...

Population - In the year 1755, the number of souls in the parish was 1,250; and now, notwithstanding emigration and repeated drains to the Army, the inhabitants amount to 1,788. The proportion of males to females is as 5 to 6; the number of deaths for years back is from 18 to 28; marriages from 9 to 14; births at an average 40. There are now eight men in the parish upwards of 80; of women above that age, five; of that number, one is 98, and another 95.

Poor - They are in number at this time 25, who are supported in some measure by the collection...

Miscellaneous observations - There are no made roads in this parish. There is an excellent and well-known harbour, Isle Oronsay, a good deal frequented by shipping...Wages of men servants are from £2 to £3 pounds each, besides shoes; the wages of women from 12 shillings to £1, and shoes. I conceive it unnecessary to give any sort of general character of the genius or temper of the inhabitants..I deem it likewise superfluous, if not impertinent to give any opinion as to the manner in which this part of the country is treated by the Legislature, or more properly speaking by those in power..."

Reverends Macpherson's colleagues were not so reluctant to write about their parishioners, as the following account by the Reverend William Bethune,²³ Minister of the Parish of Duirinish, shows.

"...Population - Has been increasing for at least 80 years

23. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 4, pp. 130-137.

back...of late, the inhabitants have multiplied so much, that from August 1771 to October 1790, eight large transports have sailed from this island with emigrants to seek settlements in America, the last of these transports sailed the 6th of this month Oct. 1790 from Loch Bracadale. These eight ships have, at a very modest computation, carried away from this island 2,400 souls and £24,000 Sterling. From the year 1772-1775, 204 males and 207 females emigrated from this parish to America, exclusive of those who have gone on the last two ships, yet the population appears to be as great as in 1772...marriages here produce, in general, from 5 to 12 children. The cottages are full of inhabitants..."

Food - As there is no flesh market in the parish, if a person is disposed to eat beef, he must buy a whole cow; if he would wish to eat mutton, he must buy a sheep.

People - They are peaceful and gentle in their dispositions, and are very industrious when they work for themselves; but when they work for hire or wages, they are inclined to be lazy and indifferent; they are rather too fond of changes and emigration, and although brave and loyal, they are adverse to naval and military service and are extremely disgusted with the idea of being pressed [press ganged]...In August 1785, two families were banished from this country for cow-stealing..."

The statistical account for the Parish of Portree was not written by a minister but by Mr. Alexander Campbell, schoolmaster, who made some interesting observations on the lifestyle of the inhabitants of that parish.²⁴

"...Agriculture - The method of subdividing the land tends to make people poorer...Although the soil is not very fertile or rich, it could be made to produce more plentiful crops. But the general run of the farmers are so prejudiced in favor of old customs, and indeed not much inclined to industry, that they are not easily prevailed to change them for the better...The cascroim, a crooked kind of spade, is almost the only instrument used for labouring the ground used by the ordinary class of tenants...Sowing usually begins about 20 March and harvest seldom before mid-September...Except for a little barley, small oats is the only crop...Potatoes, herring and other fish are the bulk of the food for more than half the year..."

Prices - Increasing for past 30-40 years because of increasing population and introduction of paper money into the country...some servants shoes cost their masters nearly as much as their wages did 20-30 years ago.

There are only five gentlemen tacksmen in the parish...some

24. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 16, pp. 138-162.

farmers have cottars, the half of whose weekly work they have, and sometimes more or less, for a little grass and what ground they can labour the rest of the time..."

The Reverend Thomas Fraser, Minister of the Parish of Strath, wrote the statistical account for that parish in which he stresses a problem that is becoming increasingly more sensitive to both the Proprietors and the people of Skye - overcrowding.²⁵

"...The name of the parish is Strathswordle...for brevity called Strath which is a Gaelic word for valley. Swordle has no affinity for the Gaelic and is probably Danish...the air is moist and muggy. More rain falls on Strath than on any other part of Skye.

Population - Considerable increase in 20 years. Due to inoculation for smallpox, which has been practiced for past 25 years, and letting the lands to small tenants...About 15 years ago the parish [was] in hands of [a] few gentlemen, some of whom had 4-5 farms. Now gentlemen-farmers reduced to one or two, and other farms let to small tenants. Ten families consisting of five persons each on average, live where formerly there were not above three persons living.

There are 25 farms in the parish...many tenants turn the ground with the coischroim (crooked spade)...the poor in the parish is 15...farmers depend on the sale of black cattle to pay rents and pay necessities...peat is the only fuel used here and a great part of the summer is wasted digging it...whiskey is sold by the bottle in many places. If this practice is tolerated there is danger the people will become poor, quarrelsome and immoral..."

The Reverend Malcolm MacLeod,²⁶ of the Parish of Snizort, made some very interesting comments on contemporary conditions that help explain why the parochial records of the insular parishes are so sparse.

"...The session funds for the parish are so poor (being only the Sunday collections, which are exceedingly small) that they do not admit to having a sessions clerk, consequently no register is kept of either births, marriages or deaths...

Sickness - In a wet season, rheumatism, coughs and colds are frequent, some epidemical fevers appear too, and at times are mortal. The winters and springs are generally damp, cold and piercing. The air, however, on the whole is not thought

25. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 16, pp. 222-229.

26. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 18, pp. 181-189.

unsalubrious, and some instances of longevity tend to confirm this opinion..."

The Reverend Donald Martin, of Kilmuir Parish, included the following interesting comments on the people in his statistical account.²⁷

"...The name Kilmuir is Gaelic and signifies, the Church of Mary...

Plough - The small tenants use the plough only in weak ground, about the end of spring. They have a notion, which cannot be easily removed, but which they say is amply confirmed by experience, that ploughed ground does not produce near the quantity of corn, that it would do, if tilled with a instrument of great antiquity in the Highlands, called a crooked spade, and wrought with manual labour...

The people are very economical, industrious and humane...The common people, in general, still wear Highland garb, and adhere more closely to ancient customs and manners, than their superiors...Crimes are rarely committed...About 25 years ago, a man was overtaken with a stolen sheep on his shoulder by two neighboring tenants. The thief declared to them, this was his first trespass; and offered a reward if they would keep it a profound secret. But they declined to accept of the one, or to do the other. The sheep was set at liberty; and the poor wretch hung himself, next morning to the roof of his own house..."

And in the final account presented here, the Reverend Roderick MacLeod,²⁸ Minister of the Parish of Bracadale, noted that emigration had been a continuous process since the early 1770's.

"...Emigration - From 1771 to 1774, 128 souls emigrated. In August 1788, about 200 souls went from this parish to North America, and about the same number in 1790..."

Although not a minister's report or account, the following letter extract is included here in the narrative because it describes some other facets of the island lifestyle at the close of the century.²⁹

Letter, John Grieve, Boness to John Campbell, Esq.,
W. S., Sconcer, Skye

27. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Vol. 2, pp. 547-557.

28. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1771-1799, Vol. 3, pp. 245-249.

29. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/13/41.

Grange, Sept. 5, 1799

Dear Sir

...I therefore give you this [letter] to mention something which you may have an opportunity of examining on the spot and which not being particularized in my instructions will if mentioned at all be but cursorily mentioned in my report.

The practice in Skye is, Dealers from the mainland come over to buy cattle at Portree and Broadford at the two great fairs in May and August. These Dealers should be invited over by proper accommodations. Roads should be made that they can ride on and proper Inns and Stables should be made for acceptance of themselves and Horses. You will see how far this is from at present. The Gentlemen of Skye have, it is true, begun of late to make Roads, but they are making them in so expensive a way, and their funds are so small, that the Road from the Kyle to Portree will not be open these 20 years. This Road is metaling 18 feet broad for admitting carriages. But why not make a Road in the first place for saddle horses, and as three or four feet...would do for this, it might be made from the Kyle to Portree in a couple of years and so be of immediate use. It may afterwards be widened into a carriage road as the funds will permit...

...The gentlemen of Skye are said to thwart one another in road making, each preferring his own road skill. This seems to account for the line [route] the road is taking...It were to be wished the new Road through Skye should be made right at first to avoid the enormous expense of corrections. You have now the best opportunity of doing this...By employing these people [land surveyors] you will do two good things - you will in the first place have the road laid out in the best manner and in the next place you will prevent the Gentlemen of Skye from quarrelling with one another in respect to their road knowledge.

The Inns [on Skye] at present are sad places...

...I could not find that more than 2,000 head of Black Cattle are exported annually from Skye, and of these about 1/5th part are passed through Skye from the long Islands and Harris. The price of the remaining 1,600 [head] did not appear to me more than sufficient to pay for the Fairintosh whisky consumed by the Inhabitants...

The candid observations in the statistical accounts of the various Presbyterian ministers of Skye, the diary of David Wilson, Ballingal's report and letters similar to the above help to provide a contemporary view of the manners, mores and morals of the common people of Skye in the waning years of the 18th century. They reveal a proud people, who were doggedly set in their ways, unwilling to change their traditional customs even to improve their lot, forced to live on intermingled land plots barely sufficient for subsistence, yet still able to maintain that indomitable Scottish spirit and dignity. Not all Skyemen were satisfied with the status quo, however, and many left the islands to improve their lot in the Lowlands or the Colonies, but, despite the constant drain, the population remained fairly stable. Primarily this was due to the adoption of a more rational and judicial treatment of women and children in

childbirth and because of improved health standards resulting from innovations such as the general inoculation against smallpox.

For those who stayed behind, conditions would not improve, but would, in fact, get worse. The heart of the "Highland problem" could be stated simply. The land fit for cultivation was not capable of supporting the ever increasing population that sought to exist upon it. And as the 19th century dawned, the wholesale introduction of sheep would compound an already complex situation. Battle lines would be drawn over the question of priorities in the use of the land. The pawns in this struggle would be man versus sheep. In the end sheep would win and man would lose, and for many Highlanders emigration would become the only viable alternative.

Aye! Within the social and economic framework that permeated the Highlands and Islands at that time, it would have been a rare Scot who could awaken on the dawn of the new century with even the foggiest view of what the future would bring.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1800-1802

Nothing auspicious happened on Skye to mark the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was a day apparently no different from any other winter day in the Hebrides. The weather was cold, but no colder than usual. Perpetual clouds smothered the Cuillins as they usually did that time of the year. A romantic person or a visionary might view their shrouded summits as a metaphoric reminder of the war clouds that blanketed Europe. But no visionary, regardless of how clairvoyant, could foresee, on that first of January 1800, the magnitude of the socio-economic changes that would occur in the Highlands and Islands during the new century.

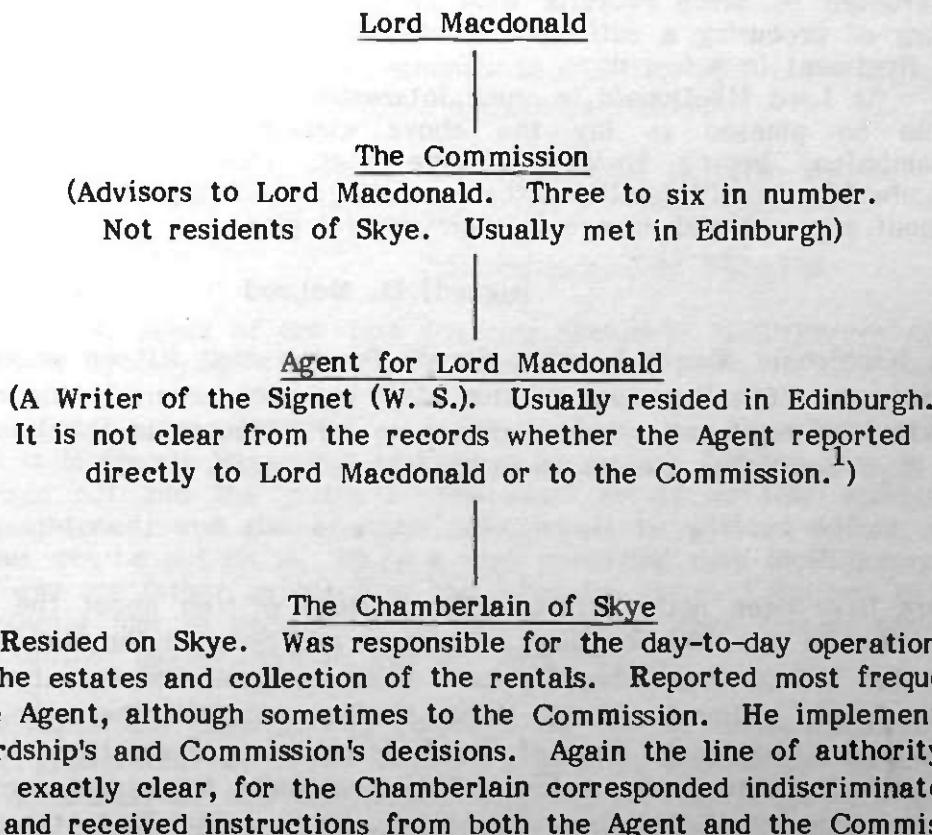
By the end of the first quarter of the century, changes and events would occur that would have a profound effect on all the people of the Highlands and Islands including the MacGillivrays of Skye. Britain would emerge victorious from the Napoleonic cauldron of war. The economic boom this conflict had generated would come to an end, and the anticipated post-war prosperity would fail to materialize. A long, hard economic depression would follow. Buoyed by her success in the Napoleonic Wars, Britain would attempt - and fail - to reunite the American Colonies with the Empire. And those former colonies, once bright jewels in the British Crown, would continue to serve as a beacon for the hapless Scottish Highlanders who would be displaced by the ever increasing rentals and by the inexorable northward march of the Great Cheviot Sheep.

The mental and physical anguish brought about during those turbulent years is difficult to visualize today. But, when we review the available contemporary records, we obtain a vicarious empathy for those confused, frightened souls whose way of life was changing all too rapidly before their very eyes. In retrospect, perhaps the most difficult part for us to understand is why this discomfort never materialized into widespread anger and rebellion. The fact that it did not speaks highly of the Highlanders native discipline and love of his home land.

With this preamble we can now resume our chronological review. But, before presenting any documentation, a schematic outline of the manner in which Lord Macdonald's estates were managed will be helpful in understanding some of the following correspondence and documentation.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lord Macdonald, following the suit of the majority of the other major landlords, was no longer involved in the day-to-day operations of his Estates. Instead he maintained residence away from Skye and depended on a staff to manage his affairs. Roughly, the line of authority for running the Skye Estates was structured as follows. On paper this appears to be a suitable management arrangement; not too many levels and not

too many people involved. Interestingly enough, however, the extant records will reveal that the management problems on Skye in the 1800's were as profuse, confused and unwieldy as those that exist in any modern bureaucracy today.



The following letter illustrates the point made that the above structure was not infallible. But before proceeding it is important for the readers to note that, at this particular time in the early 1800's, there were two John Campbells in the service of his Lordship; one was the Agent (a Writer of the Signet) in Edinburgh and the other was the Chamberlain of Skye.²

Letter, Capt. M. McLeod, 76th Regiment to John Campbell,
Esq., W. S., Edinburgh

Cuidrach, 5 May 1800

Dear Sir

1. Writer of the Signet - Originally a clerk in the Secretary of State's office who prepared writs for the Royal Signet. Later, one of an ancient society of Law Agents who conducted cases before the Court of Sessions and who have the exclusive right of preparing Crown writs, charters, precepts, etc.

2. The Macdonald Muniments, GD221/50.

I have been ordered upon the recruiting service for this quarter by the Col. of our Regiment who also informed me I would be assisted in that service by the Chamberlain. Upon application to him to that purpose, he informs me, that having no instructions to that effect from the Commissioners he cannot take it upon himself to procure or serve recruits with land, which would be the only means of procuring a sufficient number of good men to complete the Regiment in a few days.

As Lord MacDonald is much interested, I beg leave that you would be pleased to lay the above circumstance before the Commission, hoping they will give such instructions to the Chamberlain as will facilitate the recruiting, which I think practical without any material change in their general plan ...

[signed] M. McLeod

The Napoleonic danger haunted Europe for the next fifteen years and, as we shall see, the 76th Regiment of the Isles, or more precisely the recruiting of troops for the regiment, would continue to be a factor in the lives of the people of Skye long after the Napoleon specter had faded.

* * * * *

There have been many brilliant dissertations written about the plight of the Highlanders in the 19th century. The pros and cons on the socio-economic conditions that led to their adversity have been analyzed and reanalyzed, often in minute detail. Almost all of these studies conclude that the ordinary Highlanders had a very rough time of it. It is not our purpose here to replough the same ground. Instead, we welcome the opportunity to present some of the more human elements of that drama, especially as they pertain to the people of Skye. Fortunately, much of the documentation available is both rich and explicit in the human elements involved.

The records of early 19th century Skye are replete with examples of the way the tenants competed for available land. Not all documentation presented here involves MacGillivrays per se, but each presentation adds in some small fashion to the picture of the environment the MacGillivrays of Skye existed in during the early 1800's. The following is a case in point.³

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John
Campbell, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 31 January 1800

Dear Sir

...I also enclose an offer [for a farm] by John McDonell of Knodairt [Knoydart]. He is I believe a man of inoffensive character and he offers security for the punctual pay of his rents. He is a Roman Catholic and I understand the protestants of Skye have an

3. GD221/63/80X.

bitter antipathy at people of that sect...

The above extract documents an "outsider" attempting to move into Skye and take over a farm. If successful, he would deprive a native Skyeman of a billet. This was a sad commentary on the times but, as we shall see, it happened with increasing frequency.

Next in the sequence of documents is a letter that is very important to one of the authors because it involves a direct ancestor.⁴

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh, Agent for Lord Macdonald

Kingsburgh, July 14, 1800

Dear Sir

...3. Yours of the 21st covering Archibald McGillivrays offer without specifying a rent for Teangue. that Farm is at present occupied by nine tenants and he only means that it should be occupied by four [tenants] in which he is no doubt perfectly right but it is merely impossible at present to provide for the Five to be turned out and the marks of the Farm should be first straythed [straightened] and the common adjoining it be divided before any value can be put on it. he is a very deserving man McGillavray & so was his father before him and what he states I believe to be perfectly just in regards to his never having been arrears and of his brother having been in the 76th Regiment...

The Archibald MacGillivray referred to in the above extract was the great-great-grandfather of Doris McGilvary Steiner, one of the authors of this history. Apparently he was dissatisfied with the crowded conditions on Teangue and had petitioned to have the number of tenants reduced. It can be interpreted from the tenor of the Chamberlain's letter that his request was not going to be granted. Archibald MacGillivray would hold on for two more years before he became so disenchanted he and his brother, Angus, would emigrate to North Carolina in 1802. Family notwithstanding, the available records in the Macdonald Collection do not substantiate that Archibald's brother served in the Regiment of the Isles as he claimed. However, as we have warned before, these records are not all-encompassing and we do not consider them as gospel.⁵

The next letter is relevant to the preceding letter.

Letter, Tenants of Teangue to Lord Macdonald

Tongue[Teangue], Sept. 8th, 1800

Dear Sir

The tenants of the farm of Tongue in Sleat, being willing to

4. GD221/63/86X

5. GD221/22/96.

keep by their possessions, hereby Offer the highest Offer that will be given by Another, that is to say that reasonably can be given, being willing to Continue in their present possession & expect not to be removed without being Acquainted.

Archibald Macgilivray [signed]
John Chisolm [signed]
Alexr. Chisolm + his mark
Duncan Kelly + his mark
Duncan Robertson + his mark
Alexr. MacIntyre + his mark
Alexr. MacIntosh + his mark
Angus MacIntosh + his mark

The Archibald MacGillivray, who signed the above letter, was literate and was the same one referred to in the previous letter. He was the author's great-great-grandfather.

The foregoing letter was fairly straight forward. It was a short and simple request by tenants to keep their farms. Some requests, bids or petitions for farms were, however, more cumbersome and descriptive as illustrated in the following petition which involves a MacGillivray in Strath. Some punctuation has been added.⁶

Letter, To the Right Honourable Sir John Murray [one of Lord Macdonald's Commissioners] presently at Sleat

9th Sept 1800

Honoured Sir

We the Tenants of Haste [Heast] beg leave to observe, that in a former Letter addressed to Mr. Campbell the Factor in order to be transmitted to the Commissioners, we made an Offer of a Hundred pounds Sterling for this our farm. This is an augmentation of fifty pounds more than we were paying before. We are willing to make the same offer still considering the shore will be given us, that is the ware for Kelp along the Farm. As there is no more Kelp to be manufactured in Strath it is not worth while to send a Vessel purposely for the trifling Kelp made on our shore which is but a very small quantity. And if we serve to manure our rigg properly we would use the most of it. So that if we will be obliged to make the Kelp for his Lordship it will leave us so scarce of potatoes and other maintenance for our poor children that we will always be forced to buy meal for them to keep them together. There are so many of us Crammed together, the most of us having but a farthing and 1/2 or 3/8 of a penny [land] that we would wish it were possible to make Room for the rest of us to get half a penny each as we had before. We also would wish that a lease of our farm was granted as without that we can never make good husbandry or cultivate barren and rugged soil. There is

6. GD221/22/40.

one of our number namely Hugh MacLure who gave his Son to his Lordship and instead of getting more land for that, part of what he had was taken from him. He had formerly a penny, one farthing of that belonged to his father who is a very old and infirm man & who also gave his own son to his Lordship's father when he was raising a regiment & got a promise at that time he would never be deprived of any of his land while living. It is the earnest request and petition of the said Hugh MacLure to have his fathers farthing restored back to him [so] that he may have the whole penny as he had formerly, being a great inconvenience and trouble to be dividing it into small Lots, and [he] thinks as there are so many Acres distributed among the poorest tenants of Strath, it is easier for him to obtain his own if your Honour and the rest of his Lordship's commissioners should think proper. May God inspire them with compassion and mercy towards the poor tenants as its a very hard affair that a hundred Souls should be removed for one man in order to be stocked again with a few sheep. And so we Subscribe ourselves as your Honours most Obedient and respectful humble Servants the Tenants of Heast

Hugh MacLure + his mark
Finlay MacInnes + his mark
Donald McGilvray + his mark
Angus Buchannan + his mark
Malcolm MacInnes + his mark
Sandy MacLure + his mark

Lachlan Mackinnon + his mark
Charles Mackinnon + his mark
Norman Buchannan + his mark
Niel MacKinnon + his mark
John MacKinnon + his mark

In addition to identifying a MacGillivray, the foregoing letter is interesting in several other ways. Here we see the tenants wanting to use the seaware (kelp) for fertilizer and petitioning the Proprietor not to take it from them. Also we see where the people were attempting to capitalize on what they considered to be a binding, moral obligation on the part of the Proprietor - the promise of land tenure for military service. In retrospect, however, probably the most important facet of the above petition is that it focuses our attention on the ensuing competition between men and sheep.

The above petition was just one of many that would be submitted during the early years of the 19th century. Not all would concern or involve MacGillivrays, but each would present a poignant and revealing commentary on the times. The irony - and the tragedy - of the conditions that prompted all these petitions to Lord Macdonald or his representatives is manifest in the letters themselves. Recall that during the recruitment for the Regiment of the Isles, there were explicit guarantees of land tenure in exchange for military service. Alas! There were no guarantees. The altruism that prompted those promises did not endure, and, in the final consideration, military service would be only a minor input into the decision whether to grant a lease or not. The following petition is a case in point and it strikes a particularly sympathetic chord.

Unto the Honourable Sir John Murray, Knight Bart.,
one of the Commissioners for the Right Honourable,

Lord Alexander Macdonald

The petition of Angus Matheson late tenant of Ragill,
Parish of Snizort, Trotternish

Most Humbly Sheweth

That your petitioner is Seventy-Seven years of age, that he has been in possession of the above Farm of Ragill for Twenty-Nine years [and has] also paying rent to his Lordship's honourable predecessors for the space of forty-five years-That he has improved his little farm better than any other man in that Barony, having spared no expense or labour in building houses, fences and cultivating the Soil to the best advantage by which he enjoyed pretty good crops through his judicious management-That when the late Lord Macdonald was raising the Seventy-Six Regiment, your petitioner gave him his oldest son in consideration of which His Lordship gave your petitioner under his hand writing not only himself but his offspring a preference on equal terms to the above place of Ragill & [this will be] shown if required together with his Parish Minister and Elders Certificate for your petitioners moral character.

May it therefore please your Honours to consider what is above prescribed and that your petitioner has been dispossessed from the said farm of Ragill at Whitsunday 1799 by Major Campbell the present Factor by which your petitioner sustained a loss of at least Forty pounds Sterling by the disadvantageous sale of his Stock and now lives a miserable life in a Wretched Flat on other peoples ground-That your petitioner only prays for the aforesaid farm of Ragill on equal terms or by appreciation if necessary of such other place as your Honour may think proper and your petitioner shall ever pray.

his
Angus + Matheson
mark

Ragill Decr 18th, 1800

If the facts stated above are true, Angus Matheson's petition is a pathetic indictment of the conditions that existed on Skye in the early 19th century. To have been turned out after 29 years on the same farm, and after 45 years of service to the Macdonalds would have been a bitter pill for anyone to swallow. And when one reads his plea that "he has improved his little farm better than any other man in the Barony," the Highlanders attachment to the land and the anguish they suffered when dispossessed becomes heart-rendingly real.

The next petition sheds more light on the conditions that existed on Skye

early in the century. Here we see a former tacksman who has fallen on hard times. His land holdings have been decreased to the point where he can no longer support his family. He asks either that he be given more land or else what he has be taken from him so the decision would be taken out of his hands whether he should or should not emigrate.⁸

Petition, John Nicolson to Sir John McGregor Murray
[Commissioner]

1 Sept 1800

Mr. John Nicolson, late of Stenshol, is under the necessity of making his present situation known...He had for a considerable time back lived as a Tacksman of Stenshol & and before that at Culniknock...but upon the death of the late Lord Macdonald he was by the then reigning Factor deprived of the Farm of Stenshol, excepting half a penny of that Farm in company of a set of the most unruly and unmannerly Fellows in the Country in which situation he was most uncomfortable and unhappy. but he is of late rendered more destitute by being deprived of the one half of the little lands he had for reasons which he cannot assign a cause for, so that now he only possesses one farthing of the land of Stenshol. With this trifling pittance of land it is impossible for him to supply his family...if his case is not taken into consideration & some relief given in his present uncomfortable [situation] by accommodating him with less or more lands upon any conditions, he will be under the necessity to go with his family out of the Country...

The following petition sheds more light on the anguish and agony suffered by the tenants who were moved about like chattel.⁹ It also refutes the premise that the promises given for military service were not always honored. In this case they were honored, but not in the petitioners favor.

A petition of Duncan MacIver, tenant in Sleat to the
Commissioners of the Estate of Lord MacDonald

Sept 9th, 1800

Humbly Sheweth

...That the late Lord Macdonald put your petitioner and his father in possession of one half of the Farm of Kilbeg in 1795 on their paying what was then thought a very advanced Rent, that in consequence of an Advertisement from Mr. Campbell, the Chamberlain, offering encouragement to the Tenants on the Whole Estate for building good and sufficient stone houses, Your

8. GD221/22/11.

9. GD221/22/59.

Petitioner immediately erected the best stone house ever built by a small Tenant on the Estate, & not only expected milioration [amelioration] but other Encouragement for so doing but in place of that, he was removed without any warning to a part of the Farm of Armadale, the year after finishing the house, in which place he does not find himself half so comfortable as in his former situation, and when Lord Macdonald was raising his Regiment your Petitioner told the Factor that he did not have a son or brother to give his Lordship, [but] he was willing to recruit a man from another Estate, if accepted of. When the Factor told him that his Lordship declined putting any of his Tenants to such Expense & assured him that for the trouble he had taken in building a house, he need be under no concern. Yet notwithstanding, your Petitioner has been removed from the land to make room for Martin MacPherson who had given his son to Lord Macdonald...The Petitioner applied to the Factor for milioration for his house...and it was mutually agreed the mason would appreciate [appraise] the House, on which your Petitioner would be paid. But to this hour never got any compensation for his house, nor could [he] learn what the Appraisement was, in which your Petitioner thinks himself ill-used & a bad Precedent for other Tenants to follow...

Among the pathos there were some items that may seem mildly humourous today, but were deadly serious when recorded.

Knock, 10th Septr 1800¹⁰

...You are hereby directed to intimate to the inhabitants of this Parish that if any Person or Persons Shall be detected in Stealing, Plucking or destroying Turnips on the Farm of Armadale; all such shall be punished with the severest penalties of the Law, and you are also to warn Lord Macdonald's Tenants as well as all Housekeepers that in case they neglect to give immediate notice to Mr. Davidson at Armadale or the Chamberlain of any destruction done to the Turnips or Woods at Armadale; should such lawless proceedings come to their knowledge, Such shall of the first term after conviction be removed of the estate.

And here is another petition with humourous overtones that involves personalities. Again the consequences were deadly serious for the petitioner involved.¹¹

Petition, from Donald MacLean, late Tenant of Camuscross

12 Septr 1800

Humbly Sheweth

10. GD221/22/33.

11. GD221/22/62.

That in the year 1793 your Petitioner was put in possession of part of the Farm of Camuscross...[he paid rent punctually until] 1798 when he had been removed for no other cause than to gratify the malevolent disposition of a woman of the name of Nicolson married at Kylereath & at that time giving suck to a Child of Mr. John Elder at Camuscross. The said woman harboured ill will to your Petitioner, for a stupid and silly story of Gallantry reported against her some years before which did not injure her Character in the least degree or prevent her getting married much better than she deserves. Messrs. Macdonald and Elder, Merchants, interceded with the present Chamberlain for her in order to get some Revenge of your Petitioner to feed her pride. The Chamberlain, who in every occasion, has decidedly sheweth himself in the Interest of those Merchants to the prejudice of the Country at large and in particular to your Petitioner's great distress, got him removed at the last Term & though he had frequent opportunities to accommodate him since, took good care not to do it, least he should hurt the pride of his enemies...

The next petition charges that favoritism and partiality were shown in renting the land and also points out the apparent duplicity of those who managed Lord Macdonald's estates.

Unto Sir John MacGregor Murray, Baronet, one of the
Commissioners for Lord Macdonald

The Petition of Donald Macdonald, Tenant at Sheoilater
and his son John Macdonald late tenant at Graulin¹²

Most Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner has been for forty years a Tenant...and when Lord Macdonald was recruiting in the Country, your Petitioner gave him his youngest son as a recruit tho' he was his chief support for carrying on the work of the Farm, his other sons having Families of their own to look after. Your Petitioner at the time of surrendering his son to Lord Macdonald, considering his own strength on the decline through age (being past sixty) & now Derived of his only help, Creaved as a favor of Lord Macdonald to be removed to the Farm of Peinvievanen, which place he thought easy to manage & and wished to get there three farthings of that place for himself & and his other son (Your Petitioner) John Macdonald then at Graulin; in order by that means to have the aid of son John in lieu of the son given to Lord Macdonald...

...Lord Macdonald accordingly in presence of Colonel Macallister, Colonel Macdonald of Lyndale & Major John Macdonald; (the former being Interpreter) promised that your Petitioners would actually get three Farthings of Punvievanen as

12. GD221/22/124.

they requested & and your Petitioners were fully satisfied with his Lordship's promise until sometime before the following Whitsunday, being 1799 - when they applied to the Chamberlain, for what his Lordship had promised. He replied that your Petitioners were only stating a falsehood & if their ascertain was true they should have it in writing. Your Petitioners said that they [had] demanded a written order from his Lordship but Colonel Macdonald of Lyndale recommended to them to rest satisfied with his Lordship's Verbal promise & and added that he would see your Petitioners put in possession of the foresaid lands - Your Petitioners insisted what they set forth to be no falsehood & and refered the Chamberlain for the truth of it to Lyndale & and the other gentlemen present...Your Petitioner, John Macdonald, was turned out of his possession at Graulin & and has not now an inch of Lord Macdonald's ground - Thus are your two Petitioners rewarded for their attachment & dutiful conduct towards his Lordship - The lands of your Petitioner John Macdonald at Graulin were through the interest of Ewen Campbell & [the] Partiality of the Chamberlain, given to two Brothers of the name of MacKinnon whose grandmother was [a] Campbell, the wife of one of them was also [a] Campbell & for whom (when a Maid) a Tenant of the name of Gordon was turned out of his lands at Erlish in a manner so unprecedented & of course so well known...

	his
Donald	+ Macdonald
	mark
	his
John	+ Macdonald
	mark

Whereas the above cited petition was quite explicit in accusing the Chamberlain of showing partiality and favoritism, the following one accuses him of physical abuse.¹³

November 1800
Petition, John Macdougald to Lord Macdonald

John Macdougald a poor man with a throng [large] & weak family beg leave to present to Lord Macdonald's Commission the cruel & unwarrantable treatment he received from the Chamberlain by means of which he is ruined & rendered destitute & unable to support his poor family.

When Lord Macdonald came to this Country to raise his Regiment of the Isles this poor man enlisted himself with his Lordship to insure possession of the little lands he then had at Boive as he had not a son that was fit for a recruit and in his absence his wife & berns [bairns] be able to support themselves by means of the little lands.

13. GD221/22/117.

At the inspection of the Regiment this poor man was cast [aside] being thought rather old. But his Lordship at the same time assured him of the possession of his land. But the Chamberlain without any good reason deprived him of them [the lands] and Bestowed them upon his former neighbors in addition to what they formerly possessed who did not at all desire them or stand in the least need of the same. And when he remonstrated with the Chamberlain on the injustice & impropriety of his treatment so contrary to Lord Macdonald's intention & promise, the Chamberlain instead of shewing any disposition to alleviate his [the Petitioner's] distress took hold of the poor man by the throat & in the presence of Malcolm MacLeod & many others threatened to Maltreat him unless he would sett off with himself directly & and the poor man hopes that as this is truth as he shall answer to God, his case will be considered.

[signed] John Macdougald

Very few communities can exist for any length of time without some dissention occurring among the inhabitants. Skye was no exception as illustrated in the following extract from a letter.¹⁴

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

15 Decr. 1800

...[I am forwarding] a letter from Mr. Davidson at Armadale who is very disagreeably situated from the interference of different people with the affairs and management of the farm particularly Mr. Macdonald of Knock who has taken upon him to support the neighboring Tenants in taking away their Horses out of Mr. Davidson's poind fold [?] - they having been put there for a trespass as the law directs. Knock has taken it into his head with whatever reason I cannot say that he is to be supported in whatever way he conducts himself and is excessively troublesome. I have only Further to add on this Subject that unless he is checked and prevented in future from any interference it will be impossible for Mr. Davidson to conduct his matters with that peace and regularity a man in his situation ought, and that I shall not interfere in the matter further than I have done already. I saw the impropriety early of allowing Knock to be in the house of Armadale. I told the Commissioners so. They ordered him to be removed. Sir John Murray [one of the Commissioners] contradicted their orders and I have nothing more to say in the business ...

* * * * *

On Sunday, 4 January 1801, a major winter storm passed over Skye and

there was much destruction throughout the land. Many dwellings and structures were destroyed and a large number of boats were sunk or wrecked on the rocks. The stock in the fields was hurt badly, as were the people in the townships. In such times of weather calamity or other disaster, the Proprietor instituted an emergency feeding program to prevent starvation. One of the commodities dispensed at such times was oatmeal, but, as the following letter shows, emergency rations of meal was not always easy to obtain.¹⁵

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 19th January 1801

Dear Sir

I wrote you by last post since which I have been over the whole Country in quest of meal and am sorry to say have had but little success...I found on my excursion that Mr. Macdonald of Lyndale had sent men [through] this Country to purchase meal and that these men had told the Tenants that they had orders to buy for Lord Macdonald's use and that the Tenants were not safe to sell to me any and threatened several of them who refused their meal that they would take down their names and if they gave meal to anybody else, they [the tenants] would suffer for it, this has created quite an alarm among the Tenants and many of them are afraid to give meal tho' they have it. It is spread all over this Country that I am no longer Factor for Lord Macdonald & the insolence I met with in consequence is intolerable, on this subject I shall not at present however dwell...

...What is to be done with the poor Schoolmaster of Strath? he came to me Saturday evening and told me that he and his Family were absolutely starving...

The weather during the Spring of 1801 was consistently bad and affected the crops and the stock on Skye as illustrated in the two following extracts.¹⁶

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 30 March 1801.

Dear Sir

...4. The Spring has turned out very badly here and the Crops are all consumed with the Cattle. I am very much afraid the people will be in want. And they cannot give the meal promised me for Lord Macdonald's workmen or else they must starve themselves...

In the following extract, the term "boll" is used. This is a measure used

15. GD221/63/60

16. GD221/63/69.

in Scotland for grain and generally contains six Imperial bushels.

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh¹⁷

Kingsburgh, 4 April 1801

Dear Sir

...I find the Tenants who promised the meal for the use of the workmen employed by Mr. Gillespie cannot present the quantity they thought from the badness of the season which has within these four weeks taken a most unfortunate turn and I fear the Tenants will Lose many of their Cattle now the ground is white with snow and a cold northerly wind likely to lay more on. Find this an understanding from Mr. Gillespie that he will need at least 200 Bolls in addition to what he has already got & what he may expect from the Country. I have purchased from Mr. McKinnon Corry that Quantity for which I am to pay 55/- ready money...Mr. Gillispie tells me he will need about two hundred pounds more in about a month. He also States that I believe to be the Case that a Labouring man at 21/- per week cannot afford to pay for the meal above mentioned as they leave ten Shillings for their wives and Families in the South and have only ten for themselves. The Commissioners may consider how this matter may be made a little larger for the poor people. I wish this Island may not feel the scarcity this year, they have been bribed and imposed on by the people from Gauloch [probably Gairloch], Lewis and Harris to sell meal for whisky and [due to the harshness] of the winter, have run themselves very short...

It is worth recalling that at the turn of the century the Macdonald family was once again making Armadale the principal place of residence and there was much construction going on as implied in the above letter. Because the Skye people possessed limited building skills, it was deemed necessary to import workers from the Lowlands for the finishing work. These are the workers referred to in the above correspondence.

While on the subject of correspondence, we find we are deeply indebted to Mr. John Campbell, who was Lord Macdonald's Chamberlain on Skye in the early years of the nineteenth century. He may not have been the most trustworthy or skillful estate manager of all those who served Lord Macdonald, but he was certainly the most prolific when it came to letters and reports. Some might think him a chronic complainer, and there is a certain validity in this, but regardless of his personality traits he has shed welcome light onto the life and times of the people of Skye during his tenure as Factor. The following correspondence illustrates this quite well.¹⁸

17. GD221/63/57.

18. GD221/63/50X.

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 1 June 1801

Dear Sir

...I had almost Forgot to mention that the Tenants who were removed from Achachork refused to go to Shulesta, they say it is reported by Mr. Lachlan Martin that he is determined to have it [Shulesta] and therefore it is needless for them to go there for one year. The lands are at present Vacant. be so good as say what I am to do with them...

And here is another example of how informative John Campbell was in his correspondence.¹⁹

Letter, John Campbell to John Campbell, Esq.

Kingsburgh, 27 July 1801

Dear Sir

...In my last I mentioned what I had to state in answer to Knock's letter and I now state my opinion of the operation at Armadale...

Mr. Davidson has proceeded to lay out and subdivide the Farm of Armadale according to a plan laid down at his commencement by Mr. Blackadder and myself and has certainly made a great alteration to the better on the Farm. I am however sorry to say he has had very bad crops last year and I am afraid they will be no better this one. He attributes this to the want of Lime and I make no doubt it is so partly. He has however followed a system too Common in this Corner that of keeping too many Horses and then he does not take proper care of [them] as will be seen by his own report which he is making out for the information of the Commissioners. Upon the whole I consider Mr. Davidson to be wedded to his own system (not a good one) but if he took advice he might do very well. I however do not think him one of the best managers for the improvement of a Farm here.

Campbell the Gardener I think one of the cleverest fellows I have met with for a long time but he has one failing - he drinks when he goes abroad but never at home - he last year took a Fit of drinking which lasted for some days along with Knock...

As we have indicated before, Lord Macdonald was always seeking ways to increase revenue from the estates. The island's geologic past had been conducive to the formation of minerals and there were trace deposits scattered about the island. Lord Macdonald and his advisors continued to entertain the hope that native ores might be found in large enough quantities to make them commercially productive. Unfortunately, this never proved to be the case. The mining of coal is an example.

19. GD221/63/48.

Recall that Dr. Walker, in his 1764 report, noted that he had observed several small coal seams on Skye. These seams were shallow and small and widespread, but sufficient to attract the interest of the managers of the estates who authorized several attempts over the years to exploit the coal. The success of this endeavor was practically nil, primarily because the veins were small and also because of production problems as illustrated in the following letter extract.²⁰

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, June 1st, 1801

Dear Sir

...I observe what you say about the Coal and Lime Works. Watson made an agreement with his colliers by the piece but when they saw the pits they would not stick to their Bargain. They then made a second [agreement] and had hardly made a tryal [trial] when they set out for the Low Country. Watson followed them to the Kyle and there a third bargain was made of one pound [Sterling] per week without any specifications [as to quantity] except they were to work as well as they were able...

And ten years later the problems with coal mining were still being discussed.²¹

Letter, (no addressee or addressor)

Portree, 19 July 1810

Dear Sir.

...I also took a particular view of the miners operation and I am Sorry to State for the information of the Commissioners that although he has been now engaged at Kendram for about five weeks and has bore to a depth of upwards of 120 feet, he has not met with no coal worth the working. This is peculiarly unfortunate as the appearance in different parts of Kilmalaag indicated a great body of Coal and induced him to think that it was by no means so deep as it now turns out to be. On the Farm of Flodigary he discovered three different veins and from a manner in which the first lay, he expected to have fallen in with it at the depth of 10 fathoms...

* * * * *

In our chronological review of the Skye records we have come to the autumn of 1801. At this point two documents were prepared and inserted into the records that are of paramount importance to genealogists and historians.

20. GD221/63/50X.

21. GD221/63/106.

Unfortunately, only one of these documents is available, and this prompts us to digress briefly to define and discuss a problem that has become a major concern to archivists world-wide. This problem is the theft of irreplaceable archival items from the records repositories.

In 1801, the rent rolls for Strath and Sleat were prepared for implementation on Martinmas 1801 (11 November). Each lessee was listed with the amount of rent expected. These lists, as usual, did not contain the names of cottars but are invaluable for setting the estates at the time and recording the tacksmen and tenants-at-will. The list for Strath is available with the Macdonald muniments, but the list for Sleat is missing. The envelope that contained the Sleat list is in the files at the Register House, Edinburgh but the list itself is gone. We can only assume that some individual, without any respect for historical continuity or regard for those who would follow and wish to review this material, simply stole the document for his or her personal collection.

This situation is not unique to Scottish records and, in our research, we have encountered similar losses in other lands. Regretfully, we can accept the loss of irreplaceable records due to fire or other natural calamities, but, under no circumstances, can we condone the selfish action of an individual who deprives posterity of valuable historical research materials. We can only hope the individual who stole the 1801 Rent Roll for Sleat, and has it framed in his or her den or library, enjoys it in good conscience.

With this preamble we now present the 1801 rent roll for Strath.²² In this case we have only extracted those farms whereon MacGillivrays lived. However, all leasees on those farms are listed because frequently in genealogy it is useful to know who were the ancestor's neighbors.

Rental of Strath
The Property of The Right Honourable Lord Macdonald
Martinmas 1801

No. of Tenants	Name of Farm and Tenants	Rent [pounds]
...Torran [Torrin]		
1	John Mackinnon	
2	John Macpherson	
3	Angus Mackinnon	
4	Neil MacInnes Sen	
5	William MacKinnon	
6	Malcolm Nicolson	
7	Miles MacInnes	
8	Donald MacLellen	
9	Donald Matheson	

22. GD221/160/3/1.

10 * Neil MacIllavray
11 Donald Mackinnon
12 John MacLeod
13 Duncan Mackenzie
14 Neil MacInnes Junr
15 Widow MacLeod

Haste [Heast]

1 Ewan McLure
2 Lachlan McKinnon
3 Norman Buchanan
4 Malcolm MacInnes
5 * Donald McGillavray
6 Finlay McInnes
7 Neil Nicolson
8 Angus Buchanan
9 Neil McKinnon
10 John McKinnon
11 Charles McKinnon
12 Alexander McLure

Breakish Lots

1 Alexander Grant Note: All tenants paid 2-2
2 Kenneth Macmillan
3 Donald Robison
4 William Ross
5 Donald Kennedy
6 Donald Martin
7 John Morrison
8 William Fraser
9 John Macphail
10 Duncan McInnes
11 Donald Nicolson
13 Duncan Martin
14 Murdo Cameron
15 Duncan Robison
16 John McKinnon
17 John Anderson
18 Duncan McInnes
19 Hugh Mackinnon
20 John MacLeod
21 Angus MacInnes
22 William Munro
23 Allan Kelly
24 Neil Fraser
25 Alexander Munro
26 John Robison
27 Charles Macdonald
28 John MacInnes
29 Donald MacLeod
30 Dougall Matheson

31	*	Neil MacGillavray
32		John MacIver
33		John MacLean
34		Martin Martin
35		Christopher MacRae
36		William MacLeod
37		Donald Anderson
38		Widow Macmillan
39		Donald Bethune
40		Donald MacLeod...

Posted October 15th, 1802

[signed] John Campbell

* * * * *

During this period, petitions continued to be submitted to Lord Macdonald requesting consideration for continuance on the land. Apparently a fairly large segment of the population of Skye lived in a state of suspense, not knowing if or when they might be turned out or forced to move to sub-standard plots. Even though we recognize these petitions are biased in the petitioners favor, it is difficult not to suffer with those poor unfortunates who were in danger of being dispossessed. And if these random samples are valid, it would seem those tenants who were in the higher age brackets were the ones most susceptible to being turned out. The following letter²³ illustrates the case of a man who had held Macdonald land for 48 years, yet was still being dispossessed.

Petition, John Beaton, Portree to Sir John MacGreggor
Murray, Bart.

Portree, 15th Septr. 1801

Dear Sir

I take this opportunity of addressing a few lines to your Honour by Major McDonald of Mugstot to represent my situation to you at present being about to be deprived of my lands which I held of the family of the Proprietor of this Estate for eight and forty years. I was never a farthing in arrears during that time and though I say it myself, I was esteemed honest and respectable by all my acquaintances and neighbors. I had a family of nine children none of whom are in life except one, who is ground officer for his Lordship in this parish. I am now far advanced in life; and my wife too is old, so that if we are deprived of our lands we have no alternative but poverty and begging. The young have always a resource while they have health and strength to bear them through life but Alas! what has old age to depend upon [except being] befriended by others. I have (thanks be to God) as

23. GD221/27/47.

yet a competency if I would be continued on my former footing. But as I know that cannot be done in conformity to the general arrangement of matters about to be in this place. I humbly request your Honour (as I know you have it in your power to serve me) to order me to be accommodated with a lot...sufficient for keeping a couple of milch cows and arable ground in proportion...I depend upon your goodness more than any other resource I can have.

With prayers for your Health and Happiness

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most Obedient & Devoted Servant

[signed] John Beaton

Not all petitions and requests presented to Lord Macdonald or his representatives were concerned with land, as the following extract illustrates.²⁴

Petition by Tenants of Heast, Boreraig, Suishnish,
Kilbride and Torrin for a School

[undated, prob. 1801-1802]

...Although there was a parochial school erected in Strath about 14 years ago & your petitioners contributed to its establishment...the School is situated at such a distance from us that we cannot partake of the benefits...on the contrary we are necessitated to hire a schoolmaster among ourselves & we look upon it as a heavy burden to be paying for both Schools at once.

Many of us send our Daughters to School and many more females would be sent to Schools of industry if such were to be had. Who from habits of idleness and indolence contracted here, retire to the Low Country where some of them become prostitutes and thieves, this being the situation of our Country.

...We intreat that Honourable society would take our melancholy condition into its consideration & grant a small salary to some good woman who may be equal to the task. Without some aid of this kind our Females will forever remain ignorant of the arts of spinning, sewing & knitting of stockings, etc.

[signed 9 tenants of Heast including Donald McGilivray,
8 tenants of Boreraig, 8 tenants of Suishnish, 9 tenants
of Kilbride and 10 tenants of Torrin]

Here is another interesting petition submitted to the Commissioners that did not involve land or a request for land, but did ask for redress for the theft of sheep.

24. GD221/83/63.

Unto the Honourable Commissioners of Lord Macdonald

The Petition of the Tenants of Ashaig²⁵ and Sculamas
and most of the Country

3rd Decr. 1801

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners Sheep were collected and gathered in their own Hill & on their own Bounds and carried away by the Tenants of Kylenary, who sold two Sheep instantly & fell adrinking the price and confined the rest in number eighty and seven in a Cave under the Sea mark after tying their legs close together - That several Sheep of the said number were afterwards found on the Shores of Strath. Sleat and Glenelg being drowned in said Cave and carried off by Wind & Water - That the Sheep remaining in said Cave were instantly confined in the Public Inn of Kyleray where the said Kyle Tenants continued drinking & fighting & gave fourteen Sheep at the time to Tangr. Martin for Spirits - That a few of the Owners hearing of this went to Kyleray and could not get one manggled Sheep of theirs until they gave two shillings for each - That many poor women, who have had nothing in the world but two or three Sheep, were deprived of their all by these Drunkards...That your Petitioners refer the consideration of the above bad Usage to your Honours equitable determination.

[signed] Lachlan Mackinnon
Niel Frazer
Niel Mackinnon
* Niel MacGilvray
William Frazer
William Ross
Duncan Campbell
John MacKinnon
Donald Robertson
John McLean
Kenneth Campbell
Donald Merton
Jonathan MacDonald

Meanwhile, uncertainty as to who would get land still prevailed on Skye and the bidding for farms was a continual process. The following letter is a case in point, and is also interesting to the authors because it involves an ancestor. The Angus MacGillivray, who was co-signer of the letter was a brother of the Archibald MacGillivray encountered earlier. Both of them would emigrate to North Carolina shortly after this letter was written.

Letter, To John Campbell, Esq., Chamberlain for
Lord Macdonald²⁶

Capistole, 21st August 1802

Sir

We, John MacIntosh & Angus MacGillivray, in case we may be Disappointed in our offers for Capistole Do hereby Offer for the Farm of Toakvaig the Sum of Forty five Pounds Sterling of yearly Rent, & that upon Condition that they get a Lease of the said Farm of Toakvaig for the space of 13 or 14 years, We will give Security for payment & that we shall not hurt the Lands & beg that you may transmit our Offer to the Commissioners & are Sir

Your Humble Servants
Angus MacGillivray
John MacIntosh

Not all correspondence concerned land. Some documentation pertains to other events that may seem prosaic to us today, but could be serious misdemeanors in the early 1800's on Skye. Two examples were wood stealing and goat keeping.

Because timber (either for building or fuel) was so scarce on the island, preserving what forests were available became almost an obsession with the Proprietor and those who managed his estates. The following material that addresses this subject illustrates the depth of feeling and the importance given to wood. The severity of the crime of wood stealing is illustrated in the extract of the Minutes of Lord Macdonald's Commissioners.

Minutes 23 November - 24 December 1802

[The Chamberlain reported that]...Archibald McDonald of Ord was cutting some birch wood for burning lime and ash trees for some other use and wattling for creels and giving the half of them to other people for cutting them.

[The Commission decreed that]...The Chamberlain is to prosecute Mr. McDonald before the Sheriff, Lord Macdonald being determined to check such abuses as far as the rigour of the law will enable him to do so. A Clause [is to] be inserted in Leases that every Tenant who shall be convicted of wood cutting shall forfeit his Lease...

And at the same session the Chamberlain presented to the Commission the following list:²⁷

26. GD221/54/112.

27. GD221/15/Bundle #7.

The Chamberlain delivered in the following Lists of persons guilty of stealing wood and keeping goats contrary to the regulations, viz:

Wood Stealers	Runacallich Donald McDonald John McDonald Neil McLean Ferindonald Donald Kennedy Letterfurre John McKinnon Callygarrymore Donald McInnes Donald Robertson Altatua * Neil McGilvray Samuel Campbell Linigarry * John McGilvray Neil McLeod vide N.B. + Dugald McPherson Alexander McDonald vide N.B. +* Donald McGilvray Dalville Angus McDonald Peter McDonald Gillin Alexander Anderson Stonefield Angus Cameron Achnacloich Angus McPherson Tarskaveg Jonathan McDonald Neil McLeur Sasaig Donald McDonald Teangue Duncan Kelly Allan McIntosh Duncan Robertson Knock John Anderson Druimfern Donald Nicolson
Goat Keepers	McDonald McIntyre, Tacksman, Aird Mrs Macdonald, Tormore Mrs Macdonald, Ostraig Mrs McPherson, Knock Donald McDonald, Taylor, Kilmore

John McIntyre in Sasaig
Alexander Chisolm in Teangue
John McKinnon in Tokavaig
John McKinnon, Duisdalebeg
John McInnes, Grasskeeper in Ostaig

A list of the Goats of the East side of Trotternish - There is none between Kilmaluag and Scorbreck except Mr Nicolson, Longfern had ten - John Graham at Rig had seven and John McLeod at Rig three and a man from Strath left two at Flodigarry and he desired the grasskeeper to kill them

[vide] N. B. Dugald Mcpherson and Donald McGilvray in Linigary state that it [the wood] was to Mend a Boat of theirs destroyed by Mr Davidson in Lord McDonalds Service

[signed] James McDonald, witness

The following letter presents another interesting example of wood stealing, but this time by outsiders.²⁸

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye to John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, Jan 20th, 1802

Dear Sir

...I have now to inform you that a son of Mr. McLean of Colls, Ground Officer and manager in the Island of Rum, came to the woods of Dalvile in Slate and cut and carried away a Boat Load of Timber consisting of Oak and other Trees and that he staid [stayed] two nights of the time he was employed in Cutting it in the house of Angus Macdonald, the woodkeeper of Slate, who I have every reason to suppose countenanced this depredation which was committed in Nov. last. Rum is in the County of Argyll and of course out of the jurisdiction of our Sheriff. The mans Sir name [surname] is McLean but I cannot find out his christened name...

Perhaps no better examples of the importance attached to wood can be found than the extracts of two reports by different Chamberlains at different times.²⁹

Letter, Capt. Dun Dougal to Lord Macdonald

Armadale, 15 Oct 1806

28. GD221/44/62.

29. GD221/16/34 and GD221/25/94/Part 1.

My Lord

...I think it proper to acquaint your Lordship that having got information that some pieces of Mahogany were thrown ashore upon the West side of Sleat and Strath, I sent John Macdonald, the Ground Officer of Slate, to bring me notice of what situation they lay in. He returned to me with Notes that they were entangled amongst stupendous rocks in a very inaccessible part of the Coast of Gillen in Sleat and Suisnish in Strath. However, I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that after a great deal of Exertion & trouble and some expense, I have got two fine looking Logs safe to Ardvaser and there is still a small one in Aird which I shall fetch here soon.

The country people when they saw the Logs approach the Shore, attended with Ropes and fixed them to the rocks to prevent them going off again with the Surf. A remuneration is due to them as Salvage, which I presume your Lordship will admit...

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Portree, 30 Decr. 1811

...P. S. A small Log of Mahogany was lately picked up by some of the Tenants of Kilmuir at a little distance from the Shore & which I have secured for Lord Macdonald...

In todays society, wood stealing is a misdemeanor punishable by law. Whereas, the punishment for such an offense is meted to the individual involved, the family, while not immune from the consequences, is not usually considered when judgement is passed. In this respect things have changed little since the early nineteenth century when conviction for such a misdemeanor could be devastating for the family of the culprit. The following illustrates the consequences of wood stealing.³⁰

Unto the Right Honourable Lord MacDonald, It is
Hereby Humbly Represented by Alexander Nicolson
at Tocovaig in the Parish of Slate

That the Freedom he had used with the wood there for the preservation of his familys lives when his house was unfortunately consumed by an sudden fire (as has been formerly shown to your Lordship at Armadale) was wholly by the Encouragement of the Gentleman who owned the same before your Lordship when asked, and that the miserable Hut which he had built for a temporary Shade was almost picked from among the Ruins of his former house though Reported otherwise...

As the sentence of dispossession passed against him is so

very unsupportable to his Distinguished family, he still relies on your Lordship's compassion so far as to revoke the Same upon his finding unexceptionable Security on that head which indulgence shall ever be gratefully acknowledged by your Lordship's Petitioner.

Logie Green, May 7th, 1814

Having determined to make an example of every person who shall presume to cut down wood on any pretense whatsoever without my permission upon my Estate, I have therefore resolved that Alexander Nicolson shall be removed.

[signed] Macdonald

* * * *

Early in the nineteenth century, competition for land continued as a new element entered the picture. Emigration by the more affluent tenants, who carried large amounts of capital from the island, was fast becoming a major factor management had to consider. To some extent the impact of both of these items are reflected in the following series of correspondence written over a period of several years.

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John³¹
Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh, Lord Macdonald's Agent

Kingsburgh, 9 March 1801

Dear Sir

1st. Herewith you will find a continuation of my report and offers for Farms. Also a report of the Claims and Complaints made by Tenants...and a List of Tenants warned this year...

...Donald McGillivray at Druimfern is both a Rich and a good Tenant & should in my opinion get more land in place of having any taken from him...

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye³²
to John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 1 July 1802

Dear Sir

31. GD221/63/Part 1/77.

32. GD221/53/39.

...5th. At Capistole, three of the Tenants have sold their Stocks and Crops and are going to America. Seeing a difficulty in accommodating poor Davidson at Armadale, I have advised him to take their shares of that Farm for a year...

Recall that earlier we cited a letter from an Angus MacGillivray of Capistole, who was an ancestor of one of the authors, and who, later in 1802, emigrated to America with his brother Archibald. We have no way of knowing whether he was one of the three tenants of Capistole cited above who were selling their possessions prior to going to America, but we do know he emigrated to America and evidently carried sufficient capital to purchase land in North Carolina.

There were those who encouraged emigration to serve their own advantage as well as providing a means for decreasing the surplus population. Apparently Lord Macdonald was not an advocate of that policy, at least not in 1802.³³

Memorandum for the Minutes, 15, 17, 19 April 1802

...page 11, par. 17. I have been informed that Macdonald & Elder are encouraging emigration by offering to transport such of the Tenants as may be induced to desert their native Country by the false hopes & intentional misrepresentation unveiled by worthless intent & men, who seek their own advantage in the ruin of these ignorant people; and the Chamberlain should be bound to intimate that the Lord Macdonald is sensible [and] he would be a great gainer by thinning the population of Skye, [but] he prefers the impart of the people & the public interest so much more than his own exclusive advantage that he is determined by every legal means that may be in his power to mark his improbation [disapproval] of the conduct appearing who shall be in any manner of way concurred in encouraging the depopulation of this Country. .

Whereas emigration might have been considered a method of thinning the population, it appears that as soon as one group would decide to leave there were always others standing ready to take their place. The following letter illustrates this point as well as once again reaffirming the continual struggle between people and sheep.³⁴

Letter, M. MacAlaster to John Campbell, Esq., W. S.

20 April 1803

My Dear Sir

33. GD221/15/Bundle 7.

34. GD221/63/Part 1/77 and GD221/61/8.

I am induced to make this application to you in behalf of my Sister Mrs Macdonald who has a small Farm in Knoidart which she is now deprived of in consequence of Glengarry's Estate being put under Sheep. She wishes to become a Tenant of Lord Macdonalds and as I understand the present Tenants of Duisdalmore are going to America, it would be conferring a favour on me, [if] the Commissioners [would consider] giving her this Farm. She will give as much for it as anyone, and her Family being large, will enable her to improve the Farm. Pray have the goodness to inform me whether she can have that or any other Farm in Sleat.

[signed] M. Macalister

The economic hard times that were forcing people to emigrate continued to prevail and many tenants fell into arrears on their rents. At a certain debt limit those in arrears were warned they might be turned out. For example, the following is a list of tenants who were warned in 1801. The list contained the names of 267 tenants on Lord Macdonald's estates in Trotternish, Strath and Sleat. Only the occupants of farms were MacGillivrays lived are extracted.³⁵

List of Tenants Warned by the Chamberlain, 1801

Trotternish

Tenant Number	Names of Farms & Tenants
---------------	--------------------------

Achanabard

59	Norman Bruce
60	Donald Nicolson
61	John Bellow [or Beaton]
62	* Normand McGillivray

Strath

Torrin

207	* Niel McGillivray
-----	--------------------

There were no MacGillivrays warned on Sleat. It is worth noting the above Normand MacGillivray who was being warned on the Farm of Achanabard in Trotternish. Normand was not a typical Skye MacGillivray name, and this is the first and only time it appears. It was possibly entered in error or, if not

35. GD221/51/24.

an error, he may have been from the mainland, on Skye temporarily.

Closely following the above warning list was another list prepared in 1801 that contained the names of almost 200 people who were to be removed or turned out.³⁶

A List of Persons to be Removed in Consequence of
Proceedings Relative to Trotternish

Achanabard	Norman Bruce Donald Nicolson John Beaton John Gordon
65 Rigg	* Archibald McIloray plus eleven others
155 Ostaigmore	Niel McPherson * Alexander McGiloray Finlay McPherson Alexander Campbell Angus McPherson John McDonald * John McGiloray
158 Callygarymore	* Ewen McGiloray Donald McPherson Ewen Robinson * Niel McGilvray Donald Robinson Senr Donald Robinson Junr Donald McDonald Niel McPherson Donald McPherson John McPherson Ewen McInnes Duncan [?] McInnes

The two preceding lists are not consistent. The warning list did not contain the names of any MacGillivrays on Sleat. However, the list of those to be removed contained the names of four MacGillivrays. Also the questionable Normand McGillivray, warned at Achanabard, Trotternish, apparently was not removed although three of those warned with him were to be removed.

* * * * *

By 1802, Lord Macdonald, heavily in debt, had an urgent requirement to consolidate and lease his estates to a better financial advantage. A resume of

the balances from the rentals for the eight year period during the last of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century illustrates the scope of the Macdonald financial problems.³⁷ These balances are given in Table II.

This table shows that Lord Macdonald's expenditures exceeded income in 1795-96, but the next few years showed savings. By 1800, his finances were again in a deficit condition. Other records show that, on 31 December 1802, the Macdonald's total debt was £34,108-10-2 $\frac{1}{4}$, and from that time on they were never out of debt again. With such a debt structure, it is not difficult to understand why the managers of the estates appeared to approach a state of panic after 1800, and why they were so anxious to rent the farms to the most reliable tenants.

TABLE II

A General View of Lord Macdonald's Income,
Expenditure and Debt
(In £ Sterling)

	<u>1795-96</u>	<u>1797</u>	<u>1798</u>	<u>1799</u>	<u>1800</u>	<u>1801</u>	<u>1802</u>
Debits	£8,229				£2,244	£1,557	£1,463
Savings		£3,374	£3,603	£2,407			

However, recognizing the financial problems and attempting to achieve quick and efficient fiscal solvency in the farm rentals was not a straightforward solution as it might seem. People were involved at all levels and naturally they presented problems, as evidenced by the following extract from a memorandum of papers in circulation among the managers of the estates.³⁸

Memorandum of Papers in Circulation with List

29 April 1802

...I don't know whether or not the total expense of the Surveys of the Estates has been discharged but I observe £1,246-10-8 stated as already paid every shilling of which might have been saved if Lord MacDonald had at first searched for the original plans taken by Mr. Storbri, which his Lordship found in his closet after the late surveys had been completed. Nor was this the greatest loss. The delays that have resulted from not being able to set the lands without the Survey have deprived his Lordship of the attainable increase in rent whatever that may be...

37. GD221/40/102 & 104.

38. GD221/15/7.

Another major factor that prevented the setting of the estates from being a straightforward process was emigration. The following extract illustrates how this problem created uncertainty on the part of management.³⁹

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, May 17, 1802

...5th. I was informed Saturday last that the best Tenants of Strath & Slate were going to America [they were to be] headed by Malcolm Nicolson, of Totronie [?], who has been making offers for several Farms...⁴⁰

While management was striving to sort out the rental situation, the tenants also remained in a state of confusion as to who would or would not get land, and petitions continued to be submitted. Generally, these petitions tended to be pathetic in content, but occasionally a petitioner would break the pattern by waxing poetic in his plea for consideration for land, as the following example illustrates.

Petition, Niel Nicolson to Lord Macdonald

Portree, 4th Nov 1802

Sir

I am extremely sorry to find myself under the necessity of once more giving you trouble. But necessity has no Law - it often urges to unpleasant intrusions - but humanity & charity will forgive the application of distress and if possible pay attention. I wrote you last year by [way of] Colonel Macdonald of Lyndale who informs me that he delivered my petition but it being reported that I had died in Uist it may be forgot by the Commissioners that I am still alive. I have been long on this Estate a tenant of his Lordships & might have still remained so, if many of those catastrophes & disappointments incident to human life had not thrown me into the cold arms of poverty & plunged me into calamity & distress. You have had my story already at large - I will not therefore repeat it here at greater length. You have been generous & kind to me - Heaven bless you for it - By the help of the generous & well disposed I got a small sum of money, which by as much industry as I could bestow I have turned to some advantage. But I believe my days of traveling & much fatigue are past - A small portion of lands where I could have [a] dwelling place & rest my weary limbs would now be the most suitable &

39. GD221/53/35/8.

40. GD221/66/88.

greatest benefit that could be conferred on me. Could I get Glenvorgie. I would pay for it as much as any other...

With best wishes for your happiness, I am your obliged & humble Servant.

[signed] Niel Nicolson commonly called N. Mugarry

The following petition, while not poetic like the preceding one, is interesting inasmuch as it focuses on the overcrowding that existed on Skye in the early 1800's. The farm where these petitioners lived is not identified, however, they were the same ones who signed the petition on 3 December 1801 stating that their sheep had been stolen and many had drowned. From other sources we know the twelve signers were from the Farm of Skulamus. A Niel MacGillivray, tenant of the nearby Farm of Breakish, signed the December petition, however, he was not a signer of the petition cited below.⁴¹

Petition by Tenants of Strath, 16th November 1802

We have had the happiness to see and speak to our good Master, his Lordship, when lately [he was] in here, and had the Honour to Learn, that he was not willing to remove us from the Farm, while we payed duly, the Rents fixed to it - We trust therefore, as we are afraid still of our former opponent; that pity will be taken upon us and our weak Families; as we have neither Acquaintances nor Friends in America, where some ventured to migrate.

We are twelve Tenants, and have each an equal share of the Farm; and including young and old are in Number, a hundred and two Souls.

We remain with the greatest Regard and Esteem

We are your obliged humble Servants,

Hector + Mckinnon	Donald + McDonald
Donald + Mckenzie	Jonathan + McDonald
Donald + Grant	Lachlan + Mckinnon
Walter + Ross	Donald + Martin
John + Robertson	Niel + McInnes
Donald + Mckinnon	John + Matheson

All things considered, it made no difference how the farms were set if the rents were not paid on time. The following extract gives some insight into the problem of arrears.⁴²

List of Arrears Due by the Tenants on Lord Macdonald's Estates in Skye at Martinmas, 1802

41. GD221/50.

42. GD221/40/59.

In Trotternish there were 117 tenants in arrears including

Achnahanaig	Alexander Nicolson
	Angus Buchanan
	* Malcolm McGilivray
	Jeremiah McQueen
	John Graham
	John Matheson

In the Parish of Strath there were seven tenants in arrears
but no MacGillivrays

In the Parish of Sleat there were twelve tenants in arrears
but no MacGillivrays

Total arrears (all parishes) £1,684-15-3½ Sterling

As the year 1802 drew to a close, certain administrative actions were taken to resolve controversies and to finalize the set of Lord Maedonald's estates. These actions, which took place over a period of several months, involved some of the MacGillivrays of Skye. Several draft documents concerning rentals were prepared during the autumn of 1802, often with duplicate data, and for the sake of continuity we have attempted to present the gist of the data in as simple a manner as possible. To help achieve this we have extracted only MacGillivray data, and we have included explanatory editorial comments where necessary. These comments are enclosed in brackets ([]). We began by reviewing the draft minutes of Lord Maedonald's Commission.⁴³

[FIRST DRAFT]

Extract Minutes of the Lord Maedonald Commission from
the 13th November to 24th December, 1802

Set of the Estate of Skye as Pined by Lord Maedonald

Lord Maedonald thinks it proper to premise with the following General Rules respecting the small Tenants.

1. To indulge each of them as furnished Recruits who subsequently agreed from attachments to his Lordship to extend their Services with such accommodation on his Estate as can be conveniently given.

2. That such Relations of the Soldiers of the Regiment of the Isles as wrote to them to extend their Services shall also continue to be accommodated as far as may be convenient, even although the Soldiers declined such extension.

3. That such Soldiers as refused to extend their Services and

43. GD221/77/38.

such of their Relations as refused to write to them recommending to them to do so, shall not be considered as having any claim to accommodation on his Estate. N. B. Lists of the persons of these several descriptions to be prepared by the Chamberlain and entered in the proceedings.

4. Persons who are removed from their present properties in consequence of necessary arrangements in letting of the Estate, shall have a preference on equal terms to persons not already holding lands under his Lordship and not having stronger claim upon him. Sir John Murray, Col. Murray and Mr. Campbell are of the opinion that all original promises made on the recruiting service which circumstances rendered inconvenient to implement at first should still be performed. . .

. . . 7. The Chamberlain may give the Farm of Capistole to Capt. McDonald, Tormore, unless there are people among the Emigrants whom he thinks worthy of indulgence, notwithstanding their folly, and who have the substance to stock the Farm.

[Thereafter followed a list of all the farms on Lord Macdonald's estates with their disposition as to use and tenants. Only those entries pertinent to MacGillivrays are extracted here]

Trotternish

Farm 75 Ballivicilereach - To be reduced to ten Tenants at 38 pounds

N. B. The Chamberlain to intimate to the Tenants of this Farm if there is any more quarreling among them it is Lord Macdonald's determination that they shall be turned out.

Farm 144 Glentinastle - To be let to five of the present tenants, viz Dugald Matheson, Alexander Matheson, Norman Bruce, Angus McIlavray ~~along with Neil Beaton late soldier in the Regt. of the Isles~~ Finlay Graham, at 30 pounds for 7 years. Lots to be offered to John and Norman Beaton, brothers of Neil Beaton

[The portion of the above entry indicated as crossed out was crossed out in the original. Finlay Graham was inserted in place of Neil Beaton. This entry was also in GD221/15/7]

Slate

Farm 152 Teangue - To be let for seven years at 70 pounds to the present tenants as follows viz, Charles McGilvray to have his present share and Widow Kennedy's. The rest to be equally divided between Alexander McIntyre, Duncan Kelly, Angus McIntosh, John Chisolm, Allan McIntosh & Widow Kennedy

Farm 157 Sasaig - To be let to Ewen McInnes, Lachlan McInnes from Drimfern, Ewen McGilvray, Neil McGilvray and Malcolm McPherson from Callygarry in equal parts for seven years at 95 pounds. The present Tenants to be accommodated otherwise as may be conveniently practical.

Farm 158 Calligarymore - Number of Tenants to be removed
of the present tacks who furnished recruits

Donald McDonald	John McPherson
Donald McInnes	Ewan McInnes
Alexr. McPherson	* Neal MacGilvra
Ewen Robertson	* Ewen MacGilvray
John McPherson	Ewen Robertson
Donald Robertson	

90 pounds for seven years. Neil McGilvray & Donald Robertson to be continued and [page torn] to be broken up into small possessions.

[Editors note: This entire entry was crossed out. A final version is given later]

The next extract from the minutes of the Commission⁴⁴ is evidently a second draft and is deemed important because the meeting was attended by Lord Macdonald and his comments provide a brief insight into his character. To the best of our knowledge these minutes present the first official indication that Lord Macdonald was bowing before the winds of change and accepting the inevitable - sheep farming was the wave of the future for financially harassed proprietors. Apparently the decision to give sheep farming a chance was a reluctant one because the minutes reveal that Lord Macdonald apparently had the interest of the tenants at heart.

[SECOND DRAFT]

Minutes of the Commission, November-December 1802
At Edinburgh the 23rd day of November 1802 Continued
till the 24th of December 1802

Present: Lord Macdonald, Sir John Sinclair, Sir John M. Murray,
Lt. Col. Alexr. Murray, W. Campbell - the Chamberlain
of Skye attended

...3. Read letter by Messrs. McRae & Robertson offering £375 for Kenlocheinost, Moll, Kenchreggan, Tormihraig Sconser & Coillemore laid out as a sheep walk.

Resolved the the Chamberlain be informed to inform these

Gentlemen that Lord Macdonald is unwilling to dismiss great numbers of his Tenants but has no objection, upon proper terms, to try one or two sheep farms on a proper scale - He will therefore agree to give Messrs. McRae & Robertson a lease of 15 years of the land they have made an offer for, exclusive of the public house, with the ground attached to it and the kelp, at a rent of £450 parnum [per annum]

Lord Macdonald at the same time expressed his anxious wish that every care should be taken that the people who may be dispossessed if this offer is accepted of, should be provided with other small possessions or lots of land in [the] villages

The next document extracted is somewhat redundant, but is important because it is a working paper with comments noted on the margins in Lord Macdonald's handwriting. From these notations we can affirm that, whereas Lord Macdonald may have been benevolent in not wanting to dispossess large numbers of his people, he was adamant on the subjects of wood stealing and military service, and he did not hesitate to use these as excuses to rid himself of those he felt were undesirable tenants.

[FINAL DRAFT]

Minutes of 27 December 1802 at Edinburgh

Present: Lord Macdonald, Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Campbell

...page 27

Farm 138 - Capistole - To be let in equal portions at 84 pounds for seven years the Rent offered to [these] Tenants viz, John McIntosh, Widow McKinnon, ~~Laehlan~~ ~~McDonald~~ [his name crossed out and the following name entered] Peter McDonald of Dalville, Luren McLure now there, Donald McDonald, late of Camuscross who wrote his son Donald to extend his services, ~~Finlay~~ ~~Graham, late of Camuscross whose brother volunteered,~~ ~~Alexander Johnston whose son volunteered, Alexander~~ ~~MeInnes whose brother Alexander volunteered, Donald~~ ~~Stewart, Angus Mellaray of Callygarrymore whose~~ ~~son in the Regt. of the Isles volunteered, Donald~~ ~~McPherson Senr and Donald McPherson Junr, who had~~ ~~original promises which could not hitherto conveniently be fulfilled.]~~

[Editors note: All that portion of the above entry enclosed in brackets beginning with Finlay Graham's name was crossed out in the original document]

[The following marginal notations were made presumably by Lord Macdonald's hand]

"Ewen McDonald not to be provided for because he would not write to his son to continue his Service..."

"Angus McGilvray and his wife got land & yet he refused to extend"

[Editor's note: Angus McGilvray and his brother, Archibald, emigrated to North Carolina in August 1802.]

page 30

Farm 152 Teangue - To be let for seven years at 70 pounds to the present tenants as follows viz, Charles McGilvray to have his present share & Widow Kennedys - The rest to be equally divided between Alexr. McIntyre, Duncan Kelly, Alexr. McIntosh, John Chisolm, Duncan Robertson Alexr. McIntosh & Widow Kennedy.

[Marginal notation] "Alexr. Chisolm was turned out by recent pro[posal] but kept on his own when he gave his son - a Woodstealer. A claim to be inserted in Lease that they [the Chisolms] shall be forfeited [removed] if convicted of Wood cutting."

page 32

Farm 157 Sasaig - To be let to Ewen McInnes, Lachlan McInnes from Drimfern, Ewen McGilvray, Neil McGilvray, Mal McPherson from Callygary in equal parts for seven years at 95 pounds. The Rent of the present Tenants to be accommodated therein as may be most conveniently practical.

[Marginal notation] "Neil Campbell did not write to his son John ..."

Farm 158 Callygarymore - To be broken up into small possessions. The aggregate Rent not to be under 90 pounds - Donald Robertson to be Continued.

[Editors note: In the first draft, Neil MacGillivray was supposed to be continued. He was not mentioned in the final version. There was a Neil MacGillivray in Calligary in the early 1820's, but we have no way of knowing whether he was the same one mentioned in connection with this farm.]

After most of the problems concerning leases and rents had been resolved (albeit not to everyone's satisfaction), the Macdonald estates on Uist and Skye were finally set.⁴⁵ The resultant revenues expected are shown in the following table.

TABLE III

GENERAL ABSTRACT
In £ Sterling

Old Rent	New Rent	Augmentation
<u>SKYE</u>		
£6,101- 0-14	£9,690- 5- 0	£3,788- 4- 4
<u>UIST</u>		
£2,106- 2- 6	£2,952-12- 6	£846-10- 0
£8,207- 3- 8	£12,642-17- 6	£4,634-14- 4

The above abstract shows that in 1802 rents on Skye were increased by almost 62% and on Uist by about 40%. This provides a clear indication why some of those tenants who had the resources chose to emigrate by choice, and helps to explain why destitution and privitation, along with forced emigration, would become such a problem in the Highlands and Islands in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1803-1824

By 1803, emigration had become a major problem for the managers of Lord Macdonald's Skye estates. The emigrants of this period, who were motivated by removals, threats of removal, increased rents or a sense of adventure, were not the poverty-stricken, faceless group that would emigrate in later years. By and large they were the cream of the tenants; the better farmers and husbandmen so to speak. With increasing frequency, letters from Skye contained passages that read like this, ". . . all the substantial tenants of Kilbride [have] emigrated . . ."¹

When these substantial tenants left Skye they took with them both their knowledge and skills as well as accumulated capital. By 1803, the loss of these assets began to be keenly felt, and considerable time and energy of the Skye managers was spent trying to cope with the problem.²

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

2nd March 1803

Dear Sir

. . . A report has circulated in this Country (but I believe from no good authority) that Mr. Angus McAuley is to come over for a Cargo of immigrants this season, if he does it will be much more serious than the Canadian Regt. as very encouraging letters have been written by some of those who emigrated with him last year to their friends in the country, & they are all determined to follow them as soon as the opportunity offers. . .

As we have intimated before, emigration was an unknown³ and uncontrollable factor in the setting of the estates as the next letter shows.

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, W. S.

Kingsburgh, April 4th, 1803

1. GD221/53/11.

2. GD221/53/21.

3. GD221/53/26.

My Dear Sir

I got into Skye about ten days ago and what with warnings and the Buzz of Emigration I have been kept tolerably busy. This last [emigration] has got to such a Height here I am quite at a Loss how to manage. about two thirds of the people of Strath and Sleat have already subscribed and payd part of their passage money [and] a considerable number have also done so in this Country [Trotternish]. . . This day I began to take down the names of all those who mean to emigrate in this end of the Country. . . I am quite at a Loss what to do with those that remain as there are some Farms where two emigrate some three and in others there is not above one left. Now if I sett the Farms as originally ordered there will be some one half Sett [and] in others not above one third of fourth. . .

Given the above background, it is understandable that Lord Macdonald would become concerned and personally began to take an active role in trying to stem the tide of emigrants.⁴

Resolutions of Lord Macdonald and his
Commission, 18th April 1803

Lord Macdonald adopts the Resolution that in every case whence Tenants, who have not emigrated or determined to emigrate, have substance to stock whole Farms, of which they have hitherto occupied only part, they shall be permitted to possess the entire Farm. . . and the Chamberlain will make it a rule, to give preferences in filling up vacant possessions, to natives of His Lordship's Estates, and to place in each Farm as many Tenants as can be properly accommodated. . .

. . . Lord Macdonald judges it proper to request the Chamberlain to express his Lordship's regret that so many of the Inhabitants of the Highlands have been seduced from their attachment to their Native Country, under delusive promises which the persons who made them must be conscious cannot be verified. That with respect to such Tenants of his own Estate, as have had the misfortune to have been decoyed into measures tending to lead them speedily into distress & misery, in a remote and desolate part of the World, where they will be helpless & friendless, and out of the protection of all Law, His Lordship cannot but be deeply affected at the lamentable conditions into which he foresees they are precipitating themselves, but he has the consolation to reflect that they have been invariably treated with a kindness that left no pretense for deserting their native land. . .

Lord Macdonald understands that the Emissaries who have been engaged in encouraging emigration, have made it a practice to entangle the persons whom they have ensnared by obtaining partial payments for passage money, so as to render it more

difficult for these deluded people to retract. He desires the Chamberlain to assist in relieving them from embarrassment in which they may have been in this manner involved, and with his view, he desires that such of the small Tenants, of good character, as are desirous to remain in the Native Country, but who had too hastily given up their possessions, may be continued on the Estate, at the former rent for the ensuing year, and that the new rents shall not begin to take place til Whitsunday 1804. . .

Lord Macdonald's concession to keep rents at the former level to entice tenants to change their minds about emigrating was not received with enthusiasm by all members of the management staff. The following extract illustrates this difference of opinion.⁵

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye to John Campbell,
Esq., St. James Square, Edinburgh

June 11th. 1803

Dear Sir

. . . I should have taken notice of the minutes I received some time ago of Lord Macdonald and his Commissioners in London regarding the emigration before now. I must acknowledge I read them with surprise and some regret. They might tend to keep a few from Emigrating this year but their ultimate consequence would be to increase rather than diminish the evil. The genius of the Highlander is such that he must not be yielded to, give him strict justice and keep him at his duty is the only way to make a good man of him. Had the minutes been published not a man on the Estate but would have threatened going to America and the Rental would have remained the same as last year. Giving a deduction in rent in my opinion was certainly the worst plan that could have been fallen on and beneath the dignity of Lord Macdonald to yield to a few restless infatuated people. There are still more than there is room for on this Estate and allowing them to take their own way had brought many to repent of their rashness. Several who intended to emigrate have taken lots at Uig and Erlich and the whole tenants of Strath have withdrawn as well as a great many from Slatie. . .

Despite the objections expressed by the Chamberlain in the above letter, Lord Macdonald's interest and willingness to make some concessions apparently had some effect, as the following extract illustrates.⁶

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John
Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

5. GD221/53/7.

6. GD221/53/28.

Kingsburgh, 20 June 1803

Dear Sir

. . . the Emigration is almost entirely knocked in the head & I do not suppose that one-third of those who once talked of it will go, one of Lord Selkirk's transports has arrived at Isle Oransay but has taken none on board yet. . .

Lord Macdonald's attempt to solve the emigration problem on Skye - and as we shall see it was only partially successful - apparently received help from Parliament as implied in the following extract. But, by whatever method, official or otherwise, finding a partial solution to one problem caused others to surface. As the current spate of emigration slowed, the strain of overpopulation and bad economic conditions began to accelerate throughout the Highlands.⁷

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John Campbell, Esq., W. S.

Kingsburgh, July 4th, 1803

Dear Sir

I have just returned from Strath and Slate after making such arrangements as I could for the accommodations of the people there but many are left without any situation at all. The emigration is entirely stopped now from the Act of Parliament which puts it out of the poor peoples power to pay the increase of Light. Those who intended to emigrate are now a burden on the Country and from the total failure of the Crops last year they will be reduced to indijent [indigent] circumstances before Harvest. I am really at a Loss how to manage the great population and Little employment here is really distressing.

There is a subtle message in the above extract that emphasizes the fact that we cannot understand the problems of Skye without occassionally fitting them into the national and international picture. To satisfy this requirement, a brief assessment of the geo-politics of Western Europe at the turn of the century is useful.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, Britain was a nation in psychological turmoil. Winds of change were adrift across the globe and old checks and balances of social stability seemed to be failing. In America, the Revolution had successfully ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. France, likewise, had gone through the trauma of casting off the yoke of monarchy and establishing a Republic. Both of these events were born of REVOLUTION, a word repugnant to the established order and one that sent consternation through the royal palaces and seats of power of the major European governments. Britain was no exception.

Having recently lost America to revolutionary forces, the vital question was what could be done to keep such an upheaval from happening in the

homeland. One part of the solution was to have a strong military force loyal to the Crown that would collectively remain above and beyond the secular temptations of political and social protests that might endanger the stability of the ruling class. The key question became, where was such a loyal force to be found? And, as had become customary, the answer lay to the North beyond the Highland Line.

In the North there was a reservoir of manpower with a background of untold generations of loyalty to Highland Chiefs. Properly motivated, the inherent loyalty of these Scots could provide a bulwark between the ruling class and any precipitous social movements similar to those that had taken place in America and France.

But the best of these loyal Scots were voluntarily leaving the Highlands for foreign shores in significant numbers in what Bumstead aptly called the peoples clearances.⁸ Official actions would have to be taken to stem this tide. One such action was the Act of Parliament referred to in the above extract of a letter from the Chamberlain of Skye. On 18 May 1803, the House of Commons passed, "An Act for regulating the Vessels carrying Passengers from the United Kingdom to His Majesty's Plantations and Settlements Abroad or to Foreign Ports with respect to the Number of such Passengers . . ." The gist of this Act was to place such restrictions on vessels carrying passengers that it was no longer profitable for ship owners and captains to actively solicit such trade.

Added to the ruling classes subliminal fear of forced social change due to internal pressures was the everpresent danger of a resurgent French Republic. The early nineteenth century was the height of the Napoleonic era. Britain and France had intermittently been in direct conflict since 1793. By the Treaty of Amiens (27 March 1802), hostilities had ceased but the flames of turmoil smoldered. Napoleon became Consul in 1802 and was proclaimed Emperor in 1804. Actual conflict between the two powers broke out again in 1805, and for the next ten years Europe was caught up in the Napoleonic maelstrom. In 1812, England took time out from the European conflict to make the ill-prepared and ill-advised attempt to reunite the American Colonies. In Europe, the Allies were victorious in 1814 but it was after Waterloo in 1815 before an uneasy peace settled over the Continent.

War and world tension was a boon to the economy but, as always, there was a price to be paid. In 1797, the drain of war compelled the Bank of England to stop cash payments and put credit on a paper basis for about twenty years. Such external monetary drains forced the country off the gold standard and brought about a serious inflation that caused suffering by a large segment of the population.

Not surprisingly, agriculture and industry were furthered by the war. In England, the so-called Agrarian Revolution had created a strong agrarian society. Enclosed farms had been the norm since about 1785, and land owners

8. Bumstead, J. M., The Peoples Clearance, 1770-1815, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), p. 143.

were in a position to meet the challenge of the war-time requirements. The acute need for home-produced foodstuffs, especially wheat, brought about by the interruption of supplies from Europe by the war led to an agricultural boom. A stimulating by-product of the boom was the adoption of improved agricultural techniques that had been perfected by enterprising experimenters during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Industry, too, benefited from the war. There had been a number of important inventions and there was an atmosphere of industrial enterprise and expansion. Steam was beginning to be used as a power source. There was a trend towards consolidation as industry shifted to alternate sources of energy such as coal. Factory organizations developed and large urban populations of the working class grew to support the new industrial complex. The seeds of the forthcoming Industrial Revolution were being sown.

Unfortunately, however, social evils came hand-in-hand with the industrial change. Skilled craftsmen became redundant when new mechanized processes were installed. Rampant inflation added to the hardships suffered by farm workers and craftsmen alike. At the same time, the new industrialism nurtured the haphazard growth of new urban centers, which in turn stimulated an uncontrollable flow of migrant laborers (many from Scotland and Ireland) into these urban centers. The resultant overcrowding, squalor, privation and exploitation of child labor formed a social blot on the new industrial system that would not be fully erased until the next century.

The effects of these changes brought about by the war would be felt on Skye, but the people would materially benefit only in peripheral ways. We have already touched on the increased requirements for kelp to satisfy war-time shortages, and theoretically this allowed the islanders to augment their income. This was probably the major short-term benefit, but this too was not without its drawbacks. Large numbers of outside people were brought in to work the kelp, thus adding to an already overpopulated environment.

Islanders were not able to capitalize on the agricultural boom because the scarcity of arable land and the ruinous land-use system was not conducive to supporting the people, much less creating a surplus to support the war requirements of the nation. Furthermore, the people's unwillingness to accept any change or innovation in agricultural methods would have been self-defeating even if arable land had been available.

The one long-term potential benefit that was to emerge from all this would affect the Highlanders materially but would tend to debilitate them ethnically. This was the increasing availability of jobs in the emerging industrial complex to the South. As the island economy stagnated and inflation, which knew no boundaries, took its toll, more and more of the able-bodied men of Skye found it necessary to seasonally commute to the hearths and mills of the Lowlands and England in order to provide for their families. Naturally, those who left the Highlands and Islands, even though only temporarily, were exposed to thoughts and concepts that tended to dilute the Highland culture. This did not go unnoticed by those who remained behind.

Petition of James MacArthur included in Chamberlain⁹
of Skye's Letter of 25 April 1803

. . . Hardness & great alteration hath prevailed in this part of the world, insomuch that the youngest & strongest part of our men must leave their native country to work hard for their lives, perhaps into the most disagreeable employments. Who [How] can an unable & unhealthy people secure themselves from the present disturbance, they cannot get their lively hood after the rest, neither can find any place for their settlements and after all they are unable to follow the rest & leave their nativity. Therefore, wear [we are] altogether under gods mercy & tender compassion.

In a similar letter, also transmitted on 25 April 1803, the Chamberlain included a summary of petitions and applications for land. The following MacGillivrays were on this list [Partial List].¹⁰

. . . 10. Angus McGilvray, gardener at Boravaig, wants a lot at Camuscross. . ."

. . . 33. Malcolm McGilvirie alias MacDonald wants lands he is strongly recommended by Col. McAlister. . ."

The optimistic outlook the Chamberlain expressed concerning the slowdown in emigration was short lived, and by the autumn of 1803 the departure of tenants, especially those with capital, had again become a major concern to management. In addition to the problems created by the flow of ready cash from the island, 1803 had not been a good growing year and the people were apparently in dire circumstances, even to the point of starving.¹¹

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, October 7th, 1803

Dear Sir

. . . I am sure I am within bounds when I say that the Island of Skye has paid £25,000 for meal this last year & the fall of Markets have prevented them [the tenants] turning their Cattle into money. . . The immigrants who went last week from Slate have also drained the Country of ready money. Ninety to one hundred families have sailed for North Carolina & paid their passage at the rate of £12-12 a head. their having done so shows that no expense or situation, if they are able to pay it, will deter them from their

9. GD221/53/15.

10. GD221/53/11.

11. GD221/53/44.

wandering schemes - Here the Harvest is hardly begun. Many people have not set down a sheaf of oats, & those who have complain they are not equal to the appearance on the ground (the stalks look good but produce little grain). The potatoes though apparently a good crop are not at all numerous & they are very watery - so much so that many families who have nothing else just now to feed on have been seized with fluxes & nervous fevers. Add to this that we have had very severe Frosts of late which will effectively prevent the green crops from filling & that till lately Herrings have not made their appearance, that last years purchase of Meal has drained the Country of money, & it is likely this year they will require at least one third of the quantity they made use of last, & you will see this Country is in a very disagreeable situation, & if a plentiful take of Herrings does not come soon many people will be in danger of starvation. This requires the most serious attention of the proprietors of the Island & neighborhood.

In all fairness it is useful to point out that not all the privations suffered by the people of Skye were imposed by others. Much of the cause rested with the people themselves because of their unwillingness to adapt ¹² their life style to the changing times. The following extract is a case in point.

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John Campbell,
Esq., St. James Square, Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, June 11th, 1803

Dear Sir.

. . . It was the invaluable practice for every person who could muster as much money as [necessary to] purchase a few sheep to send them to the Common ale [all] summer & Harvest, & allow them to wander where they chose in winter, they took a [fancy] on & there was no possibility of getting quite [rid] of them, Tenants wives in the country paid their women servants wages with so many lambs, & they were all sent to the Hill, I have frequently had a Hundred or two of these kind of Cattle grasing on my farm all winter & spring for whom I could find no owner, but at clipping time every one of them were fleeced, & they allowed to remain without an owner as formerly. . . Another still greater grevience is Horses belonging to people inhabitants of every part of Sky, that cannot be kept out of mischief at home are sent to the hills of Trotternish, & as soon as they come then they do mischief to such Farms as are near the hill or Common, I may safely state that not less than 200 of this description are on the Commons at this moment. This is also a custom or idea people have in this Country that it is impossible to exist without two or three little useless Horses, & every cotter must have them, they pay no rent to Lord Macdonald & yet they graze two or three Horses & 30 or 40 sheep for half a year for nothing on the Commons & leave

12. GD221/53/11.

them the other half year to provide for themselves the best they can or drive them to good pasture on some neighboring Farm thru [the] night, & then let them take their chance. . .Mr. McLeod of Cuiderach keeps 19 horses. . .& he keeps too many Cattle on his Farm, & of course is obliged to send his young beasts to starve on the Commons for a couple of months. . .they are small hardheaded unthriving animals, whereas were he to keep his Farm stocked as it ought to be he might have the very best Cattle in this part of the Island, his lands being the best grazing in it. . . That every little drover that purchases Cattle in this Country from the Lewis or Harris, if they should arrive a week or two before the Portree fair, send their cattle to the Common, & there then may be three or four hundred cattle belonging to their sort of people (who do not pay one shilling for them) on the Commons for a week or two. . .The tenants send their young Cattle, Horses & Sheep [to the Hill]. . .& they return to the low grounds in Worse order than they were sent to the Hill & unless they get very good grass in Harvest, & that the beginning of Winter is mild, they are reduced to perfect skeletons in spring, & they must give them either the Corn the people have for their own Feeding or the seed they have to put in the ground, this is not all for they are very often obliged to cut the corn green about the month of July or beginning of August to feed the milch cows with, they would not take the Bull otherwise. . .

* * * * *

In 1804, as in years past, the collection of rents occupied much of the attention of Lord Macdonald's management staff, and there was much correspondence on that subject. One piece of correspondence was a list of tenants who had paid their rents to Martinmas (11 November 1804) that included the following entry.¹³

. . . Teangue Charles McGillivray
to Account 4-11-2 1/3 . . .

Charles was the only MacGillivray on the list.

But for every good tenant who paid his debts on time, there were others who did not, and those in arrears were a continual source of irritation and concern to Lord Macdonald. Apparently, he became so concerned he demanded that the Chamberlain identify and explain the reasons why so many tenants were in arrears.¹⁴

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to
Lord Macdonald

13. GD221/79.

14. GD221/79.

Kingsburgh, Sepr 25th, 1804

My Lord

As your Lordship wishes me to put on paper the circumstances I stated to you as causes of the great arrears of Rent on your property on Skye I shall now as Fair as I can endeavour to do so.

In the years 1793 & 1794 the tenants fell in arrear owing to the bad times, some two and many were owing three years rent which they never could have discharged had not the cattle markets very soon mended then roase [rose] progressively and enabled them by degrees to pay off their debts. Few however had made money, then stock was increased and they would have been able to pay their Rents & keep their stock Entyre [entire] had not the failure of their crops in 1802 & 1803 together with the Total desertion of this Coast by the Herrings laid them under the necessity of purchasing meal from other Countrys to a very good amount, I may say and I am within bounds when I say it that a Sum not less than Twenty five Thousand pounds Sterling went out of Skye in Spring & Summer 1803 for meal and that at least Five Thousand pounds was expended on that article during last Spring & Summer [1804] and had there been money in the Country a great deal more meal would have been purchased. But that they had not, from the last years damage & the stagnation of the Cattle markets. The stagnation of the Cattle markets I consider to be principally from the following causes. Few drovers of any note ever come to this Country mostly undertrappers [? probably an inferior or itinerant trader - editors] or Jobless who sell the Cattle at the markets in the South as soon after they purchase them as possible and this on account of their dealing on borrowed money - The Great dealers in Galloway and Airshire [Ayrshire] as well as some others in different Quarters having failed last year together with the idea of a French invasion alarmed the Bankers so much that they would not credit these little Drovers except in very small Sums and then only for very short periods - They on that account were very cautious in their purchases and only took the very best Cattle which was the cause of the poor Tenants not getting any sale of theirs - I know some Tenants of your Lordship who have taken Cattle now to their different markets for sale to pay their rents who were not offered one shilling for them. They have subject [assets] enough if they could convert it into money, but that they cannot do at present, no strangers coming into this Country to buy and no person in it having money for that purpose.

The subject [assets] carried out of the Island by Emigrants to America was considerable & of course deprived us of so much Floating Capital which together with the Militia and Army of Reserve Bill has been a very great drain to the ready money - not less I suppose than thirty thousand pounds from your Lordships Estate.

This year the crops are very promising and I am in hope that very little meal will be imported especially if Herrings are got in any quantity - The times may not be so disimly [dismally] in the Spring and if the markets mend I am induced to hope that the Tenants will be able to pay a great part of what they owe your

Lordship - If however matters grow worse which God forbid a good deal of money may be in danger of being lost, I am however of opinion that to sequestrate their subject [to foreclose or seize the tenants assets or personal property] would be of little avail at present from the scarcity of money in this Country. their effects at a publick sale would not bring half value and it would tend to the utter ruin of the people without any real advantage to your Lordship. I know it would give you pain to distress a poor man who could not by any means avoid falling in arrear in these hard times & I really could not bring myself to execute the orders were they given. . .

Apparently John Campbell's report and explanation of the reasons for arrears did not fully satisfy Lord Macdonald or his Commission. Whether their dissatisfaction was heightened by the insubordinate tone of Campbells comments at the close of the above extract is not known, but apparently there were sufficient reasons so that, early in 1805, John Campbell was removed as Chamberlain of Skye estates. The Macdonald Muniments strongly suggest that John Campbell's removal was partially justified by accusations that he had been pocketing part of the rent monies as well as other derelictions of management duties. The situation was clouded further when Campbell, who had a lease, refused to relinquish the Farm of Kingsburgh. It is not our purpose to explore all the ramifications of this matter, but it suffices to say that we were sorry to see John Campbell depart from the scene. His letters and documents were often verbose, but were almost always informative as one of his last official letters illustrates.¹⁵

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John
Campbell, Esq., W. S., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, 5 January 1805

Dear Sir

. . . 2nd On that part of your letter which notifies the appointment of Capt. Maedougal to succeed me I have nothing to remark, Further than what I formerly observed that the change and appointment has been rapid.

3rd With regards to the Minutes of Lord Macdonalds as communicated in your letter of the 15th, I have to state that I can see no advantage that will be accrued to Lord Macdonald by sequestrating the subject of poor Tenants. the security he would get for the subject of any of them which might be sold would perhaps be worse than the Tenant himself and there would be confusion on his Estate as well as ruin to his Tenants together with an enormous expense on putting the law in Execution. I would recommend to his Lordship to trust to the next Portree market as the only resource for his tenants paying up their arrears and if that fails sequestration may then answer the purpose better as

15. GD221/79.

Cattle wile [will] sell for ready money whereas at present they must be sold on credit til the Portree market. On the whole I am of opinion it would be a bad measure in the present situation of the Country - by delay they may be able to pay everything but if they are pushed money will be lost by them. . .

The man who was to be the new Chamberlain of Skye was Captain Dun MacDougal. His tenure was to be of short duration because he deceased by early 1806. Probably his most interesting contribution to this history is extracted from the following letter which is an independent report on the conditions on Skye as observed by a supposedly disinterested observer. Apparently MacDougal did not agree with John Campbell that there was too much livestock on the island but he quickly focused on the crux of the problem facing Lord Macdonald and his Commissioners. Overpopulation!¹⁶

Letter, Capt. Dun. MacDougal to John Campbell, Esq.,
W. S., Edinburgh

Ardinbieve, 17 April 1805

Dear Sir

. . . 4. I cannot understand that this country is by any means overstocked with cattle but I plainly see that it is completely overstocked with people in so much that the farms in many instances is [are] divided & in such small portions that if they held the land without rent I scarcely see how they could subsist. . .

5. I find that a Spirit for emigration still exists in the Country, and prevails most amongst the wealthiest of the small Tenants. Indeed the poor Tenantry cannot emigrate not having the wherewithall to pay their passage. Of course when an emigration takes place we are left with the dross of the people who are very ready to take the land but have not the means to pay for it. . .

While on the subject of emigration we present the last extract from a letter by the outgoing Chamberlain, John Campbell.¹⁷

Letter, John Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, to John
Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Kingsburgh, February 24th, 1805

Dear Sir

. . . I have now to inform you that a Mr. Donald Nicolson who emigrated with Mr. MacAuley the year before last has returned to this Island it is said for the purpose of engaging Emigrants to go out to America in the course of this season & I am told that a vast number of people are Flocking about him from all Quarters. It remains with Lord Macdonald and his Commissioners to think what

16. GD221/79.

17. GD221/79.

is to be done in regard to this business. . .

And in the meantime petitions for land and redress continued to flow into the Commission. The following is extracted because it reveals certain facets of life within an overcrowded township.¹⁸

Petition by John McPherson, Weaver and one of the
Letters in Erlish, to Lord Macdonald's Commission

12 January 1805.

Humbly Sheweth

That the Petitioner and Donald MacInnes Possess Lot No. 16
equally between them. . .

That the Petitioner has a trong [throng=large] family to support which he endeavoured to do in an industrious way until about two years ago he unfortunately in a fit fell into the fire from which he was unable to recover himself till he was scorched and burned in a most shocking manner that since that period he has been for the most part bed ridden and under the hands of the Doctor but now he is recovering and able to do a little for his small Family. But he is sorry to Represent that he has the misfortune to have a very bad neighbor that with the bad conduct of his neighbor's wife towards the Petitioner and his Family they are not able to live with them as neighbors. . . [The Petitioner] hopes the Commissioners will offer the other half the said Lott to the Petitioner. . .

Taken out of context, the Macdonald documents of the early nineteenth century could be construed as indicating a certain benevolence on the part of Lord Macdonald and his management staff. Despite isolated instances of hard-heartedness, the records contain numerous explicit statements by his Lordship indicating his unwillingness to dispossess large numbers of his tenants. Unfortunately, with time, the press of overpopulation and excess of arrears in rents began to take their toll and change this attitude. After about 1805, we detect a subtle change in attitude on the part of management. No longer did there seem to be a reluctance to remove tenants. The growing desire of the proprietors to rid themselves of a burdensome population became more evident daily, and culminated later in the century in the forceful and tragic removal of large segments of the population. These so-called Highland Clearances have been well documented and will not be expanded on here. However, the following documentation, involving a MacGillivray of Skye, is presented as an early indication of this apparent subtle change in attitude.¹⁹

Evidently, in February 1806, Lord Macdonald had received a complaint from tenants in Torrin stressing that certain subtenants were permitting

18. GD221/71.

19. GD221/83/50.

unauthorized persons to overpopulate their holdings. This complaint was read into the minutes of the next Commissioners meeting.

Extract from the Minutes of 14 Feby 1806

. . . Read letter from William McKinnon, Neil McInnes, Donald Matheson, Lachlan McKinnon Tenants of Torran in Strath...

Ordered the Subtenants be immediately warned to remove, as an example to deter others from this unwarrantable practice of entering into lands without the authority of the proprietor & that the persons who subset be informed that they have been guilty of a Breach of Regulations which will prevent a renewal of their Leases.

The following letter or petition is apparently a response to the actions authorized in the above Minutes.

Petition from Tenants of Torran to John Campbell, Esq.

Torran, March 20th, 1806

Sir

It is with the greatest delicacy we presume to address you on this subject, aware of the difficulty we labour under in so doing it is as follows viz, We have got summons lately for removing from our Farms for reasons unknown to us. Our rents are paid & never have been in Arrears, for which all the Factors that had the management of this parish for thirty years back can testify the same if required, & can find sufficient security for our proportion of the rent of the Farm thereafter. The only reason we can suspect is allowing our sons to live in our Barns which we thought was no detriment to this place in our opinion. But in future can make them live with ourselves, as we are advanced in years & cannot afford to hire servants for managing our Farm. If the rest of our Neighbors made any kind of complaint with a view of depriving us in order to be served, we beg you will have the goodness to overthrow their machinations & can make it appear that we don't hold one foot in length or breadth in Houses, Barns, etc, more than any of the rest of our Neighbors. Before we conclude we must beg leave to tell you that five of us gave a son each to his Lordship & volunteered their services when required & therefore hopes to have the preference of those who have declined both the above - & we are Sir

Your very obt. servants

- * Niel + McGilvray
- Donald + McKinnon
- Malcolm + Nicolson
- John + McKinnon
- Rachel + McKinnon
- Angus + McKinnon
- Donald + Mathison all residents in Torran

The records of December 1807 contain two conflicting views of the conditions on Lord Macdonald's estate. The first is a petition for relief that exemplifies the tenants view. It involves a MacGillivray. The second is an example of the view management was taking towards leasing the estate.²⁰

Sleat, 1 December 1807

Unto the Honb'l the Commissioners of Lord MacDonald, the
Petition of the undersigned people

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners have weak families and live in such a distressful situation as may be an object of compassion to any man of conscience, the only relief to be expected from this desperate condition [is] if your Honours gives the farm of Duisdlebeg, presently possessed by John MacKinnon, to divide unto lots for which they unanimously agree to pay one hundred pounds Sterling per ann [annum] and are as able to manage lands in every respect as the number of any other tenants in the Country.

1	John Nicolson	15	Angus MacInnes
2	Niel MacRae	16	Donald McKinnon
3	John MacKinsie	17	Angus MacInnes
4	John MacKinnon	18	Rory MacKinnon
5	Archy McIntosh	19	John MacKinnon
6	Niel McKinnon	* 20	Archibald McGilvray
7	Alexd McKinnon	21	Angus Kennedy
	Malcolm MacLure	22	Donald Robertson
8	John MacKinnon	23	Malcolm Buchannon
9	Donald Nicolson	24	Lauchlin MacKinnon
10	Charles MacKinnon	25	Ewen MacLean
11	John Robertson	26	Kenneth MacLean
12	John Camran	27	James Nicolson
13	John MacKinnon		Miles MacInnes
14	Donald MacKinnon		

The above signed tenants are but a small number of what need relief in this Parish

The minutes of the Commission, dated the same day as the above petition, give an indication of managements view. Although the above petition was from tenants of Sleat, and the following one refers to farms in Trotternish, the message is clear, nevertheless. Lord Macdonald was determined to obtain more reliable tenants for his estates, and bringing in outsiders was one way of doing this.²¹

20. GD221/16/9 and GD221/28/55.

21. GD221/28/55.

Minutes of Commissioners Meeting at Edinburgh

1 December 1807

. . .Respecting the Farms in the Parish of Kilmuir which have been hitherto kept open in view of farmers in the low country settling there. Resolved that these farms be also advertised & in order to invite low country farmers to inspect these, travelling expenses of those who shall not settle on the Estate be defrayed by Lord Macdonald to the extent of _____ [left blank] per day. . .

We have noted that Capt. Dun MacDougal did not live long after being appointed Chamberlain and this is confirmed in the following extract. We never got to know MacDougal and cannot assess whether he would have been a good Chamberlain, but he did seem to have the ability to quickly get to the root of the problems, to wit:
²²

Memorial & Query for Lord Macdonald and his
Commissioners, 1808

...Letter, Capt. Macdougal (deceased), the Chamberlain
of Skye, to the Commissioners

Edinburgh, 27 February 1806

Gentlemen

. . .The situation of Skye is such that if a person living in it has not within himself whatever the Country can produce he will not at times procure it for money, and of course be very much at a loss to support a family. This is a fact known to every Person acquainted with the Country. . .

The Napoleonic Wars continued to disrupt normal trade and there was a continued need for kelp. However, despite the potential financial benefits, gathering kelp or seaweare was never one of the Islanders strong points. The following extract may, in an unintentional way, help to explain why it was necessary to import workers from the outside to make the kelp. It may also help to clear up the mystery of why there was apparently so much destitution and arrears in rents on Skye when there was such a profitable product just off shore.
²³

Minutes of Lord Macdonald's Commissioners
January 17th, 1809

. . .[excerpt] from letter from Capt. Cameron [who was
Chamberlain of Uist] to Mr. John Campbell, dated 14th January 1809

22. GD221/50.

23. GD221/39/1.

. . . to all acquainted with cutting sea ware for kelp, it is well known to every person in the Long Island that half the kelp was never made, upon some Farms not a Ton; The people in general [are] fishermen and never turned their attention to kelp making. . . [and] were totally adverse to making any and when induced were but little skilled in it and never depended on paying their Rents with it. . .

* * * *

The second decade of the nineteenth century opened on a familiar note. The new Chamberlain was John Macpherson and the following letter written by him early in 1810 is interesting inasmuch as he quickly focused on the same problem that had confronted and frustrated the previous two Chamberlains, the collection of rents. There is one essential difference, however. Whereas all of the Chamberlains had cautioned against the wholesale sequestration of the tenants stock, apparently the Commission had authorized (or insisted upon) limited sequestration, at least in some cases.²⁴

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., Edinburgh

Portree, 6th January 1810

Dear Sir

. . . 3rd I delayed forwarding the above sum for Several days in expectation of receiving an addition to it from the Gentlemen in this Country. In this however I am grieved to say I have been much disappointed and in order to clearly shew you and the other Commissioners of Lord Macdonald how they at present stand, I beg leave to enclose a particular State of the Sums due by each Tacksman on this Estate at Martinmas last and which actually should have been paid & after giving Credit for the Cash since received, it amounts to the Sum of £3939-4-3 Sterling.

It is a painful duty for me to be under the necessity of stating this circumstance and representing in plain colours to his Lordship and Commissioners, the manner in which he is treated by his principal Tenants, & more so as I feel rather difficulted how to act from their having baffled all the efforts of both the late Chamberlains. but as it is absolutely necessary to put a Stop if possible to this growing evil, I with much deference take the liberty of again recommending to his Lordship's Commissioners to accept their Bills. . . payable with Interest a certain day after the May Market. . . It is needless to threaten them with Sequestration, as they well know that there is no Market or Sale for Cattle at this period of the year, and a thing so general will not affect their feelings. . . .

24. GD221/25/92.

4th I am much afraid I shall be under the necessity of Sequestering the effects of Macqueen at Sconser and of Angus Macdonald [of] Kilbeg and Macqueen at Grealine, in order to Secure the Landlord's right of hypothec,²⁵ if they do not find Security as neither have much Stock on their Farms. . .

12th When last in Sleat I took a particular look at all the Inns lately built or repaired, and was sorry to find they are kept in a most Shameful manner & that Travelers have much cause to complain. There was hardly a Window in any of them but had several broken panes, which you may believe in this Stormy Climent [climate] is attended with much loss to the fabrics [the interior furnishings]. . . I have intimated to each of the Inn keepers that they must without loss of time repair the windows. . .

Another instance of Lord Macdonald and his Commission taking a more forceful approach in trying to collect rents is illustrated in the following letter extract. As far as we know, Lachlan MacKinnon did not have an official position on Skye. Our interpretation is that he probably was acting as a representative of the Chamberlain and had been given the task of sequestering stock from some of the tenants in arrear.²⁶

Letter, Lachlan MacKinnon of Corry to John Macpherson,
Chamberlain of Skye

26th January 1810

Dear Sir

. . . I have now taken delivery of all Stock I could find in my heart to take from the poor Tenants of Letterfurr. I find I will sadly be in the lurch if they get no abatement in the arrears. Their stock suffered considerably by the frequent gathering & markings last year. I am credibly informed by Mr. Alexander MacRae who you know is a correct & experienced shepherd. . . .

You know the situation of the three small crofts that are such a nuisance to the farm of Letterfur without I get possession of them I can turn the place to no account without them. . . .

The same file contained a long list of tenants who were deeply in arrears and who were proposed to be warned they would be removed from their possessions in Lord Macdonald's Estate on Skye on 10 July 1810. We have extracted only those farms where MacGillivrays lived who were deeply in arrears.

25. In law, hypothec means the security or right given to the landlord over the debtors property without transferring possession or title. In this case the tenant's cattle or stock is hypothecated for the current years rent, and contrary to the legal definition apparently in these cases were actually possessed.

26. GD221/68/98.

Parish of Sleat

* * * Ferindonald - Supposed to be laid out in Lotts & Glebe

Angus Robertson
* Alexander McGilivra's widow [FG-18]
Angus McPherson
Finlay McPherson [FG-25]
Neil McPherson
Malcolm McPherson
Niel Campbell & son
Donald McDonald. . .

* * * Sasaig - Supposed to be laid out in lots

Samuel Campbell [FG-21]
* Ewen McGilvra [FG-8]
Ewen McInnes - Deeply in Arrear [Prob FG-33]
Lachlan McInnes - Subsets, non-resident & deeply
in arrear
Donald McDonald. . .

The above list contains additional bits of information that must be clarified. We have now reached a point in time in this chronological review of the MacGillivrays of Skye where individual family groups can be tentatively identified. Note that in the above list we have identified MacGillivray family groups FG-8 and FG-18. We have also identified a MacPherson, Campbell and McInnes who married MacGillivray girls. Each of these family groups are listed numerically and discussed further in the Family Group Appendix.

* * * * *

After about 1810, a new source of genealogical data began to emerge - the parochial records of the Church. These church data are sparse but they provide the primary source of information on Skye families until mid-century when the Government began to take and keep official civil records. Both the parochial and civil records stress heavily the locations of farms in their data and it is useful at this time to plot and identify the farms on Lord Macdonald's estates. This is done in Figures 11-16.

The maps showing the parishes of Skye have been compiled from several contemporary surveys of the Macdonald estates.²⁷ The spelling of farm names on the original surveys is generally quite different from the modern spelling. To minimize confusion and establish continuity we have used the modern spelling as shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Maps published by the Director General of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton, England.

27. GD221/RHP 5998, GD221/RHP/5999 and GD221/168/4.

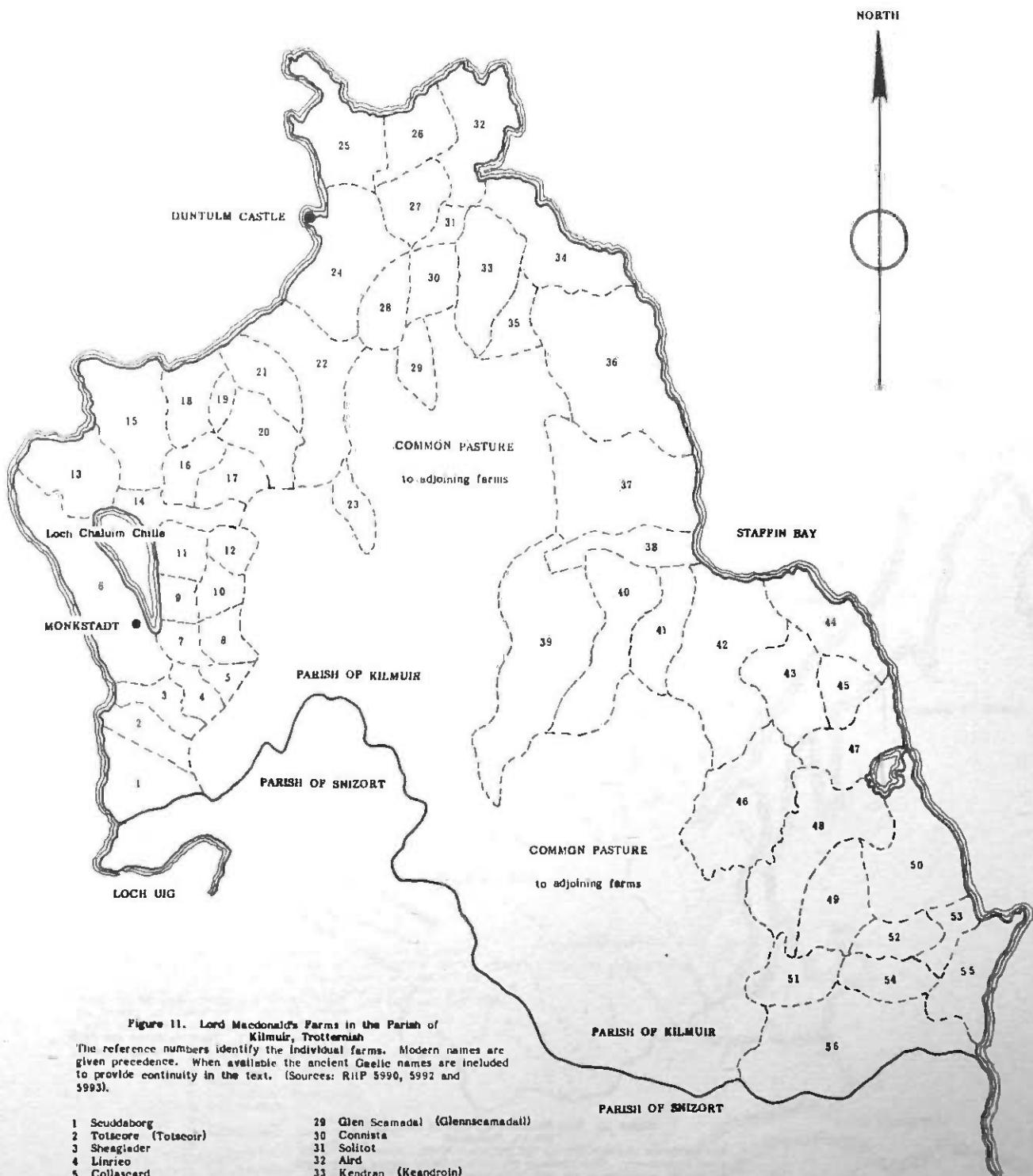
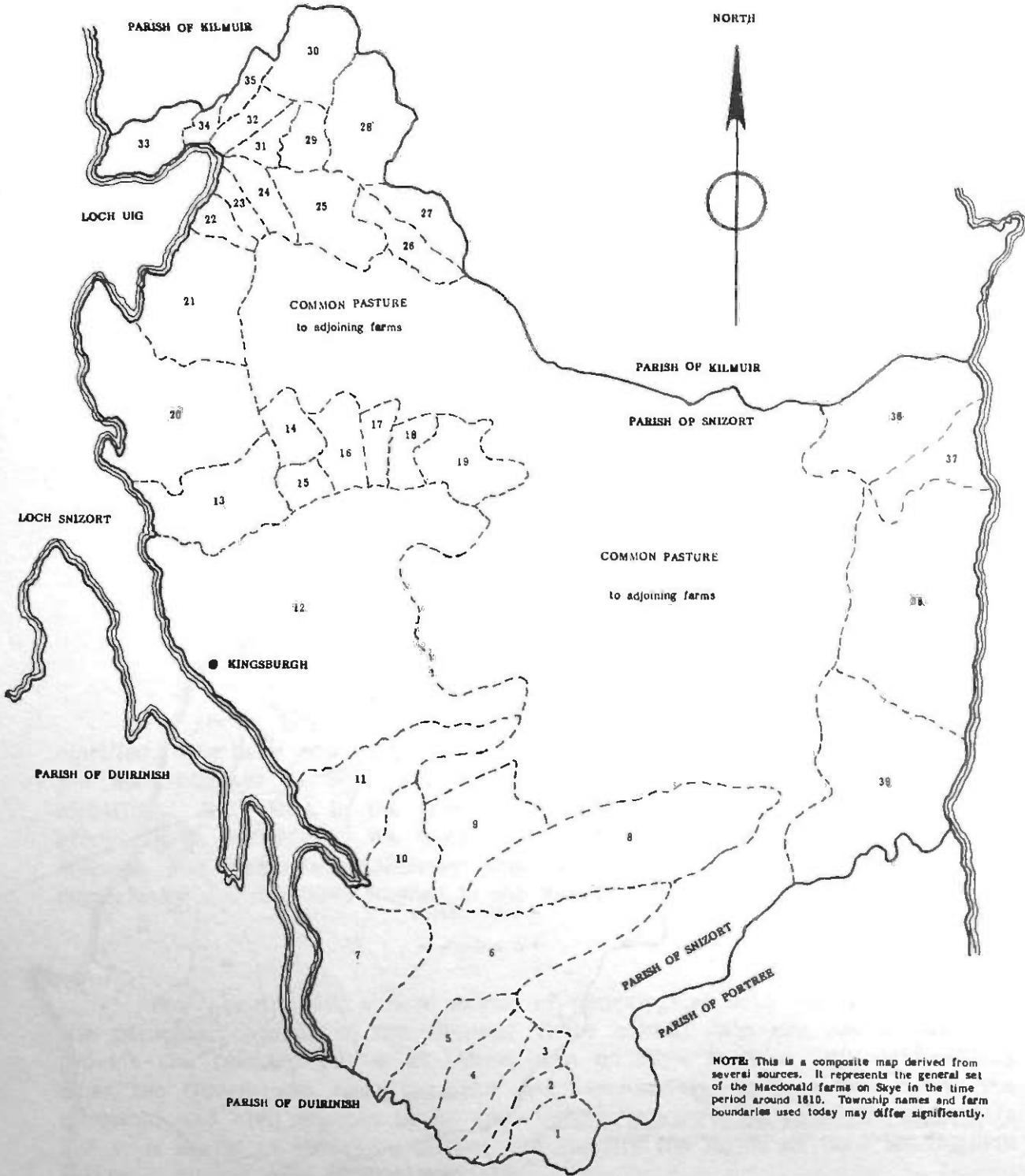


Figure 11. Lord Macdonald's Farms in the Parish of Kilmuir, Trotternish

The reference numbers identify the individual farms. Modern names are given precedence. When available the ancient Gaelic names are included to provide continuity in the text. (Sources: RHP 5990, 5992 and 5993).

1	Scuddaborg
2	Totcore (Totcoir)
3	Sheaglader
4	Lirrieo
5	Collascard
6	Monkstadt or Mugshot
7	Hool
8	Greasader
9	Dilista
10	Common pasture
11	Balgown (Baileavachillareach)
12	Feaull
13	Knockhoe (Cnocow)
14	Kilvaxter
15	Bornesketaig (Plenievanan)
16	Quirtalan
17	Hungladder
18	Common pasture
19	Herbustie
20	Peingown (Piennigowan)
21	Lachassay
22	Glen Sneosdal (Glennsinisdale)
23	Beslach
24	Erisco
25	Brunistot
26	Shulista
27	Urgeg
28	Glen Scamadal (Glennscamadall)
29	Connista
30	Solitot
31	Aird
32	Kendran (Keandrol)
33	Balmacqueen (Ballevicquien)
34	Common pasture
35	Flodigarry (Flodigearrigh)
36	Digg
37	Glashvin (Glasbhien)
38	Sartmill
39	Balmeanach (Ballineanach)
40	Brograig
41	Stenchol
42	Gerrafad (Gearrighfada)
43	Clachan
44	Griengangal
45	Malligar (Maulighar)
46	Elishader (Eilisidear)
47	Mariashader (Marisidear)
48	Garros (Gearos)
49	Veltos
50	Achagule (Achaghustie)
51	Breckey (Brecreich)
52	Culnanock (Caolinanoc)
53	Grealin (Greulan)
54	Lonfearn
55	Lealt (Leathall)

NOTE: This is a composite map derived from several sources. It represents the general set of the Macdonald farms on Skye in the time period around 1810. Township names and farm boundaries used today may differ significantly.

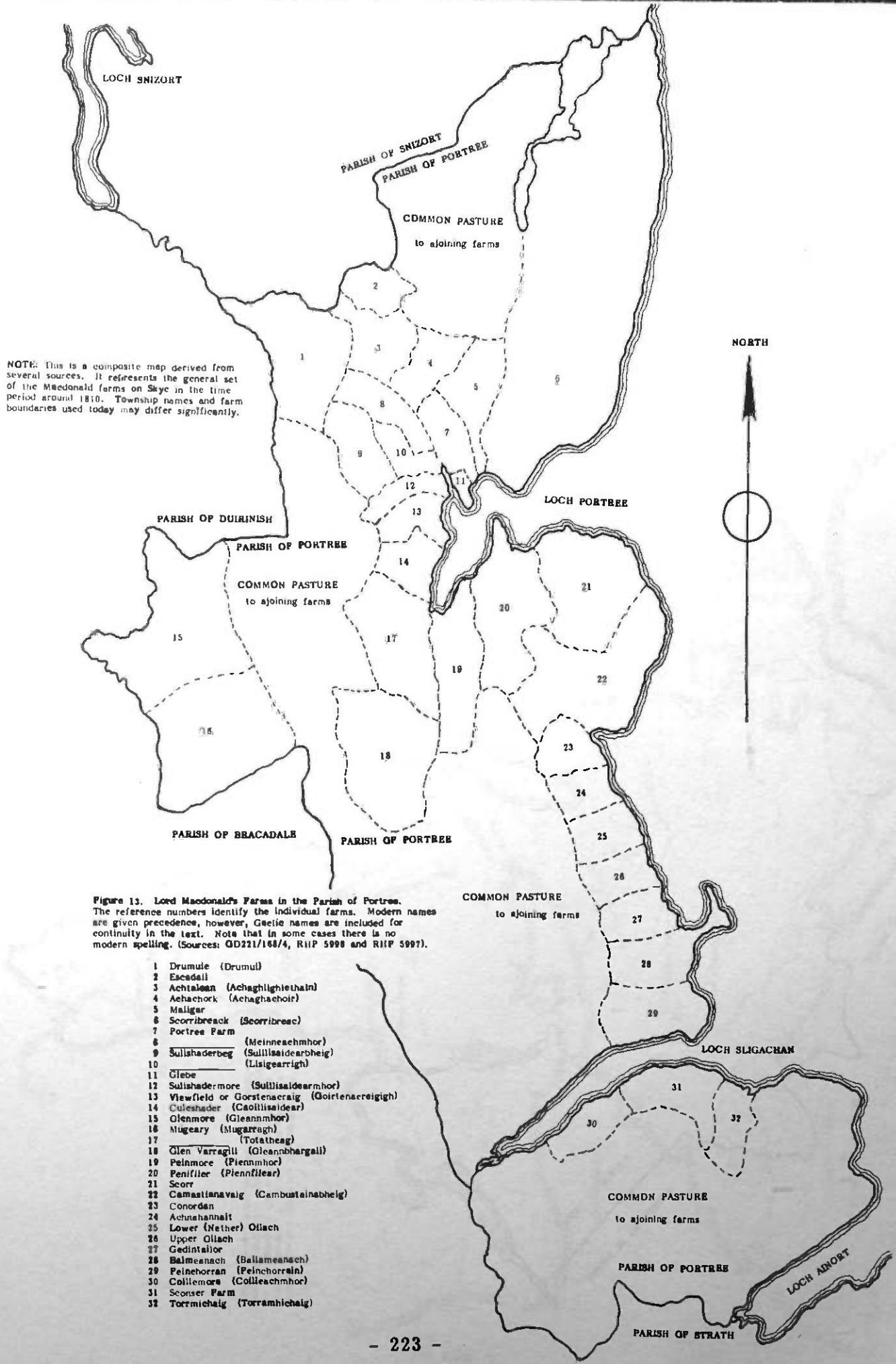


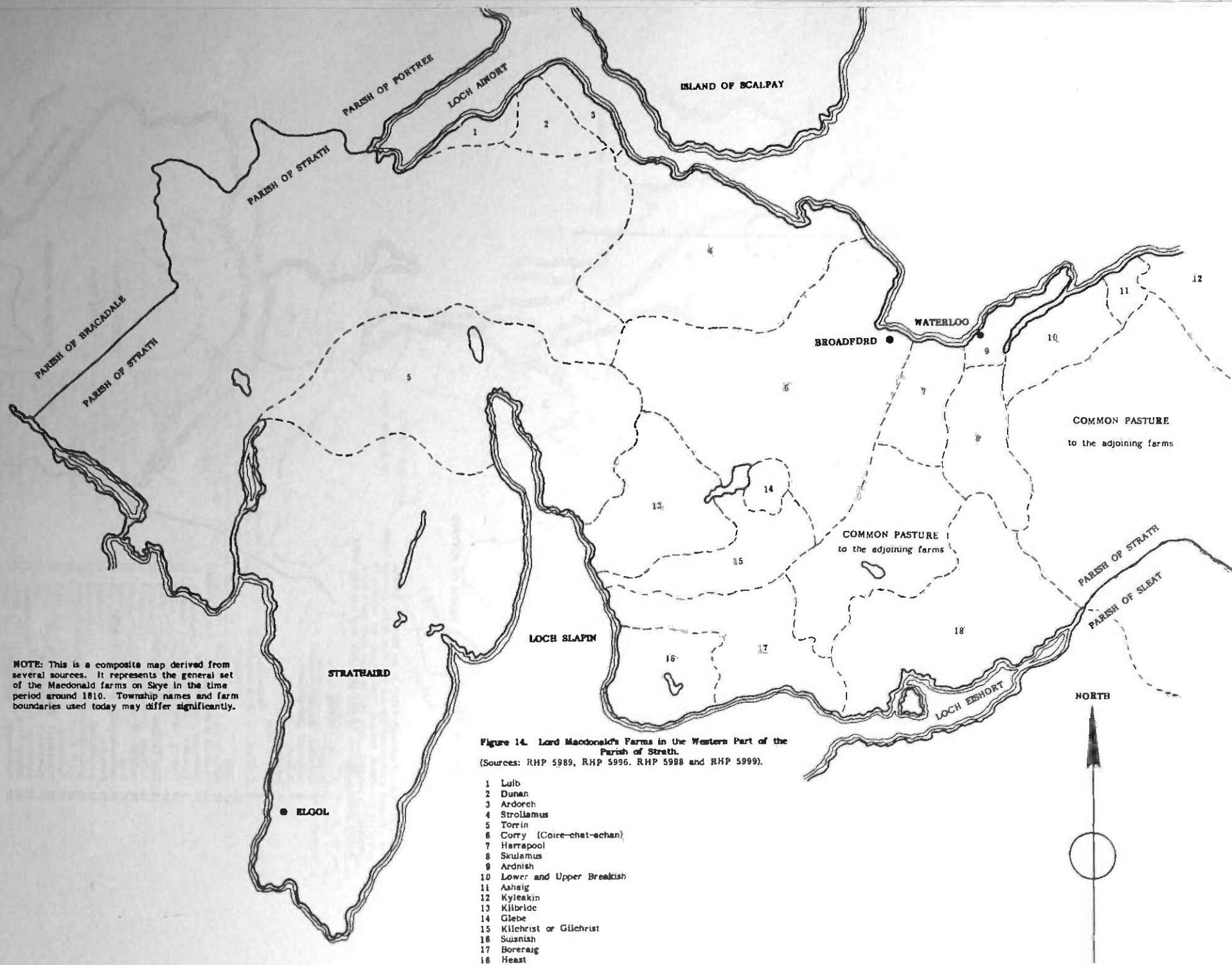
NOTE: This is a composite map derived from several sources. It represents the general set of the Macdonald farms on Skye in the time period around 1810. Township names and farm boundaries used today may differ significantly.

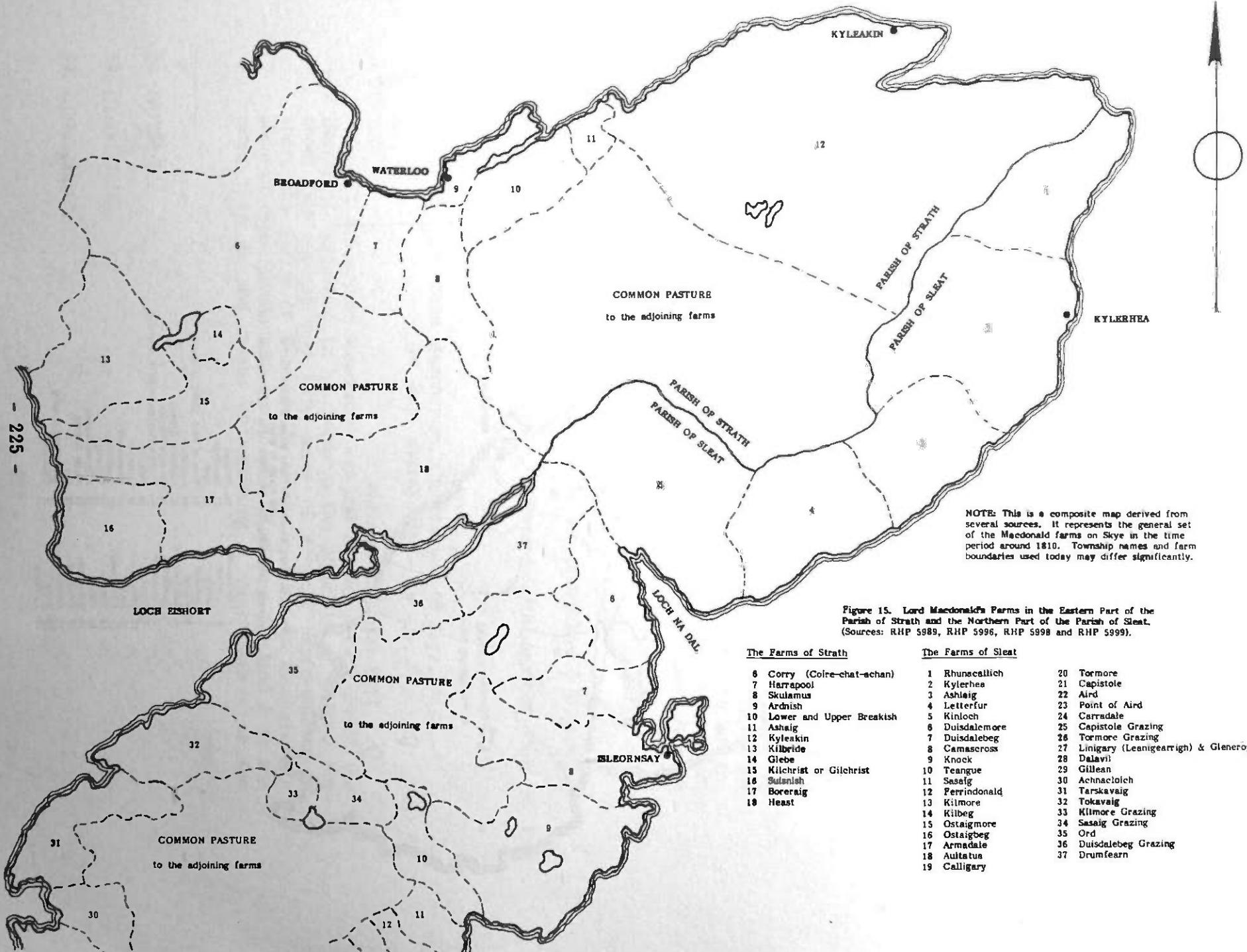
Figure 12. Lord Macdonald's Farms in the Parish of Snizort, Trotternish

The reference numbers identify the individual farms. Modern names are given precedence. When available the ancient Gaelic names are included to provide continuity in the text. (Sources: GD221/168/4, RHP 5993, RHP 5995 and RHP 5996).

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 Pienduin | 19 Glenuachdrach |
| 2 Piennoceriseo | 20 Culdrach (Culdresch) |
| 3 Piennahullin | 21 Earlish (Airlis) |
| 4 Pienncharrain | 22 South Cull (Deas Caill) |
| 5 Brescalan | 23 Piemorsig |
| 6 Farms of Annisaider, Birchiseo, Breachagh and Achagnainbard | 24 Pleingowan |
| 7 Skerinish (Scorinis) | 25 Sheader (Sailear) |
| 8 Glen Haudin (Glenaulton) | 26 Balnaknock (Bellnaenoc) |
| 9 Keistie (Coastal) | 27 Piennbhraid |
| 10 Rhenetra (Reinirrigh) | 28 Tailanthein |
| 11 Property of Raazas (MacLeod) | 29 Piennchoinach |
| 12 Kingsburgh | 30 Common pasture |
| 13 Piennitulin | 31 Clachan |
| 14 Common pasture | 32 North Cull (Tuath Caill) |
| 15 Regil | 33 Idraigil (Idrigal) |
| 16 Balmeanach (Balimeanach) | 34 Rha |
| 17 Peinlich (Piennittheach) | 35 Gearrigchriean |
| 18 Peinaha (Pienn-na-hathagh) | 36 Lower Tote (Tollecrach) |
| | 37 Upper Tote (Tottacraoch) |
| | 38 Rigg (Rig) |
| | 39 Tolrome (Tolram) |







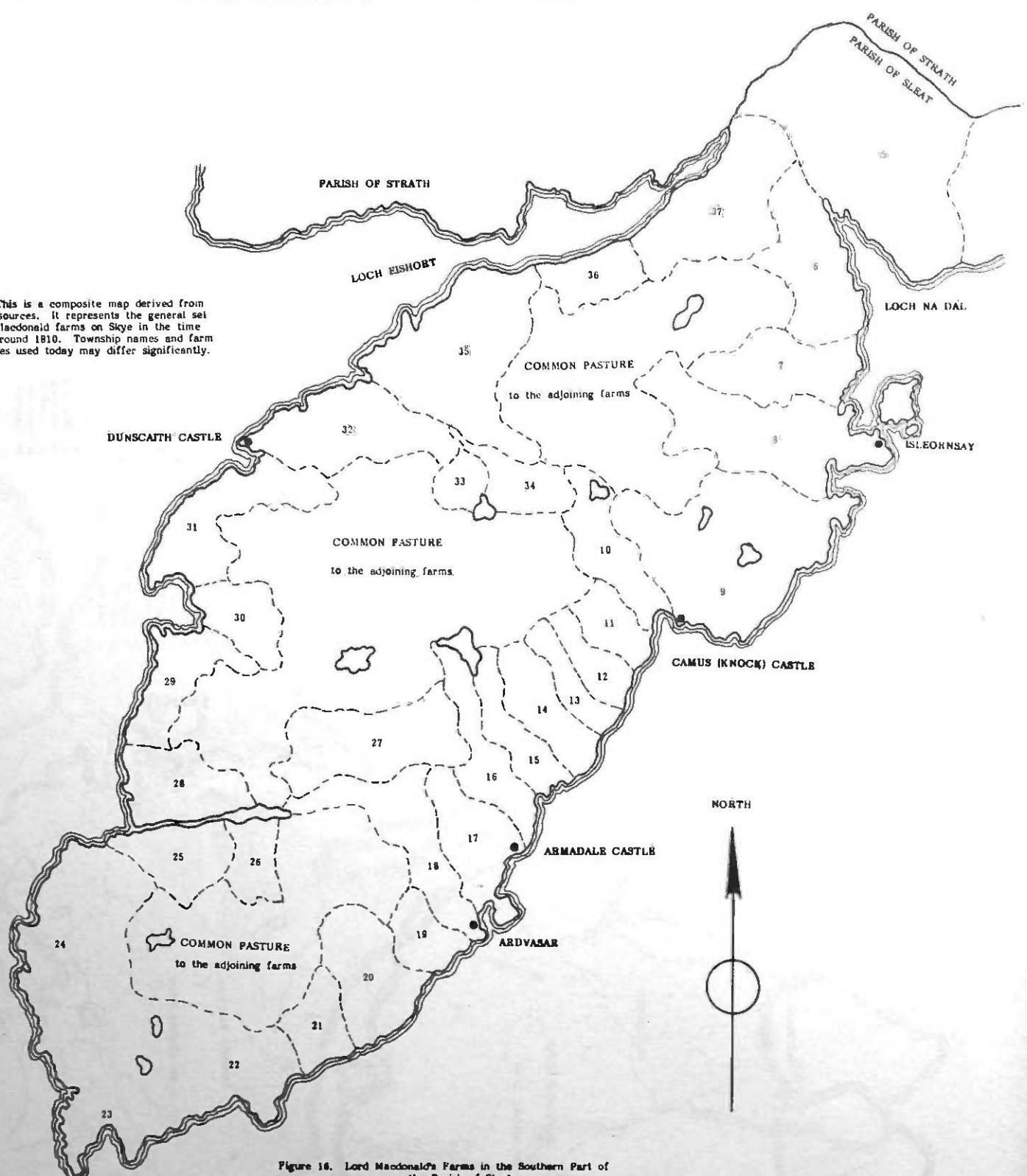


Figure 16. Lord Macdonald's Farms in the Southern Part of the Parish of Sleat.
(Sources: RHP 5989, RHP 5996, RHP 5998 and RHP 5999).

1 Rhunacallieh	20 Tormore
2 Kylerhea	21 Capistole
3 Ashlaig	22 Aird
4 Letterfur	23 Rhue of Aird (Point of Sleat)
5 Kinloch	24 Carradale
6 Duisdalemore	25 Capistole Grazing
7 Duisdalebeg	26 Tormore Grazing
8 Camascross	27 Linigary (Leanigearrigh) & Glenroy
9 Knock	28 Dalavil
10 Teangue	29 Gillean
11 Sasaig	30 Achnacloich
12 Ferrindonald	31 Tarskavalig
13 Kilmore	32 Tokavag
14 Kilbeg	33 Kilmore Grazing
15 Ostalgmore	34 Sasaig Grazing
16 Ostalgbeg	35 Ord
17 Armadale	36 Duisdalebeg Grazing
18 Aultaha	37 Drumfearn
19 Calligary	

Now that the location of the farms has been established, we can resume the chronological narrative, and one of the first items is a petition that concerns a MacGillivray. In 1800, the lotters of Breakish in the Parish of Strath entered a petition in which they offered the sum of 45 pounds Sterling for nineteen year leases for the lots of Breakish. One of the petitioners was a Niel MacGillivray [prob. FG-48].²⁸ More than a decade later the controversy²⁹ over these lots was still brewing as indicated in the following petition extract.

Petition to the Honourable Commissioners of
Lord Macdonald, 24 Feb 1811

Humbly Sheweth

. . . That the petitioners of the Lotters of Breakish enetered into the Lotts of Breakish in the year 1800 & was promised by Major Campbell, Chamberlain of Skye, nineteen year leases for the same & though we had got neither Tack nor Missive we had not doubt but Lord MacDonald's Commissioners would protect us and look upon the Chamberlain's promise the same as write [a written promise]. . . .we are willing to submit to your Mercy. We are willing to give five pounds Sterling more rent than any other set of men will offer. . . .We are Truly sorry for being under the necessity of giving you this trouble, but we are forced to Believe, that the Chamberlain has orders to Burithen [burden] us with Fifteen more Lotters. . . .

John MacInnes
Donald Anderson
Niel Frazer for themselves & others

Later in the same year we are presented with another view of the situation at the Breakish lots.³⁰

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
Sir John Murray, Bart.

Portree, 23rd Oct 1811

. . . When Lord Macdonald was last in the Country I took the liberty of suggesting to his Lordship the propriety of Lotting out about two hundred and fifty acres of a most improvable moor above the Farms of Breakish & Ashaig in order to accommodate some of these people who are so very clamorous for land & at the same time be the means of improving a Great extent of the

28. GD221/54.

29. GD221/39/44.

30. GD221/39/50.

Country. . . his Lordship approved the plan. . . when Mr. Blackadder lined off the crofts, the Settlers in Breakish made strong objections, pretending that they had a promise of a nineteen years lease from the Commissioners, which upon inquiring at Col Campbells' I found not to be the case, on the contrary. . . they were allowed only nine years of grazing attached to the Lotts, and they are besides by no means so deserving, as some of the other Lotters upon the Estate, who have done much more in the way of improvement, without having the means so convenient [as the Breakish Lotter] of Cast & Kelpware, shelly sand and Lime. . .

The controversy over the allocation of the Breakish lots and the use of the seaware continued through 1812.³¹

Letter, Lotters of Breakish to John MacPherson,
Chamberlain of Skye

Breakish, 24 Feb 1812

We, the Lotters of Breakish, do hereby depend on your goodness to State before Lord Macdonald's Commissioners that it is Impossible for us to make any livlihood if the Shores of Sea Wear are cut of us. Therefore, we hereby bind ourselves to pay as annual rent of the Sea Wear of Ardnish, the sume of forty-five pounds Sterling & we expect of your goodness to take it into consideration that we'll need every pile of it for the manure of our Lots which can be testified by the Best men in the Parish & we are

Dear Sir your most Humble Servants:

John MacKinzie + his mark

Dugal Matheson + his mark

* Niel MacGilvray

for themselves & others

In November there were two more petitions from the tenants of Breakish, one dated 20 November and the other dated 23 November 1812.³² Both petitions are almost identical in wording and only one is extracted here. Both were signed by the same tenants except John MacKinzie did not sign the 20 November petition and Dugal Matheson did not sign the 23 November petition.

Petition of the Lotters of Breakish

Breakish, 23 November 1812

Humbly Sheweth

31. GD221/43, GD221/54/83 and GD221/54/84.

32. GD221/54/84 and GD221/54/75.

That the Petitioners cannot help to trouble your Honours once more as they have no other to listen to their Complaints, the mostly of which is impossible to State, but partly as follows. In the first place, which we formerly stated, all the Hills & grasing which was given us the year 1800 by Col. Campbell, then Chamberlain, are now cut off us, namely that some of our neighbors are served with the fifth part of that grasing. . . . We humbly beg that you Honours may feel our distressed situation and uncomfortable way of livlihood, if half the sea ware will be cut from us as Macpherson [the Chamberlain] and Corry [Corrichattacan Farm] pretends to do, we are quickly ruined & our lives are in your Mercy & Honours hands, if such be done on so great a number of Souls, no less than five hundred, your Petitioners humbly beg that your Honours. . . .allow them the sea ware to support their poor needy families. . . . Our complaints are legible before your Honours & [do] not allow Macpherson's ill will to go against the petitioners. . . .

And your Petitioners shall ever Pray

John Macinnes	Donald Matheson + his mark
Niel Fraser [FG-31]	Donald Anderson
William Munro + his mark	John Morrison + his mark
William Fraser + his mark	* Niel McGilivray + his mark [FG-48]
Martin Martin + his mark [FG-10]	John McKinzie + his mark [FG-32]

The records do not reveal the outcome of this controversy but apparently it was either resolved or accepted by the tenants because they, or some of their descendants, were still living at Breakish as late as 1823-24.

Meanwhile, other MacGillivrays on the estates were experiencing difficulties as evidenced by the following extract from a list of tenants proposed to be warned from their possessions on Lord Macdonald's Estate in Skye on Whitsun Day, 1811. The list for Sleat contained 38 names including,³³

. . . Camuscross Lots: No 7. Martin McGilvra. . .

No MacGillivrays were warned in Strath or Trotternish.

Occassionally entries appear in the records that gives some insight into the distribution and lifestyle of the families. The following is an extract from the Chamberlains report which indicates that, as stubborn as they were reputed to be, even a Highlander could change his mind.³⁴

Report by John MacPherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq., W. S., Edinburgh

Portree, 1 April 1811

33. GD221/50.

34. GD221/50.

Dear Sir

. . . 13. There is likewise enclosed copies of offers by a Mr. Duncan MacInnes son to the tenant of Dalville & a Donald McGillivray (who formerly held a part of Druimfern in Sleat but gave up his situation with the intent of emigrating to America) for Duisdalebeg & Morsaig. . .

And there were the following entries concerning MacGillivray participation in building on Lord Macdonald's Estates. It was during this period that Armadale Castle was being constructed.³⁵

Account for Outlays for Building on Lord
Macdonald's Estates

p. 13 May 8, 1807

Paid by Wm. Ord to McGillivray for going express
to Portree & Kyle

p. 21 January 22, 1812

Paid A. McIntosh, K. McGilvery [Prob. Kenneth FG-55]
& C. Robertson going express from Sleat to Portree

And on 9 June 1813, James Gillespie, who was architect and builder of Armadale Castle, paid Donald McGilavray 14 shillings 8 pence wages for eight days work.³⁶

* * * * *

In the same year, 1813, the rental situation had apparently reached a point where Lord Macdonald felt he had to look elsewhere to find reliable people to rent some of the farms on the estates. We can surmise that this decision was not based on a lack of interest on the part of the local Skye people - they were always looking for an opportunity to get more or better land. Instead the decision was probably based on the estate managers growing disillusion with the native tenants of Skye and their reluctance or inability to pay the rents. In any event, the following advertisement presented in several newspapers is an indication of the actions taken to restructure the tenantry.³⁷

To Be Let

For such a number of Years as may be agreed on,
from the term of Whitsun Day 1814, the Following
Farms on Lord Macdonald's Estates in Skye, viz:

35. GD221/44/2.

36. GD221/48/1.

37. GD221/102/72.

In the Parish of Sleat

The Farm of Tormore, as let, present possession of Mr. Alexander Macdonald containing 167 acres of Arable land and Meadow, a Green Pasture, and 740 acres of good Hill pasture.

The Farm of Capistole, consisting of 118 acres of rich green pasture, and 188 acres of Hill Pasture, together with the excellent grazing of Glen Capistole measuring 385 acres.

To these Farms a Common Hill measuring 1462 acres is annexed.

Offers will be received by John Campbell, Esq. one of His Lordship's Commissioners and by John MacPherson, His Lordship's Chamberlain at Portree, Isle of Skye.

To be advertised in Glasgow & Inverness weekly papers once a month for four months. And in Aberdeen once and Liverpool once....

In addition to the above listed farms, Duisdalebeg in Sleat, Broadford in Strath, Achanhosk in Portree and Cuidreach in Snizort were offered for lease.

It is not known how successful Lord Macdonald was in bringing in more affluent outsiders to take over some of the farms on Skye. The records do not readily reflect this information. They do, however, reveal that the tenants of Skye continued to experience hard times and lists of tenants who were arrear in their rents appear almost continuously in the records. In the following example some apparently had been in arrears for more than eleven years.³⁸

List of Arrears for Cropt of 1813 with Arrears List for 1802

31 July 1814

Trotternish	12 Tenants in Arrears
Portree	4 Tenants in Arrears
Strath	37 Tenants in Arrears
Sleat	37 Tenants in Arrears [including]

38. GD221/40/65 and GD221/40/59.

. . . John McGillivray Calligary Lotts for 1806 [prob. FG-2]

And the Chamberlains report in 1818 included the following list of tenants in arrears. The category "Ashwood," under which these names were listed, has not been identified.³⁹

Chamberlain of Skye Accompt for Cropt, Martinmas 1817

31 July 1818

Ashwood

Niel Robertson, Broadford
John Auldeoin, Cartwright
guaranteed by Lochend
Jonathan McInnes, Haste
Niel Munroe, Haste
* Archibald McGillivray, Sleat
* Donald McGillivray, Sleat
John McLenan, Knock

* * * * *

The cessation of the Napoleonic Wars did not bring on the prosperity anticipated. Instead, a long and severe depression followed the end of hostilities causing widespread distress throughout the land. Markets on the Continent were unable to absorb the overstocked supplies of the English manufacturers. Government's demand for military supplies ceased. Thousands were thrown out of work, and the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by more than 400,000 demobilized troops. All of these factors combined to cause a complete dislocation of the country's economy.

No part of the Empire escaped and Skye was no exception. The tenants, with few exceptions, had always existed at the ragged edge of poverty and the least economic imbalance was keenly felt, especially at the market place as the following series of excerpts from letters indicate.⁴⁰

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, W. S.

Portree, 14 June 1816

Dear Sir

. . . words cannot express the Situation of the whole of the Country in [regards] of credit. There were hardly any sales of Cattle made at the last markets, and those disposed of were at

39. GD221/50.

40. GD221/39/58.

very low price. Instead of 1800 or 2000 head of Cattle, which generally cross the Kyle, there were only at this time from all Skye 497, and these the very pick of the Country.

A year later the situation had not improved substantially. Attempts to provide relief were made by both the Government and the Proprietors. One such project on Skye was the building of much needed roads. Lord Macdonald had speculated on the Grain Market by buying grain from the Government. His intent was to use the grain as wages for the road work done by the tenants and sell any surplus to them as they needed it. The plan backfired and he was stuck with high-priced grain the tenants could not afford. These points are touched on in the following letter whose contents reveal very tersely the pitiful economic circumstances of the tenants of Skye.⁴¹

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq.

Portree, 5 June 1817

Dear Sir

. . . Meeting of Friday the 4th. . . It was the unanimous opinion of the gentlemen who attended, that the proprietors ought to be kept out of view altogether, as it could not be expected, from their having received no rents for nearly a year & a half, preceding, that they could have afforded any substantial relief to the suffering inhabitants of this populous Island. . .

. . . It is impossible for me to say what quantity of provisions may be required by Lord MacDonald's Tenantry as the people themselves from a dread of approaching ruin always underrate the quantity they actually need, when aware that they have to pay high for it, as an instance of this, when in Strath about the last days of April, some of the tenants there made an application to me as Lord MacDonald's agent for two Bolls of Meal, to each of them, as they & their Families were actually starving & which might easily be seen from their wretched countenances, these miserable people were at the time under the necessity of consuming in their families, the potato slips, which they had cut for planting & although reduced to this extremity they assured me that the small quantity above specified would be an ample supply to their families until the new crop came in. . . .

The description of persons therein referred to are extremely numerous & by far the most needy in the country & unless they are provided for in some shape or other, or should the Herring fishing fail in the early parts of the season, some of them will without doubt perish. . . .

. . . the few petty Jobbers. . . from the South Country picked up some of the best Cattle & the rest were left unsold or were disposed of at a mere trifle. . . .

. . . I ordered all the Kilmaluag & East Side Tenants to be in

41. GD221/68/100-103.

here this day to pay me the Rents, not an individual of them made their appearance. . . .some few of them who have got a little money by the sale of their Cattle may have it in view to retain it to supply their families with food, at a cheaper rate than we can do it for them. . . .they expect to reserve their wages [from the road work] as a fund for settling their credit with his Lordship. . . .

. . . The number of applicants for employment [on the roads] would astonish you & even when the Tools arrive it will be impossible for me to satisfy the one half of them. . . .The wages to be given [and] the high price of the meal with which they must be furnished will make the balance less to their credit. . . .

A similar letter written a month later seems to present an about-face. In the previous letter Macpherson implied that the tenants asked for too little grain;⁴² in the following letter apparently he had decided they wanted too much meal.

Letter, John Macpherson, Chamberlain of Skye, to
John Campbell, Esq.

Portree, 17 July 1817

Dear Sir

I have disposed of about 1300 Bolts of Grain to the tenants. . . .the demand for it by the miserable creatures is astonishing & is increasing daily, but I distribute it in as small quantities as possible feeling alarmed at the result. It has however been the means of keeping families alive, & whatever the arrears of rent may stand, we shall I trust not lose much by it. . . .

* * * *

Sir Alexander Wentworth Macdonald, 17th Chief, 10th Baronet and 2nd Lord, died in 1824. His brother, Sir Godfrey Macdonald became the Proprietor of Skye and 18th Chief of the Clan. Apparently the volume and type of records and correspondence retained by the Macdonald family depended to a large extent on the prevailing Proprietor and his staff. There was no apparent decrease in the volume of records kept by Sir Godfrey but we notice a change in the type of documentation. There was, for example, an obvious decrease in humanistic entries that pertain to individuals and the quality of life on Skye. These entries were sorely missed in our research. However, rents and arrears continued to be a problem for the Macdonalds and from these lists we can glean much genealogical information.

After Sir Alexander Wentworth Macdonald, 17th Chief, died in 1824 a list of rents and arrears was prepared or his successor. We have extracted those entries pertaining to MacGillivrays and they are presented as Table IV. Modern

42. GD221/83/13-14.

43. GD221/90/2.

spelling of the farm names is used as well as the standardized spelling of the surname.

TABLE IV

Rents and Arrears Due by the Tenants on the Late Right Honourable Alexander Wentworth, Lord Macdonald Estates in Skye from Whitsunday 1823 to Whitsunday 1824 - Prepared July 1824

Parish of Sleat

<u>Farm Name</u> <u>Lot or Croft Number</u>	<u>Arrears</u>	<u>Due 1824</u>
<u>Aird</u>		
7 Donald MacGillivray [FG-36]	£13- 9-10½	£ 6-12-11½
18 Donald MacGillivray [Prob. FG-120]	£ 9-15- 9½	£ 6- 7- 9¾
<u>Dalavil</u>		
5 Angus MacGillivray's Widow	£ 4- 3- 0	0- 0- 0
<u>Tokavaig</u>		
7 Donald Cameron & Malcolm MacGillivray [FG-56]	£ 2-17-11	£ 5-19- 4½
<u>Drumfearn</u>		
5 Angus MacGillivray	0- 0- 0	£ 7- 7- 5½
<u>Camascross</u>		
24 Archibald MacGillivray	£ 1-18- 4	£ 1- 2- 6¾
<u>Teangue</u>		
6 Archibald MacGillivray [FG-66]	£15-14- 3	£ 6-13- 2¾
<u>Sasaig</u>		
6 Ewen MacGillivray [FG-8]	£ 3- 9- 9¼	£ 8-15- 6¾
<u>Ferrindonald</u>		
8 Archibald MacGillivray	0- 0- 0	£ 3-13- 9¾
<u>Lingary</u>		
7 Neil MacGillivray	£ 3- 8- 4¾	0- 0- 0

Calligary

16 Neil MacGillivray [FG-50] 0- 0- 0 £ 4- 3- 1

Parish of StrathBreakish Arabale

19 Neil MacGillivray [FG-48] 0- 0- 0 £ 1-13- 5½

Breakish Moss

17 Widow MacGillivray £ 2-10- 6 £ 0-18- 4½

Torrin

8 Neil MacGillivray [poss FG-45] £13- 4- 4 £ 8-13- 3½

Parish of KilmuirHerbusta

Malcolm MacGilmorie £ 6-15- 3½ £ 2-15- 7½

From the table we see there was a total of fifteen MacGillivrays who owed rents or were in arrears. Eleven were from Sleat, three from Strath and one from Kilmuir. There were no MacGillivrays on the rent rolls from the Parishes of Portree and Snizort. Only four of the MacGillivrays were not in arrears. Where possible the MacGillivray family groups have been identified.

This list of MacGillivray tenants points out what will become a recurring problem as we try to identify individual family groups, and that is the repetitive use of given or Christian names. In this short list of fifteen MacGillivrays there are four Neils, three Archibalds and two each Angus, Donald and Malcolm. The problems associated with trying to sort them out are obvious.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1824-1850

Beginning about 1823, the Macdonald papers contain annual rent rolls for the various farms on the estates that are fairly continuous until well into the twentieth century. As interesting as these rentals are, repeating each of the lists verbatim for each year would serve no useful genealogical purpose. Therefore, we have compiled composite rental charts each containing several years data. Many of the original lists contained marginal comments. We have kept these intact and they are summarized in a Note section at the end of the table. Reference to these comments are indicated in the Table by numbers in parentheses. Also the reference citations for the various years are included at the end of the Table. The numbers in brackets [] following the surnames are the Family Group Numbers in the Appendix.

TABLE V

Composite Rentals of Lord Macdonald's Estates, 1823-1832Parish of Sleat

Croft No.	Tenant	[FG No]	1823	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1832
			1824	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1832	
<u>Aird</u>										
3	Widow Macdonald				(1)					
7	Donald MacGillivray, Senior	[36]			(2)					
	Donald MacGillivray Heirs				(3)	x				
	Donald MacGillivray Widow [Mary] [36]						x	x	x	x
17	Jonathan MacInnes				(4)					
18	Donald MacGillivray [prob. FG-120]		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

TABLE V, Cont'd

Croft No. Tenant [FG No]	1823	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
	1824	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1832

Dalavil

5 Angus MacGillivray Widow	(5)	x	(5)	(5)	x
-------------------------------	-----	---	-----	-----	---

Tokavaig

7 Donald Cameron	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Malcolm MacGillivray [56]	x	(6)	x	x	x	x	x

Drumfearn

5 Angus MacGillivray [90]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Archibald MacQueen						(7)	x
Duncan MacKinnon					(7)	x	x

Camascross

24 Archibald MacGillivray	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
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Camascross Garden Ground

6 John MacGillivray [53]						x	x
--------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	---	---

Teangue

6 Archibald MacGillivray	x	(8)	x	x	x	x	x
-----------------------------	---	-----	---	---	---	---	---

Sasaig

6 Ewan MacInnes [33]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

6 Ewan MacGillivray [8]	x	x					
Kenneth MacGillivray [55]	(9)	(8)	x	x	x	x	x

Ferrindonald

8 Archibald MacGillivray	x	(8)	x	x	x	x	x
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TABLE V, Cont'd

Croft No. Tenant [FG No]	1823	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
	1824	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1832

Calligary

16 Neil MacGillivray [50]	x	(10)	x	x	x	x	x
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Leanigearrigh [Lingary]

7 Neil MacGillivray	x	(11)	(12)				
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Parish of Strath

Breakish Arable

10 Charles Macdonald	x						(13)
----------------------	---	--	--	--	--	--	------

Charles MacGillivray Widow				x		x	
----------------------------	--	--	--	---	--	---	--

19 Neil MacGillivray[48]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
--------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Breakish Moss

17 Widow MacGillivray	x	(14)	x	x	x	
-----------------------	---	------	---	---	---	--

Torrin

8 Neil MacGillivray[45]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
-------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Parish of Kilmuir

Herbushta

1 Donald MacGilmorie		(18)	x	x	x	x	x
----------------------	--	------	---	---	---	---	---

8 Malcolm MacGilmorie	x	x	(16)	(17)			
-----------------------	---	---	------	------	--	--	--

References and Notes for Table V

In the above table, an X opposite an individual's name indicates that he or she was on the rent roll for that particular year, which normally ran from Whitsunday to Whitsunday. A number in parentheses opposite an individual's name also indicates that he or she was on the rent roll and that there was either a significant marginal notation inserted by hand in the original document or else some editorial comment is necessary. The original hand-written notes are

prefaced by the word "Notation." These notations and explanations are summarized below.

- (1) Notation: "Part of rent paid by MacGillivray's labour at Armadale."
- (2) Apparently deceased or gave up land before 1825
- (3) Heirs included widow.
- (4) Notation: "Mr. Elder says that Mr. Macpherson promised to enter Alexander MacGillivray on one-half lot."
- (5) Notation: "Arrears since 1820."
- (6) Notation: "Part of rent paid by labour at Armadale."
- (7) Duncan MacKinnon's name crossed out and Archibald MacQueen entered.
- (8) Notation: "Part of rent paid by labour at Armadale."
- (9) Kenneth MacGillivray was the son of Ewan
- (10) Notation: "Part of rent paid by son's labour at Armadale."
- (11) Notation: "Part of rent paid by son's labour at Armadale. Arrears in rent since 1822."
- (12) Lingary Farm not listed in subsequent years rent rolls.
- (13) Charles Macdonald's name crossed out and Charles MacGillivrays's Widow entered.
- (14) Notation: "Desperate - Arrears since 1825."
- (15) Notation: "Arrears since 1825."
- (16) Notation: "Part of rent paid by son John's labour at the drains."
- (17) Notation: "Angus Macleod from Bornaskitag got possession at Whitsun 1829 to be entered on Whitsun 1829. Malcolm MacGilmorie arrears since 1827 2-19-24."
- (18) Notation: "Part of rent paid by son's labour at the drains."

References for data in Table V:

- 1823-24 GD221/90
- 1825-26 GD221/136-1
- 1826-27 GD221/122-1
- 1827-28 GD221/136-2 & GD221/15
- 1828-29 GD221/122-2
- 1829-30 GD221/122-3
- 1830-31 GD221/122-4
- 1831-32 GD221/136-3 & GD221/48/11

A simple example will demonstrate the usefulness of tables of data such as Table V. Take the case of croft number 7 at Aird which is now in the possession of Charles MacGillivray who manages the ferry office at Ardvasar. In 1823, this croft was in possession of Donald MacGillivray, Senior, who we can assume died before Whitsun 1825 because the rent roll for that year lists the croft in the possession of his heirs. Finally, in 1827, the croft is listed in the possession of Donald's widow, who from other sources we can identify as the former Mary MacInnes (see Family Groups 36, 143, 218 and 239).

* * * * *

We have pointed out before that the Lords Macdonald often brought in outside consultants to advise them on how to improve the operations of their estates. Two such surveys and reports were prepared in 1829 and 1830 by Messrs. MacLeod and MacLean. The reports themselves do not make it clear why there were two surveys so close together, but apparently they were inter-related and together they help provide partial answers as to why so many good Skye people found it necessary to emigrate. The reports are lengthy and cover a wide range of subjects. We have extracted only some of the pertinent parts that help to illustrate the living conditions of the tenants of Skye.¹

Report on Lord Macdonald's Estates on Skye, 1829
by Dr. MacLeod

. . . Emigration is now openly spoken of unless relief is granted. That there is an excess of population on the Estate, and that the removal of many, would be conducive to the interest of all, is not obvious. But it unfortunately happens that when an emigration takes place the best of the Tenants, those possessed of means, are among the first to emigrate, leaving merely the scum behind, a class of people wholly unable to stock land. . .

. . . But even with this large population, and many of the number possessing means, we find vacant land as none will come forward to take them, even at the abated rents. The number of families on the Estate who hold no land

Sleat	163
Strath	200
Portree	124
Snizort	62
Kilmuir	358

907

907 families is approximately 4,535 souls. . .

Mr. MacLean's report tends to present a somewhat different view.²

N. MacLean's Report on Lord Macdonald's Estates,
Isle of Skye, 1830

. . . p. 17. I may observe of the Natives of Sleat that they seem generally more industrious in their habit and more alive to some of the comforts & cleanliness than their neighbors of Strath and Trotternish, and it may be thence inferred that they are so much the better qualified for making the most of their small

1. GD221/120 and GD221/121.

2. GD221/117.

possessions and consequently more deserving of the Landlord's consideration should any case occur where it might be expedient to show a preference to one class or body of tenant more than another. . .

p. 21. . . [Concerning the Breakish lots]. . . The rent is still too high with reference to the value of the land. The Crofts are too small, but they are at the same time highly improvable though consisting of peat. They overlie limestone rock and are within easy reach of shell, sand and seaware. . .

p. 24. . . [Concerning Torrin]. . . This farm is much better for a grazing [farm] than for Crofts. It contains a large range of fine green Summer pasture acceptable only to sheep and the lower part of the farm is remarkably well calculated for a safe and excellent wintering. . .

p. 39. . . [Concerning Coillemore]. . . The situation of this and the three preceding farms [Moll, Tormichaig and Sconcer] is well adapted for the Herring fishing and they have little else to recommend them. Coillemore, in particular, should never have been thought of as a subject for crofting. The situation is so exceedingly bleak and ingenial for cultivation that it is difficult to conceive how the occupants can even raise a sufficiency of potatoes for their maintenance. To add to this evil there is double the number of Settlers at least that ought to be here. I grant that mere Fishermen should never have more land than would be sufficient for potato ground and that their livestock should consist of a good pig each - cows being entirely out of the question. . .

p. 47. . . [Concerning Mugarry & Glenmore, Parish of Portree]. . . These last two farms conjoined would make a good grazing [farm] for one tenant. The situation being inland renders them less fit for crofting than if they were on the coast. . .

Remarks: [By an unidentified third party] There are so many tenants on these farms that the difficulty of dispossessing them and finding other situations for them renders this recommendation at present almost impracticable. Besides Dr. MacLeod thinks that the present rents could not be obtained from a Tacksman.

p. 55-56. . . [Concerning Peindown, Peinknock, Erisco, Priskillan, Keistle & Peinnahuilan, Parish of Snizort]. . . These last six small farms should have only one Tenant to each. The occupants have no resource for paying the rents but what they can afford from the produce. Remarks: There can be no doubt of the correctness of Mr. McLean's remark, but the great difficulty is in getting quit [rid] of the present tenants.

p. 97. . . So far therefore from any check on emigration being advisable (as I have heard some people say) I humbly think that the Proprietor should rather encourage it. But in the meantime his Lordship possesses one great advantage in the powerful command of cheap labour which the present population places at his disposal and which his present Factor knows so well how to apply in improving the magnificent Estate under his charge. . .

We have some difficulty in reconciling Dr. MacLeod's remarks concerning the vacant land. If true, apparently conditions on Skye had changed drastically

since the early years of the century when so many tenants were clamoring for land. And this assessment is particularly difficult to accept in view of the fact that by the 1830's the population of Skye was approaching the highest levels ever, and would peak in 1841. MacLeod seemed to object to emigration on the grounds that the best tenants were the first to go. MacLean, on the other hand, recognized that the estates were grossly overcrowded and felt emigration should be encouraged. In MacLean's report there is a subtle intimation that, in spite of the weeping and wailing over arrears, the potential income to the proprietors was greater from a farm with a large number of small tenants than from the same farm leased to a single tacksman. This provides a new insight into the overcrowding problem, and could explain why proprietors seemed so willing to continue to subdivide their lands to try to fit more and more people into the available space.

Sandwiched between the rental lists and reports are other bits of useful information concerning the MacGillivrays of Skye. The following extract from a 1837 list identifies MacGillivrays who received seed oats from Lord MacDonald in 1834 and who had not paid for them. Note that only MacGillivrays are extracted.³ Also note that, with the exception of Martin MacGillivray, we have previously met all of the other MacGillivrays listed below.

TABLE VI

Tenants Who Got Seed Oats in 1834

Parish of Sleat

<u>Croft/Farm/Tenant/(Family Group)</u>	<u>Amount Owed</u>	<u>Still Due</u>
<u>Aird</u>		
Martin McGillivray (89)	£1-6-4	£1-6-4
<u>Tokavaig</u>		
7 (Donald) Cameron & (Malcolm) McGillivray (143)	£1-6-4	0
<u>Drumfearn</u>		
5 (Archibald) McQueen & (Angus) McGillivray (90)	£1-6-4	0

TABLE VI, Cont'd

Teangue

6	Archibald McGillivray	£1-6-4	0
---	-----------------------	--------	---

Sasaig

6	(Kenneth) McGillivray (55)	£1-6-4	0
---	----------------------------	--------	---

Calligary

16	Niel McGillivray (50)	£1-6-4	0
----	-----------------------	--------	---

Parish of Strath

Breakish Arable

10	Charles McGillivray	£1-6-4	0
----	---------------------	--------	---

19	Niel McGillivray (48)	£1-6-4	0
----	-----------------------	--------	---

Torrin

8	Niel McGillivray (45)	£1-12-8	0
---	-----------------------	---------	---

We see from the table that all MacGillivrays had paid for their seed oats except Martin MacGillivray who lived at the Point of Aird. In some ways this delinquency on the part of Martin is not surprising because the lots on the Point of Aird were notoriously unproductive. Apparently, Martin MacGillivray paid this debt or came to some equitable arrangement with Lord Macdonald because he remained a tenant until at least 1871.⁴

Lord Macdonald continued to be troubled by tenants who were arrears in rent. However, by 1839, the Chamberlain had progressed to a point where he believed he could predict whether the rents were recoverable or not.⁵ The following table, extracted from a much longer document, shows the MacGillivrays who were in arrears in 1839. Note that none of the MacGillivray debt was considered doubtful. In this list we see again some of the same MacGillivrays we have met before. The two exceptions are Malcolm and Niel MacGillivray in Kyleakin, Parish of Strath.

4. 1871 Census, Parish of Sleat, Enumeration District No. 5, page 5, Tenant No. 4.

5. GD221/38/30.

TABLE VII

List of Arrears Due by the Tenants on Lord Macdonald's Estates in Skye, 31 August 1839

Parish of Sleat

<u>Farm/Tenant</u>	<u>Arrears Considered Recoverable</u>	<u>Arrears Considered Doubtful</u>	<u>Arrears Considered Irrecoverable</u>
<u>Aird</u>			
Widow McGillivray	£6 - 6 - 0		
Archibald McGillivray &	£2 - 0 - 0		
Alexander Macdonald		£4 - 5 - 0	
Donald McGillivray	£13 - 2 - 4		

Teangue

Archibald McGillivray	£6 - 17 - 11
--------------------------	--------------

Sasaig

Kenneth McGillivray	£2 - 16 - 6
---------------------	-------------

Calligary

Niel McGillivray	£3 - 6 - 4
------------------	------------

Parish of Strath

Kyleakin

Malcolm McGillivray	£3 - 2 - 4
---------------------	------------

Kyleakin Feus

Niel McGillivray	£0 - 18 - 0
------------------	-------------

Breakish Arable

Charles McGillivray	£5 - 15 - 8
---------------------	-------------

Torrin

Niel McGillivray	£12 - 2 - 8
------------------	-------------

By the 1830's there were too many people in the Highlands. Mainland proprietors had begun to forcibly remove their excess people early, but the proprietors of the island estates were faced with a different problem. The reason for this difference was because the islands resources were available to supply a war-deprived industry with the necessary chemical by-products of kelp. And processing kelp required manpower.

The sea was bountiful and there was an abundant supply of kelp, but the native Islanders seemed to have a natural proclivity against working the shore. It was necessary, therefore, to import outsiders to help harvest and process the seaware. It was a profitable arrangement for all. Both the old and new tenants improved their lot, and the proprietors grew wealthy.

But nothing lasts forever and the kelp market was no exception. As Europe recovered to an uneasy equilibrium after the Napoleon era, events took a turn that would have a profound effect on the people of Skye. Imports of cheap raw materials became available and the price and demand for kelp began to fall. The financial tide of the proprietors began to change. Lulled into a halcyon state by the ready cash from the sea, the proprietors had lived beyond their means and were encumbered by ever increasing debts. With a falling kelp market many saw bankruptcy just over the horizon.

The tenants, without reservoirs of assets, were the first to feel the economic pinch. Rents in the rich kelp-producing lands had been raised far beyond what the tenants could pay without the higher income from harvesting kelp. Overcrowded because of the kelp boom and suddenly cut off from a steady income, the tenants quickly fell further and further arrear in rents with only a slim chance of ever getting even. Their plight was compounded by the Great Potato Famine of 1846 which devastated an already floundering population.

The proprietors, suddenly cut off from the steady kelp-produced income, cast anxiously about for a viable way to continue their high style of living. The possible choices narrowed down to either selling some of their assets, converting their estates to sheep or a combination of both. Lord Macdonald of Skye was faced with this decision.

By 1843, Lord Macdonald's debt load was stated as 42,149 pounds Sterling and rising.⁶ By 1849, just six years later, he stated in a petition to the Lords of Council and Session that his debt had increased to 181,976 pounds Sterling plus interest. Even a more pressing problem for his Lordship was the fact that his creditors had become impatient enough to attempt to legally attach the rentals from his Skye estates.

Lord Macdonald's first attempt to extricate himself from this morass of debt was to propose to sell almost all of his lands in Kilmuir and Snizort consisting of some 23,000 Scotch acres. The title to these lands was still

6. GD221/44/72.

7. GD221/78/16-23.

clouded under the Entailed Skye Estates Act and it was necessary for Lord Macdonald to petition the Honourable Lords of Council and Sessions for permission to sell. There is no evidence that any MacGillivrays had leases on the lands proposed for sale.

Because of the clouded title, litigation was lengthy and the sale proved to be a temporary expediency at best. The ultimate solution was for Lord Macdonald to do as the other Highland Proprietors had done - clear the land for sheep. In this roundabout manner, sheep came to the Hebrides last of all, but come they did and, to make room for them, people had to go.

The forced exodus of people, that had already reached alarming proportions on the mainland, now began on the Islands. The Isle of Skye, for example, became the property of several proprietors, and by 1880 they had forcibly removed almost forty thousand people from Skye alone. No longer was there emigration by choice; now there was emigration by force. Since America was no longer available as a mass dumping ground, most of the evicted emigrants were sent to Canada or Australia.

Of course many MacGillivrays were caught up in this maelstrom of social upheaval, if not as emigrants at least as concerned observers. The mental anguish of seeing friends and relatives evicted, plus an uncertain view of their own future, was enough to cause turmoil in any family. Of course everyone could not be evicted from the land. There were still farms and sheep walks to be manned. And, by and large, the MacGillivrays of Skye seemed to fare quite well as the following data indicates.⁸

TABLE VIII

MacGillivrays Who Held Leases in Sleat and Strath

	1834-1836 Rentals	1845-1849 Rentals
Sleat	9	17
Strath	5	4

The above data show that the MacGillivrays of Sleat almost doubled the number of leases whereas those in Strath essentially remained unchanged. This distribution is confirmed in the censuses and continued with little variation through 1891. Almost 100 % of the native MacGillivrays on Skye at this time resided in Sleat and Strath, with the majority living in Aird in Sleat.

* * * * *

8. From GD221/136/5 and GD221/123/1.

To round out the first half of the nineteenth century we present another composite rental table beginning with the years 1840-1842. These years are important genealogically because they bracket years when the first decennial census was taken. This provides an added dimension to help identify the MacGillivray family groups.

From a genealogical point of view, it might be useful to present the names of all heads of household on those farms where MacGillivrays lived, but space does not permit that luxury. Instead we include only the inhabitants of Aird in Sleat because that was where the concentration of MacGillivrays was the highest. We have, however, included the names of heads of household on the individual crofts where MacGillivrays lived. As in other tables, the MacGillivrays are arbitrarily tabbed with asterisks to assist in finding them on the lists. Family Group numbers (see Appendix) are shown in brackets. References pertaining to the sources of data are included in the descriptive notes which follow the table.

TABLE IX

Composite Rentals of Lord Macdonald's Estates in
Sleat and Strath, 1840-1851

Farm/Croft No./Tenant/[Family Group]	Parish of Sleat					
	1840 1842	In Census	1841 1849	1845 1851	1850 1851	In Census
<u>Aird</u>						
1 Rory Robertson [95]	x	yes				
Alexander Bruce			x	x	x	yes
Alexander MacIntyre [142]			x	(1)		yes
2 Lachlan MacInnes	x	yes				yes
3 Widow Macdonald	x	yes				
4 Alexander Anderson	x					yes
5 Niel Maclure	x	yes				
Malcolm Macdonald	(2)					
6 Dugald Macpherson	(3)					
7 * Widow [Mary]						
MacGillivray [36]	x	yes	x			yes
John Macdonald	x	yes	x			yes
* Donald MacGillivray [115]		yes	x	(4)		yes
* Malcolm MacGillivray [143]		yes	x	x		yes
Alexander MacIntyre [142]		yes		x		

TABLE IX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./Tenant/[Family Group]		In 1840 1842	In 1841 Census	In 1845 1849	In 1850 1851	In 1851 Census
<u>Aird, Cont'd</u>						
8	Angus MacInnes	x	yes			yes
9	John MacInnes	(5)	yes			yes
10	Donald Robertson Samuel Robertson	x		yes	x	yes
11	Allan Beaton * Widow [Catherine] MacGillivray [114] John Macdonald Samuel Robertson	(6)	yes			yes
		x	yes	x	x	yes
			yes	x	x	yes
			yes	x	x	yes
12	Murdoch MacLeod Donald Buchanan * Alexander MacGillivray [141]	x	yes	x	x	yes
13	Neil MacInnes Widow E. MacKinnon Donald MacInnes	(7)			x	yes
					x	yes
14	John Macdonald * Widow [Ann] MacGillivray [17] John Campbell Allan Beaton	x	yes			
		x	yes	x	x	yes
			yes	x	x	yes
15	* Archibald MacGillivray [77] Alexander Macdonald	x (8)	yes	x	x	yes
16	Angus Beaton John Macpherson	(9) (9)	yes yes			yes yes
17	Jonathan MacInnes Widow Christy MacInnes * Alexander MacGillivray [83]	x *	yes yes	x	x	yes
18	* Donald MacGillivray [120] Samuel Robertson * Martin MacGillivray [89]	(11)	yes yes yes	x (10)	x (12)	yes yes yes

TABLE IX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./Tenant/[Family Group]	1840 1842	In Census	1841 1849	1845	1850 1851	In Census
<u>Aird, Cont'd</u>						
19 Widow Robertson	x	yes	x	x	x	yes
* Alexander						
MacGillivray [83]		yes	x	x	x	?
Alexander Anderson				x	x	yes
<u>Point of Aird</u>						
1 * Martin MacGillivray [89]		yes	x	x	x	yes
2 * John MacGillivray [153]		yes	x	x	x	yes
3 Rory Robertson [95]		yes	x	x	x	
* Alexander					(13)	?
MacGillivray [?]						
4 Ewen Robertson			x			
5 John Macpherson		yes	x			
<u>Carradale</u>						
5 * John MacGillivray [91]		yes	x	x	x	yes
8 * Widow Gillies [69]		yes			(14)	yes
<u>Tokavaig</u>						
7 * Malcolm						
MacGillivray [56]	x	yes				
<u>Drumfearn</u>						
5 * Angus MacGillivray [90]	x	yes				
* Widow Angus [Helen]						
MacGillivray [90]		yes	x	x	x	yes
Archibald MacQueen				(15)	(16)	
Myles MacInnes					(16)	
<u>Camascross Garden Grounds</u>						
6 * John MacGillivray [53]	x	yes	x	x	x	yes
<u>Teangue</u>						
6 * [Widow of] Archibald						
MacGillivray		(17)				

TABLE IX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./Tenant/[Family Group]	1840 1842	In Census	1841 1849	1845	1850 1851	In Census
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Teangue, Cont'd

6 * Widow [Christy] MacGillivray [66]		yes	(18)			
9 Ewen MacIntosh		yes	(19)			
John Robertson		yes		x	yes	
Donald MacIntyre		yes		x	yes	
Widow MacKinnon		yes		(20)	yes	
* Ewen MacGillivray [176]				(21)	yes	

Sasaig

6 * Kenneth MacGillivray [55]	x	yes	x	x	yes	
Lachlan MacInnes		yes	x	x	yes	
8 Donald & Alexander Macdonald			x	x	yes	
10 Widow Macdonald				x	yes	
* Widow [Christy] MacGillivray [131]				x	yes	
Angus MacInnes		yes	x	x	yes	

Calligarry

3 John MacSween	x	yes	(22)			
16 * Niel MacGillivray [50]	x	yes	x	x	yes	

Parish of Strath

Kyleakin

5 * Malcolm MacGillivray [112]	x	yes	(23))			
Angus MacIntosh			x			

Kyleakin Feus

7 * Malcolm MacGillivray [112]	x	yes	(23)			
Angus MacIntosh			x			

TABLE IX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./Tenant/[Family Group]	In		In	
	1840 1842	1841 Census	1845 1849	1850 1851

Breakish Arable

4 Angus Maclean			(24)	(25)	
* Donald			x	(26)	?
MacGillivray [191]					
10 * Charles					
MacGillivray [117]	x	yes	(27)	(28)	yes
Widow MacKinnon				(28)	
19 * Widow [Janet]					
MacGillivray [48]	yes		(29)		yes
D. [Donald] Munro [147]			(29)		yes

Borreraig

3 * Malcolm			x	(30)	yes
MacGillivray [56]	x	x	x	x	x

Torrin

8 * Neil MacGillivray [201]	x	yes	x	x	yes
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References and Notes for Table IX

In Table IX, as in the other tables, an X indicates that individual's name was on the rent roll for a particular year. Numbers in parenthesis also indicate that an individual was on the rent roll but some additional information is necessary. Either there was a marginal notation inserted on the rent roll or some other clarification is required. These notations and explanations are included below.

- (1) Also on Croft # 7.
- (2) Notation: "Arrears since 1836."
- (3) Notation: "Be sure to warn to let Widow in."
- (4) 1850: Donald MacGillivray's name crossed out and Alexander MacIntyre entered. Donald not on 1851 Roll. 1852 Notation: "Alexander MacIntyre in room of Donald MacGillivray."
- (5) Notation: "Doubtful."
- (6) Two notations: "Doubtful." and "4 June 1842. F. [probably Farquhar] MacGillivray paid one pound rent for Allan Beaton."
- (7) Notation: "Warn. Won't allow water."
- (8) Notation: "Arrears since 1834."
- (9) Notation: "Doubtful."

- (10) The same Alexander MacGillivray who was on Croft # 19
- (11) Notation: "Doubtful."
- (12) Two notations: "N. B. Martin MacGillivray arrears 3-7-9.
This arrears forms a charge against MacGillivray. It
is twice charged. Robertson declines paying on it and
it is expurgated from his account. R. B."
- "Martin MacGillivray crossed out and Samuel Robertson entered."
- (13) Notation: "Now Alexander MacGillivray's."
- (14) A widow. In later years known by maiden name MacGillivray.
- (15) Notation: "and Myles MacInnes from Whitsun 1846."
- (16) Notation: "Archibald Macpherson from Martinmas 1852."
- (17) Notation: "Widow" indicating Archibald MacGillivray must
have died ca. 1839-1840.
- (18) Notation: Widow MacGillivray crossed out and "Widow Campbell
alone to have whole lot" entered.
- (19) Notation: Ewen MacIntosh crossed out and "John Robertson
has money & wants more land" entered.
- (20) Widow MacKinnon crossed out and Ewen MacGillivray entered.
- (21) Prior to 1851, living in Sasaig with his brother John.
- (22) Notation: "Warn Widow Mary MacSween keeping whisky & John
MacSween & Effy MacGillivray also keeping whisky."
- (23) Malcolm MacGillivray crossed out and Angus MacIntosh entered.
- (24) Angus Maclean crossed out. Notation: "Donald MacGillivray
in room of Angus Maclean."
- (25) Notation: "Was at Waterloo # 11."
- (26) Notation: "Donald MacGillivray arrears." His name crossed
out and Myles MacInnes entered.
- (27) Notation: "No stock man." This notation evidently implied
Charles MacGillivray was not good at raising stock.
- (28) Notation: "Donald MacGillivray arrears." Name crossed out
and "Widow MacKinnon from Tormichaig" entered.
- (29) Notation: "Arrears 1844."
- (30) Notation: "Went to # 5 Heast on Whitsun 1853."

References for Data in Table IX:

1840-1842	GD221/122/10
1845-1849	GD221/123/1
1850	GD221/123/1
1851	Clan Donald Center & GD221/122-11

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TABLE X

Composite List of MacGillivrays on Skye Who Were Destitute
in 1847 and Who Received Meal

(Source: HD1/22, HD1/9 & HD1/10, West Register House, Edinburgh)

Parish of Sleat

Farm/Name/Position/Relation/Age/[Family Group]	Crofter	Able Arable Bodied Land	Cows	Sheep	Allowance per Week
<u>Aird</u>					
# 205					
Alexander McGilvray	Crofter	30 [FG-164]	yes	2 ac	1 0 65 lbs
Peggy	Wife	22			
Angus	Son	1 1/2			
# 216					
Martin McGilvray	Crofter	43 [FG-129]	yes	2 ac	1 0 69 lbs
Janet	Wife	34			
Donald	Son	13			
Neil	Son	7			
Margaret	Dau	4			
Flory	Dau	2			
# 222					
Donald McGilvray	Crofter	54 [FG-120]	yes	2 ac	1 6 57.8 lbs
Kate	Wife	32			1 horse
Neil	Son	15			
Ann	Dau	12			
Kate	Dau	9			
Donald	Son	5			
# 375					
Donald McGilvray	Crofter	54 [FG-115]	yes	2 1/2	2 0 64 lbs
Christy (Dairy)	Wife	45			
Ann	Dau	18			
Donald	Son	15			
Neil	Son	14			
Farquhar	Son	11			
Charles	Son	5			
Rachel	Dau	1 1/2			
# 383					
Archibald McGilvray	Crofter	58 [FG-93]	yes	2 ac	2 1 35 lbs
Mary	Wife	51			
Donald	Son	21			
Margaret (Service)	Dau	19			
Mary (Service)	Dau	17			
Donald	Son	15			
Rachel	Dau	12			
Christy	Dau	10			
Kate	Dau	7			
# 524					
Malcolm McGilvray	Crofter	40 [FG-143]	yes	3 ac	3 3 missing
Kate	Wife	30			
Christy	Dau	7			

TABLE X, Cont'd

Farm/Name/Position/Relation/Age/[Family Group]		Able Bodied	Arable Land	Cows	Sheep	Allowance per Week
Peggy	Dau	4				
Donald	Son	3				
John	Son	1/2				
Mother in house.		88				
# 738						
Widow [Catherine] McGilvray	Crofter	43 [FG-114]	yes	1 ac	1	6 missing
Donald	Son	14				
Donald	Son	12				
Malcolm	Son	9				
Christy	Dau	6				
<u>Point of Aird</u>						
# 991						
Martin McGilvray	Crofter	62 [FG-89]	yes	1 1/2	1	1 missing
May	Wife	51				
Kate	Dau	23	no			
Kenneth	Son	20				
May	Dau	18				
Archibald	Son	16				
Alexander	Son	12				
<u>Carradale</u>						
# 421						
John McGilvray	Crofter	36 [FG-91]	yes	1 ac	0	0 missing
Efvy	Wife	38				
Alexander (Fishing)	Son	21				
Christy	Dau	17				
Duncan	Son	16				
<u>Drumfearn</u>						
# 500						
John McGilvray	Crofter	30 [FG-143]	yes	1 ac	1	0 missing
Ann	Wife	26				
Angus	Son	2				
Margaret	Dau	1/2				
Widow [Helen] McGilvray	crofter	[FG-90]				10.5 lbs
<u>Tarskvaig</u>						
# 1126						
Angus McGilvray	Crofter	46 [FG-127]	yes	2 1/2	3	0 missing
Flory	Wife	27				
Alexander	Son	14				
May	Dau	11				
Ann	Dau	7				
# 1131						
Alexander McGilvray	Crofter	50 [FG-141]	yes	1 1/2	1	0 missing
Kate	Wife	44				

TABLE X, Cont'd

Farm/Name/Position/Relation/Age/[Family Group]	Able Bodied	Arable Land	Cows	Sheep	Allowance per Week
--	-------------	-------------	------	-------	--------------------

Kate	Dau	5			
Peggy	Dau	2			

Calligarry

Niel McGilvray	Cottar	[FG-50]		14 lbs
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Camascross

Flory McGilvray	Crofter	[FG-78]		10.5 lbs
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Parish of Strath

Kyleakin

170

Donald McGilvray	Cottar	75 [FG-94]	no	0	0	missing
Bell	Dau	25				
Catherine	Dau	20				
John	Son	8				

Breakish

556

Donald McGilvray	Crofter	26 [FG-159]	yes	0	0	1 1/2 B
Ann	Wife	30				
Neil	Son	2 1/2				

588

Charles McGilvray	Crofter	56 [FG-97]	yes	1	0	2 1/2 B
Bess	Wife	50				
Catherine	Dau	20				
John	Son	16				
Christy	Dau	11				

593

Charles McGilvray	Crofter	29 [FG-163]	yes	1	0	2 Bolts
Flora	Wife	26				
Child unbaptised		1/2				
Catherine	Cousin	10				

671

Charles McGilvray	Cottar	50 [FG-117]	yes	0	0	missing
Mary	Wife	40				
John	Son	14				
Mary	Dau	10				
Peggy	Dau	13				
John	Son	8				
Angus	Son	5				
Malcolm	Son	3				

TABLE X, Cont'd

Farm/Name/Position/Relation/Age/[Family Group]	Able Arable Bodied Land	Cows	Sheep	Allowance per Week
<u>Elgol</u>				
Charles McGilvray Crofter [FG-130] 2 male adults, 1 female adult, 4 children				40 1/4 lbs
Alexander McGilvray Crofter [FG-158] 1 male adult, 1 female adult, 2 children				22 3/4 lbs
John McGilvray Crofter [FG-49] 1 male adult, 2 female adults, 0 children				21 lbs

Waterloo

Mary McGilvray Cottar 38 [Unidentified] 1 child over 12, 2 children under 12	27 lbs
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Boreraig

Malcolm McGilvray Crofter 65 [FG-56] 4 children over 12, 3 children under 12	40 lbs
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Torrin

Donald McGilvray Crofter 65 [FG-45] 4 children over 12 years of age	92 1/2 lbs
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Alexander McGilvray Crofter 70 [FG-6] 2 children over 12, 1 child under 12 years of age	37 1/2 lbs
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TABLE XI

MacGillivrays in Sleat Who Received Oatmeal During the Period
12 May-20 May 1847 and Who by Signing Agreed to
Work for or Pay for Said Meal

(Source: HD1/9, HD1/10 & HD1/22, West Register House, Edinburgh)

Farm/Name/Position/[Family Group]	Children Over 12	Children Under 12	Amount of Meal	Signature or Mark (lbs)
<u>Aird</u>				

Marion McGilvray Cottar [FG-69]	1	0	10.5	Marion + McGilvray
Widow [of Niel McGilvray] [Catherine] Cottar [FG-47]	1	0	10.5	Catherine + McGilvray

TABLE XI, Cont'd

Farm/Name/Position/[Family Group]	Children Over 12	Children Under 12	Amount of Meal (lbs)	Signature or Mark of Person Who signed for Meal
Widow of Farquhar McGilvray Cottar [FG-114]	1	4	38.5	Catherine + McGilvray
Martin McGilvray Cottar [FG-89]	1	1	31.5	Martin + McGilvray
Widow of John McGilvray Cottar [not identified]	0	1	10.5	Margaret + McGilvray
John McGilvray Cottar [FG-153]	1	1	31.5	John + McGilvray
Donald McGilvray Crofter [FG-115]	1	1	28	Mary McDonald
Widow D[onald] McGilvray Crofter [not identified]	0	1	10.5	Kitty + McGilvray
Angus McGilvray Crofter [FG-127]	1	1	28	Margret Buchanan
Archibald McGilvray Crofter [FG-93]	1	3	42	Ann + McGilvray
Alexander McGilvray Crofter [FG-107]	1	4	49	Kitty + McGilvray
A[lexander] McGilvray Crofter [FG-141]	1	2	35	Flora Robertson
Donald McGilvray Crofter [FG-120]	1	2	45.5	Mary + McInnes
John McGilvray Crofter [FG-91]	1	2	24.5	Flora + McDonald
Malcolm McGilvray Crofter [FG-143]	1	1	31.5	Miron + McPherson
<u>Ord</u>				
Martin McGilvray Cottar [FG-129]	0	5	35	Janet + McGilvray
Martin McGilvray Cottar [FG-129]	1	0	21	Flora + McKinnon

TABLE XI, Cont'd

Farm/Name/Position/[Family Group]	Children Over 12	Children Under 12	Amount of Meal	Signature or Mark (1bs)
<u>Sasaig</u>				
Widow of Niel McGilvray [Janet] Cottar [FG-48]	1	0	10.5	Catherine + Robertson
Widow of Kenneth McGilvray [Christy] Cottar [FG-131]	0	2	34.5	Matty + McDonald
<u>Drumfearn</u>				
Widow of Angus McGilvray [Helen] Crofter [FG-90]	1	0	10.5	Helen + McGilvray
John McGilvray Crofter [FG-161]	1	0	21	John + McGilvray
<u>Calligary</u>				
Effy McGilvray [probable FG-29]	0	1	10.5	Christy + Robertson
<u>Camascross</u>				
Widow of Donald McGilvray [Flora] Crofter [FG-78]	0	0	10.5	Mary + McGilvray
John McGilvray Crofter [FG-53]	0	2	42	Mary + McDonald
Archibald McGilvray Crofter [FG-75]	1	0	21	Archibald + McGilvray
* * * * *				

TABLE XII

List of Most Needy Families on Skye, 1850
(Source: HD6/13, West Register House, Edinburgh)

Parish of Sleat

Farm	Occupant	Age	[Family Group]
Camascross	John McGilvray Sarah [?]	76 68	[FG-53]

Sasaig	Widow McGilvray	36	[possibly FG-131]
	Margaret	6	
	Ann	5	
Calligarry	Effy McGilvray	64	[probable FG-29]
Aird	Alexander McGilvray	47	[no positive ID]
	Kate	39	
	Mary	11	
	J.	7	
	Martin McGilvray	43	[FG-129]
	Janet	34	
	Niel	7	
	Martin	4	
	Flora	2	
	Widow McGilvray	50	[no positive ID]
	Jessie	11	
	John	9	

Parish of Strath

Kyleakin	Belle McGilvray	20	[probable FG-94]
	Janet	17	

We cannot leave the above Tables without a few brief comments. In some cases, the data do not fit what we have learned from other sources. Primarily, this happens when we try to identify family groups. Take, for example, the entry for Mary McGilvray at Waterloo on page 257. She does not appear on a rental list and cannot be identified positively on the census. Therefore, we are unable to place her in a family group.

Other examples occur in Table XII, which is fraught with data that do not fit. Birth and death records indicate John McGilvray's wife (of Camascross) was Marion and not Sarah. Beginning at the top of page 260, there are three McGilvray families where the names and ages of the children do not match the data from other sources. Relationships were not given and we can speculate that some of the unidentified children were cousins, nieces, nephews or even grandchildren. However, without additional data it is not possible to get a positive identification or assignment to a family group. This will be one of the discrepancies in this work.

* * * * *

By 1850, a Mr. Patrick Cooper was Chamberlain of Skye and his Cash Book provides an interesting supplement to the rent rolls in Table IX.¹ The following are extracts from Cooper's Cash Book that concern MacGillivrays.

12 June 1850

No. 8 Niel McGillivray of Torrin, Strath paid £5-17-11

13 June 1850

No. 5 Widow (Helen) McGillivray of Drumfearn paid £0-6-9

14 June 1850

No. 6 Kenneth McGillivray of Sasaig paid £2-9-0

No. 10 Widow (Christy) McGillivray of Sasaig paid £2-17-0

No. 5 John MacGillivray of Carradale paid £0-8-10

15 June 1850

No. 7 Malcolm McGillivray of Aird paid £0-5-11

No. 12 Alexander McGillivray of Aird paid £1-16-3

No. 17 Alexander McGillivray of Aird paid £1-14-3

No. 18 Donald McGillivray of Aird paid £0-5-9

No. 15 Archibald McGillivray of Aird paid £3-10-3

No. 14 Widow (Ann) McGillivray of Aird paid £1-19-9

No. 2 John McGillivray of Point of Aird paid £0-3-0

No. 10 Widow (Christy) McGillivray of Sasaig paid £0-10-0

27 June 1850

No. 8 Niel McGillivray of Torrin paid £0-15-0

And on 5 September 1850, Mr. Cooper paid Niel MacGillivray of Calligarry £2-5-0 expenses for proceeding to Strath and Sleat to attend meetings of Parochial Boards and other matters of note.²

In April 1851, Mr. Ballingal, Factor, submitted a comprehensive report to the Trustees on the state of Lord Macdonald's properties. This report is quite lengthy and cannot be presented in its entirety, however, pertinent parts are extracted to provide some insight into how the crofters and cottars lived in this time period.³ Recall that in 1848 Lord Macdonald advertised 23,000 Scotch acres, including all of Kilmuir and part of Snizort, as being for sale. Apparently, in 1851, these acres were still part of the Estates because the

1. Macdonald Muniments, GD221/80/59.

2. GD221/80/58.

3. Apparently there had been a change of managers of the Estate in late 1850 or early 1851. By April 1851, Mr. Ballingal was Factor and for several years thereafter he reported to Mr. James Browne in Edinburgh.

4. GD221/148/4 and GD221/77/41.

Ballingal Report discusses them at length. Only those farms about which there are pertinent comments have been extracted.

Memorandum and Report to James Browne, Esq., Trustee on the Estates of the Right Honourable Godfrey William Wentworth Lord Macdonald on His Lordships Properties of Macdonald and Strath, Isle of Skye, April 1851. Report prepared by Mr. Ballingal, Factor.

Parish of Kilmuir

(There were 34 farms in this Parish)

Farm 9 Sheogladder - 12 crofts of about $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres each

...there is only one tenant, Angus McInnes No. 4, who farms on a rotation, he having been bred in the Lowlands keeps a very neat croft...

Farm 14 Bornaskitag - 50 small lots of 4 acres each

...many of the tenants are in abject poverty and might be easily induced to emigrate...

Farm 18 Lower Lachasay

Large crofts indifferently divided some of them runrig ...several of the tenants are possessed of more sheep than allowed, which is an indication of enterprise and economy...

Farm 23 Digg - 10 crofts

...the tenants although a little industrious are poor there being not a single horse on the whole farm...

Farm 25 Steinsholl - 27 lots from 4-8 acres each

Each tenant has two lots...there are a few horses and only one cart and plough on the whole range of farms from Digg to Lealt...there are several well managed lots which have been drained and trenched...It might be an incentive to exertion were a premium of a seventy shilling plough held out to the individual who in one season may have trenched, drained and enclosed his croft most effectively and to the greatest extent...

Farm 29 Valtos - 6 lots of 5-8 acres each

...the natural drainage of the basalt rock on which this farm is situated perhaps accounts for the potato crops having failed to a smaller extent here than in other farms...

Farm 31 Cuilnaenoch (Culnaknock) - 8 lots of 5 acres each

..several of the crofters have expressed a desire to emigrate...

Farm 34 Lealt - has never been divided by a regular land surveyor and consequently the extent of the crofts are not exactly ascertained.

Remarks on the Kilmuir Parish

...the scourge of this Parish is the numerous small Tenantry...it is impossible for those lotters to subsist on the produce of their lands; at least until better cultivated; they eke out their scanty provisions by sheep stealing & and from the stocking of the larger Tenant farmers in the neighborhood...

The Parish School is the only one in the Kilmuir District, it is efficiently taught by a young man, son of one of the Tenants, who lets the schoolhouse and teachers croft and lives with his father.

The sectarian differences of the parents are retarding the progress of education of the children...

The only school in the Kilmaluag District is that established by the "Society of Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge," the school is kept in repair by Lord Macdonald who also grants a croft rent free. Forty-seven was the number of scholars at the last examination. The rate for educating is the same as the Parochial School, the Teacher does not exact any fee however; and consequently the crofters undervalue the education of their children.- Sectarian differences prevail here much to the prejudice of the young...

...the commonly pasture in the Parish is a source of annoyance and dispute betwixt the Tenantry; a remodeling of the system is called for, but requires to be cautiously gone about owing to many of the poorer lotters possessing a few sheep on the Common Hills, who would undoubtedly become paupers were they removed...

Parish of Snizort

(There were 21 farms in this Parish)

Farm 2 Toutevnakill & Eyre

...when Mr. Martin took the farm (in 1846) there was a number of crofters settled on it whom he has never been able to get quit of - they constitute a barrier to all improvements and in the event of relet in 1848 they should be cleared away...

Farm 5 Cuidrach

...the abuse of the crofters right of commony pasture is a great drawback to this farm...the tenant is an old man and not

partial to any change in his mode of farming... his means are limited...

Farms 15,16,17,18,19,20 & 21 South Cuil, Peingown, Peinsovaig, Balnaenock, Peinvraids, Peinchoinnich and Tallannantien

The above seven croft farms are situated around the Romantic Bay of Uig and are composed of the most fertile soil of which the Estate can boast...previous to the potato blight these crofters were able to maintain their families with comparative ease from the produce of their crofts and even to export potatoes for seed; This is not the case now although various other vegetables might be cultivated in the greater perfection...

Remarks on Snizort Parish

There are five schools in the Parish, two at Uig - General Assembly and Free Church...the Parish school at Kensalyre is at present without a schoolmaster but the "Female Association" has placed a Teacher there in the meantime. Macdiarmid's Institute at Borve, which was founded by an American merchant, a native of Borve...and the Free Church school at Bernisdale...

...there are no plantations in this Parish although no part of the property is better adapted for the growth of Timber.

The fishing in Loch Snizort is said to be very good but it is not prosecuted by any of Lord Macdonald's tenants.

Oysters were found along the shore in considerable quantities a very few years ago but the beds were destroyed by the dredging of the Revenue Cruisers. They might be replanted from Scalpa.

The salmon fishing in Loch Snizort was one of the best in the Island; there are no variety of minerals in the Parish, Trap rock constituting the universal base.

Parish of Portree

(There were 30 farms in this Parish)

Farm 1 Scorrybreck - 8268 plus acres

This farm was valued in 1810...at £447 Sterling. The advance since that period to the present rent of £547 Sterling shows the immense advantage to the Proprietor of clearing Croft farms adjoining the larger possessions; and the cultivation of the Cheviot breed of sheep to which causes this rise is mainly attributable; it would be impossible to pay this Rent from the black-faced stock...The peculiar situation of this possession is particularly favourable to the rearing of sheep...

It is farmed to the best advantage by the present Tenants and for quality of stock is second to none in Ross or Sutherland

shires...it is much regretted that the present Tenant is nonresident...

Farm 8 Tormichaig - 12 lots

Farm 9 Coillimore - 34 lots

These two farms are very troublesome; the crofters being in the confines of the Deer Forest their crops will continue to be liable to damage from game; it would be very desirable could these, Tormichaig in particular, be removed entirely and established elsewhere. They are miserably poor and always in arrear; although the advantage of their situation for white fishing is unlimited they do not prosecute it.

Farm 11 Peinchorrain - 13 lots of about 4 acres each

...No 7 is farmed by five women very badly and much in arrear. They had £14-13-5 remitted; the McMillans are also much in arrear and should be sequestered...the crofters have been checked from encroaching on the pasture ground with the cropping.

Farm 16 Conordan - 3 lots

This farm is rugged and detached; the Tenants are industrious however paying the rents punctually. They ought to be allowed a share of the weed (kelp) which is cast so abundantly on the shores of Cammustinaveg...

Farm 17 Cammustinaveg - 12 lots

This is a fine farm on the seacoast having a number of Fishers and Weavers, the Tenants should be made to bestir themselves in making a Road to the shore for their own convenience...

Farm 21 Scorr - on the opposite shore of the Loch from Portree

Although the soil composing this farm is excellent it labours under two great disadvantages, viz - the want of a road to join the Peinefiler Road and the runrig system; the latter is intended to remedy immediately by having it lotted...

Farm 26 Shullishadder Lots - 390 plus acres

These crofts are valuable from their vicinity to Portree; they are ill farmed, the surface is rugged; the feuing of Villas might be encouraged here, several exist already...The Destitution Committee built their woolen manufactory which continues to give much relief to young women in the neighborhood...

Parish of Strath

(There were 21 farms in this Parish)

Farm 9 Breakish Arable - 40 small lots

(Editor's Note: There were four MacGillivray Heads of Household enumerated on the Breakish farms in the 1851 Census)

Farm 10 Breakish Moss - 16 lots of 10 acres each everyone of which is divided into two shares

...these crofts have been lately trenched at a reckless expenditure under the Government Drainage Act; it is a bad subject to work upon...

Farm 11 Scullamus - 842 plus acres - a fine farm

...on the moss adjoining Scullamus there are several squatters paying no rent, these are as follows Alexander MacDonald, Niel Fletcher, John Cameron, Alexander Stewart, Niel Fletcher, Angus McInnes, Donald McInnes & Murdo Graham owing total rents of £61-12-0...These rents are to be payable at Whitsun 1851, they having been in possession for 4-5 years without paying any rents.

Farm 15 Heaste - 13 lots of 6-7 acres each most subdivided into 2 shares

Farm 16 Borreraig - 10 lots of 6 acres each most subdivided, in some cases to 3 shares

Farm 17 Suishnish - 12 lots of 6-8 acres each

Farm 18 Torrin - 18 lots of 6-8 acres each

These four croft farms are situated on the South and West coast of the Parish composed of very fine alluvial soil, but owing to subdivisions the tenants are generally poor; the former three are in want of a Road and a School. (Editor's Note: Four MacGillivray Heads of Household were enumerated in Torrin and one in Borreraig in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 19 Dunan - 8 lots

Farm 20 Ardorrach - 4 lots

Farm 21 Laub (Luib) - 8 lots

The above three farms are situated of the shores of Loch eynort (Ainort) and the Sound of Scalpa, these crofters possess small lots which they labour with the caschrom, the ground is so rocky as not to admit to horse labour; they are almost entirely dependent on the sea for their livelihood, the crofts yielding poor returns...

Remarks on the Parish of Strath

Whether this Parish be viewed agriculturally or mineralogically it presents to the Survey a subject equally varied and abundantly rich. The margins of the Parish are generally of fine alluvial soil and the pasturage in Strathswordale Glen can scarcely be excelled...

...Oysters - the cost of gathering is...3d per bushel. A bushel contains about 300 oysters.. There are 16 Spring tides during the oyster season when these shellfish can be obtained in great quantities from 30 to 40 bushels; taking the smallest quantity said to be gathered, viz; 30 bushels would give a gross of 480 bushels per annum; equal to 1440 hundred oysters or in round numbers 1400 hundreds the selling price of which in the Edinburgh or Glasgow market would be 1/6 percent (16 %) or £105 Sterling allowing one half for carriage commission...

The Factor would recommend the trial to be made on a limited scale at first and gradually increased as it may be found to pay... (Editor's note: Mr. Ballingal's proposal to harvest oysters is an excellent example of the free enterprise system in action. The only apparent flaw in his plan would be a lack of refrigeration and/or a rapid transportation system to handle this extremely perishable product.)

There are three schools; the Parochial School at Broadford...a General Assembly school at Kyleakin...and a Gaelic school at Torrin...

Parish of Sleat

(There were 20 farms in this Parish)

Farm 7 Aird - consists of 19 lots of 4-7 acres each

...the ground is rocky and the cultivated soil light; these crofters are in great poverty never being able to pay their rents from produce of their crofts; all willing to Emigrate having friends in America; this farm by being thrown into Tormore would make the latter much more valuable as a sheep farm. (Editor's Note: Fourteen MacGillivray Heads of Household were enumerated in Aird in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 11 Drumfearn - 10 lots of 8-13 acres each

...they (the lots) are mostly divided betwixt two families and some betwixt three; very fertile large lots with an unlimited command of seaweed for manure. (Editor's Note: Two MacGillivray Heads of Household were enumerated here in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 12 Cammuscross - 40 small lots - gross acreage 603.256 acres

(Editor's Note: John MacGillivray enumerated here in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 14 Teangue - 499.012 acres
Farm 15 Sasaig - 242.746 acres

These two farms lie contiguous betwixt Knock and Ferrindonald. They are tolerably well farmed, the pasturage is considered superior to any in Sleat; part of the latter pasturage should be thrown into Ord along with a portion of the Ferrindonald pasture.(Editor's Note: There were three MacGillivray Heads of Household in Sasaig in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 16 Ferrindonald - 8 lots of 6-9 acres each

It is on this farm that John Macpherson has partially erected his house for which he is claiming £18 Sterling; from inquiry I find that Mr. Cooper had granted a site to Macpherson at Cammuscross for a schoolhouse. Mr. Ross, Ostaig, who was tenant of this lot, allowed Macpherson to build on Ferrindonald; therefore it is against Mr. Ross that Macpherson has his claim and not against his Lordship. (Editor's note: It is interesting to observe that when Mr. Ballingal refers to a tacksman or one of higher status he uses the title Mister. When he refers to a crofter he merely uses the surname. Snobbishness is found at all levels.)

There is no call for another school here being within sight of the parish school and within three miles of Tormore and Armadale schools. Macpherson would complete his house if permitted.

Farm 18 Calligarry near Ardvasioir - 18 lots

...the tenants keep horses unnecessarily. They ought to labour the crofts by the spade...(Editor's Note: There were three MacGillivray Heads of Household enumerated in Calligarry in the 1851 Census.)

Farm 19 Point of Aird

Farm 20 Carradale

These two farms are miserably small lots...is much exposed (to the elements) and should be thrown into Gillin or Tormore...(Editor's Note: There were two MacGillivray families enumerated in Point of Aird and one family enumerated in Carradale in the 1851 Census.)

Ardvasoir (Ardvasar) Ferry

The pier was built by the Destitution Committee, an additional £100 would make it a low water pier which by permitting the steamer to call at all hours would enable his Lordship to ship horses, carriages; and the Tenants to deliver fat cattle, sheep and lambs without going to Portree.

Remarks on the Parish of Sleat

This Parish is composed of the most varied soil possible from rich loam to profitless bogs and sterile rocks; many of the croft farms by the removal of the people might with great prosperity be added to the Tacksmens possessions.

The large farms in several instances are drained and cultivated to the utmost, the rich clover pasture raised off the improved lands show well what can be done by a judicious system of improvement.

There are four schools in the Parish, viz, the Parochial School at Sasaig. General Assembly at Tormore. Female School at Armadale under the care of Lady Macdonald; a subscription school at Tarskaveg also repairing...

The Parish is adorned with several thriving woods, those around the Family Seat at Armadale form a great encouragement to the prosecution of a more extended system of arboriculture...

There are several hundreds of acres of natural Birch and Oak copse in the Glen Sasaig requiring attention.

The hardwood plantations around Ord and Tockaveg are particularly deserving of notice from the circumstance that, notwithstanding the situation being very much exposed to the most prevailing westerly winds, Oak, Ash and Plane are seen thriving with a vigour only to be looked for in our Southern counties.

The prevailing Rocks in this Parish are those of the metamorphic series, Traps and mica slate; the primitive Limestone of Strath Parish is also found in the North and West sides of Sleat. Galena and various other ores are to be found in this Group of Rocks but I have heard of none in this locality...

Concluding Remarks

...From the earliest period the uneducated Celt, particularly in the North and West of Scotland, has been in the custom when in any difficulties of seeking for advice and succor from his superiors. In Feudal times his Chief was applied to and by gradations the Landlord, the Chamberlain, the Clergyman, the Schoolmaster have been consulted, but recently another party has appeared, the Parochial Board, from whom the people conceive they have the Established right of demanding Relief and unlimited assistance. The Destitution Committee encouraged this idea. The poverty of the people fructified it.

Nor are the people altogether to be blamed for the distress nurtured by overpopulation during the balmy days of the Kelp trade, for then there was every encouragement held out for an increase in population in addition to the natural one of a community in a healthy thriving condition.

In the present reduced state of the lower class, it is not for them but for their superiors to devise such means as may permanently, directly or indirectly, improve their social condition...

The following is the State of the Poor rates in the five Parishes with which Lord Macdonald is connected...from which it

appears that in the three Parishes of Kilmuir, Portree and Sleat the Rate on the gross Rental amounts to 15 percent; and as the above Rate was paid when the people were receiving aid from the Destitution Committee, higher Rates may therefore be anticipated for 1852.

In the event of no assistance being had from the Government, it may be worth the Trustees consideration whether or not a Poorhouse Union on the one hand, as a check to imposture (fraud, deceit or cheating), and a judicious system of croft culture by emulation, based on the principal of Cottage Gardening Societies, on the other might not in the course of time prove highly beneficial.

There is nothing more appalling to a Stranger than the callous indifference of Parents to the education of their Children.

The Factor has instructed the Ground Officers to report any parent who neglects his duty in this respect; in order that examples may be made of such...

In retrospect, Mr. Ballingal's report is a synthesis of all that was wrong in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century. One has only to look at the amount of arable land available, and how the farms were subdivided into such small lots, to visualize the oppressive overcrowded conditions that existed at that time. It goes without saying that the underlying theme that runs through the report is the poverty and deprivation of the people.

Schools were available and among outsiders the need for education was recognized as a potential solution to social problems. However, apparently the need for education was not universally accepted where it mattered most - in the homes of the impoverished crofters and cottars. In education, as in other matters, the doggedness of the Highlander, and his adherence to the old ideas, was an apparent detriment.

The survival of the ruinous runrig land system to such a late date is yet another example of the unwillingness of the Highlander to change, even for his own betterment. Another observation that has surfaced before in previous reports was the crofters apparent unwillingness to take full advantage of the provender of the sea. Apparently some crofters fished commercially with success, but all of the reports seem to imply that others did not turn to the sea to supplement their table as industriously as they could have.

One interesting observation gleaned from the Ballingal Report, and one not fully appreciated by us moderns, was that the seeds of socialism were sown at such an early date. The manifestation of this trend is brought out in the Report in the references to the Destitution Committees, Parochial Boards, Government Drainage Act, etc. Mr. Ballingal also reflects the ruling classes inherent aversion to such social experiments.

All of this was prelude and the ultimate social experiment would take place in the latter half of the nineteenth century when, either willingly or unwillingly, there would be a mass exodus from the Highlands and islands. The time of the Clearances was at hand.

THE FINAL YEARS, 1851-1905

In the days of old, the Highlanders had traded their cattle at the great annual fairs for oatmeal. But the grazing of cattle on the high moors had long been strangled by the competitive cattle-raising industry of the Northeastern Counties, and the Highlanders supply of that staple grain was cut off. From about 1800 onwards, the Highland and Island population became almost entirely dependent on the potato for sustenance.

In the year 1846 the potato blight had spread from Ireland to the Islands and Highlands of Scotland. In some areas its effects were even more appalling than in Ireland and destitution was rampant upon the land. So many Highlanders died from starvation in 1848 and 1849 that the Government dispatched frigates loaded with oatmeal to serve as mobile relief depots at various ports on the western seaboard - notably at the Isle of Skye which was especially hard hit by the unprecedented hunger and destitution.

There were other humanitarian efforts to deal with the problem and, as with all things involving a multitude of people, there was not unanimity as to how to go about finding a solution. The following letter from Sir Charles Trevelyan to his aunt is a case in point.¹

Sir C. Trevelyan to Miss Neave, 20 January 1852

My Dear Aunt,

I have had a great deal of experience of the State of Affairs in the Isle of Skye for the last seven years in connection with the Government Relief Operations, as shown by the Blue Book to which you refer & and a much larger one which never saw the light - with the operations of the Edinburgh Relief Committee, on every important point of which I was consulted by the Secretary - the Reports of the Scotch Poor Law Board - & private correspondence & conversations innumerable & I entirely dissent from the opinion which Lady McCaskil appears to have formed. I do not believe that the means of the people will be exhausted by the Spring if they are not helped. We have been told this every year for the past seven years & yet it has never come to pass. The only immediate remedy for the present state of things in Skye is Emigration, & the people will never emigrate while they are

1. Highland & Island Emigration Society Records, HD4/1, West Register House, Edinburgh, page 1.

supported at home at other peoples expense. This mistaken humanity has converted the people of Skye, from the clergy downwards, into a Mendicant Community; and its demoralizing effect upon the lower orders is extremely painful - Depend upon it, the kindness thing in every point of view you & Lady McKaskil can do to the people of Skye is to leave them to themselves, & then they will see the necessity of emigrating & working for their subsistence, instead of living in idleness & habitually imposing upon benevolent persons...

Sir Charles Trevelyan's letter addressed the over solicitousness of concerned humanitarians but did not address specifically the key problem which was over population, coupled with an economy that was winding down. This combination was the curse of all the Western Highlands and Islands and the primary cause of the destitution that was wracking that part of Scotland.

It had been obvious for some time that emigration offered a partial solution and there had been several official or semi-official attempts to organize Scottish emigration with only a modicum of success. It was only after 1850 that a general consensus was reached that there was only one positive, long-term effective solution and that was wholesale emigration. By January 1852, Sir Trevelyan had founded the Highland and Island Emigration Society with the avowed aim of "securing a final settlement of the Highland problem by mass emigration."²

Perhaps the most unique feature of Sir Trevelyan's plan was his involvement of the Highland proprietors. He was aware that in the past proprietors, in order to get their land cleared for sheep, had chartered ships to remove their excess people to Canada. Trevelyan rightly concluded that in 1852 many would be willing to do the same. He proposed that the proprietors would pay one-third of the cost of emigration and the Society would pay the rest from funds raised by public subscription. Because of the close-knit family ties of the Scottish Highlander they would not emigrate except as a family. Since the old and the very young were not eligible for the free passage to Australia, where the Society had decreed the emigrants would go, Trevelyan persuaded the Government Emigration Commission to "relax its rules in favour of the younger members of families."

The Isle of Skye was selected by Trevelyan to be the Society's first operation because conditions were so bad there. A copy of some of the Society's records pertaining to the emigration from Lord Macdonald's estates on Skye are available and from these we have extracted pertinent parts that concern MacGillivrays.³ Many of the explanatory notes provide interesting

2. Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 49, Part 3, November 1963, pp. 169-189.

3. Records of the Highland and Islands Emigration Society, HM General Register House, Edinburgh and Microfilm #404,437, LDS Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

observations on the emigrants and their families. These notations are also extracted. Beside each head of household there was a monetary figure in pounds Sterling. Apparently this was the sum required to transport that particular family.

p. 22 Ship Ontario which sailed from Liverpool for Sidney
on 3 August 1852

#107 Donald McGilvray age 30 Breakish 13.11.11
Anne 35 Eligible couple
Neil 7
Alexander 2
[This is Family Group 159]

#108 Charles McGillivray age 32 Breakish 13.3.7
Flora 26 Brother of Donald
Anne 5 Eligible family
Neil 4
[This is Family Group 163]

p. 77 Ship Hercules which sailed from Campbelltown for
Victoria on 26 December 1852.

#381 Alexander McGilvray age 27 Suisinish 3.7.0
Mary 25 Eligible young couple
Janet Infant
[This is Family Group 172]

p. 79 #388 Isabella McGilvray age 26 Kyleaken
Catherine 21 Pro Note 7.3.4
John 15 3.18.4
[This is Family Group 94]

Supports her brother. Has done so for 5 years.

#392 Charles McGilvray age 54 Breakish 33.2.8
Mary 48
John 19
Peggy 17
John 15
Mary 13
Angus 10
Malcolm 8
Archibald 4
[This is Family Group 117] (Cont'd next page)

Has been in the receipt of parochial relief occasionally, children look ill fed and emaciated. Very poor family. Died in hospital-Hart broken [heart attack] Charles MacGillivray age 54 from Strath, Skye. Mary McGillivray his widow and 7 children. Map 67 on board. His nearest friend in Skye Mrs Donald Robertson, Sleat his sister and Donald McGillivray, Drumfearn, Sleat his nephew.

p. 81 #403 Martin McGilvray age 47 Aird 18.17.3
 Janet 35
 Donald 14 Poor family, children
 Neil 12 very ill clad
 Margaret 9
 Flora 5
 Kate 2
 [This is Family Group 129]

Died in hospital hart bowkine [heart attack] Catherine age 3 years. Her father Martin McGillivray and family - Map 72 on board. In Skye her nearest relation is Mrs Allan Nicolson, Glenmore, Portree, her aunt.

p. 82 #412 Christy Robertson age 19 Camuscross 8.10.6
 Margaret 27
 [funded] jointly with Margaret McGillivray #415
 Eligible young women. Cousins of Donald McDonald, #410 - two sisters in Victoria. [Editors note:
 Apparently the assessment funds were for the two Robertson girls and the MacGillivray girl as a unit.
 Also apparently the Robertson girls already had two sisters in Australia.]

p. 83 #415 Donald McGilvray age 50 Sleat 23.4.11
 Christy 44 Good family
 Ann 23
 Donald 19
 Neil 15
 Farquhar 13
 Charles 9
 Rachel 5
 Margaret 28 Camuscross [see #412]
 Has two sisters & two brothers in Victoria
 [This is Family Group 115]

p. 83 #416 John McGilvray age 33 Drumfearn 10.2.6
 Ann 36 Has been working on
 Angus 6 a railroad & trucking.
 Margaret 3 Eligible man.
 Margaret Infant
 [This is Family Group 161]

* * * *

Although the majority of the emigrants, such as those on the list above, apparently went willingly, others did not. The Highland and Island Emigration Society's operation provided a fertile opportunity for unscrupulous factors - with or without the proprietor's sanction - to rid themselves of troublesome and unproductive tenants. At some of the spots where emigrations were taking place there was a growing resentment at the methods the factors and agents of the landlords were using. In 1854, a Donald Ross published a pamphlet describing some of those nefarious activities. His description of methods used to evict tenants from Lord Macdonald's estates in Skye provides a graphic illustration of how some factors selected emigrants or cleared the land.⁴

The tenants of Suisinish and Boreraig...were remarkable for their patience, loyalty and general good conduct...The only plea made at the time for evicting them was that of over-population. They were all warned out of their holdings. They petitioned and pleaded with his lordship to no purpose. They were ordered to remove their cattle from the pasture and themselves from their houses and lands...In the middle of September following, Lord MacDonald's ground officer, with a body of constables, arrived and proceeded to eject in the most heartless manner the whole population, at a period when the able-bodied male members of the families were away from home trying to earn something by which they could pay their rents, and help carry their families through the coming winter...In spite of the wailing of helpless women and children, the cruel work was proceeded with as rapidly as possible...Mothers with tender infants at the breast looked helplessly on, while their effects and their aged and infirm relatives were cast out and the doors of their houses locked in their faces...No mercy was shown to age or sex, all were indiscriminately thrust out and left to perish in the hills.

Those unfortunate souls of Suisinish and Boreraig were not destined to reap the benefits of emigration. Instead they were turned out on to the muirs to freeze and starve, and many did. Other pamphleteers attacked the emigration program and their conclusions contained such statements as "the emigration is draining off the best blood of the nation," and "the emigration is to facilitate the landlord's clearances." Despite the criticism and lack of unanimity as to the long-term benefits, the efforts of the Highland and Island Emigration Society went on until about 1857 and on balance was considered a successful social experiment.

When one considers that those poor people who emigrated were, in a sense, being banished from their native land, the long, crowded sea voyage to

4. Quoted in Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 49, Part 3, Nov. 1963, p. 180 from Mackenzie, Alexander, The Highland Clearances, Glasgow, 2nd edition, 1946, pp. 202-204.

Australia should have been their last privation before facing an uncertain future on a foreign shore. But for some the adventure was not over. Consider the following letter from a Captain Murray, Master of the bark "Georgiana" which sailed from Greenock, Glasgow for Fort Phillip, Australia on 13 July 1852 with 372 Government Emigrants from the Isle of Skye.

Barque Georgiana, Geelong, Nov. 9th, 1852

I advise you of the safe arrival at Fort Phillip Head on 12 October of the Georgiana, under my command, where we had to remain for four days wind-bound, & waiting for a Pilot. On 16 October, we moored at Geelong, where I found every ship deserted by officers and crew. On 17 October, eighteen of the crew, headed by cook & boatswain demanded a boat to go to the diggings. I shot the cook and asked the passengers for assistance, who said they were afraid of their lives, as the sailors had threatened to blow the brains out of anyone who would come to my assistance. I was stabbed, lashed up to the wheel chains & left for dead. They then put the boat over the side & taking their possessions with them pulled for the shore. I got passage to Shore by another Ship's boat. I did not get clear of all the emigrants till the expiring of the fourteen days, as they were very, very cautious and dilatory in accepting engagements...

Evidently Captain Murray's letter refers to a situation analogous to what happened when gold was discovered in California in 1848 and almost all of the crews of ships in the San Francisco harbor deserted their ships for the gold fields. In any event, the above letter gives us some insight into what happened to the emigrants at the other end of the chain. Apparently the ships captains were required to wait until the newly arrived immigrants were settled before their voyage was considered completed.

* * * * *

By the beginning of the last half of the nineteenth century, the tenants of Skye may have had ample reason to resent Lord Macdonald for the high rents and evictions, but apparently any resentment did not extend to his Lady. On 11 November 1852, the inhabitants of Sleat conveyed their grateful appreciation to Lady Macdonald in a panegyric that contained the following phrase:

"It may well be said of the successive families of Armadale Castle that when the eye saw them it blessed them, when the ear heard them it gave witness to them because they delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless and him that had none to help him, the blessings of him that was ready to perish came upon them, and they caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

The records do not reveal who authored this memorial, although it obviously has strong Biblical connotations. Regardless, Lady Macdonald was

apparently highly respected and three hundred heads of household signed the tribute including the following MacGillivrays.⁵

District of Aird

Alexander MacGilvray	Martin McGillivray
Angus MacGillivray	Malcolm McGillivray
Widow Anne McGilvray	Archy McGillivray
Archibald McGillivray	Donald MacGillivray
Catherine MacGillivray	Martin MacGillivray
Alexander McGilvray	Martin MacGillivray
Angus McGillivray	

Calligarry

Neil MacGillivray

Sasaig

Kenneth MacGillivray

Camascross

John MacGillivray

Teangue

Widow [Christy] McGilvray

Carradale

John McGilvray

* * * *

The rent rolls extracted in Table IX provided a demographic distribution of the MacGillivrays of Skye up to the time of the Second Decennial Census in 1851. We now use the same method in Table XIII to carry MacGillivray data forward to 1861.

As in the previous tables, we have extracted data on all of the tenants on the farm of Aird in Sleat because that is where the largest concentration of MacGillivrays lived, and sometimes genealogical information can be gleaned from knowledge of their neighbors. For the same reason, we have included the tenants who shared crofts with MacGillivrays on the other farms in Sleat and Strath. MacGillivrays are again arbitrarily identified by asterisks and Family Group numbers are enclosed in brackets. The numbers in parentheses refer to the notes and references for the table. If the head of family can be identified in the 1861 census this is also indicated.

Notes and References for Table XIII

- (1) Notation: "Roderick Macdonald in room of Widow Macdonald."
- (2) 1852 Notation: "Alexander MacIntyre in room of Donald MacGillivray." Donald MacGillivray and family left Skye in 1853 bound for Australia.

(Notes and References continued after Table XIII.)

TABLE XIII

MacGillivray Rentals in Sleat and Strath, 1852-1860Parish of Sleat

Farm/Croft No./[Family Group]	1852	1853	1854	1856 1858	1858 1860	1861 Census
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Farm of Aird

1 Alexander Bruce Alexander MacIntyre [142]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
2 Lachlan McInnes Duncan & Angus McInnes	x	x	x	(15)	x	yes
3 Widow McDonald Roderick McDonald Archibald McDonald	(1)	x	x	x	x	yes
4 Alexander Anderson Donald Anderson	x	(10)	x	x	x	yes
5 Alexander McDonald Donald McInnes Niel Grant	x	x	(20)	x	x	yes
6 Kenneth McPherson Malcolm Anderson	x	x	x	x	x	yes
7 * Donald McGillivray [115] * Malcolm McGillivray [143] Alexander MacIntyre [142]	(2)	x	x	x	x	yes
8 Angus McInnes Widow Babby McInnes	x	x	x	x	x	yes
9 Widow Janet McInnes * Widow Archibald [Mary] MacGillivray [93]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
10 Samuel Robertson	x	x	x	x	x	yes
11 Samuel Robertson * Widow Catherine McGillivray [114]	x	x	x	x	x	yes

TABLE XIII, Cont'd

Parish of Sleat, Farm of Aird, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./[Family Group]	1852	1853	1854	1856 1858	1858 1860	1861 Census
12 Murdoch McLeod	x	x	x	x	x	yes
* Alexander McGillivray [162]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
13 Widow Margaret McKinnon Donald McInnes [156]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
14 Allan Beaton	x	x	x	x	x	yes
* Widow Ann McGillivray [17]	x	x	x	x	(18) x	yes
* Angus McGillivray [127]						
15 * Archibald McGillivray [77]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
16 Angus Beaton Angus Robertson	x	x	x	x	x	yes
17 Widow Christy McInnes	x	x	x	x	x	
* Alexander McGillivray [83]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
Donald & Alexander McInnes					x	
18 * Donald McGillivray [47] Samuel Robertson	x	x	x	x	x	yes
* Martin McGillivray [89] Angus Robertson	x	x	x	x	x	yes
19 Widow Robertson	x	x	x			
* Alexander McGillivray [141]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
Alexander Anderson	(4)	x	x	x	x	yes

Farm of Drumfearn

5 * Widow Helen MacGillivray [90]	x	x	x	x	x
Archibald Macqueen	x	x	x		
5 Myles MacInnes	x	x	x		
Widow MacInnes	(5)	x	x	x	x

TABLE XIII, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./[Family Group]	1852	1853	1854	1856 1858	1858 1860	1861 Census
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Farm of Camascross Garden Grounds

6 * John MacGillivray [53] Malcolm MacLure [169]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
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Farm of Teangue

9 John Robertson	x	x	x	x	x	
Donald MacIntyre	x	x	x	x	x	
Widow MacKinnon	x					
* Ewen MacGillivray [176]	x	x	x	x	x	yes

Farm of Sasaig

6 Lachlan MacInnes	x	x		x	x	
* Kenneth MacGillivray [55]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
8 * John MacGillivray [167] Donald & Alexander MacDonald	x	x	x	x	x	
10 * Widow [Christy] MacGillivray [131] Angus MacInnes	x	x	x	x	x	(19)
	x	x	x	x	x	x

Farm of Calligarry

16 * Niel McGillivray [50] * Alexander McGillivray [144]	x	x	x	x		
					x	yes

Farm of Point of Aird

1 * Martin McGillivray [89]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
2 * John McGillivray [153]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
3 * Alexander McGillivray [141] Rory Robertson [95]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
	x	x				yes

TABLE XIII, Cont'd

Parish of Sleat, Farm of Point of Aird, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./[Family Group]	1852	1853	1854	1856 1858	1858 1860	1861 Census
4 Ewen Robertson				x	x	yes
5 John MacPherson				x	x	yes

Farm of Carradale

5 * John MacGillivray [91]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
8 * Widow Mary Gillies [69]				x	x	yes

Parish of StrathFarm of Breakish Arable

4 * Donald MacGillivray [191]	x	x	x			yes
Angus MacLean		(12)	x	x	x	x
Donald MacLean	x					
Myles MacInnes	x	x	x	x	x	x
10 * Charles MacGillivray [117]	x	x	x			
Widow MacKinnon	(6)	x				
Alexander MacRae		(13)	x	x	x	x

Farm of Borreraig

3 * Malcolm MacGillivray [56]	(7)					yes
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Farm of Torrin

8 * Niel MacGillivray [201]	x	x	x	x	x	yes
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Cottage at Broadford

* James MacGillivray	(8)
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TABLE XIII, Cont'd

Parish of Strath, Cont'd

Farm/Croft No./[Family Group]	1852	1853	1854	1856	1858	1861
	1858			1858	1860	Census

Waterloo(9)

11 * Charles						
MacGillivray [97]	x	x	x			
* Widow [Elizabeth]						
MacGillivray [97]				(17)	x	yes

Farm of Heast

5 * Malcolm						
MacGillivray [56]				x	x	yes
Widow Roderick						
Macdonald					x	

Notes and References Continued from page 274.

- (3) Notation: "Widow [Barbara] Babby MacInnes in room of Malcolm MacInnes."
- (4) Notation above the name of Alexander Anderson: "Left the country and desperate." However, he was still listed on the rolls in 1853 and 1854.
- (5) Notation: "From #5 Borreraig from Martinmas 1853."
- (6) Notation: "Charles MacGillivray arrears." Charles name crossed out and Widow MacKinnon from Tormichaig entered.
- (7) 1850 Notation: "Went to #5 Heast on Whitsun 1853."
- (8) Officer of Inland Revenue. Not a Skye MacGillivray. Born in Fifeshire.
- (9) Notation: "Occupied by 5-7 poor families."
- (10) Notation: "Donald Anderson in room of Alexander Anderson."
- (11) Notation: "Widow Babby MacInnes in room of Malcolm MacInnes."
- (12) Notation: "Was at #11 Waterloo."
- (13) Notation: "From #8 Suishnish."
- (14) The Alexander MacIntyre at #1 and #7 was the same person.
- (15) Notation: "Widow McInnes." Duncan and Angus her sons.
- (16) Notation: "To widow Janet MacInnes above for one-half her arrears."
- (17) Notation: "Widow MacGillivray." Apparently Charles died ca. 1854.
- (18) Ann MacGillivray died in December 1857. Angus was her son.
- (19) There was no entry for this year. Widow Christy MacGillivray remarried Ewen McKinnon in January 1855.
- (20) From Farm of Teangue

References for the Data in Table XIII

1852, 1853 & 1854 - from Clan Donald Center, Isle of Skye
1856 - 1858 - from GD221/136-6
1858 - 1860 - from GD221/136-7

At this point it is useful to illustrate how the rental data presented in Tables IX and XIII can be used as a genealogical tool. As a first example, consider Croft #7 on the Farm of Aird (see page 278).

This croft is still in the possession of a MacGillivray who recalls that his grandmother was a MacIntyre. A review of the Tables indeed shows that MacGillivrays and MacIntyres inhabited the same croft at the same time in the 1840's and 1850's. Undoubtedly, this proximity enhanced the possibility of marriages between members of the two families. Further investigation reveals this was the case and that particular family is identified in Appendix A as Family Group 218.

As a second example, take the croft already referred to, Croft #7 of Aird. The rental lists show that Mary MacGillivray was in possession of part of the croft in 1840-1842. Her son, Malcolm MacGillivray, was listed as leaseholder from 1845 to 1860. These two individuals are also identified as members of Family Groups 36 and 143, and they were the ancestors of the head of the MacGillivray Family Group 218, referenced above. Their long tenure of almost 200 years on the same croft suggests they formed a stable family group.

As a third example, note that a Donald MacGillivray also possessed a part of Croft #7 in 1845-1849. Donald is identified as part of Family Group 115. The notation referenced in the Tables states that, in 1850, Donald's name was crossed off and Alexander MacIntyres name was entered in lieu of. The rental list for 1851 does not reflect Donald's status, but the list for 1852 again contains the notation, "Alexander MacIntyre in room of Donald MacGillivray." The 1851 Census for Sleat enumerated Christy MacGillivray, but not her husband Donald. We can assume, therefore, that, in 1851, Donald MacGillivray was not on Skye when the census was taken. It is likely that he was working in the Lowlands to accumulate capital. Further research reveals that this family departed Skye for Australia in 1853.

As a fourth example, consider the Charles MacGillivray who possessed Lot #11 at Waterloo (see page 282). This family is identified as Family Group 97. For census purposes, Waterloo was not considered an entity and Charles and Elizabeth were enumerated in Lower Breakish in 1841 and 1851. Charles apparently died before 1855 since his death was not recorded on the civil register. Charles' son, John MacGillivray, had #11 Waterloo in 1861. Widow Bess MacGillivray was living with John in 1861. They were enumerated in Lower Sculamus. In 1871, Widow Elizabeth was living in Kinloch with her daughter and son-in-law, Christy and Donald Grant. Since there were three Charles MacGillivrays enumerated in Lower Breakish in the 1851 Census, we see how the rent lists provide an added dimension to help track MacGillivray family groups.

Contrary to widespread opinion, Scottish tenants were not static in the nineteenth century. Some moved extensively from one farm to another. This final example illustrates how people can be tracked with the rental lists. In 1840-1842, Malcolm MacGillivray (Family Group 56) possessed Croft #7, Tocavaig, Sleat. By 1845-1849, he had moved to Croft #3, Borreraig, Strath where he remained until 1852. He was absent from the rent rolls in 1853 and 1854 but by 1856 he had relocated at Croft #5, Heast, Strath where he remained through 1860.

In addition to providing genealogical tracking data, the tables of MacGillivrays rentals reveals other things. It is interesting, for example, to compare the number of MacGillivray heads of families enumerated in the censuses with the number of MacGillivrays who held leases as determined from the rent rolls. This comparison is shown in the following table.

TABLE XIV

A Comparison of MacGillivray Heads of Family from the Census
with the MacGillivrays on the Macdonald Rental Lists

	1841		1851		1861	
	Sleat	Strath	Sleat	Strath	Sleat	Strath
MacGillivray Heads of Family (from Census)	25	11	27	13	21	6
MacGillivrays With Leases (From Rent Rolls)	8	3	17	3	17	4
Percentage of Heads Without Leases (%)	68	73	37	77	19	33

The first important point illustrated in Table XIV is that there were more MacGillivray families living in Sleat and Strath than had leases. This indicates many of them were either cottars without any permanent status or were family members living on the possession of the leaseholder. In any event, from our knowledge of the land-use hierarchy this distribution is not unexpected.

The second interesting point illustrated in Table XIV is the variation within the ranks of the Sleat and Strath MacGillivrays over the twenty-year period. The number of Sleat MacGillivray heads of household remained fairly constant over the period whereas the number of Strath MacGillivrays experienced a significant decline, especially after 1851. Between 1841 and 1851, the number of Sleat MacGillivrays with leases almost doubled whereas the number of Strath MacGillivrays with leases remained essentially constant. The stability of the Sleat MacGillivrays suggests that, as a clan, they were able to weather the turmoil of the times without getting too involved in the forced emigrations that were decimating the ranks of so many of their neighbors. The majority of the MacGillivrays who did emigrate apparently were from the class without land tenure and most apparently were from Strath.

* * * *

The rental information summarized in Table XIV took us up to the time of the 1861 decennial census. Now we shall use the same technique to compare the rental data and census data around 1871. These data are compared in Table XV. As in past tables, information on tenants who inhabited the same crofts with MacGillivrays is included. Also the individual MacGillivrays are identified as members of the Family Groups outlined in Appendix A.

TABLE XV

MacGillivray Rentals in Sleat and Strath, 1868-1872

Parish of Sleat

Farm of Aird

Croft No.	Tenant	1868 1869	1871 1872	1871 Census	Family Group
5	John McGillivray Niel Grant	x x	x x	yes/wife	153
7	Malcolm McGillivray Archibald MacIntyre	x x	x x	yes yes	143
9	John McInnes Widow A. [Archibald/ Mary] McGillivray	x x	x x	yes	93
11	Duncan Robertson Widow C. [Catherine] McGillivray	x x	x x	yes yes	114
12	William McLeod Alexander McGillivray	x x	x x		162
13	Donald McGillivray	x	x	yes	184
14	Alan Beaton Angus McGillivray Widow [Angus/Flora] McGillivray	x x	x x		127 127
15	Archibald McGillivray Alexander McGillivray Widow [Donald] McGillivray	x	x x	yes yes	77 127(?) 187
17	Alexander McGillivray D. & A. McInnes	x	x		83

TABLE XV, Cont'd

Croft No.	Tenant	1868 1869	1871 1872	1871 Census	Family Group
17	Niel McGillivray		x	yes	186
18	Donald McGillivray	x	x	yes	120
19	Alexander McGillivray	x			141
	Donald McGillivray		x	yes	170
	Angus Anderson	x	x	yes	

Farm at Aird Point

1	Martin McGillivray	x	x	yes	89
2	John McGillivray	x	x	yes	153
	Angus McInnes		x	yes	

3	Alexander McGillivray	x			
	John Robertson		x	yes	

Aird Block Lots

5	Margaret McMillian	x	x	yes	
	Widow McGillivray	x	x		
	[not identified]				

6	Marion McGillivray	x	x	yes	69
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Farm of Calligary

16	Alexander MacGillivray	x	x	yes	144
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Farm of Carradale

5	John MacGillivray	x	x	yes	91
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Farm of Camascross

8	Widow [Catherine] MacGillivray		x	yes	141
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TABLE XV, Cont'd

Croft No.	Tenant	1868 1869	1871 1872	1871 Census	Family Group
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Farm of Drumfearn

5	Donald MacGillivray	x	x	yes	192
	Donald McInnes	x	x	yes	

Farm of Sasaig

7	John MacGillivray	x	x	yes/wife	167
	Alexander McKinnon		x		
	Widow John Robertson	x			
8	Ewen MacGillivray	x	x	yes	176
	Alexander McKinnon	x			
	Donald MacPherson		x		
	Christy Macdonald		x		

Farm of Teangue Park (Formerly part of Sasaig)

10	Kenneth MacGillivray	x			55
	Widow K. [Margaret]				
	MacGillivray		x		55

Parish of Strath

Farm of Breakish Arable

20	Donald McGillivray	x	x	yes	191
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Farm of Heast

5	Malcolm MacGillivray	x			56
	Martin MacGillivray		x	yes	56
	Widow Macdonald	x	x		

Farm of Torrin

8	Niel McGillivray	x	x	x yes	x 201
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TABLE XV, Cont'd

Croft No.	Tenant	1868 1869	1871 1872	1871 Census	Family Group
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Farm of Waterloo

11	Widow C. [Charles] MacGillivray and Son [John]	x	x	yes	97
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Note: Although Lord Macdonald's estate did not include Elgol, the following MacGillivrays were enumerated there as heads of family in the 1871 census.

Margaret McGillivray	yes	130
Alexander McGillivray	yes	158
Lachlan McGillivray	yes	175

References for Table XV

1868-1869 Rentals - GD221/160/3/2

1871-1872 Rentals - GD221/160/3/6 & GD221/160/4/1

The 1871-1872 rental list is comprehensive and from these data it is possible to statistically summarize how the MacGillivrays fitted into the overall scheme of rentals. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE XVI

Comparison of MacGillivray Leaseholders With Total
Number of Leaseholders on Lord Macdonald's Estates

	Sleat	Strath
Total Number of Leaseholders	289	287
Number of MacGillivray Leaseholders	22	4
Percentage of Total	7.6 %	1.4 %

Table XVI shows that the MacGillivrays rentals made up only a very small percentage of the total rentals of Skye. Within this context, it is important to note that there were no MacGillivrays rentals on any of the other

Macdonald properties. It is also interesting to note that, in 1869, 21 tenants were dispossessed from Sleat and 33 were dispossessed from Strath. There were no MacGillivrays in either group.

* * * *

The clearances and emigration of the 1850's, while having a palliative effect at the time, did not solve the social and economic problems of the crofters. Sheep farming progressed on a grand scale and forced many of them into crowded villages and townships in barren corners of the land. Traditional grazing rights were either taken away or altered so drastically it was difficult to keep stock even for sustenance. For many the only relief was emigration to foreign shores or to the slums of the industrial Lowlands. Many young men went into the military, but, despite these efforts to relieve the pressure, the standard of living sunk lower and lower as the population multiplied.

By 1880, conditions had deteriorated to the point where unknowingly the crofters had begun to coalesce as a group with a single purpose. But it was the violence of battle that unified their voice and caused it to be heard loud and clear throughout the land, even at the highest levels of Government.

The culmination of crofter frustration occurred in April 1882 on the Isle of Skye. It was the last battle fought on British soil and, as battles go, it wasn't much, but the effects were far-reaching. The monument erected near the site emphasizes these effects most appropriately.

"Near this cairn on 19 April 1882 ended the battle fought by
the people of Braes on behalf of the crofters of Gaeldom."

Although the Battle of the Braes was fought because of a dispute over local grazing rights near a small township on Skye, it was, in a sense, fought for all the crofters of the Highlands and Islands. As Derek Cooper noted so succinctly,

"...in 1882, the events in Braes were discussed over every breakfast table in Britain, from Downing Street down...The clods and stones thrown in Braes precipitated a Royal Commission that led to the passing of the Crofter Act which, whatever its shortcomings, gave the people of Braes and the whole of the Highlands security of tenure, a fair rent and the right to compensation for any improvements they might make.

"Despite the gunboats, the military, the detachments of police, the trial and imprisonment of dissident crofters, the end was never in doubt: 'The servants of the law won the fight, but the people reaped the fruits of the battle'"

Almost immediately after the Battle of the Braes, a Royal Commission was formed to look into the plight of the crofters. This Commission, which

6. Cooper, Derek, The Hebridean Connection. A View of the Highlands and Islands, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 176.

became known as the Napier Commission after its Chairman, Sir Charles Napier, held hearings in each of the crofter counties, including the Isle of Skye. Some of the evidence given by MacGillivrays, who had been elected delegates to present the crofters case, gives a personal insight into the conditions that existed on the farms of Sleat and Strath. Parts of their testimony are extracted in the following statements.

In May 1883, Donald MacGillivray, age 55, Crofter and Fisherman of Lower Breakish, Strath [Family Group-191], testified at Broadford. Part of his testimony is condensed below.

...Lower Breakish was formed into forty lots and let to tenants in 1800...at that time there were eight tenants...now there are forty-eight tenants where there was once eight...about seventy years ago [ca 1813], Mr. MacPherson, then factor, deprived us of one of our pastures and let it to tenants who still hold it [Editors: This new township was Upper Breakish]...later about five years ago [ca 1878] Tormore, the late factor deprived us of the hill pasture and left us a patch of the hill for a shift for our cattle twice a year...this place is four miles distant from the nearest of us; and our wives and daughters have to travel that distance twice a day, viz 16 miles for very little milk...The gentlemen can easily understand that we cannot help but be in poverty in a place where there are sixty-three families and three hundred and eleven souls altogether and we have only 160 acres of arable land, and part of it is rocky and mossy...

On 17 May 1883, Alexander MacGillivray, age about 60, Crofter at Aird, Sleat [probably Family Group-162] testified at Isleornsay. Part of his testimony is condensed below.

...We are forty [families] in a township that was originally occupied by nineteen familys; and we are quite as ill off as regards the sea as we are with respect to the land...[Question: How did the change come about from nineteen families in the township to forty?...] I was giving half of my lot to my son and others were doing the same...some lots have been subdivided to the extent of being held by four tenants...there are twelve years or more since we sent any seed to the mill in our parish...It is twelve years since the mill in our parish was working at all because there is little or no grain to grind, on account of the soil having run out through frequent cropping...[Question: Is your condition much worse than it was thirty years ago?]...Very much more so, as we are turning the same ground constantly for the past sixty years, and it does not now yield a crop.

The Napier Commission held similar interrogations in the other crofter

7. Evidence Taken by Her Majesty's Commission of Inquiry into the Conditions of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1884).

counties and eventually the Commissioners reported their finding back to Parliament. Their recommendations resulted in the Crofters Holding Act of 1886 whereby the lives of the Highland crofters were significantly improved.

By this Act, a crofter was formally defined as the tenant of a holding in a crofter parish, who resided on his holding and whose annual rent did not exceed 30 pound Sterling. At the same time the Crofting Commission was set up to look after the crofters interest.

Some of the evidence collected and analyzed by the Royal Commission that concerns the crofters and cottars of Sleat and Strath is of particular interest in our study of the MacGillivrays of Skye. This data is presented in Table XVII.⁸

TABLE XVII

Returns of the Royal Commission of the Highlands and Islands
Concerning the Crofters and Cottars

Farm/Tenant	Number of Families on Croft	Number of Persons Who Habitually Reside on Croft	Number of Separate Dwellings on Croft	Rent	Family Group
<u>Parish of Sleat</u>					
<u>Calligary</u>					
Alexander McGillivray	1	3	1	£4-14-0	144
<u>Camascross</u>					
Niel McGillivray	1	3	1	£4-4-0	220
<u>Drumfearn</u>					
Donald McGillivray	1	6	1	£4-16-0	192
Neil McInnes	1	2	1	£4-16-0	
<u>Ferrindonald</u>					
Alexander McGillivray	1	7	1	£3-5-0	205

8. Department of Agriculture Papers, AF50/7/8, AF50/7/9 & AF50/8/4, HM General Register House, Edinburgh.

TABLE XVII, Cont'd

Farm/Tenant	Number of Families on Croft	Number of Persons Who Habitually Reside on Croft	Number of Separate Dwellings on Croft	Rent	Family Group
<u>Sasaig</u>					
Ewan McGillivray	1	2	1	£3-6-0	176
Donald McPherson	1	5	1	£3-2-0	
John McGillivray	1	5	1	£3-10-0	167
Alexander McKinnon	1	5	1	£3-10-0	
<u>Aird</u>					
Angus Robertson	1	5	1	£3-10-0	
Donald McGillivray	1	7	1	£3-12-0	209?
Donald McGilvray	1	8	1	£3-13-0	170
Angus Anderson	1	4	1	£3-14-0	
Myles McInnes	1	4	1	£0-16-0	
Widow Mary Matheson	1	5	1	£0-8-0	
Donald Beaton	1	1	1	£0-8-0	
Donald McGillivray	1	2	1	£1-4-0	47
Widow McIntyre	1	3	1	£0-8-0	
Angus Robertson	1	8	1	£0-8-0	
John McGillivray	1	5	1	£4-6-0	153
Widow Ann Grant	1	3	1	£4-6-0	
John McInnes	1	6	1	£4-0-0	
Donald McGillivray	1	11	Missing	£4-0-0	196
Duncan Robertson	1	7	1	£4-12-0	
Widow Catherine McGillivray	1	9	1	£2-6-0	114
Alexander McInnes	1	8	1	£4-0-0	
Alexander McGillivray	1	4	1	£4-10-0	162
Donald McGillivray	1	5	1	£3-10-0	184
Widow F(lora) McGillivray	1	4	1	£3-14-0	187
Donald McInnes	1	9	1	£3-10-0	
Heirs of A. McGillivray	1	4	1	£3-11-0	?

TABLE XVII, Cont'd

Farm/Tenant	Number of Families on Croft	Number of Persons Who Habitually Reside on Croft	Number of Separate Dwellings on Croft	Rent	Family Group
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Parish of Strath

Heast

Martin McGillivray	1	3	1	£4-0-0	56
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Torrin

Neil McGillivray		Missing		£11-4-0	201
Heirs of C. McGillivray		Missing		£11-8-0	?
Widow C. McKinnon		Missing		£2-10-0	
Widow Ann McKinnon		Missing		£2-10-0	

Waterloo

John McGillivray	2	12	2	£0-14-0	182
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Breakish Arable

Donald McGillivray	1	4	Missing	£4-0-0	191
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Elgol

A. McGillivray	2	14	2	£3-3-0	158
Lachlan McGillivray	4	14	3	£5-0-0	175

One other segment of the Royal Commission's report, dated 1 January 1883, concerned only the cottars. It is interesting to note that only a few MacGillivrays were reported in this category. The information on these MacGillivrays is extracted from the Commission's report and presented in the table that follows.

TABLE XVIII

Royal Commission on Highlands and Islands Returns
Concerning Cottars

Residence	Name/Occupation [Family Group]	Resides on Croft?	Pays Rent To?
Ardvasar Sleat	Donald MacGillivray Ploughman [FG-219]	No	Proprietor
Kingsburgh Kilmuir	Alexander MacGillivray Gen. Labourer [FG-96]	Yes	Lewis Mitchell
Elgol Strath	Niel MacGillivray Labourer [FG-223]	Yes	[Missing]

Evidence was still being collected from crofters in the 1890's to insure that the provisions of the Crofting Commission were being complied with. On 20 May 1893, Donald MacGillivray, age 58, Crofter, Aird [Family Group-196] testified at Isleornsay. Part of his testimony is condensed below.¹⁰

...There are thirty-eight families in nineteen crofts and there is a twentieth croft that holds ten small crofters [and their families] but no grazing...[Question: Can you give me their names?...]...Myles Macinnes, Mrs. Matheson, Mary Beaton, Angus Robertson, Donald Macgillivray [FG-47], Mary Macintyre, Donald Macgillivray again [possibly FG-170], Catherine Gillies (but she is dead a few weeks ago) [FG-69], John Beaton and Donald Macleod...[Question: About this croft that holds ten families on it; has that come about because of subdivision, or have they been placed there?]...I believe they have been placed there at first. They were not paying rent at all at first...[Question: You have heard the statements by Donald Macpherson, Sassaig, and Myles Macinnes, do you think they fully set forth the case for the crofters in this district?]...Yes...but we have been dealt with worse than some, because the two small townships of Carradale and Point of Aird have been taken from us in my own time...Carradale was cleared of eight crofters fourteen years ago [ca 1879]. The excuse was want of a school, but they were all better off there than where they are now...

* * * * *

10. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands), 1892, Vol. 1. Presented by both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1895).

We have pointed out before that, after the mid-nineteenth century, the volume of documentation in the Macdonald Papers did not diminish, but references to individual Skye inhabitants became more sparse. For that reason we must continue to rely heavily upon the rental lists and decennial census to follow the MacGillivray family groups. In the table below we have synthesized the rentals for the period about 1880 and compared them with the 1881 Census. The criteria for extracting are the same as for previous tables of this type.¹¹

TABLE XIX

MacGillivray Rentals in Sleat and Strath, ca. 1880

Parish of Sleat

Croft No	Tenant	On Rental List	1881 Census	[Family Group]
Farm of Aird				
2	Widow Ann McInnes	x		
3	Roderick Macdonald Janet MacKinnon	x x		
5	* John MacGillivray	x	Yes	[153]
6	Malcolm MacPherson Heirs of Malcolm Anderson	x x		
7	* Charles MacGillivray Widow Ann MacIntyre	x x	Yes	[218]
8	Widow Mary MacInnes Widow Barbara MacInnes	x x		
9	John MacInnes	x		
9/13*	Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[196]
11	* Widow Catherine MacGillivray	x	Yes	[114]
12	Alexander MacInnes	x		
12/15*	Alexander MacGillivray	x	Yes	[162]
15	* Widow Flora MacGillivray	x	Yes	[187]

11. GD221/120, GD221/123/2 & GD221/160/2/22.

TABLE XIX, Cont'd

Croft No	Tenant	On Rental List	1881 Census	[Family Group]
17	Donald MacInnes	x		
	* Heirs of Neil MacGillivray	x	Yes	[83/186]
18	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[120/209]
19	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[170]
20	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[47]
	Myles MacInnes	x		
	Widow Marion MacIntyre	x		
	Donald MacDonald	x		
	Donald MacLeod	x		
Farm at Aird Point				
1	* Kenneth MacGillivray	x	Yes	[198]
Farm of Camascross				
8	* Neil MacGillivray	x	Yes	[220]
Farm of Drumfearn				
5	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[192]
Ardvasar				
11	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[219]
Farm of Calligary				
16	* John MacGillivray	x	Yes	[144]
Farm of Ferrindonald				
1	* Alexander MacGillivray	x	Yes	[205]
Farm of Sasaig				
7(20)*	John MacGillivray	x	Yes	[167]
	Widow Christy MacKinnon	x		
8(23)*	Ewen MacGillivray	x	Yes	[176]
	Donald Macpherson	x		

TABLE XIX, Cont'd

Parish of Strath

Croft No	Tenant	On Rental List	1881 Census	[Family Group]
Farm of Breakish Arable				
20	* Donald MacGillivray	x	Yes	[191]
Farm of Heast				
5	* Martin MacGillivray	x	Yes	[56]
Farm of Torrin				
8	* Neil MacGillivray	x	Yes	[201]
Farm at Waterloo [Lower Scullamus]				
11	* John MacGillivray W. Grant	x x	Yes	[182]

From Table XVIII we note that Donald MacGillivray [FG-219], shown living at Ardvasar in the table above, was the only MacGillivray designated a cottar by the Royal Commission on the Highlands and Islands. He paid rent to the Proprietor (Lord Macdonald) but apparently did not reside on a croft. By inference, all the other MacGillivrays were crofters.

* * * * *

Despite the fact that the twentieth century was drawing nigh, with technology and communications growing by leaps and bounds, the character of the Highlander remained essentially unchanged. His stubborn adherence to tradition was reflected in almost every contact with outsiders. Although they serve no useful genealogical purpose, the following extracts from a series of letters of recommendation touch somewhat eloquently on the Highlanders character as well as reflect on the turbulent period of crofter unrest.

Letter of Application for the Factorship of Skye, George Mills¹²
to Messrs. Dundas & Wilson of Edinburgh

12. GD221/159/13/39.

Edinburgh, 1 February 1888

Dear Sir

...It has been suggested to me that I might find it impossible to make head among the crofter & cottar tenants in the present unsatisfactory relationship existing in crofting communities, but I have no fear on that score for I have had a very considerable experience of crofters...& I have always found that though it was sometimes impossible to come to entirely satisfactory terms with them I never had any difficulty at least in maintaining a friendly footing with them...

Letter on Behalf of George Mills for Factorship of Skye, Andro Ralston to William J. Dundas, Edinburgh¹³

Dear Sir

...He [George Mills] is possessed of great tact in dealing with tenants, which in these times is a qualification of the first importance and especially in such a disturbed district as Skye...

Letter, John Peter, Esq., to Thomas D. Brodie, Esq. of Edinburgh¹⁴

Bennly, 21 February 1888

Dear Sir

This letter also speaks in behalf of James MacKintosh ...I do think Mr. Mackintosh would have the firmness & tact to manage well in his dealings with a tenantry like Lord Macdonald's...He is a Roman Catholic but I never see any difference in his dealings with our Protestant Community...

Letter, William Burns of Inverness to Messrs. Dundas & Wilson of Edinburgh¹⁵

Inverness, 2 March 1888

Dear Sirs

This letter speaks on behalf of James MacKintosh, an applicant for Lord Macdonald's Factorship...He is a Gaelic speaking Highlander with very unusual experience in managing all kinds of Highland Property & particularly crofters...Mr. Mackintosh remained on excellent terms with the crofter applicants. He is pawky [cunning; shrewd] & good humoured & has a pleasant sentence to exchange with everyone. This is a great matter in dealing with the lower grade of Highlander. They are proud & jealous of slights & and on the other hand they are highly pleased

13. GD221/159/13/47.

14. GD221/159/13/34.

15. GD221/159/13/33.

with a hand-shake or other small bits of civility. Mr. Mackintosh understands this...

For this history, it is not important who got the position as factor of the Skye estates. What is important from our point of view is that this episode merely reinforces what has been brought out throughout this history; the native Highlanders and Islanders were proud individuals who wished to adhere to the ancient traditions and were doing so right up to the dawn of the modern era. And when one visits Scotland today, there is little discernable evidence that the Highlander has ever changed. Let us hope he never will!

* * * * *

At this point in our chronological review we have reached the last decade of the nineteenth century; a fateful century for the MacGillivrays of Skye and all their contemporaries. It was a century of change and a time of major personal decisions. Many Highlanders and Islanders chose a path that took them to the four corners of the world. Others chose to remain on their native soil and weather what the Fates might bring. It is this latter group that helps us close this chapter on the MacGillivrays of Skye.

As we reach the end of our assigned goal, little remains to be done except to phase the MacGillivrays of Skye into the twentieth century. Again, to accomplish this task, we rely on the rental lists and the census. These data showing MacGillivray rentals are consolidated in the following table for the years 1890 to 1905. All data are from the files at the Clan Donald Centre on the Isle of Skye. With the exception of one item, all data are presented in the same format as the previous tables. That exception is for the year 1892 where a series of "No's" is entered for some individuals. The "No" indicates that that individual was not examined by the Crofter Commission.

TABLE XX

MacGillivray Rentals in Sleat and Strath, 1890-1905

Farm/Croft/Tenant	Parish of Sleat							[Family Group]
	1890	1891	1891	1892	1900	1905		
	Census							
<u>Farm of Aird</u>								
5 Widow Ann Grant		x	x			x	x	x
* John MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	x	[229]
7 * Charles MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	x	[218]
Widow Ann MacIntyre	x	x		x	x	x	x	
John MacInnes					x	x		
9 John MacInnes					x	x		
* Donald MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	x	[196]
Neil McInnes					x	x		

TABLE XX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft/Tenant	1890	1891	1891 Census	1892	1900	1905	[Family Group]
11 * Widow Catherine MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[114]
Duncan Robertson	x	x		x	x	x	
12 * Duncan MacGillivray			Yes		x	x	[228]
12/15* Alexander MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x			[162]
12 Alexander MacInnes				x	x	x	
13 * Donald MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x		[184 or 224]
15 * Widow Flora MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[187]
15/12* Alexander MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[162]
17 Donald MacInnes	x	x		x			
* John MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[231]
Angus MacInnes					x	x	
18 Duncan Robertson	x	x		x	x		
* Donald MacGillivray, Junior	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[209]
19 * Donald MacGillivray Senior	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[170]
Angus Anderson	x	x		x	x	x	
20 Alexander Robertson				x	x		
* Donald MacGillivray, Senior	x	x	Yes	x			[47]
Widow Marion MacIntyre	x	x		x(No)		x	
Angus Robertson, Sen'r	x	x		x(No)	x	x	
Donald Beaton	x			x(No)			
Widow Mary Matheson	x			x(No)			
Myles MacInnes	x			x		x	
* Donald MacGillivray, Junior		x	No	x(No)	x	x	[?]
Donald Macdonald	x	x		x(No)			
* Miss Catherine Gillies	x	(1)	?	x			[69]
John Beaton	x	x		x(No)	x	x	
Donald MacLeod	x	x		x(No)		x	
School Board of Sleat	x					x	
Angus Robertson, Jun'r						x	
John Matheson						x	
* Alexander MacGillivray			?	x	x	x	[?]

Farm at Aird Point

1 * Kenneth MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[198]
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TABLE XX, Cont'd

Farm/Croft/Tenant	1890	1891	1891 Census	1892	1900	1905	[Family Group]
<u>Ardvasar/Armadale</u>							
* Donald MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x		[219]
<u>Farm of Calligary</u>							
16 * John MacGillivray (Cottars)	x	x	No	x(No)	x		[144]
Alexander Kelly				x(No)	x		
Dougal Robertson						x	
<u>Farm of Camascross</u>							
8 * Neil MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[220]
<u>Farm of Drumfearn</u>							
5 * Donald MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x	x	[192]
Neil MacInnes	x	x					
Mrs. Marion MacInnes				x			
Heirs of Marion					x		
MacInnes						x	
Catherine MacInnes						x	
<u>Farm of Ferrindonald</u>							
1 * Alexander MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x			[205]
* Archibald MacGillivray			Yes		x		[205]
Mrs. Eliza Macdonald			x				
5/6 * Archibald MacGillivray			Yes			x	[205]
<u>Farm of Sasaig</u>							
7/8 * John MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x		[167]
* John MacGillivray			Yes		x	x	[167]
Heirs				x	x	x	
Widow Christy							
Mackinnon	x	x		x	x	x	
8 * Ewen MacGillivray	x		No				[176]
* Widow Mary			x	Yes	x	x	[176]
MacGillivray					x	x	
Widow Catherine				x	x	x	
Macpherson						x	

TABLE XX, Cont'd

Parish of Strath

Farm/Croft/Tenant	1890	1891	1891 Census	1892	1900	1905	[Family Group]
<u>Farm of Breakish Arable</u>							
20 * Donald MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x			[191]
* Widow Rachel MacGillivray			Yes		x	x	[191]
<u>Farm of Heast</u>							
5 * Christy MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x			[56/146]
Jonathan Macdonald	x	x		x			
<u>Farm of Torrin</u>							
8 * Widow Margaret MacGillivray	x	x	Yes	x	x		[201]
* Heirs Widow Margaret MacGillivray			Yes		x		[201]
<u>Farm at Waterloo [Lower Scullamus]</u>							
10 * John MacGillivray			Yes		x	x	[182]
11 * John MacGillivray	-		Yes	x	x	x	[182]
* James MacGillivray	x		Yes				[?]
Widow Christy Grant	x			x			
<u>Farm at Elgol [Not part of Macdonald's Estate]</u>							
9 * Isabella MacGillivray			Yes				[158]
20 * Alexander MacGillivray			Yes				[130]
25 * Neil MacGillivray			Yes				[223]

The data in the above table is fairly straightforward. There is only one explanatory note required and that is for the entry of Miss Catherine Gillies at Croft #20, Aird. Her mother had been a MacGillivray [FG-69]. On the rental list for 1891 opposite her name there was the following notation: "Tenant gave up croft at Martinmas 1889 and same let to Donald Macdonald from that term." From Donald MacGillivray's testimony (p. 291), we know Catherine died in 1893.

While on the subject of Croft #20, Aird, it is useful to point out that this croft exemplifies much of the problems the Crofter Commission was

charged to investigate. Croft #20 consisted of all or part of what had formerly been known as Carradale. The lots were notoriously unproductive and even the Macdonald documentation refers to them as "miserably poor lots." Table XX implies why. Note the number of tenants, some of whom possessed only 1/14th of the Croft. Given the poor land and the grossly overcrowding, it is little wonder that this was one of the more depressed areas of Skye.

* * * * *

It is with wistful feelings that we reach this point in our narrative of the MacGillivrays of Skye. Since we introduced the first MacGillivray recorded on Skye in 1597, our research has acquainted us with many, many MacGillivrays, some of whom could have been the subjects of an entire chapter by themselves. However, one of the most difficult decisions researchers face is to know when to quit. Reluctantly, we have reached that point and must bring this segment on the MacGillivrays of Skye to a close. Not because there is no more material to review or because there were no more MacGillivrays left on the island after 1900. Many remained and there are still fascinating members of the MacGillivray clan who to this day call Skye their home. Our visits with these good people have been most rewarding and we shall sorely miss the impetus of this book as an excuse to visit Skye as often as we have in the past. But we must move on.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many MacGillivrays had left the Highlands and dispersed to the four corners of the world. It is tempting to consider each of the major areas of influx, such as Canada and Australia, but the constraint of time governs what we are able to do. Therefore, with heavy heart we bid farewell to the Eilean a cheo - the Misty Isle - and to all the MacGillivrays it nurtured and lost to other shores. It is time now to move on to the final chapter of our effort as we look at some of the MacGillivrays who chose America as their home.

America has proved that it is practical to elevate the mass of mankind - the laboring or lower class - to raise them to self-respect, to make them competent to act a part in the great right and the great duty of self-government; and she has proved that this may be done by the diffusion of knowledge.

Daniel Webster, 1782-1852

PART FOUR

IN THE NEW WORLD

**Every man is his own ancestor, and every man
is his own heir. He devises his own future,
and he inherits his own past.**

Fredrick Henry Hedge, 1805-1890

GOING TO AMERICA

Archibald MacGillivray was a dour Scot and, like most Highlanders, somewhat set in his ways. Decisions were not made lightly, especially those that could affect the future of his entire family. And the decision facing Archibald would be one of the most agonizing and difficult he would ever have to make. Should he set aside his Scottish roots and traditions and go to America or stay on Skye and make the best of a worsening economic situation?

And worse undoubtedly it would become. Rents were already too high, making it hard to eke out a living even with the most scrupulous crofting methods. Added to this reality were the persistent rumors that Lord Macdonald was going to raise rents again in 1803. That would be intolerable. Rents were already at a point where most tenants had difficulty in paying.

All of this uncertainty was bad enough in itself but added to the increasing economic burden was a feeling of emptiness in the townships since so many friends and neighbors had emigrated from Skye. Intuitively, one would think that emigration would relieve the overpopulation and improve conditions but somehow it didn't seem to work that way.

To those who remained behind, and who could never own their own land in Scotland, America seemed like a land of golden opportunity. Martin, his older brother, had reached the limit of his endurance and had gone to America in 1789 to seek his fortune. The letters Archibald received from Martin made America seem like a promised land. Apparently, land in North Carolina was plentiful and not too expensive. Martin had bought a farm in the Cape Fear Valley that was much larger than his family could ever have occupied on Skye. Unfortunately, Martin had died recently and this tempered Archibald's thoughts with sadness. However, despite the personal loss, if they emigrated to America they would not be without family and friends. Martin's widow and sons had inherited the farm in North Carolina and now their letters were also filled with praise of the better life they enjoyed in the former colony.

So, what to do? Time was growing short. Archibald's brothers, Angus and Alexander, shared the agony of this decision because they too were considering emigration. This had been the primary topic of discussion among family members for months. Soon, very soon, they must collectively decide whether to go or stay.

Archibald had stayed behind at the Kirk last Sunday to speak with Reverend MacPherson about emigration and to ask for spiritual guidance. He wasn't too sure how successful the guidance had been but one good thing had come from the discussion. Reverend MacPherson had promised to write a strong letter of recommendation for Archibald and his family if they did decide to go to America.



Figure 17. Ruins of the Old Parish Church at Kilmore, Parish of Sleat, where Archibald MacGillivray worshiped.

It was now mid-week after that fateful Sunday at Church and Archibald seemed no closer to a decision. He had taken time off from croft duties to climb Cnoc a'Chaise Mor, the highest point on Teangue. There in the solitude of the moors he could ponder further his emigration problems. From that vantage point all the familiar sights and sounds pressed upon him as if each were trying to exert its own subtle influence. It was one of those rare days in June and already a few impatient buds on the heather were showing the promise of a purple summer. There was no "wee bit of mist" to spoil the view and to the East the restless Sound of Sleat changed color continuously as breaks in the clouds permitted patches of sun to sparkle the water. To the North and West the mystical Cuillins thrust their rocky summits high into the clouds. To the South visibility was even better and Archibald could see Ardnamurchan and Eigg clearly and even the higher peaks of Mull were visible. It seemed the view could go on forever and he found himself wishing he could see clear to America to help eliminate some of the uncertainties that kept cluttering his thoughts.

And of course personalities entered the picture as memories of friends and neighbors competed with the physical attributes of Skye. The comfortable site he had chosen on the hill brought back visions of Easter last when the people of Teangue had gathered at that very spot for the traditional Easter cheese rolling. Their happy faces seemed to have lingered making his ultimate decision even more difficult.

But the time for nostalgia was rapidly drawing to a close. It was time



Figure 18. A crude cross inscribed in stone at the Old Parish Church, Kilmore, Sleat. Its origin is unknown, however, local tradition attributes the cross to St. Columba, who supposedly used it during his missionary visits to Skye in the 6th century.

to accept the practical matters of the case. It was almost a certainty that Lord Macdonald would not respond favorably to the request Archibald and his more progressive neighbors had made to reduce the number of tenants on Teangue from nine to four (see the letter, page 167). This being the case, to remain on Skye meant endorsing the status quo. To leave Skye would mean facing the unknown. Some of their MacIver friends had already made their decision and were busily preparing to sail in August. Archibald had spoken with Duncan MacIver about this after church and had learned there was still space aboard the ship. It was not a question of money. Ever since the economy had started to get worse, the MacGillivrays had begun saving capital for just such an emergency. When all things were considered there was nothing to hold them back and much might be gained by leaving.

Before leaving the hill, Archibald took a long, wistful look around. This would not be the last time he would visit the hills and glens of Sleat to try to absorb as much of the good Scottish environment as possible. But it would be near to the last time. His decision had been made. The MacGillivrays would venture forth to make a new life in a new land. All of these familiar sights, sounds and smells that Archibald held so dear would be replaced by the new sights and sounds of a distant shore. The MacGillivrays were going to America!

Going to America! For Archibald that phrase brought new meaning to the Highland reel that had become so popular in recent years. Now the words he had heard so many times before would have a special meaning just for him and his family.

NUL THAR NAN EILEANAN

A null thar nan eileanan dh America gun teid sinn
A null rathad Shasuinn agus dhachaидh rathad Eirinn.

'S e sud am port a bh'againne dol seachad air Dun-eideann
A null rathad Shasuinn agus dhachaيدh rathad Eirinn.

Tha pioban'g an spreigeadh agus feadanang' an gleusadh
A h-uile fear le it' na bhoineid, sporan air is feileadh.

B'e sud na gillean togarrach h'e sud na gillean eibhinn
B'e sud na gillean sgiobaltha is b'iollagach an ceuman.

Mun d'fhag sinn criochan Shasuinn is a dhealaich sinn
ri cheile
Gum b'aighealach na caileagan ag crathadh cuid bhreidean.

OVER THE ISLES TO AMERICA

Over the isles to America we shall go
Over the road past England, past home, and past the
road to Ireland.

'Tis yonder the tune we piped going forward to Edinburgh
Over the road past England, past home, and past the
road to Ireland.

Chanters were tuned, and pipes were a'skirling
Each with feathered bonnet, a sporran and a kilt.

Those were willing lads, those were jolly lads,
Those were clever lads, and they made sprightly steps.

Ere we left the English shore and we parted with
each other,
The lassies gladly danced and their aprons were
a'shaking.

This was a farewell song composed many years ago by an Islander who
went to seek his fortune in America.¹ The lyrics, although sung to the melody
of a lively Scottish reel, were steeped with nostalgia. So much so that Johnson

1. Gaelic lyrics from An Comunn Gaidhealach, Abertarff House, Inverness.
English translation by Rev. Douglas Kelly of North Carolina.

2. Johnson, Samuel, Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1924. Reprinted 1965) and Boswell, James Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1924. Reprinted 1965).

and Boswell², who heard the song during their 1773 tour of the Hebrides, wondered aloud on the sentiments those words must stir in the hearts of Scots who would leave their homes for the great unknown.

For the next several weeks, the MacGillivrays, and all the other families who were preparing to emigrate, would sing or hum these Gaelic words and phrases that could be both happy and sad at the same time.

Going to America!

It was finally going to happen. And before they left Skye they would build their own memorial cairn to remind others that they too had lived here and loved the land but lived here no more.³ For despite the long period of uncertainty on whether to emigrate, once the decision was made all lingering doubts quickly faded away. And despite the sadness of leaving their ancestral homes, almost no one could doubt that emigration offered the promise of a better life.

* * * *

Yes, emigration did offer a promise and had done so for Highland and Island Scots for more than a hundred years. Prior to 1707, Scotland was treated as any other foreign country and trade and emigration to the English Colonies was rigorously controlled. This policy effectively reduced the opportunity for large numbers of Scots to voluntarily emigrate to America as indentured servants, which was the only way many could afford to go.

After the Union of 1707, emigration from Scotland was no longer constrained and Scots made their way to the Colonies in growing numbers. Graham estimates the total emigration from Scotland to the New World in the twelve years before the Revolution (1763-1775) was slightly less than 25,000. This was not a negligible drain of people in relation to the total population of Scotland during that period.⁴ By far the most important receiving colony in America was North Carolina.

In September 1739, the first large body of Highland Scots arrived at the Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina. Almost all remained near the Port of Wilmington for the first few months after their arrival. Soon, however, the majority, tired of being ridiculed because of their traditional Highland dress and Gaelic tongue, moved up the Cape Fear Valley to take up choice farm lands where they established clannish communities of their own.

3. It is said of the early emigrants that often when a group was leaving for America they would pause at the top of a hill for a last look at the land that had been their home and the home of their fathers from time beyond memory. Then each would take a stone and together they would erect a cairn as a silent reminder to all that might pass that way that once Highlanders had lived here and loved the land but lived here no more.

4. Graham, Ian Charles Cargill, Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press for the Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1956)

As more and more Scots arrived and settled in, a chain reaction began. By letter and word of mouth, the new immigrants spread the good news of the Cape Fear's desirable features to their brethren in Scotland thus enticing them to also emigrate. Some came because of the promise of a new and more bountiful life. Others came to escape oppression. Others came as adventurers. For whatever the reason, North Carolina lured Scots to her shores by the thousands and the Cape Fear Valley became the fastest growing province in the Colony.⁵

* * * * *

Initially, Islanders, such as those from Skye, had been spared some of the economic misfortunes that prompted so many of their mainland kin to emigrate. Primarily this was because they lived on islands and the resources of the sea were available to help postpone the inevitable disruption of their way of life. But the sea provided only a temporary reprieve. It was no buffer to sheep walks and rack rents. Slowly, but surely, the Islanders suffered the same repressive measures that was causing their mainland counterparts to take the desperate step of emigration with increasing frequency. Surprisingly, two of the key players in this scenario were the tacksmen and wealthier tenants.

In the days of the clans, the tacksmen, who were often related to the chiefs, played a key role as leaders of the clans regiments. After the '45, however, their usefulness as captains of battle came abruptly to an end, as did their favored status in the eyes of the new profit-oriented landlords. Tacksmen, as well as tenants and cottars, bore the full brunt of the changes in land use brought about by the new economics.

There was one subtle difference, however. Whereas the ordinary clansman had had fierce pride in his clan and his ability to fill a warriors role, the tacksmen had all of this plus pride of position. The lowering of his once proud status to that of a land grubber scrambling for a lease was a bitter pill for even the most family-oriented tacksmen to swallow. Many could not make the adjustment, and, since they lacked both the opportunity and the means to substantially improve their lot in Scotland, they looked to the greener pastures of America.

When they left Scotland they did not go alone. Many tacksmen, as well as the wealthier tenants, took their own people with them, not necessarily as compatriots in a great adventure but as a ready supply of workers for the new estates they would acquire in the New World. Others took their people away from oppression because they felt it was their moral obligation. Although these tacksmen and wealthy tenants would be blamed for depopulating the glens, obviously they could not have done so without the support of the people themselves. Pride was not a unique virtue of just one segment of Scottish society. The lowest cottar suffered the same pangs of discontent as the highest

5. Lee, Lawrence, The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965)

tacksman. It was this growing tide of discontent at all levels that started the exodus from the glens and islands in what Samuel Johnson called the "fever of emigration."

For whatever the individual reasons, the exodus from Scotland in the latter part of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries was not that of a wretched, brutalized, beaten people. Instead, it was an exodus of prideful, often arrogant Scots who possessed enough foresight to make the voyage of their own free will and enough wealth to acquire land in the New World. It was Personal Clearances in the truest sense of the word. Archibald MacGillivray, who had been an affluent tenant on Skye, was representative of this category who made the choice to emigrate on his own.

* * * *

Archibald MacGillivray removed the letter from his pocket for another look. He knew he should be more careful. The document had been folded and refolded so many times parts were becoming difficult to read. Even knowing he should be more careful was not a deterrent. A letter of recommendation such as this was not something to be put away and forgotten. The words burned into his conscience as he savored each phrase over and over again. Archibald's command of English was not as good as his Gaelic but even so he knew the words and could almost recite them from memory. With a recommendation such as this there could be little doubt of a good start in the New World. Slowly, he steadied himself against the pitch and roll, and began to read each word...⁶

Sleat, August 12th, 1802

These do Certify that the Bearer hereof Archibald MacGillivray is a Native of the Parish of Sleat, Isle of Skye, North Britain. That his Family have always behaved themselves Honestly and Decently, and are therefore Recommended as good Members of Society wherever it may please Providence to Cast their Lot.

Martin MacPherson	Minister
Arch MacDonald	Elder
John MacKinnon	Elder
Angus MacDonald	Elder

As Archibald slowly read the letter, the hustle and bustle of the crowded ship was replaced by poignant memories of the dear old land the MacGillivrays had once called home. It was still hard for the immigrants to accept the realization that each day carried them further and further from their ancestral home towards the Great Unknown. But these brief lapses into nostalgia were

6. This Letter of Recommendation has remained in the MacGillivray family since the day it was written. It is now in the possession of Allie and Lucille McGilvary of Lemon Springs, North Carolina.

becoming shorter and shorter as the New World got closer and closer.



Figure 19. The site of Archibald MacGillivray's croft at Teangue, Parish of Sleat. The remnants of the "black house" and out-building are still recognizable. The hill, Cnoc a'Chaise Mor, that figured so prominently in Teangue affairs is in the background.

Slowly and reluctantly the purple hills and green fields of Scotland faded from Archibald MacGillivray's thoughts as the tempestuous North Atlantic once again commanded his attention. It was late September 1802 and they were on the high seas. As Archibald's thoughts reluctantly returned to the present, he scanned the familiar faces on the crowded deck and new memories of the past few turbulent weeks came to the fore.

Their journey from Skye had begun on a humid day in late August 1802. As expected, there had been the normal amount of confusion at the shore as the various families arranged and rearranged the personal belongings they were to take to America. After the long and tearful goodbyes to friends and neighbors who were staying behind, small fishing boats had ferried the travelers and their possessions from Ardvasar to a coastal packet anchored offshore. In addition to the MacGillivray contingent, which consisted of Archibald, Angus and Alexander and their respective families, there were MacIvers and members of other prominent Sleat families. Loading was a cumbersome process but finally it was finished and the packet moved slowly out into the Sound. There were few dry eyes as the passengers crowded the rails for a last view of the island that had been their only home and the home of their ancestors for generations before them.

Their first destination was Liverpool, England where the Skye families were to join other emigrants aboard the "Duke of Kent" outward bound for Wilmington, North Carolina. All in all there would be about 500 passengers aboard. Sailing times were governed by the weather and there was a brief delay before departure. The Highlanders, because of the language barrier, stayed pretty much to themselves but a few could speak English well enough to

question the dock workers incessantly about what to expect on the voyage to America and what to expect after they arrived. Based on these fragments of conversation, rumors were rife from one end of the ship to the other.

Finally, the fateful day arrived and amidst much excitement the Duke of Kent moved outward with the tide. As they rounded Holyhead into St. George's Channel the coast of Ireland could be seen to starboard and the prophetic words of the song they had sung on Skye came alive. After months of anticipation, they were traveling "Over the road past ⁷England, past home and past the road to Ireland." They were going to America!

* * * *

The voyage was long and the ship was crowded. Although it was the beginning of the stormy season the weather held fair and, despite the crowded conditions and substandard food, there had been no serious illnesses to mar the voyage. Boredom was the major problem as each day repetitiously merged with the next. There was ample time to speculate on the future and the question uppermost in everyone's thoughts was what would their new homes be like? What kind of reception would they get in America?

Almost all of the emigrants had undertaken this voyage because of rising expectations based on favorable reports from those who had gone before. But, along with the good aspects, many also knew that as late as twenty years ago the Highland Scot had not been popular in North Carolina. To a large extent the reasons for this unpopularity were known and understood; one reason was political and the other was economic.

By and large, the Highland Scots had remained loyal to the Crown during the recent Revolution even to the point of trying to play an active military role against the Americans. After hostilities began in 1775, representatives of the Crown went to the Cape Fear country to raise all loyal subjects and march them to the sea to strengthen British forces. In February 1776, about 1,600 Highlanders from North Carolina, under the command of Brigadier Donald Macdonald began their march to the sea. The active roles played by Allan and Flora Macdonald in this recruitment and ensuing action have been well documented.

On 27 February 1776, Macdonald's Highland contingent arrived at Moore's Creek Bridge in present Pender County, North Carolina. There they were opposed by a force of about 1,000 Americans under the command of James Moore. The Americans had arrived first and had partially dismantled the bridge forcing the Highlanders to cross in single file. American sharpshooters picked off about twenty of the Highlanders without effort and the rest surrendered or fled. About 800 were taken prisoner. The privates were soon released on parole and the officers were sent to Halifax for exchange. Many of these ex-officers settled in Canada's maritime provinces after the war. The survivors

7. Satterfield, Frances Gibson, Charles Duncan MacIver (Atlanta: Ruralist Press, Inc., 1942).

who returned to Scotland after the episode at Moore's Creek Bridge made known with crystal clarity how the rebellious Americans felt towards the loyal Scottish Highlanders.

The other reason for the Highland Scots unpopularity in America was more subtle. Once the Highlanders migrated to the Colonies, it was natural for them to want to transfer their traditional way of life to the New World. They seized every opportunity to do so and, at the same time, improve their status. In the process the Scots acquired a reputation for boldness and clannishness. Moreover the canniness and good business acumen of the Scot in trade and barter was a universally earned attribute that tended to make the non-Scottish settlers wary. In the 18th century, these qualities were not greatly admired by the Americans. It was only later in the 19th century that Scottish boldness came to be regarded as a virtue and clannishness was considered a quaint and charming Scottish idiosyncrasy.⁸

None of this was news to Archibald MacGillivray. He had heard these tales many times before and he was not particularly worried about the reception he and his family would receive. Martin's letters written before he died and now John and Malcolm's letters indicated that much of the animosity towards Highland Scots had slowly diminished after the end of the Revolution and the peace treaty was signed. Highland Scots were still canny and clannish but this was no longer a detriment. The thoughts and energies of most Americans were now directed elsewhere. There was a restlessness and stirring in the land. The new Nation was beginning to put it all together and the concept of manifest destiny was crystallizing. There was a mood to expand and the West was beckoning. North Carolinian's horizons now extended far beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains and as, the Nation expanded, the Highland Scots communities in the Cape Fear Valley became an accepted part of the American scene.

Suddenly Archibald's thoughts were interrupted by the shrill cry all the emigrants had been anxiously waiting to hear.

Land ahoy! Land ahoy! Came the call from the crows-nest.

The MacGillivrays joined the other emigrants at the rail as each tried to verify their preconceived impressions of what their new homeland would be like. During the long voyage, each immigrant had spent many pleasurable hours forming mental images of America. Now there was no need for images. The time for speculation was over as reality slowly took shape on the western horizon. America was unfolding before their very eyes.

It was the 30th of October 1802, a clear, crisp day with a fresh wind from the northeast that thrust the Duke of Kent landward at a lively clip. Anticipation made time stand still but eventually they reached landfall and the Captain changed course to starboard to enter the wide mouth of the Cape Fear Estuary. On the right was the barrier island of the Cape Fear. Later it would be called Smith Island. On the left was the beach berm covered with sea oats that swayed continuously in the breeze. The Scots thought it symbolic that the first native plant they would see in the New World should bear the same name

8. Graham, Colonist from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783

as the cereal grain that had been their staple food for so many generations.

Gaelic expressions of awe echoed across the water as the ship tacked back and forth in the channel to take advantage of wind and tide. Each turn brought new sights and new sounds that strengthened their initial surprise. The coast was so different from the rocks and crashing surf of Skye. Strange waterfowl, startled by the intruders into their world, shattered the silence with raucous calls as they took wing. As the ship tacked slowly upstream, the coastal dunes were replaced by a vast marshland of rippling grass whose surface was broken occasionally by a sluggish tidal stream. The marshland itself was broken here and there by hummocks on which grew oak trees draped with long grey beards. Later they would come to know this as Spanish moss.

Slowly, as they continued upstream, the character of the land changed again. The coastal marshland gave way to sandy fringes of the coastal plain. The vegetation changed as dense stands of long-leaf pine and several varieties of oak flourished in the sand hills. Scattered plantations appeared on the west bank and the immigrants sighted the first blacks working the fields. Slavery was not a surprise to the Scottish immigrants but for many it was their first close look at black people. They represented another American phenomenon the Scots would have to learn to accept as a way of life in the New World.

Soon they passed the ruins of what had obviously been a town. A crew member informed them that this was the site of Brunswick Town which had been abandoned in 1776 and later was burned by the British. Before the sobering impact of this historic observation could be assimilated, they were close upon one of the most beautiful buildings many had ever seen. The grandeur of Orton Plantation was a harbinger of what could be achieved in this land of opportunity.

Ahead the level of habitation slowly increased. The few isolated plantation docks, with their retinue of scattered building, gave way to the more urban buildup of a larger town. Small in comparison to the Liverpool they had left behind so many weeks ago, there was still enough hustle and bustle to eliminate any doubt as to where they were. The long journey from Scotland was drawing to a close. Their destination was at hand. The immigrants from Skye had finally arrived in the New World. A new life was about to begin.

* * * * *

The Duke of Kent docked late in the afternoon. The sun was on its annual journey south of the equinox and darkness came early. But not too early for the curious Islanders to use the last bit of daylight to explore their new environment.

Wilmington, North Carolina was an old town, and it was the major seaport in North Carolina. Not surprisingly, the newcomers learned that it had once been called New Liverpool. Most of the commerce was concentrated near the intersection of Front and Market Streets close to where the ship had docked. The sights, sounds and smells were beyond description.

Martin's son John, who was to provide escort and transportation on the long overland journey to Moore County, had met the MacGillivray families at

dockside and helped them get settled into an inn for the night. This too was a new experience for most of the immigrants had never enjoyed the comforts of an inn before. There had been inns on Skye but they were only rarely patronized by the Skye people. The early inns in North Carolina were not noted for elegance but, after the long crowded, sea voyage, they seemed luxurious to the weary travelers.

Excitement permitted little sleep that first night. There was too much to talk about and too many plans to be made. Morning was painfully slow in coming and at first light they were off to purchase the necessary supplies for their journey and for the new homesteads they would soon be establishing. If the land was strange, many of the local people were not. Enough Scots had gone into business in Wilmington so that the immigrants felt some affinity for the merchants. Most were Lowlanders but a few spoke enough Gaelic so that their business was concluded satisfactorily. The remainder of the day was spent packing wagons and preparing for an early departure.

The MacGillivray party left Wilmington early on the morning of 1 November 1802. They traveled in several wagons and the terrain they had viewed so eagerly from aboard ship was viewed no less eagerly close up. Their route was northwesterly and soon after leaving town they entered the swamp forest at the confluence of the Cape Fear and Northeastern Rivers where the going was difficult and where the primary trees were unfamiliar hardwoods.

Soon the swamp forest was behind them and they entered an environment that was somewhat familiar yet mysterious. They were in the long-leaf pine barrens. Evergreens or conifers were no strangers to Scottish Highlanders, but the pine forest through which the road wound northward was unique if for no other reason than its vastness. Scotland had once been heavily forested just like this but centuries of overcutting for fuel and agriculture had denuded the glens and hills until now they were almost totally bare. But here in Eastern North Carolina the forests were so thick and brooding it seemed they could hardly wait for the travelers to pass so they could begin to reclaim the narrow roads.

And narrow they were. Most commerce between Wilmington and the upstream communities was by river rafts and barges and the roads through the sandy pine barrens were hardly more than trails. Fortunately, the land was flat and the road sandy so that the journey was smooth. The children, unaware of adult concerns, were fascinated by the travel. Many strange and exciting birds and small animals were seen and they spent hours watching the sand from the road catch in the iron rims of the wagon wheels and slowly turn upward until, recalled by gravity, it fell back to earth as an ever changing cascade of sparkles as the fine grains caught and reflected the morning sun.

For the adults, the long hours on the road were spent exchanging information on the various families. Archibald, Angus and Alexander brought John up to date on the family and events on Skye, and John did the same for his family and what had happened to them since they came to North Carolina.

John's father, Martin MacGillivray, was the oldest scion of the family and he had preceded his brothers to America. It is appropriate to begin our discussion of the MacGillivrays in America with Martin and his family.

THE MARTIN MCGILVARY FAMILY

After the McGilvays were established in North Carolina, their surname was Americanized in the records, sometimes with disastrous interpretations that bore little or no resemblance to the original Scottish surname. Eventually, in the families we are concerned with, the surname stabilized to McGilvary, and this Americanized form of the surname will be used hereafter in the text.

Genealogy charts have been compiled to show the lineage of some American McGilvays whose ancestors emigrated from the Isle of Skye to North Carolina. These charts are presented as Appendix B. Commensurate with available data, the descendants of the original immigrants are identified on the charts. All vital statistics are included when available.

In addition to the genealogy charts, biographical sketches of some of the McGilvary descendants are presented in the text. Since there is no advantage in duplicating the information that is on the charts, we have been selective in preparing these biographical notes. Only those McGilvary descendants who achieved some degree of fame or notoriety or who left interesting anecdotes or history that we are aware of are included in the text.

Our discussion of the McGilvary immigrants from Skye, who settled in North Carolina, begins with Martin McGilvary, the progenitor of a branch of the family whose members traveled widely and achieved considerable fame.

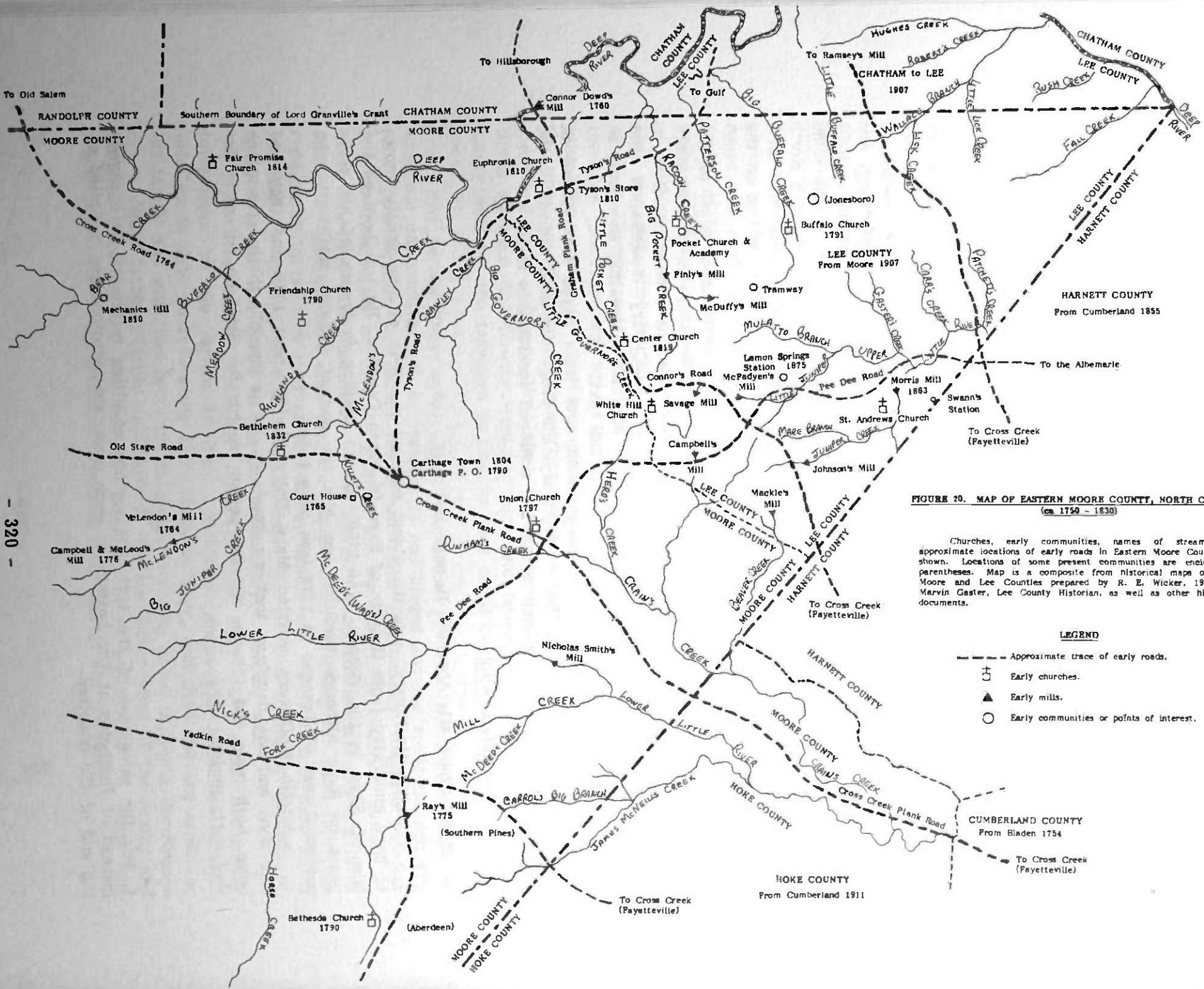
M1 MARTIN MCGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M1, Appendix B, page B-1.

Martin McGilvary¹ was the eldest son and the first of this family known to have emigrated from the Isle of Skye to North Carolina. He was born on the Isle of Skye in the decade 1750-1760. Almost nothing is known of his early years on Skye although tradition has him the son of Charles McGilvary who possessed part of Teangue in 1778 (see page 144).

Martin McGilvary married Mary Dalrymple in about 1770 and they had four sons and one daughter that we know of. It is possible there were other issue, both male and female, but the parish records for Sleat do not exist for that early period.

1. For the remainder of the text, the method of citing references is changed. Instead of footnotes at the bottom of each page, the citations are compiled at the end of the chapters.



**FIGURE 20. MAP OF EASTERN MOORE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA
(ca. 1750 - 1830)**

Churches, early communities, names of streams and approximate locations of early roads in Eastern Moore County are shown. Locations of some present communities are enclosed in parentheses. Map is a composite from historical maps of early Moore and Lee Counties prepared by R. E. Wicker, 1956 and Marvin Gaster, Lee County Historian, as well as other historical documents.

LEGEND

- - - - Approximate trace of early roads.
 Early churches.
 Early mills.
 Early communities or points of interest.

From family papers we know that Martin McGilvary and his family emigrated to North Carolina in 1789 and settled on the headwaters of the Cape Fear River in what was then Moore County (now Lee County). Apparently he and his family were on the move during those early years as they have not been identified in the First Federal Census of 1790.

On 20 June ², Martin McGilvary made an entry for a State Land Grant consisting of,

"...100 acres in Moore County on both sides of Little Pocket Creek joining the Murdoch McRay line..."

Evidently, Martin did not follow up on this entry or else his application was denied because there is no record that the tract was ever surveyed or that he was ever awarded this land grant. Martin McGilvary did, however, acquire land by deed and by 1815 ³ the homestead consisted of at least 225 acres on the waters of Pocket Creek. The area where Martin and the other McGilvarys lived can be located on the map of early Moore County, NC. presented schematically on page 314.

Martin McGilvary died shortly before 1800 and presumably is buried on the homestead. His widow, Mary Dalrymple McGilvary, survived Martin by more than twenty years. In 1800, she was enumerated in the census with her son John (M13), who was recorded as head of household. Her age was given as more than 45 years.⁴

By 1810, Martin's three older sons were no longer identified in Moore County, NC. Family tradition claims they had gone elsewhere in America to seek their fortunes. One is supposed to have gone to the Southwest Frontier and two supposedly went to the Northwest Frontier.

In the 1810 census, Widow Mary Dalrymple McGilvary was enumerated in Moore County, NC as Mary McGilbiry, head of household. Her age was given as more than 45 years. Mary McGilvary died before the 1820 census and the homestead passed to the younger son, M14 Malcolm McGilvary (q.v.).

M13 JOHN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M13, Appendix B, page B-2.

John McGilvary⁶ was born on the Isle of Skye and came to North Carolina with his father in 1789. There was apparently a very close relationship with the McIver family. Between 1792 and 1800, various members of the McIver Family filed for seven State Land Grants in Moore County, NC totaling 644 acres more or less. In 1792, a Donald McIver filed the first entry for 100 acres on the west side of Juniper Creek adjacent to the Buie lands. The remaining six land grant entries were made by other McIvers and they were all on the waters of Pattersons Creek in Moore County, NC. These tracts were surveyed between 1795 and 1801 and John McGilvary served as a chain carrier on each of the seven surveys. Normally, chain carriers were neighbors who knew the lay of the land.

John McGilvary was the family member who escorted the later

MacGillivray immigrants to Moore County, NC after they arrived at the Port of Wilmington in 1802. In the 1800 Census, he had been enumerated as John McGilvery, head of household. In the 1800 Census there was an unidentified female in the household in the age bracket 16-26 years. There were also two unidentified males in the household whose ages were under ten years.

In 1809, John McGilvary was married in Edenton, NC to Miss Ruth Owens. Shortly after the marriage, John and Ruth McGilvary moved west to Christian County, Kentucky near Hopkinsville. In 1810, the first of eleven children was born. John McGilvary died in Kentucky between 1830-1837. Ruth Owens McGilvary had deceased by 1837. After their mother died, the brothers and sisters moved to Illinois.

Some of John's descendants still spell their surname "McGilvary," others changed it to "McGivry."

M131 ALEXANDER McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M13, Appendix B, page B-2.

Alexander McGilvary died in Kentucky at age 30 years. Apparently he was a hat maker. Family tradition states that he was a very precise person who kept an account book of all his income and expenses. The following are some representative extracts from this account book to illustrate the type of transactions Alexander recorded.

For the Year 1836

Jan 1st - I settled with Myrch and Smith, and bought five dollars worth of goods. Paid for them with a hat.

2nd - I bought one dozen chickens \$1.00. Four chairs \$2.00. sold two hats to Sam and Inder for \$9.25....

5th - Johnson and Angus [McGilvary] worked two days each with Mr. Griffith \$1.50....

7th - Wrote a letter to A. Cooper, and killed 1057 pounds of pork.

11th - Sold 4 and 3/4 bushels meal to Wm. Cavanah and one hat by Angus \$3.00....

Feb 17th - Sold my tobacco to Alexander Bradshaw at 4 1/2 dollars per hundred wt. \$24.00....

Mar 29th - Bought 9 yards domestic \$1.50. One pound nails and pint of whisky .25 cents by self one shirt....

May 1st - Paid for two letters and box of wafers .63 cents for Mother's fine writing paper and two combs .62 cents....

Jun 6th - One pint whisky and half ounce of cloves and one tucking

comb .32 cents....

Jul 25th - One pint whisky 12 1/2 cents. One pair shoes for Christina \$3.00. Angus [M137] finished 2 months work at \$8.00 per month \$16.00....

Nov 23rd - To A. R. Fortune to buy 8 yards marine \$5.00. 1 marine (wool) shawl \$3.00. 1 belt .38 cents. Total of \$8.38.

This was the last entry and the end of Alexander's bookkeeping. The remainder of the account book was by Johnson McGilvary (q.v.)

M136 JOHNSON McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M136, Appendix B, page B-2.

After their mother died in 1837, all of the McGilvary brothers and sisters moved to Macoupin County, Illinois. Johnson McGilvary settled near Dorchester, Illinois. He married Lavina Swain. In 1845, Johnson briefly took up Alexander's old account book, but apparently he was not inclined towards bookkeeping and his entries were very sparse.

During the Civil War, both Johnson and his brother Willis (M138) served in Co. A, 97th Regiment, Illinois Volunteers. In December 1862, the 97th Regiment was moved to Tennessee to become part of the right wing of the Army of Tennessee, under General Sherman. The mission was to take part in the Campaign against Vicksburg.

While in Tennessee, Johnson McGilvary wrote letters to his wife back home in Illinois. Two of these letters are included here to provide some insight into the mind of a McGilvary soldier who, like the common soldiers of all wars, waited and wondered and thought of home.

Memphis, Tennessee
December 15, 1862

Dear Wife and Children

I again set down to write you. I and Willis [his brother] are as well as common and doing fine. This is a miserable wet day. It rained all last night and is now pouring down like it had not rained in six months, so I have a chance to write not being on guard. Lem Turner came to see me yesterday, his Division has just returned from Holly Springs, there being no enemy there and they are now going down the River to see if there is an enemy at Vicksburg.

I don't know if we will go down with them or stay here, some one must stay here to guard this place, and we may be the ones to stay.

We have not been paid any more money since we left Illinois, it may be that I can send you money to pay the tax, if I can I will, if I can not you must try to raise it. Have you sold any pork? I suppose you will have some to sell.

Has Jacob Randle moved to Bayless? If he has what does he

follow?

I am sorry to hear of your burning so much Molasses, it seems careless to me after burning one lot, not to take better care of the next. How have you taken care of all the Molasses you have made and what have you done with it? What have you done about lots and stable?

I am sure some times provoked at your short letters when any thing from home is news to me.

That account of Wayne and Walter, I don't remember all about it now and can not give it correct as I know of, as well as I remember it was this.

Wayne due Six gallons of Molasses	\$2.40
For posting	\$1.15
Fashion work on machine	.50
Walter due Lorenzo work in 1861	\$1.50
Posting one yearling	\$1.15
Worked self thrashing 4 days	\$4.00
Fashion work on machine	.75

If Lorenzo can correct this let him do so.

Lieutenant Wood just now came in and says we will leave here on the 18th of this month, we will no doubt go down the river to Vicksburg and if the enemy don't leave before we get there, we will get to see them, that is I suppose we will.

On a rainy bad day like this my mind naturally goes back to that old dear home of mine and I think what my family are doing such weather as this.

We are in camp and looking and listening for that good time coming when we will all return home in peace and quiet.

Thomas Swain [wife's brother] is well and fat as I ever saw him. He expects to be transferred to the Regiment that William Swain is in; in the place of Captain Willards brother which is in the Regiment.

How does people like brother Goode and what is he doing? I sent my last weeks letter to Thompson, I suppose you would hear from me. Write as usual to Memphis to follow the Regiment.

Yours as ever,
Johnson McGilvary

The second letter from Johnson McGilvary to his wife was written about a month after the above. In less than two months Johnson would be dead.

Napoleon, Arkansas
Jan 17th, 1863

Dear Wife and Children,

I again seat myself to write to you. I am not very well, I have some diarrhea though not very bad. I am still about and attending to duty.

Willis says he is well and sends you all his best love and respects. I received your letter dated January 3, and was glad to

hear again from home. I don't think I get all the letters you send me, sometimes they are captured by guerrillas. I have not been able to write as often as I promised on account of surrounding circumstances. I wrote last at the mouth of the White River on the third of January.

We went up the White River to the cut off and then into Arkansas Post which was a considerable fortification. We commenced firing on it on Saturday evening and it surrendered on Sunday about 4 o'clock with some six or seven thousand prisoners and all their arms and everything they had: two 10 inch and one 9 inch guns and a great many smaller guns. But our gunboat went up to good shelling distance in front [of the fort] and soon done it up for them. Their largest guns were in barrel roofs made of solid timber 4 foot thick and covered with R.R. iron. But it was not a circumstance to our guns they threw shot and shell, threw it like nothing.

Well, I reckon you want to know if I was in the fight, well just slightly. We were under fire some time but not in front but a little while. The 97th and 19th were reserved to make the final charge; we got ready to make it they showed a white flag and the fight was over.

You speak of oweing George Baker \$16.00 after paying him five, I certainly didn't owe him over \$10.00. You had better pay him no more.

I am not uneasy about things at home, I have a great deal of confidence in you all, but I am anxious to hear all about things at home. Don't forget that grass sowing, it is getting late and quite cool and I must come to a close.

Yours with a hope to see you soon.

Johnson McGilvary

PS. Send me 25 cents postage stamps and I would like to have a [news]paper once in a while. I suppose it is very cold in Ill. as we have had 3 days snow down here. I don't know how many were killed or wounded on either side, no more than you do. You have not told me anything about Willis [Johnson's son] for some time. I assure you I have not forgot as smart a boy as him. J. M.

Johnson McGilvary died of yellow fever at Youngs Point, Louisiana on 7 Mar 1863 during the siege of Vicksburg. Youngs Point was never a town but was a river crossing used by both Northern and Southern troops at various times during the war. Johnson is buried at Soldiers Cemetery between Jackson and Vicksburg, Mississippi.

M138 WILLIS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M138, Appendix B, pages B-2 and B-5.

Willis McGilvary owned land in Bond County, Illinois near New Douglas. During the Civil War, Willis served with his brother, Johnson, in Co. A, 97th Regiment, Illinois Volunteers. Willis survived the War, married three times and

lived until 1915.

M14 MALCOLM DALRYMPLE McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M14, Appendix B, page B-6.

Family records state that Malcolm Dalrymple McGilvary, the youngest son of Martin McGilvary, was born on the Isle of Skye in 1778 and was brought to America when he was eleven years old. Little is known of his early years. When his three older brothers and sister went west, Malcolm remained in Moore County with his mother and eventually inherited the homestead on the waters of Little Pocket Creek in northern Moore County. Malcolm resided there for the remainder of his life. He died in 1841 and is buried in the McIver Family Cemetery commonly called the Scotch Ever Cemetery.

Malcolm McGilvary saw military service in the War of 1812. The records show that, as Malcolm McGilvery, he was detached from the 6th Company, Moore Regiment and, as Malcolm McGilberry, he was in Major Cameron's Command, North Carolina Militia.

Malcolm was listed on the Moore County, NC Tax List for the year 1815 as a land owner with holdings of 225 acres valued at \$400.00. A rare photograph of the dwelling on the Malcolm McGilvary homestead on the waters of Little Pocket Creek is shown on page 327.

Malcolm Dalrymple McGilvary was ordained an Elder of the Buffalo Presbyterian Church in 1814. Buffalo Church was a center of religious activities for many of the Cape Fear Scots and the services were conducted in Gaelic until 1840. Malcolm passed his religious principles on to his children. Four of his sons were ordained Elders of the Presbyterian Church and one son achieved worldwide fame as a missionary.

It follows that Malcolm McGilvary, having strong religious beliefs, would also be a good citizen. The public records bear this out. During the almost nine year period from 1823 till 1831, the official records contain numerous references to him serving as a juror for the Moore County Courts.¹⁰

Malcolm McGilvary married twice. On 18 September 1811, he married Catherine McIver, daughter of Daniel "Little John" McIver and Mary Monroe. Catherine was born in North Carolina in 1787 shortly after her parents arrived from Scotland. Catherine McGilvary died on 23 November 1828 five months after her son, Daniel, was born. The events leading to Catherine's death are a commentary on the hardships of those times.

Daniel was born on 16 May 1828 when Catherine McGilvary was 41 years of age. The birth was difficult even though Catherine had had six previous successful childbirths. Apparently, this last birth caused severe internal damage that required major corrective surgery. Unfortunately, the nearest surgeon was in Fayetteville, a distance of about fifty miles from the family homestead. As soon after the birth as Catherine could endure to travel, Malcolm loaded her in a wagon for the long trying journey. The roads were poor and the trip was long and arduous. There was no anesthetics or drugs to ease the pain and the poor woman suffered every agonizing mile of the journey. The shock was too great for her system and she died soon afterwards. She is buried in the Old

Scotch Ever Cemetery in northern Moore County.¹¹



Figure 21. The Malcolm Dalrymple McGilvary homestead on the waters of Little Pocket Creek in Moore County, North Carolina.

In 1832, Malcolm McGilvary remarried. His second wife was Nancy McIntosh who was born around 1800, presumably in North Carolina. Nancy bore two children.

Malcolm McGilvary died on 8 June 1841. By the autumn of that year (November 1841), Nancy was involved in several legal suits against the Administrator of Malcolm's estate petitioning for Dower rights and a yearly allowance. Litigation continued until April 1844 when the estate was finally distributed.¹² Finally, in April 1844, Widow Nancy McGilvary was appointed guardian of Catherine McGilvary (M148), who was declared a minor heir of Malcolm McGilvary, deceased.¹³ After the estate was settled, Nancy sold her portion of the homestead to her step-son Evander (M142). After disposing of her real property in North Carolina, Nancy McGilvary went to Texas to join her other step-children who had already established homesteads there. Nancy

McGilvary died in Texas in 1852.

M141 JOHN MARTIN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M141, Appendix B, page 7.

John Martin McGilvary¹⁴ was the first son of Malcolm Dalrymple and Catherine McIver McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, NC on 20 Dec 1812 and died in Navarro County, TX on 18 May 1878. He is buried in Birdston Cemetery in Navarro County.

John Martin McGilvary married Eleanor McIver in 1837. The Marriage Bond was issued in Chatham County, NC to J. M. McGilvary and Ellen McIver on 18 Oct 1837.¹⁵

By 1839, John Martin and family had moved to Madison County, Tennessee where he was enumerated in the 1840 Census as John MacGiverry. John owned three slaves and was in manufacturing and trade.¹⁶ The family remained in Madison County until after 1841. By 1844, the family was in Shelby County, TN. In 1845 John Martin gave his Power of Attorney to his brother (M144) Alexander McGilvary who was still in Moore County, NC.¹⁷

By 1846, John Martin and family had moved further west to Montgomery County, Texas. In the 1850 Census, John Martin was enumerated as J. M. McGilberry.¹⁸ In 1860, he was enumerated as J. M. McGilbry¹⁹ and by 1870 he was J. M. McGilery.²⁰

Eleanor McGilvary died less than a year after the birth of their last child in 1852. After the death of his wife, John Martin brought his sister, Mary (M145), to Texas to help raise the children.

In his younger days, John Martin McGilvary had been a plantation overseer. He continued this line of work until the outbreak of the Civil War when he went into farming for himself.

M1411 WILLIAM THOMAS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M141, Appendix B, page B-7.

William Thomas "Tanny" McGilvary was six feet tall, his eyes were blue, his hair was light colored and his complexion was light. This information is from the record of his service in the Civil War.

William Thomas enlisted near Harrisonburg, Texas on 2 August 1861 for the duration of the war. He was a Private in Company D, 5th Regiment, Texas Infantry. For about three months in late 1861 he was ill in the hospital at Richmond, Virginia. On 2 July 1863, William Thomas McGilvary was captured during the Battle of Gettysburg. He was sent to Fort Delaware, Delaware as a prisoner-of-war. He remained at Fort Delaware until he was released on 9 June 1865. He returned home to Texas and died a young man in 1869 when he was thrown violently from a horse he was trying to break. He is buried in Navarro County, Texas.

M1414 ALEXANDER MURDOCK McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M141, Appendix B, page B-7.

Alexander Murdock McGilvary served in the Civil War. On 28 March 1862, he enlisted at Danville, Montgomery County, Texas for three years or the duration of the war. Alexander served as a Private in Company B, 24th Regiment, Texas Cavalry until part of the Regiment was captured at Fort Hindman, Arkansas Post, Arkansas on 11 January 1863. After capture, Alexander Murdock was sent to Camp Butler, Springfield, Illinois as a prisoner-of-war. Apparently, he was paroled because he next appears in St. Mary's Hospital, Dalton, Georgia suffering from chronic diarrhea. On 5 June 1863, Alexander Murdock was transferred to Atlanta, Georgia. He was carried on the Muster Rolls until April 1864.²¹

The Vollintine Papers state that Alexander Murdock was killed in battle at Franklin, Tennessee. Even though his service record does not corroborate his death in battle, we accept the Vollintine version. Other records show that Alexander Murdock died on 30 Nov 1864, when he was just over 20 years old.²²

M1415 JOHN CLINTON MCGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M141, Appendix B, page B-7.

The John Clinton McGilvary family is presented as Figure 22, below.²³

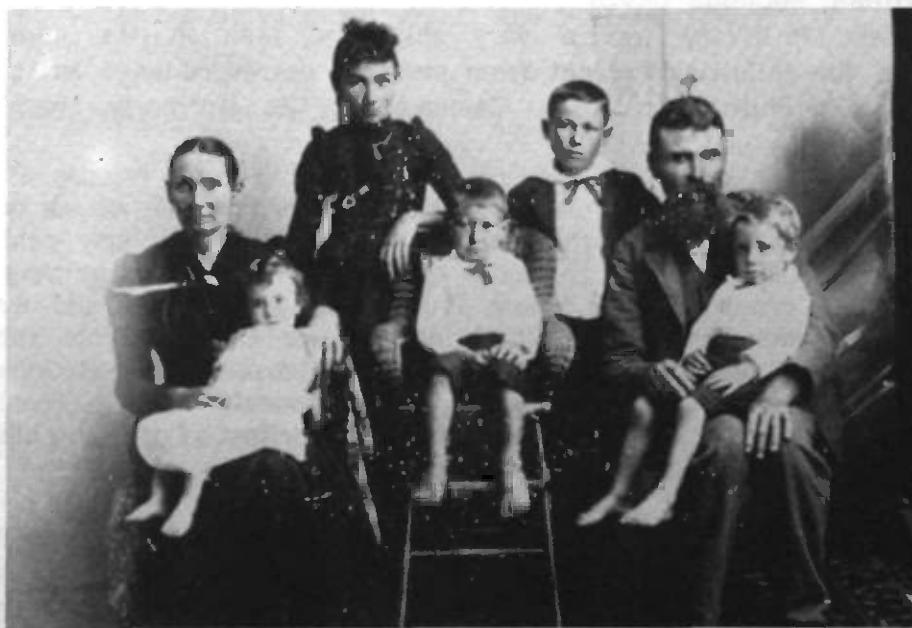


Figure 22. The John Clinton McGilvary Family. Back row: Leta and Ernest Linwood McGilvary. Front row: Annette Spillers McGilvary (Mother) holding Janie Helm; Henry Angus (center) and John Clinton McGilvary (Father) holding Evander Martin.

M1418 ELEANOR McGILVARY HODGES

Refer to: Chart M141, Appendix B, page B-7.

Eleanor McGilvary, a spinster, was living with her aunt, Mary Helm (M145), in Navarro County, Texas in 1880. She was a teacher at the Common School. She was enumerated in the census as "Ellen."²⁴

In 1881, Eleanor married Gilbert Warren Hodges. In 1892, when the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservations in Western Oklahoma were opened for settlement the Hodges made the run for land. For many years thereafter the family lived in sod shanties with dirt roofs and dirt floors. Eleanor taught the first school in a small stone building on Sweetwater Creek. To reach the school she rode a pony five miles twice a day from her ranch home near Cheyenne.²⁵

M142 EVANDER McGILVARY

Refer to: Charts M14 and M142, Appendix B, pages B-6 and B-17.

Evander McGilvary was the second son of Malcolm Dalrymple McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, NC in 1815. As an adult he was 5'10" tall, with fair complexion, blue eyes and light-colored hair.

When his mother disposed of her property and went to Texas, Evander acquired the McGilvary homestead on Pocket Creek and remained in Moore County until his death in 1897. In 1846, Evander married Mary Ann McIver daughter of Duncan and Flora Nicolson McIver. Evander and Mary Ann had only one son, William Malcolm (q.v.).

Evander McGilvary was a very respected man in the community as illustrated in the following extract from personal correspondence written in 1942 by Dr. J. W. Phillips to J. D. Cameron of Lee (formerly Moore) County, NC.²⁶

...But of all the pleasure this life can afford me, honesty with my fellow man is the greatest. This is particularly real as my mind wanders back to early childhood. My early memory of that little group of men whom I so often saw at the old water mill; you and Uncle Allen [Oldham], Archie Cole and his father Greenberry Cole, Evander McGilvary and others. Surely God never created truer men than these. Their honesty sprang from a consciousness of the Golden Rule. My earliest faith in human behavior had it's birth in that little community...

In 1851, Evander McGilvary's land holdings totaled 275 acres valued at \$388.00. By 1858, his taxable estate had increased to 428 acres and was valued at \$1,284.²⁷ Evander owned at least one large family of slaves that lived on his property. Old-timers recalled seeing "Uncle George McGilvary", as one of the heads of the slave household was known, drive up to Buffalo Church in one of "Mr. Evander's" wagons and the entire family would go up into the slave gallery for the church service. Apparently, the McGilvary slaves were much attached to their "white folks" because for years after the Emancipation descendants of

these slaves would meet McGilvary descendants and claim they were "kinsfolks."²⁸

Many of the citizens who lived in the Pocket Creek area, including Evander McGilvary and family, attended Buffalo Presbyterian Church, where Evander had been ordained an Elder on 7 Oct 1854. The trip from the Pocket community to Buffalo Church was a tiring journey considering the roads of those days and, in April 1890, 52 members of Buffalo Church were dismissed to help form a new church near Pocket Creek. Evander and his wife were part of that contingent.

On 2 May 1890, Pocket Presbyterian Church was organized. Evander McGilvary was one of the first Elders. The first services were held in the McGilvary School. In January 1894, Evander McGilvary conveyed by deed two and one-half acres of land on the waters of Big Pocket Creek to the trustees of the Pocket Presbyterian Church to be used as a site for a church building. Pocket Church was built on this tract in 1896-7.²⁹ The church was across the road from the McGilvary School.

It has not been established when or where Evander got his training but, in January 1854, he was qualified by the Court as an official Deputy Surveyor for Moore County. This appointment was at the request and consent of Newin Ray, principal surveyor for the County. Evander continued as Deputy Surveyor until at least 1859.

Evander McGilvary's name appears frequently in the extant Court Minutes for Moore County. The following is a representative, although by no means complete, selection of entries that refer to Evander McGilvary.

Allowed \$1.86 for being a witness in the State against
Tom, a slave...³¹

Witnessed will of Daniel McIver...³²

...[with others] ordered to work on the road from the Chatham County
Line to Furr Branch...³³

To serve as a Jury member many times...³⁴

As heir of Duncan McIver inherited 138 acres on both sides of
Pattersons Creek by the Waggon Road...³⁵

...[with others] ordered to work on the road from the Chatham County
Line to the Old Haywood Road...³⁶

Evander McGilvary & Jordan Wicker to supervise the election for
Court Clerk from District 5...³⁷

All of the above indicates that Evander was a good citizen and when the South went to war he did not shirk his responsibility. Both he and his son volunteered. Evander, at age 49, enrolled at Carthage on 2 Jul 1864 as a Private in Company H, 6th North Carolina Senior Reserves. His son, William, at age 17, enrolled in Company E, 1st North Carolina Junior Reserves.³⁸

On 16 March 1897, the following item appeared in "The Carthage Blade," (Vol XI, No. 33, page 3):

"Mr. Evander McGilvary, one of the oldest and most prominent citizens of Pocket, died at Sanford [North Carolina] one day last week [7 Mar 1897] from the result of injuries received by being thrown from mule-back."

Evander's widow, Mary Ann McGilvary, inherited the homestead and in 1900 was living with her nephew, Evander Cole, who, according to Evander's will, was to inherit the homestead after Mary Ann died.³⁹

M1421 WILLIAM MALCOLM McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M142, Appendix B, page B-17.

William Malcolm McGilvary was the only child of Evander and Mary Ann McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, NC in 1847. As an adult he was 5' 8 1/2" tall, with fair complexion, blue eyes and red hair. He was a farmer as well as a minister. He became a member of the Buffalo Masonic Lodge in 1873 and remained a member until his death.

On 28 May 1864, at age 17 years, William Malcolm enrolled at Camp Holmes as a Private in Company E, 1st North Carolina Junior Reserves. In July and August of 1864, William was detached to Fishing Creek Bridge, but was transferred back to Camp Holmes in January 1865. The following is part of his service record.⁴⁰

Camp Holmes, N.C.
Feb. 17. 1865

Private W. M. McGilvary is recommended a furlough for 3 days on account of disability from Typhoid Fever at the end of which time he will report to this Camp or be considered a deserter.

Richard B. Baker
Surgeon in Charge

Apparently Pvt. William McGilvary had no overwhelming desire to return to military service. The following letter confirms this.

Moore County, N.C.
14 April 1865

I hereby certify that I have carefully examined Pvt. William M. McGilvary & according to my belief he is not able to march to Camp Holmes, N.C. by reason of general debility (sic) & Articular Rheumatism caused by Typhoid Fever. I further declare my belief that he will not be able to stand the March to said Camp Holmes in a less period than 20 days from this date, April 14th, & I would recommend that his furlough be extended for that length of time.

J. M. Campbell, M. D.
Sworn to before me: D. B. McIver, J. P.

The Enlistment Officer for Moore County acknowledged the above letter had been sent but, nevertheless, indicated that William had been absent without leave (AWOL) for some time. These were the last entries in the service record so there is no information on the disposition of the case. However, by that time the case was academic inasmuch as General Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House on 9 April 1865.

In 1878, William married Anne M. Harrington, daughter of William and Mary Harrington of Moore County. Gravestones in the Buffalo Church Cemetery indicate that between 1879 and 1882 William and Anne had three daughters, all of whom died very soon after birth.

William attended Davidson College and after taking a seminary course became a minister. His last charge was in Rutherfordton, NC where he died in 1883 just a few weeks shy of being 36 years old.

Mrs. Anne Harrington McGilvary was a school teacher, and evidently quite a good one because she was fondly remembered by some of her former students in Lee County. By 1880, Anne McGilvary had prevailed upon the State to construct a school in the Pocket Creek area. The school building was used only two months of the year for state-supported education. During the remainder of the year parents who wished further education for their children supported the school by tuition. Mrs. McGilvary was the driving force behind this private institute and the school became known as the McGilvary School. The school was run as a boarding school and in the beginning only girls were boarded there, but later a boy's dormitory was added. The remnants of the McGilvary School are still standing and two views of the deteriorating buildings are presented below as a nostalgic reminder of the early Scots respect and desire for education.



Figure 23. One of the classroom buildings at the Old McGilvary School at Pocket, North Carolina. In later years the McGilvary School was renamed Pocket Academy.



Figure 24. The boy's dormitory at the Old McGilvary School at Pocket, North Carolina. In later years the McGilvary School was renamed Pocket Academy

By 1894, the McGilvary School had outgrown its early promise and more room was needed. Mrs. Anne McGilvary's father-in-law, Evander McGilvary, donated a tract of land for school expansion.⁴¹ He also joined in the formation of a joint-stock company to raise new subscriptions to finance construction of several new buildings. The name of the school was changed to the Pocket Academy. Anne McGilvary, by this time a widow, continued to teach school in Moore County. Eventually, she moved to Statesville, NC where she remarried and had a family.⁴²

M144 ALEXANDER McGILVARY

Refer to: Charts M14 and M144, Appendix B, pages B-6 and B-17.

Not much is known about Alexander McGilvary's early life. During July 1845, his brother John McGilvary's Power of Attorney to Alexander was accepted and registered in Court.⁴³

Alexander McGilvary remained in Moore County, NC until 1849 when he moved to Texas. While in Moore County, Alexander either lived on or adjacent to the original homestead because both he and his brother Evander McGilvary (q.v.) were ordered by the Court to work on the road.⁴⁴ Normally, able-bodied males who lived on a particular road were responsible for its upkeep and were ordered to do so by the Court.

Evander McGilvary arranged to buy his siblings share of the homestead for \$2.00 per acre and at the July 1849 Term a Deed from Alexander McGilvary to Evander McGilvary was proved in Court by the oath of A. N. McIver, witness.⁴⁵ By this transaction Alexander relinquished his rights to the original

McGilvary homestead.

By 1850, Alexander was working as a carpenter in Walker County, Texas. He was residing in the household of a William M. Barrett, who was a carpenter from Virginia.⁴⁶ By 1870, Alexander, now married with family, was living in Navarro County, Texas next door to his older brother, John Martin.⁴⁷

Alexander McGilvary died before 1880. His widow Sarah Jane McGilvary remained in Navarro County until her death in 1907.

M145 MARY McGILVARY HELM

Refer to: Chart M14, Appendix B, page B-6.

When John Martin McGilvary's wife died in 1852 his sister, Mary McGilvary, went to Montgomery County, Texas to take care of her eight nieces and nephews. Pictures show her as a very attractive white-haired lady and the children seemed to love "Aunt Mary" very dearly.⁴⁸

Within a few years, Mary McGilvary had met Abram Helm of Navarro County, who had been an overseer of the McIver Plantation in Tennessee. Abram and Mary were married on 2 March 1856. Abram was considerably older than Mary and there was no issue from this marriage.

In 1860, the Helms resided in Navarro County, TX and Eleanor (Ellen), John Martin McGilvary's youngest, was a member of the Helm household.⁴⁹

Abram Helm died in May 1860. Widow Mary was not identified in 1870 but she was enumerated in 1880. John Martin's three youngest children - Angus Tyson, Thedora and Eleanor (Ellen) - were living with her.⁵⁰ Mary remained in Navarro County until her death in 1897. She is buried in Birdston Cemetery.

M146 ANGUS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M14, Appendix B, page B-6.

In 1850, Angus McGilvary was living in Walker County, Texas near where his brother Alexander (M144) lived. Both Angus and Alexander were carpenters.⁵¹

Evander McGilvary arranged to buy his siblings share of the homestead for \$2.00 an acre and at the Moore Co, NC Court during the January 1854 Term a Deed from Angus McGilvary to his brother Evander was proved in Court by the oath of John McIver, witness.⁵² By this deed Angus relinquished his rights to the original McGilvary homestead.

In 1860, Angus McGilvary was in Navarro County, Texas. He was enumerated as "A. McGilbra" in the household of James Dunn.⁵³ Dunn was the next-door neighbor of Abram Helm, spouse of Angus' sister Mary (q.v.).

In June 1862 at Fairfield, Texas, Angus enlisted in Company F, Wauls Legion, CSA for the duration of the war. He was to receive a bounty but no pay. Angus' military service is sketchy. He was assigned to work on a raft on 25 Feb 1863. Angus died 22 Jun 1863. It is unknown whether his death was service related.⁵⁴

M147 DR. DANIEL McGILVARY, D.D., LL.D.

Refer to: Charts M14 and M147, Appendix B, pages B-6 and B-18.

A strong religious heritage was the hallmark of the Moore County McGilvays and none demonstrated this more vividly than Dr. Daniel McGilvary. His international reputation as a missionary represents the ultimate fulfillment of that heritage. Dr. Daniel's life has been well documented and the interested reader is referred to his autobiography.⁵⁵ In this biographical sketch we shall not try to duplicate per se Dr. Daniel's fascinating work. Instead we shall present a brief sketch and include some heretofore unpublished data.

Daniel was the youngest son of Malcolm Dalrymple and Catherine McIver McGilvary. He was born in Moore County on 16 May 1828. The birth was difficult and his mother died of complications six months after Daniel was born (see discussion on pages 326-327). Feeding bottles were not then in use so the motherless infant was passed around among aunts and cousins who were recent mothers. When Daniel was weaned the motherly care was taken over by his sister Mary who was only a few years his senior.

Traditionally, the Scottish people in the Cape Fear Valley recognized the value of education and maintained a strong affinity between the "kirk" and the school. There were no free public schools available in those early days so parents who wished to see their children educated established subscribed schools. In the winter when the crops were "laid by" teachers would come into the community and "board around" in the homes of the students. Although far from ideal, this arrangement at least exposed the pupils to the rudiments of learning.

From a very early age, young Daniel demonstrated traits that set him apart from others of his age group. He seemed destined for a higher calling. Almost from the beginning he demonstrated an eagerness to learn and an unusual fondness for books. The library in his father's home was sparse, consisting entirely of the Bible and other books of devotion. The prized treasure, and the only pictorial book in the library, was the great quarto Illustrated Bible with the Apocrypha. Before he learned to read Daniel would spend hours pouring over the awe-inspiring pictures. After he learned to read, all available time was spent with the printed words and the aura of religion which they generated had a profound effect on him for the rest of his life. In addition to his love of books, Daniel's ability to memorize difficult lessons and passages from the Bible and the Catechism was phenomenal, and it was this memory that opened the doors to his future.

By the time Daniel was thirteen years old he was in a quandry. He was small for his age and not able to do a man's work on the farm. Even though he was talented in learning, there was no money for a higher education. Then there occurred one of those casual incidents that can determine the whole course of an individual's life. Roderick McIntosh, a cousin of Daniel's step-mother, Nancy McIntosh, came to visit his father who was a neighbor and close friend of the McGilvary family. Roderick was disabled and not able to do manual labor. He had learned the tailors trade and had set up shop in

Pittsboro, Chatham County, NC about 20 miles from the McGilvary homestead. During Roderick's visit to Moore County he stopped by the McGilvary homestead and offered Young Daniel the opportunity to come live with him and learn the tailors trade. Daniel accepted and on 31 August 1841 he left the homestead to go to live in Pittsboro.

Pittsboro was not a large village. There were only two churches in town, Methodist and Episcopal. Daniel's benefactor was a staunch Methodist and on the very first Sunday Daniel joined the Methodist Sunday School. This would prove to be the next important milestone in his life.

The Methodist Sunday School had a system of awarding prizes to pupils who demonstrated proficiency in reciting answers to questions asked in a primer. By the second Sunday, Daniel had mastered all of the questions and so impressed the school that he was passed immediately to the next class. This success stimulated young Daniel to even more study and more importantly it awakened in him a love and feeling for the Scriptures.

Despite forceful urgings from his many friends, Daniel did not join the Methodist Church. Instead he remained true to his Presbyterian heritage and joined his father's old church at Buffalo. It was, however, while Daniel was with the Methodists that he accepted Christ as his Savior and dedicated his life to religion.

Daniel's talents and work at the Methodist Church in Pittsboro did not go unnoticed, however. The next fateful step in his career came in the fall of 1845 when he was seventeen years old. It was then that he received from out of the blue a generous invitation from the Rev. William Bingham to take a course at the Bingham School at the Principal's expense. The Bingham School at that time was located in Pittsboro and was the most celebrated and noted school in the South. Daniel never learned how or why he was chosen for such a singular honor but he jumped at the chance and agreed to be a teacher for four years after he graduated to repay all expenses and tuition. There was, however, an additional fringe benefit. If Daniel should become a minister after graduation the tuition would be free.

Daniel graduated from the Bingham School in May 1849, a few days before he was twenty-one years old. Again Fate intervened and he was asked to form a new preparatory school in his own town of Pittsboro. He succeeded in his new endeavor and by the second year was put in charge of the local Academy. He proved to be a successful educator and remained in this position until his four year commitment to the Bingham School was finished.

In the meantime, Daniel had been progressing upward in the Presbyterian Church. He was ordained an Elder and, because of his position with the Academy, he was financially able to attend all of the meeting of the Orange Presbytery. These semi-annual meetings were both spiritually and intellectually stimulating and, during the four years he attended, Daniel met and became close friends with many influential Church members.

Daniel's resolve to become a minister did not waver and in the fall of 1853 he entered Princeton Theological Seminary. Daniel and his classmates, as seminary students are wont to do, agonized over when and where they would receive their Call after graduation. In his senior year, Daniel's class heard a

visiting missionary from Siam discuss his labors in that kingdom. Siam had only recently been opened to the West and Daniel's uncertainty and hesitation on where to begin his ministry was answered. He would go to Siam. As he himself said, "Here is not merely a village or a parish, but a whole kingdom, just wakening from its long, dark, hopeless sleep. Every sermon I preach there might be to those who have never learned there is a God in Heaven who made them, or a Savior from sin."

In 1858, Daniel McGilvary answered his Call and went to Siam. In 1860 in Bangkok, Daniel met and married Sophia Royce Bradley, daughter of another missionary, and they had five children, all born in Siam.

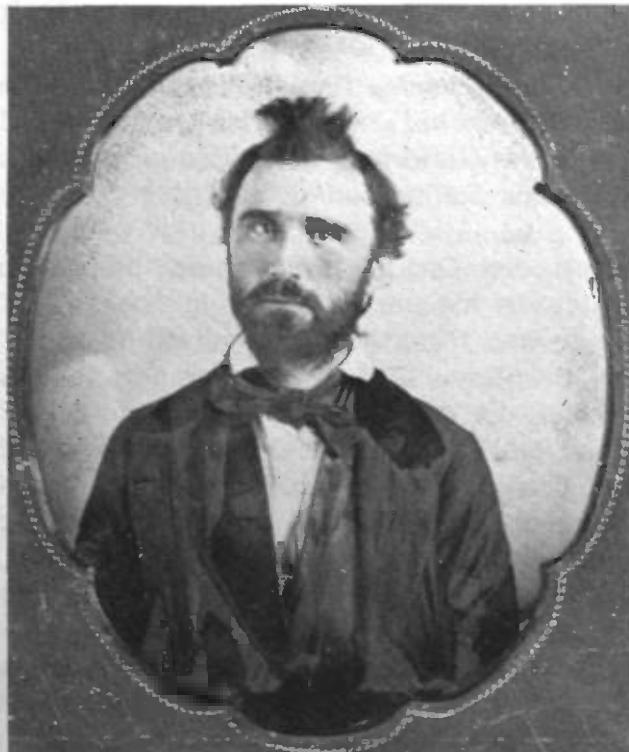


Figure 25. A rare photograph of the Reverend Daniel McGilvary. It shows him as an intense young man with captivating eyes. The hair style is unusual and it may reflect an Oriental influence. (Courtesy of Fay Earp.)

Figure 26. Sophia Royce Bradley



For the first nine years of his ministry, Daniel labored in Southern Siam. In 1867, he and his family went north 500 miles to the interior of Siam where he was the primary missionary to the Laos. Daniel and his family were the first white people to go there and were 500 miles from any other whites. For many years the McGilvarys were harassed and often their lives were in danger, but gradually the persecution passed and their ministry among the Laos was accepted and was an outstanding success.

Daniel labored as a missionary among the Siamese for a total of 53 years. He was entitled to take leave and return home every six years but he was so devoted to his work he returned to his homeland only four times during the 53 years.

The following correspondence, which to our knowledge has never before appeared in print, is from Dr. McGilvary to members of his family. There is nothing earth shaking revealed in the letters but they are of interest because they present a contemporary view of the life of a foreign missionary. Note that these documents are old and some parts are illegible or missing. At those points we have had to enter supplemental wording in brackets to provide continuity. Also early correspondents, regardless of their intellectual status, almost never used adequate punctuation or paragraphs. We have arbitrarily remedied this where needed.

In addition to providing a contemporary view, these two letters have an interesting story to tell. The letters were written six months apart but when received in the States they were in the same envelope. Involved were dead letter offices in both the U.S. and Siam, a shipwreck and a flood. The second letter makes all this clear.

The first letter is from Daniel to his niece by marriage, Annette "Nettie" McGilvary, wife of John Clinton McGilvary (see Chart M141 & M1415). It was written after he returned to Siam from furlough in the States and was sent in care of Angus Tyson McGilvary.⁵⁶

Chiengmai, March 6th, 1895

My Dear Niece

It is so long since I have written to Texas that I have forgotten to whom I have written last...it is hard to keep up with dates and times of writing and to whom.

We had a very pleasant voyage all the way. The first stage carried us to England [and it was very hard] for your Aunt Sophia. There were over 500 [?] class passengers and was one constant [missing] all the time very trying on a lady of weak nerves. But it was only one week. We left N.Y. Saturday at 8 A.M. and reached Liverpool Saturday about 1 P.M. The ocean was as quiet as you will ever see it.

In England we stopped over two weeks. I called on a man that I hoped to get enough money to support a missionary. But tho I failed in that I got £40 or about \$200.00 for a special work in which the gentleman had long been interested. Then we spent over a week in [missing] where we heard some [fine] preachers but no [better than] we can hear in the U.S.

Then Sophia has a niece who lives in a beautiful place called Tunbridge Wells. He [her husband] is a dentist and American dentists in Europe have the highest reputation.....

Then I do not know whether you have heard that we are likely to lose Cornelia and how. She is engaged to be married to the English Vice-Consul in Chiengmai. He is a very fine steady and we think a good man. He is the son of an English missionary and was born in China as Cornelia was in Chiengmai. The missionary works and is settled over a small parish church in a beautiful village.

As Mr. Stringer the son was home on furlough we got a letter from him and his mother both inviting us to call out and see them. It was only an hour or two from Mrs. Royce's and so we went and spent a very pleasant night and day there.

Mr. Chas. Stringer, who is engaged to Cornelia, is home on furlough and is spending his furlough how to better prepare himself for his work as Consul where he often has to act as judge as well. It is a very nice and good family and Mr. Stringer is a man who if spared will rise in the world.

It was a real love match they made themselves and we did not [see] any good reason why they might not marry. Cornelia will have served a little over five and a half years which will be equal to about seven years of others as she will not have to spend a year or two in studying the language before beginning. We will regret losing her from the mission work but she may be stationed [in Chiengmai] after marriage in which case her influence for the mission will not be lost.

....We had good weather and pleasant company of course. On the Atlantic Star there were people that cared nothing about us nor we about them but they went their way and we went ours. There were some warm missionary friends who were very kind to us. On the Atlantic Star from London to Liverpool we had only 18 1st class passengers and they were very kind and the Capt. and officers were unusually so. We came on the Glenline on the Glenfang Star. Capt. Gibson, Mr. Campbell and Dr. Denman & wives came by California and Japan and China.

We could not have had it better. We got to Bangkok on Tuesday night and slept over inside the bar but outside the City and landed about 10 A.M. And the next night the China Star stopped just where ours did the night before and were past 2 days later. But their freight had been sent by another route and did not get there until just three weeks. But it was a good time to get up the river and we made the trip that the first time of all we took 89 days and in less than 8 weeks by boat in just 7. We got there in time for Presbytery but they had feared we would not and put it off 10 days which gave us time to get set. The day of getting home to our work and our associates and ministraries was the best of all as much as we enjoyed the whole trip.

We had a delightful meeting of the Presbytery. Three hunans (sic) and 72 adults had been added to the church during the year and 140 children baptised. There were 9 churches at the beginning of the year. Three were organized among the [missing] and two have been since making 14 in all. The best thing of our

Presbytery was the large number of men licensed and ordained to preach. There were three of the former and six of the latter making now eight native Laos ordained ministers and three licentrates. We have only 9 ordained foreign missionaries in the field - only a majority of one. We hope to be in the majority next year which is just as we would have it. We have nine mission nations manned by foreign missionaries, five of the Laos towns and states having only one [missing]

....to oppose a foreigner to occupy and that would have been occupied last year if it had not been for the sickness and subsequent death of Rev. Stanley K. Phraner who was to have gone there. Now the easternmost province has been occupied by Dr. and Mrs. Peoples and Miss Gleeson, since Presbyters.

Poor Mr. Phraner was in poor health and was advised by his physician to go home months ago but he thought he could weather it out. He left at last the day after Prebytery again with a wife and two small children, the oldest born after we left a year ago last June. In Bangkok he was still declining. At Singapore he went to a hospital where he was advised as the only poossible hope and that a faint one to have an operation for abcess of the liver. But it was too late. His liver was about gone with large cavities. He survived the operation one day and was laid to rest in the cemetery in Singapore Jan 16th. Very sad for Mrs. Phraner but a relief to him. But he was anxious to get home to see his father, the Rev. Phraner and his family. One good thing his father and brothers are well off and his own life was insured for \$5,000. He had a nice wife a Miss Westervil and two nice boys. A native elder started home with them but he proved to be a poor sailor and was of no service and is now on his way home.

Too many cases of this kind have occurred tho not quite so sad that the Mission immediately advised the Board to shorten the time of service required before a furlough is due. It use to be 7 years for single persons the first time and eight for subsequent ones and 8 years for the 1st time for married persons and ten afterwards. We have requested the Board to change it to five years for the 1st and 7 years for the 2nd and subsequent ones for single persons and 7 for married persons the 1st and eight afterwards.

Although persons of exceptional constitution & well adapted to hot climates may stand it longer yet the experience of our Mission after 27 years has been that it is a greater loss than boom to have the time too long. Mr. Phraner was only about 37 or 38 years old. That would make our next term due in 1902 only a little more than 7 years. Who knows but we may live to see it. If we do [return on furlough we will] certainly go to Texas next time. We would probably be too old to be worth sending back.

Cornelia expects to leave in May or June. Her furlough will be due and she is not strong enough to undertake the duties of married life without a change. She has a first cousin a Mr. Royce in England who has invited her to visit there and be married there as Mr. Stringer is on furlough at home where he is utilizing his time by studying law the better to prepare himself for his duties.

Allie [Margaret Alexander] is reasonably well but beginning to

feel the climate. Aunt Sophia is in fair health. It is sad we must report that we did not find Evander here. He went home in the summer and is [an] instructor in the Univ. of California.

I had an encounter this day with a horse. I was riding home when a native boy came staving (sic) by on another & we did not get turned out in time. I was thrown so far over by the concussion that I slipped off [my horse] & my bones got such a concussion but none were broken. The boy fared worse still.

I intended to write half the names on my new quilt sometime. Possibly I may in the 7 or 8 days.

Give much love to one and all of our relatives. Heard from Sister Mary two months ago. She said nothing of going back. I must be all homesick for her, but poor Uncle Evander will hate to give her up.

Pray for us and believe me as ever.

Your affectionate

Uncle Daniel McGilvary

The next letter is from Daniel McGilvary to his nephew, John Clinton McGilvary (M1415). Enclosed was the above letter Daniel had written previously to "Nettie" in care of Angus Tyson (M1416). The enclosed piece of correspondence had an interesting odyssey. We have seen this letter and can attest to its sojourn with the elements. It is water stained and difficult to decipher. As before, continuity data have been inserted where needed.

Chiengmai, Sep 10th, 1895

Mr. John C. McGilvary
My dear nephew,

I sent to the care of Angus a letter to Nettie that came back 3 days ago. I return [it] to show that I did write and also as a curiosisty. If it [the letter] could only talk it would be able to give a wonderful history.

[The letter was] Sent to its destination [Texas], not claimed thence to the dead letter office [in the U.S.], opened [there] and sent back thence to the dead letter office in Siam and finally shipwrecked in the ocean [and] lost with our mail. [After the letter did reach Bangkok it was to be forwarded to Chiengmai by foot]....did not come and then the reason [be]came [known], the foot carriers, the 2nd night out stopped at a little hut on a little stream edge in the hills and that night they heard the waters coming like a flood. Before they knew what they were up to they just had time to escape with their lives, mail and hut, everything being carried away.

The government sent levied men to find it [the mail] and did so four or five days afterwards. It [the letter] happened to have a blue envelope or it would have escaped wonderfully. I have not opened it, all the leaves, but I sent it as it is in enevelope and all. It is irregular in the eleven years that this [is the] first mail

[problem that] has been seen. This is the only accident that would have taken away a whole mail if not found. A few months ago in April I believe Bangkok mail was lost by upsetting the mail boat but we hardly see papers on it as most of ours come by Burma. I put my address on this time so that it will not go to the dead letter offices.

I see that I mentioned Nellie's love match before. It has been mutually broken off. Her health is not good for one thing and other circumstances combined. We are all not sorry. Though when we thought it was to be, we had not reason enough to oppose it, yet we did not like Nellie marrying a gentleman of another nationality and of the English Consular Service too tho a good position if uncertain in the respect that they know not where they may be sent. We are very glad to have her remain in the Mission.

I have not much to add since the enclosed was written. We are all well with the exceptions mentioned in Angus letter, and our [illegible] continues as hopeful as ever taken all together tho for various reasons we will not have as many accessions this year as last.

Sister will be able to tell all the news from Emelie & brother Evander. Poor brother. It would be sad if he should live to be a burden to himself and others. Old age when it goes to that extent is not to be desired by a Christian tho the Lord knows what is best.

We are having our high water floods now. Yesterday Mr. Campbell & Dr. Denman & I returned from a country church 12 miles off where we were for the Sabbath [and] coming through canals and weeds and we were a sight when we got home. We were on horse back.

Dr. Denman is home [illegible] very good, but we will all be glad when Dr. McKean (pronounced McKane) arrives as he & family were great families with every body and we will be proud to get all our party of old and several new ones back, about the last of Nov.

Several Princes have recently died leaving only the Viceroy of all the rulers. When I and Sophia & Emelie & Evander arrived April 3rd, 1867 and the Viceroy was not yet Viceroy. He is now 76 years old about.

It has not ceased to be a matter of deep regret that I did not get to Ark. and Texas last time. But who can tell - Tho not probable it is possible we may live to go home again and if so it may be you will see enough of us.

I trust this will not have the same misfortune with the [illegible]. John we are all getting old. Let us not forget that the main thing is to be prepared to meet where nothing will be unsure. Give you children a good religious training & education. Much love to Nettie.

Daniel McGilvary

Concerning Dr. Daniels comments on his future furloughs, we know he did return to the States about 1881 and he did visit Texas. His visit is confirmed in a letter from M24 Daniel McGilvary, of Rusk County, Texas, to his sister in

Moore County, NC. This Daniel was a cousin to Dr. Daniel and the letter is extracted in a later section on M24 Daniel McGilvary (q.v.).

In 1880, the University of North Carolina awarded Daniel the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁵⁷ In that same year Sophia and all the children were visiting North Carolina and were enumerated as part of the household of Evander McGilvary in Pocket Township.⁵⁸

In 1906, Davidson College awarded Dr. Daniel McGilvary the degree of Doctor of Law.⁵⁹

Dr. Daniel McGilvary returned to Chiengmai and continued his lifelong work. He died in Chiengmai on 22 Aug 1911 and is buried there.

M1472 DR. EVANDER BRADLEY McGILVARY

Refer to: Charts M147 and M1472, Appendix B, pages B-18 and B-19.

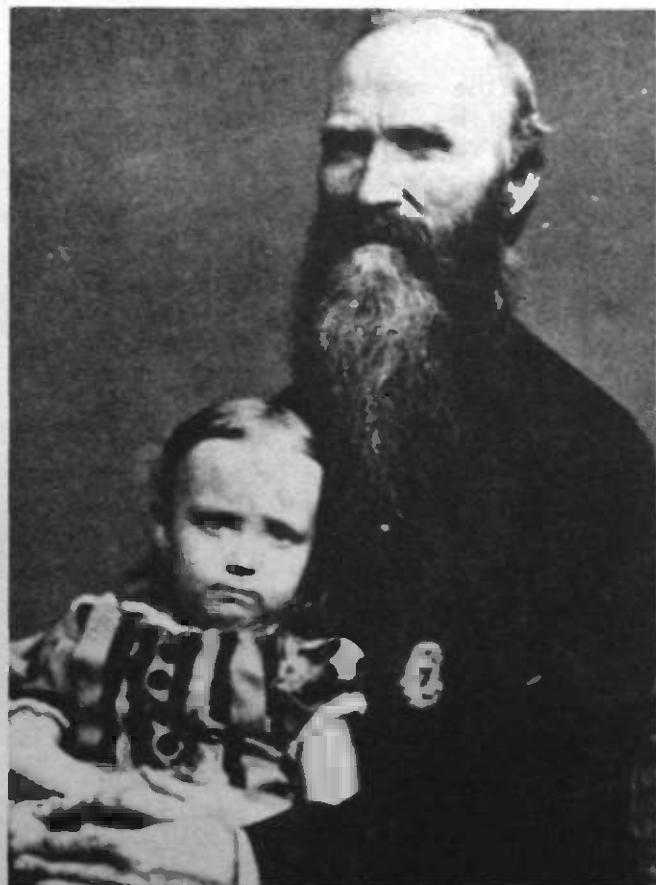


Figure 27. Reverend Daniel McGilvary and his first son, Evander Bradley McGilvary.

No story is true until it is complete and this is the case with Evander McGilvary. In the second of Dr. Daniel McGilvary's letters, extracted above, a sad and terse comment was made that his son, Evander Bradley, had left Chiengmai and returned to the States. Now we know why.

Very early in life, Evander demonstrated intellectual brilliance and the serious purpose of a scholar. He was Valedictorian of the Class of 1884 at

Davidson College in North Carolina. Following graduation he taught at the prestigious Bingham School until he entered Princeton Theological Seminary where he received his Masters Degree in 1888. From 1889 to 1890, Evander held a Fellowship at Princeton in New Testament Greek. In 1891, Evander married Elizabeth Allen Paton and the young couple returned to Siam where he served as a Presbyterian missionary. While in Chiengmai, Evander collaborated with his mother, Sophia, and translated parts of the New Testament into the Laos dialect.

In the meantime events were happening in the Presbyterian Church that would have a profound effect on young Evander's future. Since the early 1890's, Professor Charles Briggs, an eminent historian at the Union Seminary in New York, had proposed controversial arguments concerning church doctrine. He questioned, for example, whether Moses had written the first five books of the Old Testament known as the Pentateuch. For his controversial stand, Prof. Briggs was tried for heresy by the Church. Evander McGilvary had strong sympathies for Prof. Briggs and became very disillusioned at what was happening. His state of dissatisfaction finally reached such an intensity that he left the Church. The impact of this decision on Dr. Daniel can be imagined.

In 1894, Evander accepted a position as instructor in English at the University of California where he began work towards a Doctorate in English. However, he soon came under the influence of an eminent philosopher, who inspired him to change his field and take his degree in philosophy. After he was awarded his Ph.D., he received an appointment as Assistant Professor at California where he remained until 1899 when he was called to Cornell as a Professor of Ethics. He remained at Cornell until 1905 when he went to the University of Wisconsin as Chairman of the Department of Philosophy. Dr. Evander McGilvary filled this position with distinction until he retired in 1934 after which he became Professor Emeritus. Although estranged from the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Evander did speak annually at the campus Westminister Foundation.

Dr. Evander and Elizabeth McGilvary had two children. The only son, Lewis Paton, was a famed aviator in World War I. He was in La Guardia's Group that operated from an Italian Air Base at Foggia, Italy. Lewis Paton returned from the war and received a degree in engineering from the University of Wisconsin. However, he died in 1921 at the young age of 25 years.

Evander and Elizabeth's other child, Margaret Cornelia, married David Zimmerman and they went to Beirut, Lebanon with the Red Cross and Near East Relief. They remained in Lebanon, where David became a dealer for General Motors and Frigidaire. They returned to the States in 1938.⁶⁰

M1473 CORNELIA HARRIET McGILVARY HARRIS

Refer to: Charts M147 and M1473, Appendix B, pages B-18 and B-20.

Cornelia was born in Siam on 11 Mar 1868. She came to America for her formal education most of which was in North Carolina, with one year at Wellesley College in Massachusetts.

After receiving her education, Cornelia returned to Siam to join her parents. We have already learned of her early romance with a Mr. Charles Stringer of the British Consular Service and how that engagement was broken off. Soon after she met The Rev. William Harris, who was principal of a boy's school in Chiengmai, and they were married in Canton, China in 1897.

Rev. Harris was principal of the school for more than 40 years and Cornelia was in charge of the boarding department of the school. They retired from the Mission in 1940 and returned to the US in 1941 just before the war.

M1475 NORWOOD ASPINWALL HODGE McGILVARY

Refer to: Charts M147 and M1475, Appendix B, pages B-18 and B-21.

Norwood McGilvary was born in Siam. Even though he became a great artist, relatively little information of a personal nature is available for Norwood. His name is somewhat unusual and the background on who he was named after is interesting.

When the Reverend Daniel McGilvary went to Princeton Theological Seminary he formed a deep and lasting friendship with a fellow classmate named J. Aspinwall Hodge. This friendship was so deep that Daniel named his second son after his friend.

It is not known why Norwood did not enter the missionary field as did his brother Evander. Instead he chose to become an artist. After receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree from Davidson College in 1896, Norwood spent the next two years as a Graduate Student at the University of California. He did not receive an advanced degree.

Norwood, obviously very talented, traveled and exhibited worldwide. He taught at the Mechanics Institute in New York and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. His works are in the permanent collection of the National Gallery in Washington, DC as well as in numerous private collections throughout the world.

M15 NANCY McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M1, Appendix B, page B-1.

Almost nothing is known about Nancy McGilvary. In 1850, a Nancy McGilverry, age 70, born ca 1780 was enumerated in Madison County, Kentucky. She was described as an "idiot" which probably meant she was senile from old age. She was in the household of Edward Wooldridge, age 60, a farmer born in South Carolina. No relationship is given⁶¹ and the Wooldridge name is not connected with any other McGilvary.

NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 2

2. NC Archives, Secretary of State Land Entries, 1784-1795, page 80, Entry No. 455 (Call No. SS 957).
3. The Moore County Court House burned in 1888 and all of the early land records were destroyed. There is no official record or description of Martin's land transactions or holdings.
4. 1800 Federal Census, Moore County, NC, Fayetteville District, page 60.
5. 1810 Federal Census, Moore County, NC, page 68.
6. Much of the information on M13 John McGilvary is from personal correspondence from George H. Sawyer of Gillespie, Illinois, John Michael & Wilma McGilvry of Walnut Grove, Missouri and Minnie McGilvry Clay of Springfield, Missouri.
7. 1800 Federal Census, Fayetteville District, Moore County, NC, page 60.
8. The material on Alexander McGilvary was received from John Michael and Wilma McGilvry. Walnut Grove, Missouri.
9. These letters are in the possession of John Michael and Wilma McGilvry, Walnut Grove, Missouri.
10. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, August 1823 Term through May 1831 Term. In NC Archives. Call No. CR 068.301.2.
11. The cemetery was on the land of Evander McIver whose nickname was "Scotch Ever," hence the cemetery name.
12. Moore County, NC Trial Docket, 1841-1845, pages 31, 44, 120, 235, 258, 285 and 307. In NC Archives. Call No. CR 068.308.1.
13. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, April Term 1844, page 26. In NC Archives. Call No. CR 068.301.3.
14. Much of the information on this family is from the Vollintine Papers, a comprehensive genealogy compiled by Mrs. Juanita Vollintine, now in the possession of her sister, Mrs. Fay Earp, of Springtown, Texas.
15. Chatham County, NC Marriage Bonds, 1772-1853, page 22.
16. 1840 Federal Census, Madison Co, TN, Vol. 7, page 67.
17. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, July Term 1845, page 196.
18. 1850 Federal Census, Montgomery County, Texas, page 38, Family No. 114.
19. 1860 Federal Census, Montgomery County, Texas, page 111. Family 399.

20. 1870 Federal Census, Beat No. 3, Navarro County, Texas, page 58, Family 172.
21. Compiled Confederate Service Records, National Archives, Washington, DC.
22. Kelly, Kenneth L., McIver Family of North Carolina, (Wash.,DC: McIver Publications, Inc., 1964,) page 242.
23. This rare photograph is from the private collection of Fay Earp, Springtown, Texas.
24. 1880 Federal Census, Navarro County, Texas, Subdivision 131, page 23, Family 209.
25. Kelly, McIver Family of North Carolina, page 249.
26. Letter in possession of Ruth M. Cameron, Pocket Church Historian.
27. Moore County, NC Tax Lists, 1851-1858. In Court House at Carthage.
28. Personal correspondence from J. H. Monger in the Vollintine Collection.
29. Moore County Deeds, Book 10, pages 283-284.
30. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1854 Term, page 85 & Oct 1858 Term, pages 456 & 522.
31. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Oct 1844 Term, page 93.
32. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jul 1845 Term, page 201.
33. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1847 Term, page 457.
34. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jul 1847 Term, pages 19, 43, 54, 56, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67 and 68; Jan 1849 Term, page 328 and Oct 1851 Term, pages 82, 92, 104.
35. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Apr 1848 Term, pages 213-218.
36. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Apr 1849 Term, page 400; Jul 1852 Term, page 303; Jan 1854 Term, page 96 and Apr 1855 Term, page 300.
37. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jul 1853 Term, page 18.
38. Compiled Service Records, Confederate 35th North Carolina Infantry. In NC Archives.
39. 1900 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Pocket Twp, ED 73, page 100A.
40. Compiled Service Records, Confederate 35th North Carolina Infantry. In NC Archives.

41. Moore County, NC Deeds, Book 10, page 329.
42. Personal correspondence from J. H. Monger in the Vollintine Collection.
43. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, July 1845 Term, page 196.
44. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1847 Term, page 457 and Jan 1848 Term, page 119.
45. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jul 1849 Term, page 437.
46. 1850 Federal Census, Walker County, TX, page 267, Family 252.
47. 1870 Federal Census, Navarro County, TX, Wadeville P. O., page 58, Family 173.
48. Personal correspondence from Nene Hodges in the Vollintine Collection.
49. 1860 Federal Census, Navarro County, TX, page 60, Family 369.
50. 1880 Federal Census, Navarro County, TX, Subdivision 131, page 21, Family 170.
51. 1850 Federal Census, Walker Co, TX, page 277, Family 383.
52. Moore Co, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1854 Term, page 74.
53. 1860 Federal Census, Navarro Co, TX, page 60, Family 369.
54. Kelly, McIver Family of North Carolina, page 242.
55. McGilvary, Dr. Daniel, A Half Century Among the Siamese and Lao, (Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912).
56. These rare letters are from the private collection of Mrs. Fay Earp, Springtown, Texas.
57. Personal correspondence from Christina Kneedler in the Vollintine Collection.
58. 1880 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Pocket Twp, ED 136, page 37, Family 328.
59. Personal correspondence from Christina Kneedler in the Vollintine Collection.
60. Kelly, McIver Family of North Carolina, page 252.
61. 1850 Federal Census, Madison County, KY, page 17, Family 778. Also from personal communication from Shiela Elves, Olympia, Wash.

THE ARCHIBALD MCGILVARY FAMILY

M2 ARCHIBALD McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M2, Appendix B, page B-22.

We have encountered Archibald McGilvary several times previously in our narrative. Apparently he was a successful crofter on Teangue Farm, Parish of Sleat, Isle of Skye. In about 1800, Archibald married Sally McDonald and they had their first child early in 1802. Later in 1802, Archibald petitioned for a larger allocation of Teangue. When he failed to get more acreage on Skye he and his family emigrated to America.

Archibald McGilvary and his family arrived in North Carolina in 1802 but very little information is available on their early years in this country. Archibald was not enumerated in the 1810 Federal Census and his name is conspicuously absent from early official records.

Archibald McGilvary settled in Moore County, North Carolina on the waters of the Upper Little River and Little Juniper Creek. Apparently he had brought sufficient capital from Scotland so he could begin to acquire land soon after arrival. The records for early Moore County were destroyed by fire so we do not know specific details on Archibald's land transactions, but we do know that by 1815 he had acquired and was taxed on 315 acres valued at \$300.00.

In a period of 12 years, Archibald had gone from tenant of a small-acre, rented croft in Scotland to a land owner in North Carolina. In light of this, the two pictures on the next page represent a "before and after" sequence to illustrate, to some extent, why the clairvoyant Highlander exercised his prerogative of "personal clearance" and left his homeland to seek his fortune in the New World.

Archibald McGilvary continued to acquire land and in 1823 purchased a sizable tract from Malcolm Shaw.² The records show that Archibald McGilvary only filed for one State Land Grant. On 1 Apr 1836, he filed an entry for a Grant of 50 acres on the southeast side of Little Juniper Creek. This tract joined his own land and that of McIver and McLeod. Archibald's sons Alexander and Daniel were the Chain Carriers for the survey.

Archibald McGilvary was not identified in the 1840 census, however, in 1850 he was enumerated in the household of his son Alexander. Archibald was recorded as being 87 years old with real estate valued at \$402.00.⁴ Alexander was unmarried and his real estate value was listed as \$200.00⁴



Figure 28. A typical crofter's black house on the Isle of Skye, Scotland.



Figure 29. The McGilvary home in North Carolina. Archibald's original dwelling is incorporated in this structure which has been enlarged to its present configuration over the years.

In September 1851, Archibald McGilvary made his will which reads in part:⁵

...After the payment of my just debts it is my will and desire that one half of my lands be and I do give to my son Alexander McGilvary and the other half of my lands I give and bequeath to my son Daniel McGilvary's children and it is further my will and desire that if my son Alexander McGilvary departs this life not leaving lineal heirs of his body then the portion of real estate which I bequeath to him to go to my son Daniel's children. I give and bequeath to my son Daniel McGilvary my Bed and Furniture. I give and bequeath all the residue of my estate of every kind and description to my son Alexander. In testimony

whereof I do hereby set my hand and seal this the twenty third day of September A.D. 1851

Attest:
Duncan Murchison
Daniel McLeod

Archibald McGilvary

It may seem strange that Archibald's will only names two devisees - Alexander and Daniel's children - when there were other children still living, including Daniel himself. The eldest son John (q.v.) had left home by the time Archibald wrote his will and there is evidence he later contested the will. Daniel had married very well and was a large land owner in his own right and did not need land. There is no evidence of any disposition of assets to the two daughters although it is likely Archibald did so when they married.

The exact date of Archibald's death is not known but it was late in 1851, shortly after he completed his will. In Jan 1852, Letters of Administration concerning the probate of Archibald's will were granted to the Administrator, Kenneth Worthy.

Probates are never completed quickly and two years later the Court ordered Archibald McGilvary's land be divided according to the terms of his will. The court order to partition reads as follows:

...proceed by 2 Oct 1853 to divide and make partition between and among Alexander McGilvary and the children of Daniel McGilvary tenants in common of the lands descended to them by Will of Archibald McGilvary, deceased.

Lot #1 is assigned to Alexander McGilvary...lying on the North side of Juniper beginning on a maple in the head of the Spring Branch, Alexander McGilvary's corner thence with his line North 77° West twelve chains seventy links to a stake on McIver's line...thence as McIver's line South 15° East thirty-four chains fifty links to a stake in the Juniper...about five yards below the ford thence down the various courses of the Juniper to the mouth of the Spring Branch thence up the various courses of the Spring Branch to the first station. Containing sixty acres more or less. Valued at \$92.00. This lot once included the house in which said Archibald McGilvary lived.

Lot #2 is assigned to the children of Daniel McGilvary...on the South side of the Juniper beginning on a sweet gum and holly tree on the South bank of the Juniper Creek in the first line of a 150 acre survey granted to John Buie and running thence as that line South 15° East twenty-five chains fifty links to a black gum...Alexander McGilvary's corner in a branch thence down that branch to the Juniper thence down the various courses of said creek to the first station containing 29 acres more or less being part of said one hundred and [illegible] acres valued at \$58.00.

We further charge the more valuable dividend with Sum of money as will make an equitable division that is to say that Lot #1 assigned to Alexander McGilvary is to pay to the Lot #2 assigned and appropriated to the children of Daniel McGilvary \$17.00...submitted 2 Oct 1853.

Calvin McFadyen
John H. Dalrymple
Peter Morris
William H. Baker

From the record we know that at one time Archibald McGilvary had owned much more acreage than the 89 acres the above Court Order implied. Obviously, he had disposed of much of his assets prior to writing the will, either by gifts to his children or by outright sale.

A plot of the disposition of Archibald's land by partition is shown in Figure 30, page 354. A comparison of this map and those pertaining to the land dispositions of Archibald's sons, Daniel and Alexander, will show that the junction of the Little Juniper Creek and the Black Bottom Branch defined the area where these McGilvareys originally settled. It was also an area wherein there were frequent land transactions by the descendants of Archibald McGilvary.

M21 JOHN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M21. Appendix B, page B-22.

John McGilvary was the first son of Archibald and Sally McDonald McGilvary. He was born on the isle of Skye in 1802 shortly before the family emigrated to America. Very little is known of his early years.

John apparently left home at an early age. He was not identified in the 1820 or 1830 census. The exact reasons why and the exact date John left North Carolina may never be known, but by 1840 he was well established in District 101 in the extreme western part of Hancock County, Georgia with one slave.

On 6 January 1845, John McGilvary bought 277 acres in Hancock County on the waters of Island Creek. He paid \$745 for this tract.⁹

As noted earlier, John McGilvary was excluded from his father's will and there is evidence he contested the provisions of the will. In a court case between Alexander and Daniel McGilvary vs John McGilvary the Court ruled that the provisions of the will were as Archibald had devised and bequeathed.¹⁰

On 15 March 1844, John McGilvary, Esq. married Mrs. Louisa Bass Choice, widow of Jesse Choice.¹¹ Jesse Choice was descended from an old Virginia family whose principal member, Tully Choice, had been active in Orange County, Virginia affairs as early as 1742.¹² In fact, when Jesse and Louisa Choice had a son he was named Tully after his great grandfather. After John McGilvary and Widow Louisa Choice were married, John was appointed young Tully Choice's guardian on 11 January 1847.¹³ Although not a blood relation, Tully Choice is included in this narrative because of his close association with the McGilvary family.

John McGilvary was apparently a good citizen and on 8 April 1844, he was first sworn in as a Grand Juror, and he was called upon to serve as a Grand Juror almost every year thereafter until April 1851.¹⁴

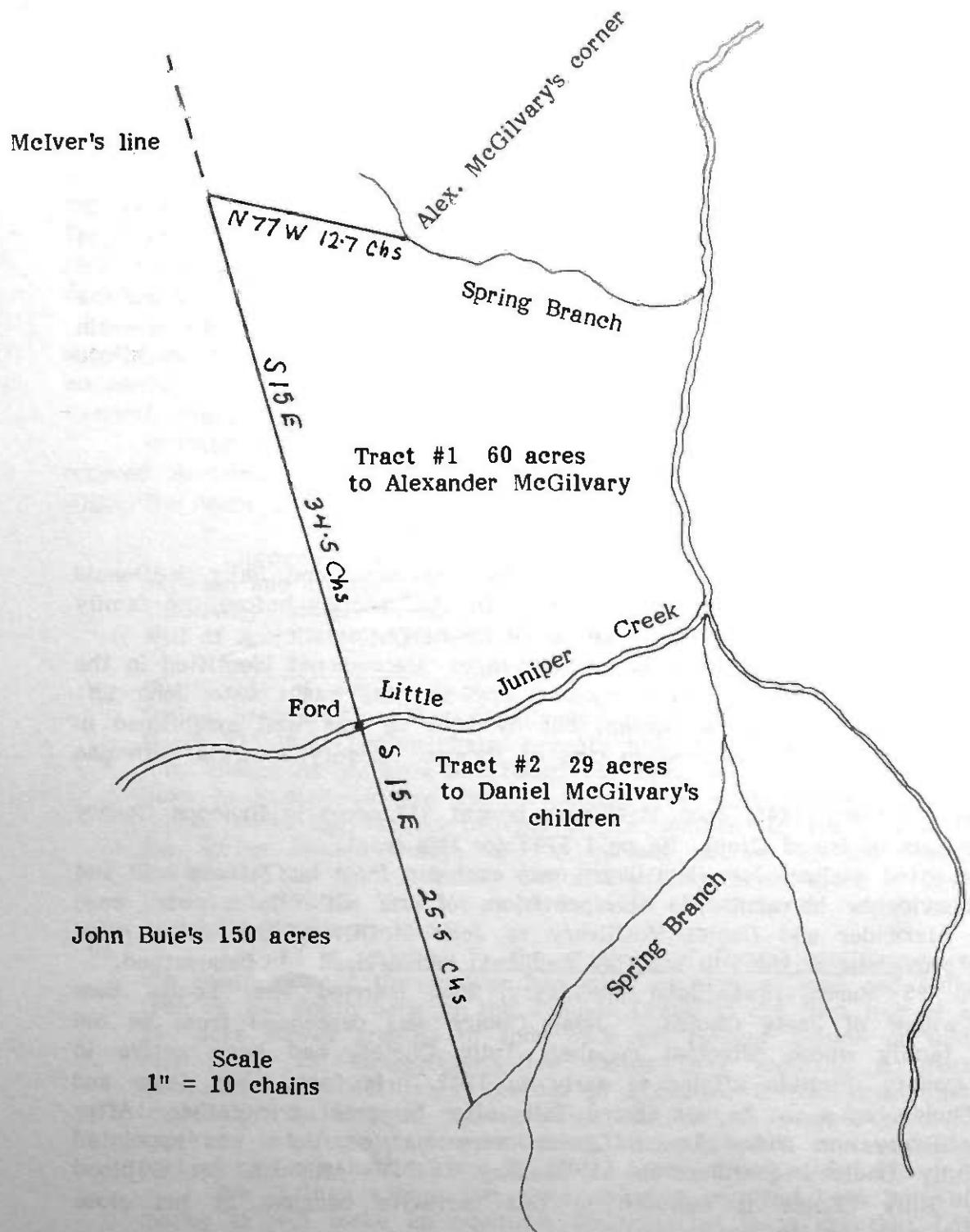


Figure 30. Disposition of land in Moore (now Lee) County,
 North Carolina according to the terms of Archibald McGilvary's
 will. Compare with Figures 33 and 35.

In 1850, John McGilvary and family were enumerated in Hancock County. By this time there had been two daughters born to John and Louisa, Sarah Ann, age 6 and Catherine, age 2.¹⁵

John McGilvary was a successful planter and the following extracts from the Hancock County tax digest illustrate his assets.

For the year 1847

John McGilvary

1 White Poll

4 Slaves

600 acres oak & hickory uplands (3rd quality - Hancock County)

200 acres in Cherokee County, Georgia

Money as Interest - \$100.00

Tax - \$3.29

For the year 1853

John McGilvary

1 White Poll

12 Slaves valued at \$4,800

300 acres in Hancock County valued at \$1,600

200 acres in Cherokee County

Value other property 720

Aggregate value \$7,120

Tax \$ 9.56

John McGilvary guardian for Tully Choice

14 Slaves valued at \$4,900

Money and solvent debts 333

Aggregate value \$5,233

Tax \$ 6.72

By 1857, John's stepson, Tully Choice, had come of age and his assets were no longer included with John's tax base. The tax assessment for the year 1857 is the last available for John McGilvary in Hancock County.

For the year 1857

John McGilvary

1 White Poll

1 Child between 8-16 years

12 Slaves valued at \$7,000

300 acres 2nd quality land in
Hancock County

\$1,500

200 acres 3rd quality land in
Cherokee County

700

Other property

\$9,200

Aggregate value

From the above tax digests, it would seem that, for that time period, John McGilvary was financially successful. However, for some undetermined reason he decided to leave Georgia and go West. In 1859 he purchased land in East Texas and that is where we find him next. Surprisingly, the Georgia

records do not reveal how John disposed of his Georgia holdings.

On 7 February 1859, John McGilvary bought 611 acres of land on the waters of Rabbit Creek in Rusk County, Texas for \$1,000.¹⁶ A schematic plot of John's tract is included as Figure 31. Originally Texas was part of Mexico and lands were granted under the Spanish system where the vara was used as a unit of linear measurement. In Texas the vara was equal to 33.33 inches. The survey of John McGilvary's tract began 90 varas North of the Southeast corner of W. R. Cook's survey and included 320 acres off the West side of W. W. Sims headright survey, all of the James S. Whiteman survey of 221 1/2 acres and the East portion of the South half of William A. Elliott's survey.

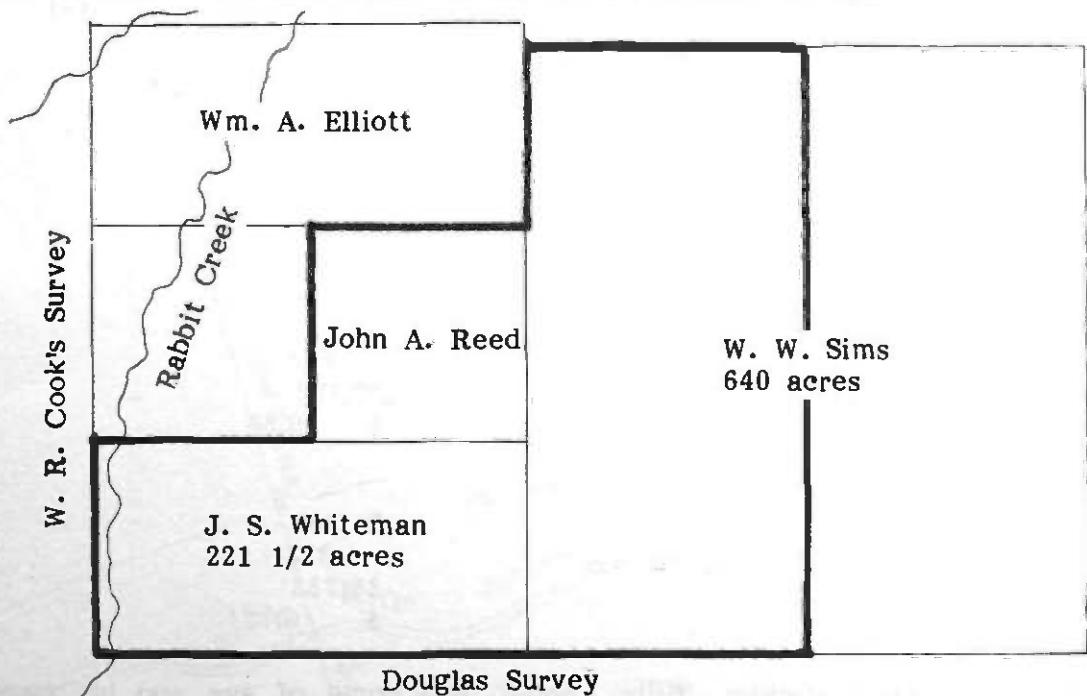


Figure 31. Schematic plot of John McGilvary's land on Rabbit Creek in Rusk County, Texas. The McGilvary tract, which included parts of other surveys, is defined by the heavy lines.

John McGilvary may have been on the move during part of the year 1860 because he is not identified in the census for that year. Also there is a question concerning his family. After 1850, there is no official record of his wife and daughters. John's tax digest for the year 1857, extracted above, states that he had one child between 8 and 16 years of age. This statement implies that one of his daughters had died but there is no way to know which one. Either of his two daughters could have fitted the age category.

By 1870, John McGilvary was situated in Texas without wife or daughter, implying he was a widower. His brother Daniel and his family had disposed of their North Carolina holdings and had come to Texas in 1867 and were living with John. The census reflects that John was a successful farmer as his property was valued at \$4,900.¹⁷

John McGilvary made his will in June 1874 and the bequests were as follows:¹⁸

1. To my brother Daniel McGilvary - 50 acres of land including the dwelling & all furnishings.
2. The remainder of my land to be equally divided between my stepson Tully Choice, my niece Sallie Florence & my nephews Daniel C. & Duncan McGilvary....
5. I wish all my notes & accounts to be collected & equally divided between the above mentioned legatees.
6. I give my sorrel mare (Fan) to my brother Daniel McGilvary.
7. I give in addition to my nephew Daniel C. McGilvary for his kindness & attention the amount of \$50. Also to my nephew Duncan McGilvary the additional amount of \$25.
8. I give additional to my niece Sallie Florence the amount of her husband Major Florence's indebtedness about \$8 or \$10.
9. All of my stock of hogs & cattle be divided between my legatees except for 2 hogs and one cow to my brother Daniel McGilvary....
13. I appoint my nephew Daniel C. McGilvary the executor of my last will & testament.

13 June 1874

Witt. Simeon Florence	his John + McGilvary mark
his	mark
Eli + Taylor	mark

Although John signed his will with a mark, earlier records show that he could read and write the same as his brothers. Apparently he was too sick or weak to sign his will.

John McGilvary died on 15 June 1874 and his will was probated on 7 July 1874. He did not leave male heirs and apparently his two daughters were deceased. This branch of the McGilvary family ended with John's death.

M22 JENNY McGILVARY MARTIN

Refer to: Chart M2, Appendix B, page B-22.

Genealogical data on Jenny McGilvary is very sparse. There is very little in the official records and most of what is known is oral history from nonagenarians who remembered Aunt Jenny from their childhood.

According to tradition, Jenny McGilvary married a man whose surname was Martin. One version of the oral history claims that he died in the Civil War. As far as is known there was never any children from this marriage. Family members, who were in their nineties when interviewed, recalled that Aunt Jenny lived in a large white house on the left side of the road as you left Aberdeen, North Carolina to go towards Raeford.

We have been unable to substantiate the oral history with the official records.

M23 NANCY McGILVARY MORRIS

Refer to: Charts M2 and M23, Appendix B, pages B-22 and B-23.

Genealogical data on Nancy McGilvary is also sparse. There is limited information in the official records and most of what is known is oral history from nonagenarians who remembered Aunt Nancy from their childhood.

By 1840, Nancy was married to Matthew Morris and family tradition claims that Nancy McGilvary's marriage did not have the full approval of her family. According to the 1840 census, Matthew was considerably younger than Nancy, and this difference in age may have been enough to have created a family controversy.¹⁹

Apparently, Nancy's husband died before 1850. When Nancy Morris was enumerated in the 1850 census of Moore County, she was living alone with two children and her property consisted of 50 acres.²⁰ The location of her property was in District 5 which also included the land of her brothers, Alexander and Daniel McGilvary. In fact, during the 1850's, Brother Alexander McGilvary was assessed for 50 1/2 acres on the Little Juniper belonging to Nancy Morris valued at \$100.²¹

Family tradition states that both of Nancy Morris' children died young of diphtheria. Apparently this tradition is true because Nancy had disposed of her land by 1960 and was living with her brother, Alexander McGilvary. There was no evidence of her children.²² Nancy was still living with Alexander in 1870 when she was identified as a seamstress.²³

Nancy McGilvary Morris died after 1882.

M24 DANIEL McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M24, Appendix B, page B-23.

Daniel was the second son of Archibald and Sally McDonald McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, North Carolina in 1813. Very little is known of his early years.

In the Spring of 1844, Daniel was appointed overseer of the road from Godfreys to the Little River.²⁴ At the July 1845 Term, Daniel and Matthew Morris [husband of Daniel's sister, Nancy] were ordered to work on the same stretch of road.²⁵

In 1846, Daniel McGilvary married Nancy McIver, daughter of Daniel and Mary McLeod McIver. Daniel McIver died in 1848 and left Nancy three negro slaves.²⁶

Beginning in early 1847, Daniel McGilvary began to acquire land. Again the reader is reminded that the Moore County Courthouse burned in 1889 and records of early land transactions were destroyed. However, the Court Minutes reflect that several deeds were granted to Daniel and proved in Court. On 6 December 1847, Daniel entered an application for a State Land Grant of 15 acres on the waters of the Little Juniper Creek and Black Bottom Branch in Moore County joining his own land and that of Isaac Singer and Peter Morris' 1836 grant. This tract was granted to him in November 1848 and is identified in Figure 33.²⁷



Figure 32. Daniel McGilvary

Daniel's father, Archibald McGilvary, died late in 1851 and his will bequeathed land to Daniel's children. In October 1852, the Court appointed Daniel McGilvary guardian of his four children so that he could manage their inheritance.²⁸

In 1851, Daniel was taxed on 240 acres in District 5 valued at \$182.00. He also was taxed for one white poll and one black poll. By 1853, Daniel had increased his acreage to 522 acres and was also taxed for the 29 acres left to his children by their grandfather's will.²⁹

Family tradition states that the McGilvareys had very good relations with their slaves and former slaves and the following anecdote seems to bear this out. In about 1862, a young black boy named Wes, aged about 12 years, fell into a vat containing hot resin from which turpentine was being distilled. The young lad was burned badly and Daniel McGilvary took him in and treated him until he recovered. Wes was so grateful he took the McGilvary surname and remained with Daniel and his family until they left for Texas. Over the years the surname McGilvary was gradually corrupted to McGilberry.

After Daniel left North Carolina, Wes McGilvary (McGilberry) worked for many years for Daniel's nephew, Evander Jackson McGilvary (q.v.). Wes married and had many children. Many of his descendants still live in Lee County, North Carolina.

In 1860, Daniel McGilvary and his family were enumerated in Moore County, North Carolina within the jurisdiction of the Rollins Store Post Office. His worth was given as \$5,000 real estate and \$8,000 personal property;³⁰ obviously he was a prosperous farmer. It is interesting to note that the Daniel McGilvary family was enumerated as part of the household of Benjamin Morris,

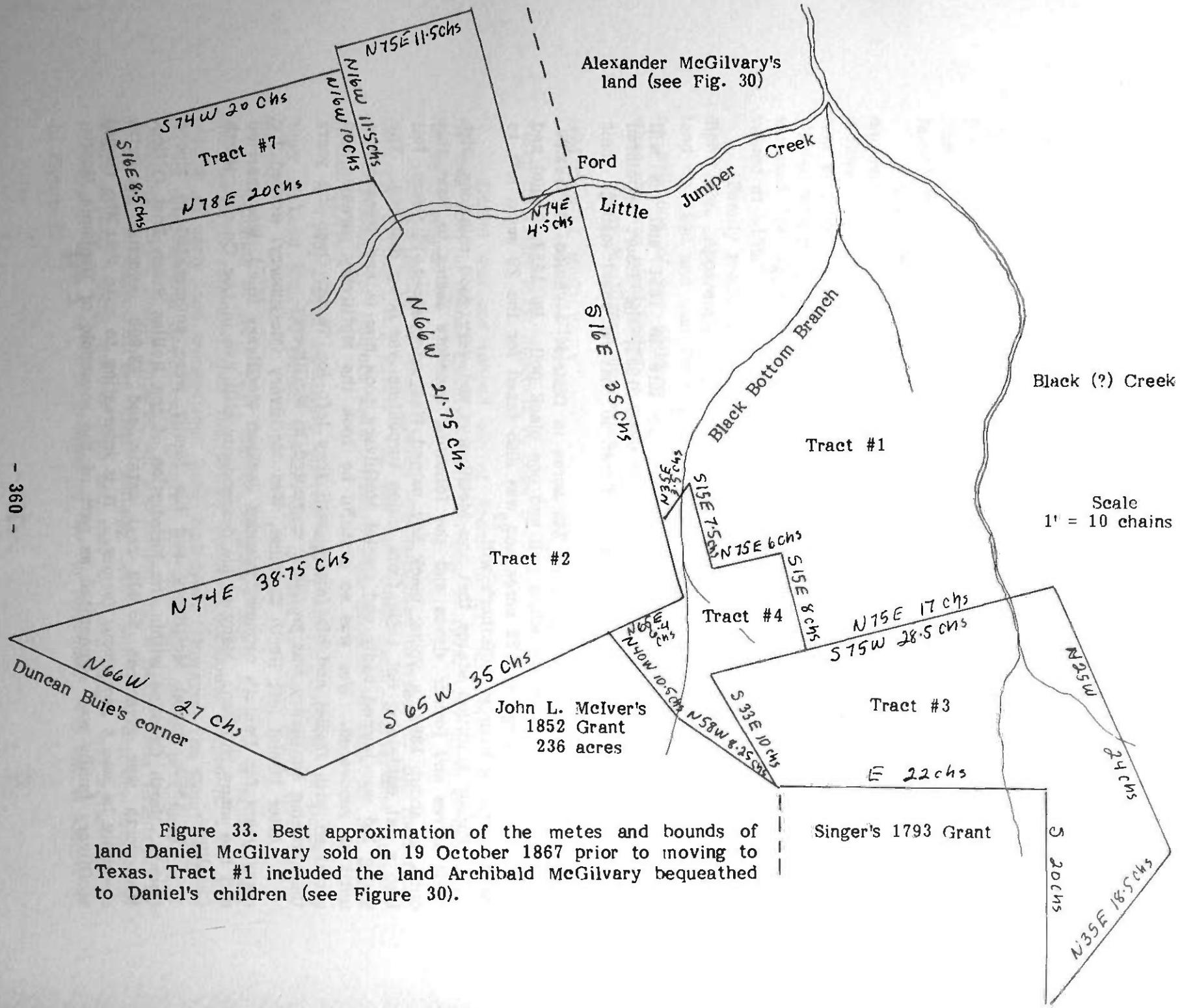


Figure 33. Best approximation of the metes and bounds of land Daniel McGilvary sold on 19 October 1867 prior to moving to Texas. Tract #1 included the land Archibald McGilvary bequeathed to Daniel's children (see Figure 30).

who owned a turpentine plant. There was no known relation between these two families and the reason for the collocation is unknown. It may have been an error made by the census taker.

As with so many of his contemporaries, prosperity in North Carolina was not as attractive as the lure of the West. In October 1867, Daniel McGilvary sold all of his North Carolina property to Alexander McLeod, also of Moore County, and moved to Texas. At the time of sale, Daniel's land holdings consisted of seven tracts containing a total of 644 acres. Some of the metes and bounds given for Daniel's tracts are suspect, however, five of the seven tracts can be located with a high degree of confidence. These are plotted schematically in Figure 33. Note that Tract #1 contained the 29 acres bequeathed to Daniel's children by his father, Archibald McGilvary (see Figure 30, page 354). Tract #4 is the land granted to Daniel by the State in 1848.

By 1870, Daniel and all his family were in Rusk County, Texas where they were living with his older brother, John McGilvary (q.v.).³¹ John McGilvary died in 1874 and bequeathed 50 acres to Daniel that included the home dwelling and all furnishings. Daniel remained in Rusk County until his death.

Apparently, there was continuous communication between the McGilvarys who remained in North Carolina and those who had migrated to Texas. Some of the old letters still exist and are extracted here to give some insight into the family life of those times. In July 1879, Daniel wrote the following letter to his sister, Nancy McGilvary Morris, in North Carolina.³²

Overton, Rusk County, Texas
July 18th, 1879

Dear Sister,

I received your kind letter some time ago and was glad to hear from you all. I was not well at the time so I delayed writing until now. I was truly glad to hear from you all and some of my old Neighbors like wise. We are all well at present. Duncan A. has been sick but are about again. We are very dry at this time and cropes [crops] are a looking gloomy. The prospect for a bountiful cotton crope has never been more flattering than it was this year but the people will be defeated in their expectations corn cropes in this section of the State are not good.

There has been a good deal of sickness this year on rabbit creek. I have but little news of much importance to write at this time though your letter was interesting to me. Mr. John M. Dalrymple and Mrs Sarah [Sarah Temperance] was two of my old friends that I loved and respected and I cannot say that I am sorry to hear of thar [their] death for they were old and I hope better off than they could be in this troubblesome wourld [world]. I am glad to hear how well my Master and Neighbor Malcolm Nicolson are a progressing in furnishing wives for the N. C. boys. I am sorry to learn of Mrs Tysons affliction and Mr McFadyen also. I has had my share of them unless my shear [share] is larger than I would wish to have it.

Tell Parson McQueen [of St. Andrew's Church] that I would like very much to see him and have a day or two conversation

with him without any cessation. I wish you would tell me all about the Neighbors Mr H. Baker and family Mr John McDuffy and family Mr M. J. Dennis and family W. C. Edwards and family [Glen Edwards grandfather] John McBryde and family A. G. McBryde and family. Tell my old neighbor Rebeka [Rebecca] Morris, the old retch, that I would very much like to see her and Peter himself to hear him tell about his brother Ben crawling down that slippery hill that dark night close to Pittsborough. We have a N. C. Preacher at Overton by the name of Knox a profound theologian and a good Preacher but our Church are not strong. We have few members and they not as willing as they should be. for my part I am not able to do much Dear Sister.

N. B. Write soon and tell the news of interest and tell Flora Ann and the rest to write and I will answer them and be glad to receive them as I have nothing more of interest to write I will close give my love to all the family and all inquiring friends.

Your affectionate Brother

Daniel McGilvary

Daniel's wife, Nancy McIver McGilvary, had deceased by 1880 and he was enumerated with his son Daniel in the census.³³

In 1882 there was another letter from Daniel McGilvary to his sister.³²

Rusk Texas
Febry 9th 1882

Dear Sister

I thought that I would write you a letter imediately when I received your letter but I was bad with the flux and chills and others of the infurmitys [infirmities] to which old people are heirs to. I am som [some] better now than I have been all for which I have reson to be thankfull. Your kind letter of the 3 of January came safe to hand. You have heard from some body that I was paralyzed in one side [page torn data missing] but not as bad as I have been. I can walk and work a little ocasionally. My head troubles me more than anything else. You recolect how bad our dear Mother was with the nervousness of her head. That is the way I am only worser.

I am very sorry for your case, Dear Sister, and more so because I have it not in my power to remedy your case. though my health are bad if I had the means to bear my expenses I would be thear in a weeak [week] or two but as it is I cannot do so. thear has not been a weak [week] since I received your letter but I thought about you many times but how to give you consolation is out of my power but thanks be to God that it will not be long till we shall meeite again and our shorte [short] affliction will work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

I hope and pray that God will bless and prosper our kind Neighbor John McDuffy and his family for thear kindes to you.

I have been troubled with new ralga [neuralgia] so my health are generally bad. the rest of the family are in as good a health

as youshual [usual]. Duncan has been in bad health for two months but he is nearly well now and will be able to tend to business in a short time. we ware [were] having a time of it for some time. great deal of rain and high water courses and a plenty of bad people at Henderson. last week the grand jury as an omen of better times or improvement in the line of civilization has only proved more trubules [troubles]. some for one species [species] or other of misdemeanor and disturbing the pece [peace]. but taking the other side we have as good a people in Texas as thear is in the Union. Some time back we has had the pleasure of Cousin Dr. Daniel McGilvary's company for one night on his way to see his sister in Navarro county. We also had the pleasure of Martin McGilvary for a night. he is from South Carolina. him and family moved to Henderson in this county. Cousin Daniel told us that John L. McIver's [a preacher who lived in Carthage] children are doing well and prospering in the wourld [world] and I am glad to hear that it is so for thear mother was a good woman.

Dear Sister I have nothing of much importance to write but my good wishes and prairs [prayers] to God for your guidance and Justice in old age while passing through this vail [vale] of tears to our final home. Give my love to McDuffy and family and all inquiring friends. Dr. Alex McDonald and all thear family and all your own family. May God's blessing abide with you all. Write soon.

Daniel McGilvary

The next letter discusses a debt or claim that was apparently owed to Nancy McGilvary by Daniel's sons.³²

Overton, Texas
31 July 1882

Dear Sister

I received two letters from you before this one and I was a waiting for the boys to send that small amount of your claim to you but [thought] I haven't collected any money more than it takes to run [this place]. they [the boys] have a good many [people] to furnish with provisions. last year the cropes [crops] was very short in this part of the state and it takes a good deal of money to buy corn and bacon at the present prices. they [the boys] shipped peaches but they haven't received but little money but they told me to say to you that they would pay you when they would collect some money.

Dear Sister we was all glad to hear from you and veary [very] highly appreciate a letter from you at any time as we cannot see each other. it is a sorce [source] of consolation for us to be a hearing from each other. we are all well at present. I have no news of importance. we have been vary [very] dry here and cropes are cut short but better than they were last year. cotton ar [are] low but tolerably well formed and the boll worm and the leaf worm will not come. I think thear will be a large crope of cotton this year.

Dear Sister I will add [page torn data missing] and pray to God for his blessing upon you all. Write soon and give more news in your next.

Your affectionate Brother
Daniel McGilvary

Although the exact date of Daniel's death is not known we know he was deceased by December 1893 when the 50 acre home tract he had inherited from his brother John was put up as security on a promissory note executed by his heirs.³⁴

M241 DUNCAN ARCHIBALD McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M24, Appendix B, page B-23.

Duncan Archibald McGilvary was the eldest son of Daniel and Nancy McIver McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, North Carolina in 1846. As a young adult he was 5'5" tall, had a light complexion, light eyes and red hair. Duncan never married.

Duncan A. enlisted as a Private in Company C, 35th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry at Camp Holmes on 8 December 1864. He saw some action in Virginia and was captured by Union forces on 1 April 1865 at Five Points near Petersburg, Virginia. He was transferred as a prisoner-of-war to Hart's Island, New York where he was confined until after the War was over. On 17 June 1865, Duncan A. swore an Oath of Allegiance to the United States and was released.³⁵

After the War, Duncan A. returned to North Carolina and accompanied his father to Texas in 1867 where he was enumerated in the 1870 census.³¹

When Duncan's uncle, John McGilvary, died he inherited 147 acres of the estate. Apparently, Duncan was not cut out to be a successful farmer and there is no evidence he ever capitalized on his inheritance. He left the farm frequently and he has not been identified in the 1880 census.

Daniel McGilvary, Senior had deceased by December 1893 and his children had inherited the 50 acre home place he had inherited from his brother John. On 13 December 1893, Duncan and his brother, Daniel C., borrowed money from a J. B. Mayfield and put up all their inherited property as collateral.³⁶

On 10 December 1897, in order to satisfy the promissory note that had been given to J. B. Mayfield, Duncan A. and his brother Daniel C. deeded their property to him. In the documentation of this transaction there is a reference to another promissory note executed on 11 July 1888.³⁷

By 1899, Duncan A. McGilvary was living in Houston, Harris County, Texas. By this time he had changed occupation and was identified as a carpenter. The Houston City Directories give Duncan the wrong initials. They identify him as M. C. McGilray and report that he was residing at a boarding house at 2015 Union Street.³⁸ The 1900 census taken on 4 June 1900 correctly identifies him as Duncan McGilvary and substantiates that his address was on Union Street and his occupation was carpentry. The census also states that he

had been unemployed for six months.³⁹

The Houston City Directories show that Duncan A. McGilvary resided in Houston until at least 1903 after which he is dropped from the Directory. The exact time and place of his death is not known, however, we know it was after 1912.

M242 DANIEL CHARLES McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M24, Appendix B, page B-23.

Daniel Charles McGilvary was the second son of Daniel and Nancy McIver McGilvary. He was born in Moore County, North Carolina in 1848 and apparently was too young to see service in the Civil War.

Daniel C. accompanied his parents to Texas in 1867 and with the exception of traveling, his history parallels that of his brother Duncan. He also inherited an equal share of his Uncle John's estate and, like his brother, did not seem to capitalize on his inheritance.

In 1880, Daniel C. and his father were enumerated in the census of Rusk County. Daniel C. was identified as a farmer.³¹

Daniel C. McGilvary, who never married, is fondly remembered by one senior citizen of Kilgore, Texas. When this charming lady was 7-8 years old, Mr. Dan (as he was known) would bring some of his neighbors girls to play with her older sisters. He is remembered as a quiet, gentle man who attended Leverett's Chapel. He died at home and supposedly is buried in Overton, Texas.⁴⁰

As noted in the discussion on Duncan A. McGilvary, the two brothers apparently disposed of all of their real estate by 1900. In June of that year, Daniel C. McGilvary was enumerated as a boarder at a private home in Rusk County. His occupation was a farm laborer and the place of birth of him and his parents is erroneously given as Alabama.⁴¹

In 1912, Daniel C. wrote the following short letter to his cousin Flora Ann in North Carolina.³²

Kilgore, Texas
Jan 27, 1912
Mrs. Flora McFadyen

Dear Cousin

Duncan is at home now. he is in bad health and wants to get the address of some of his old company so he can apply for a pension. Do you know if Kenneth McDonald is living or any of his old company. if so will you give there address. how is all the [incomplete sentence in original] Tell me all about your brotheres and sisters and your Ma is she living and all about kin and friend. is Charley Thomas in the neighborhood yet. we made a fine cotton crop here this year corn was sorry. we had the hotis [hottest] and dryis [driest] Summer I ever saw.

Your Cousin
D. C. McGilvary

From the above letter we know that Daniel C. McGilvary was alive in 1912. The exact time and place of his death is not known but old-timers recall that it was about 1915.

M245 SARAH ANNE McGILVARY FLORENCE

Refer to: Chart M245, Appendix B, page B-24.

Sarah Anne was the only daughter of Daniel and Nancy McIver McGilvary who survived to adulthood. She accompanied the family to Texas where she met and married Major Florence, son of Simeon J. and Ann C. Florence. They were married by the Reverend Tully Choice, who was Sarah's Uncle John McGilvary's stepson.⁴² Major Florence was born in Alabama.

In 1880,⁴³ Major and Sarah (Sallie) Florence was enumerated in Smith County, Texas.

Sarah Anne was one of the legatees of John McGilvary's will and she received equal shares of the estate. In March 1895, Sarah (Sallie) and her husband conveyed her interest in the estate to her brother Daniel C. McGilvary for \$1.00.⁴⁴ At that time the Florences were living in Dallas County, Texas.

Sometime after the above transaction, Sallie McGilvary Florence died. Her husband and children were in Rockwell County, Texas in 1900 and 1910.^{60,61}

M25 ALEXANDER McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M25, Appendix B, page B-25.

Alexander McGilvary was the youngest son of Archibald and Sally McDonald McGilvary. He was born in 1815 and lived all of his life in Moore County, North Carolina. Some of his descendants still live on the Alexander McGilvary homestead.

Alexander McGilvary first appeared in the official record in 1845 when the Moore County Court released him from paying double taxation on one white poll for 1844. The error had occurred when the Magistrate compiled the tax list.⁴⁵

Like the other McGilvarys, Alexander knew the value of land and he too began to acquire his own acreage. In 1851, he was taxed on 125 acres and one white poll. In 1854, Alexander was granted a tract of four acres by the State. This tract was on the waters of the Little Juniper and it joined the lands of John McLeod and Nancy Morris.⁴⁶ Benjamin Morris and Alexander McGilvary were chain carriers for the survey.⁴⁷ By 1858, Alexander had increased his acreage in District 5, Moore County to 245 acres.⁴⁷ The extant Court Minutes do not indicate that Alexander ever had deeds proved in Court so it is probable that he received some acreage as a Deed of Gift from his father Archibald. Deeds of Gift were not always recorded.

Archibald McGilvary's will bequeathed to his son Alexander 60 acres on the Little Juniper Creek which included the dwelling where Archibald lived.

Archibald's eldest son, John McGilvary, who had moved from North Carolina and who was not named in the will, challenged it in Court. In January 1852, the Court ruled against John McGilvary and decreed that the provisions of the will were valid as written.⁴⁸

Beginning in 1853, Alexander McGilvary and John McDuffy and others were ordered by the Court to work on the road from the fork of the Upper Little River to the fork of the road at Benjamin Spiveys. Spivey's land was on the headwaters of Little Juniper Creek.⁴⁹

Alexander McGilvary did not marry until he was almost 40 years old. In 1860, he and his family were enumerated within the jurisdiction of the Rollins Store Post Office. His worth in real estate was \$500 and personal property \$400. His sister, Nancy McGilvary Morris, was included as part of Alexander's household.⁵⁰

Although Alexander was too old to participate personally in the Civil War, he enjoyed telling the story of when he harvested corn he would have to put one load aside for himself and one for the Confederate Government.

In 1870, Alexander McGilvary and family were enumerated in the Greenwood #7 Township, Jonesboro Post Office. By this time his family was complete. Nancy McGilvary Morris was still included as part of his household.⁵¹ Both his real estate and personal property were valued at \$400 each.

On the Sunday morning of 1 March 1874, Alexander McGilvary, John A. McNeil and Cornie McNeil were walking down the road returning from a visit to Mr. McDuffy when Alexander fell over dead from a heart attack. He was buried in a family cemetery on what was then his own property. As far as can be determined Alexander did not leave a will.

Figure 34. Sarah Morris McGilvary,
daughter of Peter Morris and
Rebecca Wicker and wife of
of Alexander McGilvary.



In 1880, Widow Sarah McGilvary was enumerated as head of household.⁵² Four of her children were living with her.

Grandmother Sarah McGilvary is recalled as a very lively lady with lots of spirit. She always kept a pitchfork in her room for protection. One day Will Gray Buie, her grandson, had climbed to the top of a giant grapevine. Grandma Sarah, fearing he might fall, told him to come down. Will Gray

refused so Sarah went inside and got the pitchfork and chased him down. That incident is remembered to this day.

Another time Sarah was walking from the farm to the market at Lemon Springs. She was carrying a basket of eggs to sell to augment the family's cash income. On the way she stumbled and took a nasty fall. When asked if she was hurt, she replied, "Of course not. But on the way down I said a little prayer asking God not to let any of the eggs break and they didn't."

In 1884, Widow Sarah McGilvary decided to dispose of her own property and to apportion Alexander's estate. She sold the 72 acres she had inherited from her father, Peter Morris, to Elisha Watkins.⁵³ Alexander had left an estate of 267 acres and this was apportioned to his heirs as illustrated on the plot in Figure 35, page 369. Since the date of apportionment, parts of Alexander McGilvary's original estate has changed hands several times and very little of the original acreage is still owned by his descendants.

In addition to apportioning the land, many of Alexander and Sarah McGilvary's personal effects were distributed to the family. One of their most prized possessions that has remained in the family is a magnificent hunt board that was made from lumber from one of the stately virgin pines that grew on his farm. The hunt board was made for Alexander by a cabinet maker in Fayetteville and was delivered to the farm in Moore County by a slave who carried it on his back for more than 30 miles.

In 1900 and 1910, Widow Sarah McGilvary was living with her daughter, Florence Ruth Buie.^{54,55} She died on 27 March 1912 and is buried in the same cemetery with her husband.

M251 FLORA ANN McGILVARY McFADYEN

Refer to: Chart M251, Appendix B, page B-26.

Flora Ann was the first-born of Alexander and Sarah Morris McGilvary. She was born in 1854 and lived and died in Moore (now Lee) County, North Carolina.

On 19 November 1876, Flora Ann married Gideon McFadyen, son of Colin and Judith Edwards McFadyen. They lived on Carthage Street in the Town of Cameron, North Carolina. By 1900, Flora Ann was Postmaster of the Cameron Post Office, a position she held until after 1910.^{56,57}

Gideon and Flora Ann McFadyen are buried in the Cameron Church Cemetery.

M253 EVANDER JACKSON McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M253, Appendix B, page B-31.

Evander Jackson McGilvary was a lifelong resident and distinguished citizen of Moore (now Lee) County, North Carolina.

On 28 February 1889, Evander Jackson married Ida Estelle Davis,⁵⁸ daughter of John and Bessie Davis of Cumberland County, North Carolina. There were four children of this marriage.

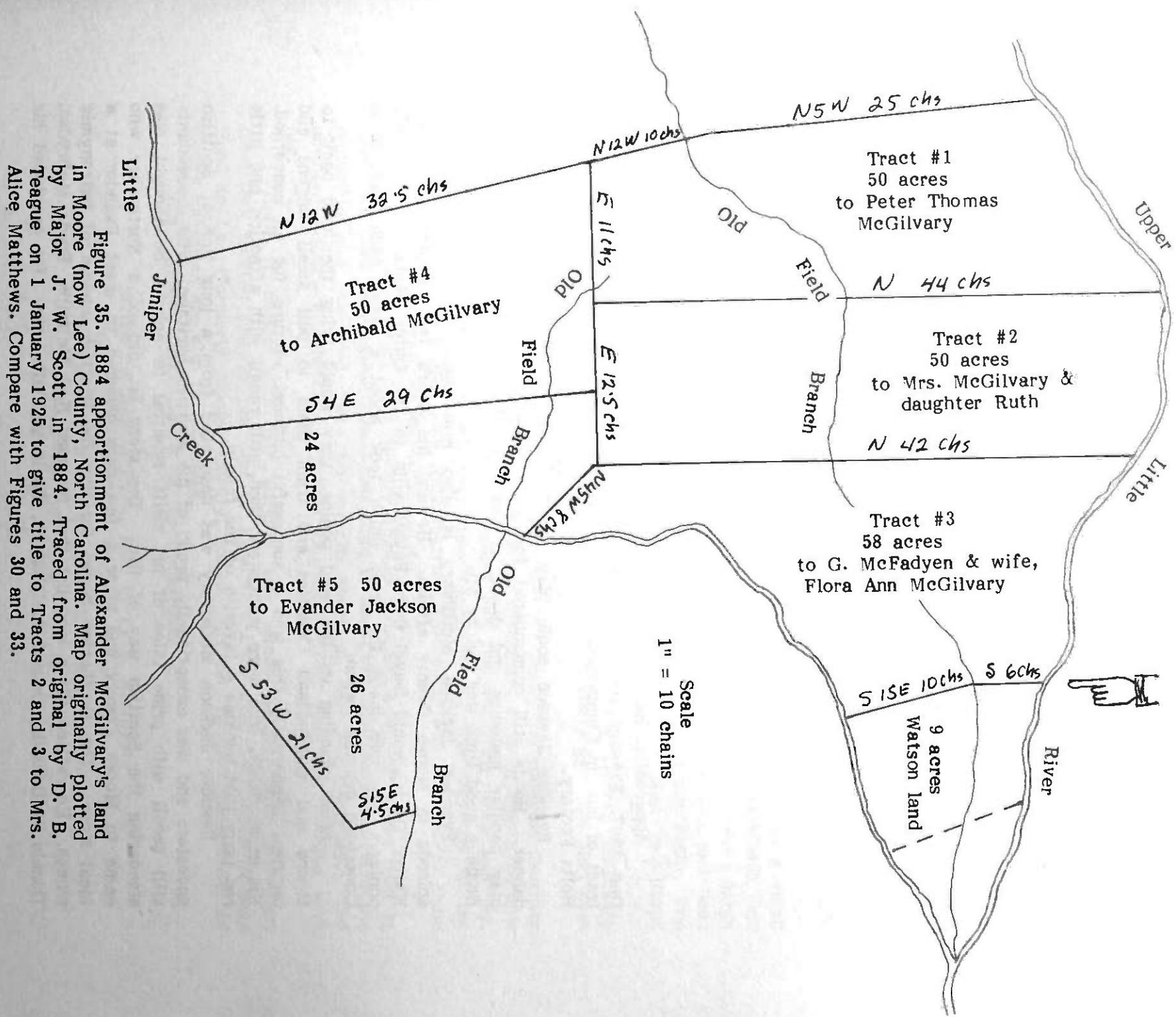


Figure 35. 1884 apportionment of Alexander McGilvary's land in Moore (now Lee) County, North Carolina. Map originally plotted by Major J. W. Scott in 1884. Traced from original by D. B. Teague on 1 January 1925 to give title to Tracts 2 and 3 to Mrs. Alice Matthews. Compare with Figures 30 and 33.

Figure 36. Evander Jackson McGilvary.



Apparently, Ida Estelle inherited some land in Cumberland County. On 31 Dec 1897, Evander and Ida conveyed to her brother-in-law, R. M. Jackson, a tract of land in Cumberland County in Rockfish Township on the main road near Holts Factory.⁵⁹

Evander Jackson could play the fiddle very well and was also a good dancer. He is still remembered for his entertaining evenings when he would play popular melodies and dance at the same time. When E. J. played the fiddle a good time was had by all.

Evander Jackson McGilvary is also remembered for another unusual episode in Moore County affairs. He and his wife's two brothers, John and Walter Davis, would travel from Fayetteville to the Outer Banks to catch wild ponies. The trio made the trip, which took about a week each way, in a Conestoga covered wagon.

After rounding up the wild ponies, they would bring the herd back to Moore and Cumberland Counties and train them to pull small wagons and buggies. Apparently this was a successful business venture for all concerned. His descendants, who were youngsters then, still recall with affection one little red pony that became a favorite of the family.

Evander Jackson McGilvary was descended from a long line of Scottish ancestors and was exceptionally proud of his Scottish heritage. His descendants still recall with pride tales of his swift rebuttal to anyone he thought was slandering the Scottish way of life. The story is told of a Northerner who came to Moore County and after a few days chanced to meet Evander at a local store. The Northerner began deriding the Scottish custom of patronymic names. He rattled off a long list that included Neil McNeills, Bryde McBrydes, Donald McDonalds, Dougal McDougalls, Phail McPhails, etc. He concluded his

disparaging remarks with a question, "What would my name be if I were Scottish?" Evander replied without hesitation, "Fool McFool!"

Ida Estelle died in 1900 and, in 1901, Evander Jackson McGilvary married Louetta McNeill. There were five children from this marriage. Some still live on the Evander Jackson home place and they have been most helpful in compiling this family history.

M255 PETER THOMAS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M255, Appendix B, B-35.

Peter Thomas McGilvary was born in Moore County, North Carolina on 12 August 1865, the fifth of Alexander and Sarah Morris McGilvary's six children. He grew up on land that his Grandfather Archibald McGilvary had bought after his arrival from Scotland in 1802. The land had been passed on to Peter's father and the large two-story house they lived in was precious to the family.

Peter was only nine years old when his father died in 1874. As a small child he had listened to his father repeat the stories his father, Archibald, had told of his life in Scotland and of the pride he now had in owning such a large and beautiful farm in this great land. The same pride of ownership had been instilled in Alexander but this feeling was not inherited by his son Peter, who had the same longing to travel to a more exciting place that had lured Alexander's two brothers, John and Daniel, to the West.

As Peter grew into a young man he developed the typical McGilvary physical characteristics. He was slender and fair with sandy hair and blue eyes and at 6'4" was the tallest member of his family.

On 6 February 1890, Peter married Cora Lee Hunt, the youngest daughter of Carney Cotton Hunt and Frances Catherine Blackman. Both of Cora's parents were from prominent Moore County families and she was their pride and joy, but the bright future they had envisioned for their daughter was not to be. Two years after Peter and Cora were married a daughter was stillborn to them and Cora remained frail for sometime after.

Three years later, on 8 January 1895, a son, Alexander Hunt, was born to them but Cora never knew him. This time it was Cora who did not survive the childbirth and she died just two months short of her 24th birthday. The newborn infant's grandmother, Frances Catherine Hunt, took him to live with her.

Cora is buried with her parents and infant daughter at the Hunt Cemetery located just to the rear of Winstead's Lake near the Lemon Springs Road in Lee (formerly Moore) County, North Carolina. Several generations of Cora's ancestors are also buried there.

The following inscription is on her tombstone:

In the memory of Cora, Wife of P. T. McGilvary
Born: 9 March 1871 - Died: 8 January 1895
Every word of God is pure; He is a shield
unto them that put their Trust in him.



Figure 37. Peter Thomas McGilvary and Cora Lee Hunt McGilvary.

On 23 September 1896, Peter Thomas married a second time. His new wife was Sarah Hunt. Sarah was the youngest child of Henry Hunt and Mary Anne Godfrey and was Cora Hunt's first cousin. In the next five years they had three children and Peter's desire to move on to a more exciting life became increasingly stronger. Sarah's brother Dempsey Hunt and his wife Lula Sapp had moved to Florida several years earlier and had been encouraging the young married couple to follow. Peter disposed of his portion of the family land and in 1902 moved his family to Florida.

Peter and Sarah spent the remainder of their lives in Florida, moving to several locations and finally locating in Mulberry in Polk County. During this time they had seven more children.

Peter Thomas, after a long illness, died on 22 November 1937. Sarah, who lived almost 20 years longer, died of a heart attack on 10 January 1957. Both are buried in Fitzgerald Cemetery in Medella, Polk County, Florida, as are several of their children and some of Sarah's family.



Figure 38. The Peter Thomas McGilvary family at Medella, Florida. On porch: Peter Thomas and Sarah Hunt McGilvary. Standing, right to left: Sadie, William Griffith, Clyde, Dolly, Ludie and Leon.

M2552 ALEXANDER HUNT McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M2552, Appendix B, page B-36.

Alexander Hunt (Alex) McGilvary, the son of Peter Thomas and Cora Lee Hunt McGilvary, was born in Moore County, North Carolina on 8 January 1895. He was named for his Great-Great-Grandfather Alexander Hunt who was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. Although Alexander would never know his mother, who had died giving him birth, she had left him a sense of family pride he would carry with him always.

Cora's father Carney Cotton Hunt, who was a very successful planter in Moore County, died when she was 19 years old. In his will he left to his youngest daughter Cora the 280 acres- that included his home and the other buildings on his plantation as well as some of the furniture. Cora later traded some of this land with one of her sisters.

One of the pieces of furniture Cora inherited was a solid cherry square grand piano. Before Cora died she had made arrangements so that her inheritance would pass on to her eldest child when he or she became 25 years

of age. The piano is now a priceless heirloom and is still in the family, the possession of one of the authors, Doris McGilvary Steiner, who is Alexander's daughter. Also passed down is a porcelain doll made in about 1875. As was the custom, dolls were sometimes decorated by their owners and the hair on this antique doll's head was made from part of Cora's hair when she was a small child.

Alexander was raised by his Grandmother, Frances Catherine Hunt, and by his aunt, Cora's sister, Judah Frances Hunt Cox. One of Alexander's fondest childhood memories was coming home from school with his cousins to the smell of molasses cookies which were made in large quantities by his "Grandma Fanny" and "Aunt Sis" and then stored in cloth flour sacks.

Alexander's happy childhood was shattered by the death of his beloved grandmother on 11 December 1906. And in January 1907, shortly after his 12th birthday, his life underwent another dramatic change. He went to Florida to live with his father and step-mother. His new family came complete with five half-brothers and sisters and there would be five more to follow.

Young Alexander soon came to love this new family and in later years would tell stories of the fun he had with his brothers and sisters and of the pranks they played while attending Pine Level School. A close relationship developed with his step-mother, Sarah Hunt McGilvary, and he never thought of her as anything but his mother.

Even though Alexander's early years had been spent with the Hunts he was very aware that he was a McGilvary. As a child in North Carolina he had visited often with his McGilvary relatives. One strong memory was of the trouble he and his cousin Will Gray Buie had gotten into while playing. Whenever they got the chance they would sneak into the storage room and open an old trunk the McGilvarys had brought over from Scotland. This trunk contained many letters, personal items and mementos the family wished to preserve and the boys were not supposed to play with the contents. Will's parents often caught and punished the boys but they were never deterred for long. In the years since the trunk and its contents have disappeared and only a cow bell and a three-legged iron pot are left. These items are now the proud possessions of Alice McGilvary Matthews.

After Alexander joined his father in Florida, his awareness of his heritage was reinforced. He carried with him all his life a fierce pride of his Scottish ancestry which was evident by his fair skin, sandy hair and blue eyes.

Early in 1918, when Alexander was 23 years old, he left home and went to Petersburg, Virginia to find work. While there he met a 16 year old girl who would later become his wife. Lily May Inge was the oldest daughter of Edward Vincent Inge and Dora Belle Chalkley. Alexander was fascinated by the shiny dark hair that hung to her knees and the sparkling dark eyes that were such a contrast to his fairness. That summer, while visiting relatives in North Carolina, Alexander enlisted in the Army and was sent to Pennsylvania. He was waiting to go to France when World War I ended. While happy the war was over, he always regreted he never got to go overseas. He was discharged in April 1919 and went home to his family in Florida and from there to North Carolina. Soon, however, he went back to Virginia and on 25 April 1921, a few

weeks before her 20th birthday, he and Lily were married at the home of her parents.



Figure 39. Alexander Hunt McGilvary and Lily May Inge McGilvary.

Alexander and Lily McGilvary moved to Colonial Heights, Virginia where they remained. They were married for 48 years and had four children, three of whom grew to adulthood. After suffering a heart attack and a stroke, Alexander Hunt McGilvary died at home in Colonial Heights on 16 July 1969. Lily McGilvary survived her husband by more than a decade but succumbed to a similar illness on 15 October 1982 while living at the home of her youngest son in Petersburg, Virginia. They are buried next to each other in Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg.

NOTE AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 3

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2. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Aug 1823 Term, page 11.
3. North Carolina Secretary of State, Land Grants, Book 144, page 112.
4. 1850 Federal Census, Moore County, NC, page 192, Family 395.
5. On file in Moore County, NC Court House, Carthage, NC.
6. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1852 Term, page 170.
7. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Apr 1853 Term, page 464.
8. 1840 Federal Census, Hancock County, GA, District 101, page 209.
9. Hancock County, GA Deeds, Book Q, page 111.
10. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1852 Term, page 159.
11. Hancock County, GA Marriage Records, 1805-1879, page 71.
12. Virginia Land Office Records, Patent 20, page 464.
13. Hancock County, GA Minutes of the Court of Ordinary,
11 Jan 1847, page 399.
14. Hancock County, GA Minutes of the Superior Court, Apr 1844, Oct
1847, Apr 1849, Oct 1850 and Apr 1851.
15. 1850 Federal Census, Hancock County, GA, District 101, page 2,
Family 23.
16. Rusk County, TX Deeds, Book M, page 519.
17. 1870 Federal Census, Rusk County, TX, Precinct #2, Henderson P. O.,
page 78, Family 564.
18. Rusk County, TX Wills and Estates, Estate #1185.
19. 1840 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 199.
20. 1850 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 209, Family 645.
21. Moore Co, NC Tax Lists 1851-1858, Courthouse, Carthage, NC
22. 1860 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 172, Dwelling 475.
23. 1870 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 530, Family 226.

24. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Spring Term 1844, page 15.
25. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, July 1845 Term, page 206.
26. Moore Co, NC Wills, Book B, page 188.
27. NC Secretary of State, Land Grant Office, Book 154, page 179.
28. Moore Co, NC Court Minute Docket, October 1852 Term, page 464.
29. Moore Co, NC Tax List for years 1851-1858. Carthage Courthouse.
30. 1860 Federal Census, Moore County, NC, page 65, Dwelling & Family 462.
31. 1870 Federal Census, Rusk Co, TX, Precinct #2, page 78, Family 564.
32. From the private collection of Allie and Lucille McGilvary, Lemon Springs, NC.
33. 1880 Federal Census, Rusk Co, TX, Precinct #2, page 22, Family 186.
34. Rusk County, TX Deeds, Book 45, page 176.
35. Compiled Confederate Service Records, Soldiers from North Carolina.
36. Rusk Co, TX Deeds, Book 42, page 174.
37. Rusk Co, TX Deeds, Book 45, pages 315 & 317.
38. City Directories, Houston, Texas, 1899-1903. In Library of Congress.
39. 1900 Federal Census, Houston City, Harris Co, TX, ED 66, page 68A, Dwelling 55, Family 64.
40. Oral history from Mrs. Ola MacAfee Harris, Kilgore, Texas, 23 Sep 1980.
41. 1900 Federal Census, Rusk Co, TX, Precinct #2, ED 82, page 130B, Dwelling 226, Family 228.
42. Rusk Co, TX Marriage Licenses, Book F, page 299.
43. 1880 Federal Census, Smith Co, TX, ED 102, page 63, Dwelling 503, Family 567.
44. Rusk Co, TX Deeds, Book 45, page 176.
45. Moore Co, NC Court Minutes, July 1845 Term, page 201.
46. NC Secretary of State Land Grant Office, Book 158, page 261.
47. Moore Co, TX Tax Lists, 1851-1858. In Courthouse at Carthage, NC.
48. Moore Co, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1852 Term, page 159.

49. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1853 Term, page 374 and Oct 1855 Term, page 405.
50. 1860 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Rollins Store P. O., page 64, Family 475.
51. 1870 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC Greenwood #7 Twp, page 530, Family 226.
52. 1880 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Greenwood Twp, page 246, Family 163.
53. Moore Co, NC Deeds, Book 4, page 270.
54. 1900 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, St. Andrews Precinct, ED 76, page 147B, Dwelling 51, Family 51.
55. 1910 Federal Census, Lee Co, NC, Greenwood Twp, ED 52, page 125, Dwelling 169, Family 171.
56. 1900 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Greenwood Twp, Cameron Town, ED 75, page 65, Dwelling and Family 34.
57. 1910 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Greenwood Twp, Cameron Town, ED 69, page 165, Dwelling 50, Family 52.
58. Cumberland Co, NC Marriages, File 14046.
59. Cumberland Co, NC Deeds, Book 103, page 348.
60. 1900 Federal Census, Rockwell Co, TX, precinct #1, ED 83, page 15A, Dwelling 156, Family 158.
61. 1910 Federal Census, Rockwell Co, TX, Precinct #3, ED 180, page 11B, Dwelling and Family 209.

THE ANGUS MCGILVARY FAMILY

M3 ANGUS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M3, Appendix B, page B-44.

We have encountered Angus McGilvary before in our narrative when he petitioned for a lease of part of the Farm of Capistole in the Parish of Sleat in 1802. Like his brother, Archibald, Angus was disappointed in his quest and emigrated.

By 1798, Angus had married the daughter of Kenneth McIver of Skye and unlike most Scots they did not have a large family. The records substantiate there was one daughter named Jennet, born in 1799, who survived to adulthood. There may have been other issue but there is no record of such. Family tradition states that there was an earlier daughter who died young but the records do not substantiate this.

In late 1802, Angus McGilvary emigrated with the rest of his brothers and settled in Moore County, North Carolina. Little is known of the early years but Angus was enumerated in the 1810 census with one female child under age 10.¹

Like the other McGilvarys immediately he began to acquire land. The 1815 tax list indicates that he had 200 acres.² Angus took up land in District #2 on the waters of Governors and Crawley Creeks not too far west of his brother Martin's home tract on Pocket Creek.

Angus McGilvary apparently lived an uneventful life. Unlike his relations, he did not apply for a land grant, did not appear in the Minutes of the Court, apparently did no jury duty or roadwork and, as far as the official records go, he left almost a blank slate. It is possible Angus was infirm and could not take an active part in public service.

Angus McGilvary's wife died after 1840 and in 1850, he was living³ with his son-in-law, George McRae. Angus' real estate was listed as 267 acres. The extant tax lists for Moore County for the years 1851-1858 confirm that Angus was taxed for 267 acres on Governors Creek.⁴

Angus McGilvary died about 1857 and is buried on his own land.

M31 JENNET McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart M31, Appendix B, page B-44.

Jennet McGilvary's given name was probably Jeanette but the official records always list her as Jennet. She was born on the Isle of Skye and was three years old when she came to North Carolina with her mother and father.

Apparently Jennet was a very capable woman and in 1825, at age 26, she was deeded property by John Worthy which was acknowledged in Court.⁵ From previous records we know the Worthys handled legal matters in Moore County and in this transaction Jennet may have been acting on behalf of her father. In 1830, Jennet was involved in two more exchanges of real property with John and Neill McLeod which were proved in Court.⁶

Jennet McGilvary married George McRae, who was also from Scotland. George and Jennet had seven children. Three of them never married and one son, Daniel, moved to California following service in the Civil War. Two of the girls married and raised families in North Carolina. Their lineage is shown on the charts in Appendix B.

George McRae died in 1870 leaving his widow, Jennet, with an estate of about 1,100 acres on Crawley Creek. This tract has remained more or less intact and is still in the hands of Jennet's descendants.

George and Jennet McRae's farm was typical of all the farms of that era; self-sustaining in a manner we shall see no more. The proprietors operated their own sawmill, their own gristmill and a fully equipped, functional blacksmith shop. They tanned their own leather, made most of their own farm tools and spun yarn to make their own cloth for clothing. The stables housed spirited horses and mules. The smokehouse was filled with home-cured meats and large herds of half-wild cattle, sheep and swine roamed the fields and woods. All of this made for a truly unique social system wherein each farm family developed a self-sufficiency that produced the indomitable independent spirit of rural America.

Jennet McGilvary McRae died in 1888 and is buried in Euphronia Church Cemetery.

With this family we shall depart from our established rules. Since there were no male McGilvarys in this line, we shall discuss some of Jennet's descendants who have led interesting lives.

M316 GEORGE ALEXANDER McRAE⁸

Refer to: Chart M31, Appendix B, page B-44.

George Alexander McRae was born in 1842 and that made him the right age to actively participate in the Civil War. While still a mere youth, George McRae, who had to furnish his own horse and gun, enlisted in Company G of the 5th North Carolina Cavalry Regiment. The Regiment became part of Gordons Brigade that rode with the immortal Jeb Stuart through Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Man and horse became almost as one in the Confederate Cavalry. George McRae would recall that many times his troop had to sleep on the ground with their horse's bridle tied to the wrist so the horses could graze. Even on the darkest nights none of the men were ever stepped on by their mount. George recalled that the cavalry might charge across a battlefield strewn with dead and wounded men and there was very little danger the sure-footed horses would ever step on a man on the ground.

George McRae frequently would tell of his most thrilling moment in the war when the Cavalry was reviewed by Generals Robert E. Lee and Jeb Stuart on the plains of Brandy Station just before the start of the Battle of Gettysburg.

While fighting dismounted at Chambers Run on 31 March 1865 during the final days of the War, George McRae was helping a wounded comrade to the rear when his left leg was shattered by a bullet fired by a Union soldier from just a few yards away. As George was carried to the rear by his Union captors, where his left leg was amputated, he saw the body of his commander, Colonel McNeill, a Presbyterian minister from Fayetteville. George observed that the insignia on his uniform had been cut away for a souvenir and this made a lasting impression of the young cavalryman.

George McRae never married and he passed away on 24 March 1932. He was affectionately known as Uncle Sandy and one of his relatives expressed his passing with the following words, which are appropriate, not only for Uncle Sandy, but for all of those brave young men who participated in that fratricidal conflict that ripped the fabric of the Nation:

"I think God's angel choir is singing soft today
That good air called "Dixie" for a little man in Gray.
The final taps has sounded for dear old Uncle Sandy
Who is gone to march with comrades along the Golden Way.

His old gray uniform is worn, his steps are faltering and slow,
His proud old Southern heart beats time to tunes of long ago,
Because old memories will sing of the times gone by,
I see him now in rank and file, marching that long last mile.

M31311 DR. FLOYD LAFAYETTE KNIGHT⁸

Refer to: Chart M313, Appendix B, page B-47.

One of the most distinguished of Angus McGilvary's descendants was Dr. Floyd Knight, of Lee County, North Carolina. He was one of the County's best known and most respected physicians and surgeons as well as a lifetime leader in civic and public affairs. Dr. Knight was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church from 1933 to 1970 and Elder Emeritus until 1975.

Dr. Knight enjoyed the distinction of possessing almost intact the 1,100 acre farm on Crawley Creek that contained part of Angus McGilvary's original tract that was passed on to Jennet McGilvary and combined with the George McRae estate.

NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 4

1. 1810 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 68.
2. Moore Co, NC Tax List, 1815, page 4. In NC Archives.
3. 1850 Federal Census, Moore County, NC, page 218, Dwelling & Family 780.
4. Moore Co, NC Tax Lists, 1851-1858, District #2, Carthage Courthouse.
5. Moore Co, NC Court Minutes, Feb 1825 Term, page 69.
6. Moore County, NC Court Minutes, Feb 1830 Term, page 302.
7. Kelly, Kenneth L., McIver Family of North Carolina, (Wash., DC: McIver Publications, Inc., 1964, page 259.
8. We are deeply indebted to Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., of Fayetteville, North Carolina, who is a descendant of Angus McGilvary and who permitted us to use material from his private collection.

THE SKYE CONNECTION

In the preceding chapters we have concentrated almost exclusively on a limited number of MacGillivrays who emigrated to North Carolina from the Isle of Skye. And that was rightly so because they were the driving force behind this book. However, there were other MacGillivrays who emigrated to America, some from Skye and some from other parts of Scotland. As desirable as it might be, it is beyond the scope of this history to try to follow every McGillivray to his or her ultimate destination in America, instead we conclude with a few brief sketches on MacGillivray immigrants who originally settled in North Carolina.

As reported previously, the majority of the Scottish immigrants to North Carolina settled in the counties of the Cape Fear River Valley with the MacGillivrays congregating in just a few of these counties, namely Cumberland, Moore and Richmond. We have already concentrated on the McGilvarys of Moore (now Lee) County so we begin this brief review with those of Cumberland County which was the parent county of Moore.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

C1 DANIEL MCGILVARY

Refer to: Chart C1, Appendix B, page B-48.

Daniel McGilvary (sometimes known as Donald) was born 20 April 1772 on the Isle of Skye and he emigrated to this country on 5 Jan 1804. By 1809 Daniel was married and during the next 20 years there were five children born, all in North Carolina.¹

Daniel and Anna McGilvary can be identified in all census of Cumberland County from 1820 till 1850. In 1820, there was an unidentified male, age 26-45, living with them and their three children.²

There was a strange and unexplained occurrence reflected in the 1840 census. Daniel's son Daniel Junior, who was only 10-15 years old, was enumerated as the head of a separate household that included his two younger sisters. There were three slaves in this household. Surprisingly, Daniel, Senior and Anna were enumerated as living alone and they had six slaves.³ Daniel and Anna were also enumerated alone in 1850. He was a farmer and his real estate was valued at \$350.⁴

Daniel McGilvary died on 28 December 1854 and is buried in Cross Creek

Cemetery in Fayetteville, North Carolina.⁵

In the 1860 census, Anna McGilvary⁶ was head of household and her daughter, Flora McLeod, was living with her. Anna died after 1860.

C12 JAMES McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart C12, Appendix B, page B-49.

James McGilvary had an affinity for the Moore (now Lee) County, North Carolina McGilvarys because he was a merchant with a store in Carthage, the County Seat, where the Moore County McGilvarys traded when they were in town on business.

James McGilvary, the oldest son of Daniel and Anna McGilvary, was born in Cumberland County on 1 March 1818. He married Elizabeth T. Tyson, daughter of John and Margaret Tyson of Moore County, on 10 March 1840. In 1844, one child was born of this union. Elizabeth died on 23 February 1844.

James McGilvary and his brother-in-law, Thomas B. Tyson, were partners in a retail store in Carthage, Moore County, North Carolina. In April 1845, they were granted a license to sell "speritious liquors by the small measure at their storehouse in Carthage for one year."⁸

In addition to being a successful merchant, James McGilvary was also a community leader. The extant Court Minutes contain many references to him being appointed to settle and administer accounts and estates and to testify before the Court on various matters. James signed the Certification of the 1840 Census for Moore County. He was awarded contracts to build bridges throughout the county and he owned several tracts of land in both Cumberland and Moore Counties.

On 14 August 1851, James McGilvary married again. His second wife was Hannah Whitfield.⁹ Seven children were born of this marriage. James and family moved back to Cumberland County and in 1860 he was a bank clerk with real estate valued at \$2,500 and personal property valued at \$14,800.¹⁰ For that time period these assets indicated that James McGilvary was a very successful business man.

James McGilvary was deceased by 1900 when his widow Hannah McGilvary was enumerated as head of household with two of her children still living with her.¹¹ Hannah died after 1910.

C121 JOHN HALE McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart C12, Appendix B, page B-49.

John Hale McGilvary, son of James and Elizabeth Tyson McGilvary, was born in Moore County in 1842. John was only two years old when his mother died and he went to live with his uncle Thomas B. Tyson and his family.¹² At that time Thomas was the business partner of John's father. Later Uncle Thomas manufactured carriages and became a very wealthy man.

John Hale McGilvary's grandfather, John Tyson, died in 1851 and left part of his estate to his grandson.¹³

John Hale was enumerated twice in the 1860 census, once in Moore County with his uncle Thomas Tyson¹⁴ and once in Cumberland County with his father and step-mother.¹⁵ Since he was raised by his uncle, the second enumeration was probably a census taker's error.

John Hale McGilvary was the right age to become involved in the Civil War and he compiled a distinguished record. On 3 June 1861 at Carthage, North Carolina, John Hale enlisted as a Private, Company H, 26th North Carolina Infantry. He quickly made Corporal and on 24 June 1862 was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant.

Lt. John Hale McGilvary and his unit participated in the Battle of Gettysburg and the following extract of his comments gives a contemporary view of the intensity of that bloody battle; "In the three days of fighting at Gettysburg, "of the 880 officers and men of the 26th, 662 had been killed, wounded or captured. As for the Independents, of which John was a member, only six of the original 78 were still on their feet. Seventeen had been killed and 55 wounded, including every officer. On 3 July, the third day of the battle, Lt. McGilvary was pierced through both legs by a bullet." On 23 July 1863, he was admitted to Hospital #4 in Richmond, Virginia.

On 30 July 1863, Lt John Hale McGilvary was transferred to Petersburg, Virginia where he remained for the duration of the war. John was among the officers that surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse on 9 April 1865.¹⁷

C2 ALEXANDER McGILVARY

Alexander McGilvary was not identified in the 1810 Federal census and he is not positively identified in the 1812 list of British aliens in the United States. There was, however, an A. McGilvery listed as an alien in Fayetteville. His age was 24 years, he was a clerk and had been in the United States for 20 years. From this we can infer that Alexander was born in Scotland in 1788 and he came to this country in 1792.¹⁶

On 10 November 1814, Alexander and Angus McGilvary (C3, q.v.) opened a business in Fayetteville, North Carolina where they sold harness, saddles, halter trimmings and other goods from New York and Philadelphia. Their store was advertised in the Fayetteville newspaper.¹⁸

Although it seems unusual for an alien to become part of a military force raised to guard against an enemy of the Nation, especially when that enemy is the homeland of the alien, nevertheless that is what seems to have happened to Alexander. The records list an Alexander McGilvary as a Private in the Fayetteville Militia commanded by Lt. Grove during the War of 1812.¹⁹

By 1816, A & A McGilvary were dealing in land. They bought and sold several lots in Fayetteville. In 1818, they bought more than 1,000 acres in Robeson County, North Carolina. But, if they were speculating in land, evidently it did not pay off. By 1820, their business had failed and there were several judgements against A & A McGilvary. The Sheriff of Robeson County was ordered to sell their property at auction to satisfy the claims of debtors.

The highest bidder for the Robeson County slaves and real estate was a David Mandeville, Senior of Marlboro County, South Carolina. Apparently this

was a continuation of a relationship between Alexander McGilvary and the Mandevilles. On 7 December 1818, Alexander McGilvary married Mary G. Mandeville, daughter of David Mandeville, Senior, and they were enumerated in 1820 in Marlboro County, South Carolina.²⁰ The only discrepancy in this scenario is that the age given for Alexander McGilvary in the 1820 census and the age inferred from the Alien List are significantly different.

Alexander McGilvary and family were in Claiborne County, Mississippi in 1830.²¹ In 1850, Alexander McGilvary stated that he was 61 years old. This would make his birth date 1789 and this agrees with the age given on the Alien List.²²

C3 ANGUS McGILVARY

Angus McGilvary was the partner of Alexander McGilvary discussed above. They probably were related but the relationship has not been established. Nothing is known of his early life and as far as can be determined he never was enumerated in a census.

We do know, however, that after Angus and Alexander McGilvary went out of business in Fayetteville, Angus evidently went to Louisiana to live. Apparently, he was deceased by 1850. David Mandeville, Seniors account of probate had the statement, "Angus McGilvary, late of the State of Louisiana, was indebted at the time of his death as one of the partners of A. & A. McGilvary to David Mandeville, Senior, of Marlboro County, South Carolina, deceased....¹⁸

McGOWAN McGILVARY

In January 1847, McGowan McGilvary, age 25, enlisted at Fayetteville, North Carolina as a Private for service in the Mexican War. He has not been identified with any of the McGilvary families in Cumberland or the surrounding counties.²³

EDWARD T. McGILVARY

On 2 September 1863, Edward T. McGilvary, age 30, enrolled as a Private at the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory for service in the Civil War. He was assigned to Company C, 2nd Battalion, Local Defense Troops. Edward remained on the muster roll until December 1864. He has not been identified with any of the McGilvarys families in Cumberland or the surrounding counties.²⁴

RICHMOND COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

R1 DANIEL McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R1, Appendix B, page B-50.

Daniel McGilvary was born on the Isle of Skye. He was married by 1785 and in 1804 he and his family emigrated to North Carolina and settled in Richmond County.

On 22 December 1807, Daniel McGilvary purchased 200 acres of land on Macks Creek.²⁵ Although this deed was not recorded until 1818, Daniel paid taxes on the tract from 1806.

The 1812 List of British Aliens has Daniel as 53 years old, in the United States for seven years and wife and five children at home.¹⁶ The 1813 List of British Aliens in Richmond County offers another example of the interchanging of the names Daniel and Donald. On this list Daniel is recorded as "Donald" McGilvary, age 55, in the United States for seven years and born in 1758.

Daniel McGilvary was deceased by 15 July 1815 when his estate was liquidated by sale. Almost all of his possessions were bought by his widow Catherine and his children. It is interesting to note that on the record of sale, the surname was spelled McGillivray, almost exactly like the traditional spelling in Scotland.

Widow Catherine McGilvary was enumerated in 1820 in Richmond County. Three of her children were identified with her plus two unidentified females, one 16-26 years old and the other over 45 years old.²⁶

R11 ALEXANDER McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R1, Appendix B, page B-50.

Alexander McGilvary was the son of Daniel and Catherine McGilvary. He born on the Isle of Skye and emigrated to North Carolina with his parents in 1804. He settled in Richmond County.

Alexander McGilvary (recorded as McGilburry) purchased 250 acres of land in Richmond County on the waters of Little Muddy Creek south of Drowning Creek. The deed was recorded in September 1810.²⁷

The 1812 List of British Aliens lists Alexander McGilverry, age 27, in United States 7 years, with wife and two children.¹⁶

R12 JOHN MCGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R1, Appendix B, page B-50.

John McGilvary is identified on the 1813 List of British Aliens in Richmond County, North Carolina. He is listed as 22 years old, been in the United States for seven years and was born in 1791.

In 1820, John McGilvary was living with his brother Martin in Robeson County, North Carolina. By 1830, John McGilvary had married and was living in Barbour County, Alabama.²⁸

R15 MARTIN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R1, Appendix B, page B-50.

Martin McGilvary was born in 1802 and was too young to be on the List of British Aliens. He first appears in the record in 1820 in Robeson County with his brother John and an unidentified woman 45 years old or older. This woman was not his mother because his mother was still residing in Richmond County.²⁹

By 1830, Martin McGilvary had moved to Marlboro County, South Carolina. He owned six slaves.³⁰ Even though Martin resided in South Carolina he still had interests in North Carolina. In 1833, he purchased a tract of 180 acres in Richmond County on the Southwest side of Beaver Dam.³¹ This must have been land speculation because in 1835 he sold this same tract.³²

Martin's first wife died before 1837 and, in 1838, Martin disposed of his property in South Carolina and moved to Alabama. By 1840, Martin had remarried and was residing in Dale County, Alabama.³³ By 1850, Martin and his family had relocated in Barbour County, Alabama where he was enumerated as Martin McGilberry.³⁴

Martin McGilvary was deceased before 1860.

R2 DANIEL McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R2, Appendix B, page B-52.

Daniel McGilvary was born on the Isle of Skye in 1758 and was married in 1786. Family tradition states that his bride's Christian name was "Christian." Note that if the two last letters are transposed this name become "Christina" which is a very typical female name that was used extensively on Skye. We suggest her name was probably Christina and became Christian by virtue of a careless transposition of letters.

Daniel McGilvary and family emigrated to North Carolina in 1802 and settled in Richmond County. In 1812, Daniel appeared on the Richmond County Tax List as Daniel McGilberry and sons and was taxed on 195 acres.⁵ This is the same Daniel McGilvary.

The 1812 List of British Aliens in the United States lists Daniel McGilberry, age 47, nine years in U.S., a farmer in Richmond County, with wife and three children. The two oldest boys had already left home.¹⁶ On 20 September 1813, another list of aliens was compiled for Richmond County and Daniel and his two older boys Malcolm and James were listed. Both stated that they had been in Richmond County for ten years. Once again we encounter this interchanging of the names Daniel and Donald. This Daniel was listed as "Donald McGilvary," age 55, in country for 11 years and born in 1758.³⁵

Daniel McGilberry and family were enumerated in Richmond County in 1820.³⁶ Daniel was deceased by 1830 and his widow,³⁷ Christian, and daughters and son Angus were enumerated in Richmond County.

R21 MALCOLM McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R21, Appendix B, page B-53.

In 1812, Malcolm McGilvary, the oldest son of Daniel and Christian McGilvary (or McGilberry), was taxed in Richmond County, North Carolina on

200 acres.⁵ In 1813, Malcolm was on the List of British Aliens in Richmond County. He was 26 years old and had been in this country for 10 years.³⁵

Malcolm McGilvary and family were enumerated as McGilberrys in Richmond County in 1820.³⁸ The 1820 and 1830 census lists a male in this household who was born about 1812. Presumably he was the eldest son who is never identified by name and disappears after 1830.

Malcolm only lived to age 35 years and was deceased by 22 January 1822 when his widow, Mary McGilvary, was made administrator of his estate.³⁹ On 21 February 1822, a committee approved a years allowance for herself and her minor children, to wit, Thirty eight dollars worth of corn, Twenty five Dollars of Bacon and Five dollars worth of Sugar and Coffee for a total allowance of \$68.00.

A Daniel McGilvary was one of the Committeemen who approved this Widow's allowance. He could have been Malcolm's father who was still living at that time.

News traveled slow in those days and on 25 May 1822 a warrant was issued to any law officer to apprehend Malcolm McGilvary and bring him before the Court to answer a complaint of James Stewart for a debt of \$20.40. Obviously the complainant did not know Malcolm had been dead at least five months. When the Court realized its mistake the same warrant was reissued with Malcolm's name crossed out and Mary's name entered.⁴⁰

In 1824, Widow Mary McGilvary sold the 200 acres in Richmond County⁴¹ and she and her family moved to Barbour County, Alabama where she died between 1860-1870.

R212 DUNCAN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R21, Appendix B, page B-53.

Duncan McGilvary was the second son of Malcolm and Mary McGilvary. Duncan accompanied his mother to Barbour County, Alabama and in 1836 received a grant of land near County Line Church on the Barbour/Henry County Lines.⁵

In 1850, Duncan McGilberry was enumerated as head of household. His mother Mary and three brothers, John, Daniel and Malcolm, were living with him.⁴²

In 1857, Duncan was Administrator of his brother John's estate and in 1863 he was the Administrator of his uncle, James McGilvary's estate.⁵

R24 ANGUS McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R24, Appendix B, page B-53.

Angus McGilvary was the youngest son of Daniel and Christian McGilvary. He was born on the Isle of Skye in 1800. Daniel McGilvary was married by 1830. His wife's name was Jane (surname unknown) and she was also born on Skye.

On 20 October 1828, Angus McGilvary entered an application for a State

land grant of 100 acres on the waters of the Long Branch in Richmond County,
North Carolina.⁴³

Angus was another McGilvary who had a short life span. He was deceased at age 36 when on 17 January 1836 his wife Jane was appointed Administrator of his estate.⁴⁴ The estate was settled in January 1839.⁴⁵

In 1840, Jane McGilvary was head of household. Her three children were living with her as was her mother-in-law, Christian, and one of Angus' sisters.⁴⁶

In 1846, Widow Jane McGilvary entered applications for two land grants. One for 50 acres adjoining her own land on the Long Branch.⁴⁷ The other was for 75 acres on Jordans Creek.⁴⁸ These tracts were surveyed in 1847 and her son John McGilvary was one of the chain carriers.

Jane McGilvary and her son John McGilvary were enumerated in Richmond County, North Carolina in 1860.⁴⁹ She remained there until her death sometime after 1860.

R242 JOHN McGILVARY

Refer to: Chart R24, Appendix B, page B-53.

John McGilvary, son of Angus and Jane McGilvary, was only 17 years old in 1850 when he entered his first application for a land grant of 75 acres on the Gum Swamp of the Long Branch in Richmond County.⁵⁰ A year later in 1851 he entered an application for a grant of 100 acres more on the Gum Swamp Creek.⁵¹ His brother-in-law, Kenneth McCormick, was one of the chain carriers on both surveys.

John McGilvary continued to amass land. On 25 May 1854, he purchased 200 acres on the Gum Swamp⁵² and, on 16 August 1859, his sister Mary Ann and her husband Kenneth McCormick deeded John their undivided interest in the 275 acre estate of their late father, Angus McGilvary.⁵³

John McGilvary was the right age to get caught up in the Civil War and on 1 July 1862, at age 28, he enlisted as a Private in Company D, 33rd Regiment, North Carolina Infantry (State Troops). He was wounded at Rams Station, Virginia on 25 August 1863. John was admitted to several hospitals in Virginia and on 18 February 1865 was absent on a furlough of indulgence.⁵⁴ He was discharged after the surrender of General Lee.

By the early 1880's, John McGilvary was a resident of Robeson County, North Carolina and evidently was having financial problems. In May 1882, he mortgaged the 75 acre tract on Gum Swamp and Long Branch in Richmond County.⁵⁵ In December 1883, John mortgaged his 100 acre tract on the Gum Swamp Creek in Richmond County.⁵⁶ One good transaction during this period was the one acre John sold to the Richmond County School District for \$1.00 in Laurel Hill Township where the school stood.⁵⁷

By 1910, John McGilvary was living in Apoka, Orange County, Florida. On 15 September 1910, John applied for admission into the North Carolina Soldiers Home in Raleigh on the basis of his service in the Confederate Army. His application stated that he was 76 years old, unmarried, medium dark complexion, 5' 6" tall, a farmer by occupation and because of old age and

physical disability he could not support himself. His nearest relative was his sister Mary Ann who lived in Hamlet, North Carolina when he last heard from her three years prior to the date of the application. The records do not reveal whether John McGilvary was admitted, however, all endorsements to his application were positive and it is probable that he was admitted.⁵⁸

R4 JOHN McGILVRAY⁵⁹

Refer to: Chart R4, Appendix B, page B-54.

John McGilvray was born on the Isle of Skye in 1760. By 1788, John was married to Sarah Buckhannon (probably an alteration of Buchanan). Nothing is known of their life in Scotland. We know there was one son, Alexander, and family tradition claims there were two other sons, Archibald, who was a Presbyterian minister, and Murdock.

According to family tradition, this McGilvray family emigrated to America in about 1803. On the same ship were the families of Murdock and Christian McSwan McLeod and Daniel and Eleanor Murphy Smith. The McLeods family included a daughter Mary Elizabeth McLeod who would later become the wife of Alexander McGilvary.

John McGilvray is supposed to have died in 1835. He has not been identified in any of the census for North Carolina.

R41 ALEXANDER McGILVRAY⁵⁹

Refer to: Chart R4, Appendix B, page B-54.

Alexander McGilvray son of John and Sarah McGilvray, was born in 1788 and came to North Carolina with his parents supposedly in about 1803. In about 1812, Alexander married Mary Elizabeth McLeod whose parents were also from the Isle of Skye. The young couple settled in Richmond County and were enumerated in the 1820 census. By this time the surname had been changed to McGilberry. Neither parent was enumerated with them.⁶⁰

After 1820, Alexander McGilberry and family begin moving South. They stopped in South Carolina where their fifth child was born. Then they went on to take up residence in Mississippi. In 1850, Alexander and family were in Perry County, Mississippi where they were enumerated as McGilbry.⁶¹ Sons Daniel and John Angus McGilbry had adjacent farms.

Mary Elizabeth McGilvray died in 1860 and Alexander McGilvray died in 1871. Both are buried in the family cemetery near Runnelstown, Perry County.

NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 5

1. Vital statistics and emigration from Cross Creek Cemetery, Fayetteville, NC.
2. 1820 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Fayetteville, page 198.

3. 1840 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Fayetteville District, pages 266 & 299.
4. 1850 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Western Division, page 58, Dwelling and Family 951.
5. Personal correspondence from Sheila Elves, Olympia, Washington, 1979.
6. 1860 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Fayetteville, page 149, Dwelling 1256, Family 1191.
7. In "Raleigh Register," 10 Mar 1840. From the Vollintine Papers.
8. Moore Co, NC Court Minutes, April 1845 Term, page 172.
9. Cumberland Co, NC Marriage Bonds, page 176.
10. 1860 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Fayetteville, page 105, Dwelling 882, Family 818.
11. 1900 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Cross Creek Twp, ED 22, Sheet 7, Dwelling and Family 152.
12. 1850 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, page 174, Dwelling & Family 141.
13. Moore Co, NC Wills, Book B, Page 234.
14. 1860 Federal Census, Moore Co, NC, Carthage, page 2, Dwelling and Family 11.
15. 1860 Federal Census, Cumberland Co, NC, Fayetteville, Page 105, Dwelling 882, Family 818.
16. Scott, Kenneth, British Aliens in the United States in 1812, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979).
17. Compiled Confederate Service Records, NC Archives, Raleigh, NC, Microfilm F6.383P.
18. Much of the information on this Alexander McGilvary was extracted from correspondence from Sheila Elves, Olympia, Washington and Mary Jane Belknap, Santa Barbara, Calif.
19. State of North Carolina Voucher #1040, 18 Jul 1814, for \$17.50 payable to Alexander McGilvary.
20. 1820 Federal Census, Marlboro Co, SC, page 77.
21. 1830 Federal Census, Claiborne Co, MS, page 87.
22. 1850 Federal Census, Claiborne Co, MS, District #3, page 128, Dwelling 409, Family 407.

23. Service Records of Soldiers in the Mexican War, NC Archives.
24. Compiled Confederate Service Records, NC Archives, Raleigh, NC, Microfilm F6.177P.
25. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book L, page 133.
26. 1820 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, page 222.
27. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book H, page 213.
28. 1820 Federal Census, Robeson Co, NC, page 321.
29. 1830 Federal Census, Barbour Co, AL, Southern Dist., page 72.
30. 1830 Federal Census, Marlboro Co, SC, Marlboro Dist., page 61.
31. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book D, page 368.
32. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book P, page 208.
33. 1840 Federal Census, Dale Co, AL, page 34.
34. 1850 Federal Census, Barbour Co, AL, Division 23, page 130, Dwelling 335, Family 348.
35. 1813 List of British Aliens in Richmond Co, NC. NC Archives, Raleigh, NC.
36. 1820 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, page 178.
37. 1830 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, Laurel Hill Dist, page 212.
38. 1820 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, page 168.
39. Richmond Co, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1822 Term.
40. Richmond Co, NC Court Minutes, May 1822 Term.
41. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book O, page 286, recorded 24 Oct 1824.
42. 1850 Federal Census, Barbour Co, AL, Division 23, page 131.
43. NC Secretary of State Land Grants, Book 138, page 187.
44. Richmond Co, NC Court Minutes, Feb Term 1836.
45. Richmond Co, NC Court Minutes, Jan 1839 Term.
46. 1840 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, Laurel Hill Dist, page 248.
47. NC Secretary of State Land Grant, Book 154, page 113.

48. NC Secretary of State Land Grant, Book 157, page 91.
49. 1860 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, Steeles Dist, page 41,
Dwelling and Family 298.
50. NC Secretary of State Land Grant, Book 157, page 436.
51. NC Secretary of State Land Grant, Book 156, page 501.
52. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book X, page 525.
53. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book X, page 397.
54. Compiled Confederate Service Records, NC Archives, Raleigh, NC,
Microfilm F6.437P.
55. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book II, page 228.
56. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book LL, page 228.
57. Richmond Co, NC Deeds, Book MM, page 335.
58. Applications for NC Soldiers Home, NC Archives, Raleigh, NC.
59. We are deeply indebted to Mrs. Virginia Ferguson, of Waco, Texas,
for the information on John and Alexander McGilvray (or McGilberry).
Mrs. Ferguson's husband Wayne is a direct descendant of John Angus
McGilvray.
60. 1820 Federal Census, Richmond Co, NC, page 192.
61. 1850 Federal Census, Perry Co, MS, page 375, Dwelling & Family 74.

OTHER MACGILLIVRAYS

There were MacGillivrays in America long before the Revolution. Not all of them were from the Isle of Skye but, by and large, the immigrants from Skye were almost universally loyal to the Crown. The most striking example of this loyalty was epitomized by the immortal Flora Macdonald who suppressed her personal feelings and supported a King who was the mortal enemy of her beloved Prince Charlie.

There were a few MacGillivrays, however, who did not support the King. Mostly they were from New England. There was a William McGilvary who was a Private in the 16th Massachusetts Regiment. Two other William McGilvarys were in the New Hampshire forces and there was a John McGillivay in a New York unit.¹

By the War of 1812, some MacGillivrays had definitely become Americans² and served in the armed forces during this conflict.

John McGillivray was a Private in McKee's Command against the Choctaw Indians.

Charles McGilvera was a Private in Green's 7th Regiment of the New York Militia.

Alexander McGilvery was a Private in Hindman's 2nd Regiment of the Ohio Militia.

William McGilvery was a Private and rifleman in Capain Beale's Company, Louisiana Militia.

William McGilvery was a 1st Lieutenant in Major Blue's Detachment against the Chickasaw Indians.

Malcolm McGilvery was in the 6th Company detached from the Moore Regiment in North Carolina

Malcolm McGilberry was in Major Cameron's Command, North Carolina Militia.

There were a number of McGillivrays in South Carolina beginning as early as the 1730's. These are reflected in wills and marriages.^{3,4} For example, the following will of a McGilvery of South Carolina, who died on 1 April 1736⁵ is interesting inasmuch as it reflects an "after-death" prejudice against the Irish.

Will of John McGilvery, signed with his mark, St. Helena's Parish, a planter. To his wife, Elizabeth, the residue of all his estate if she does not marry an Irishman, if she does, then only one-third the estate...

There were MacGillivrays in early Tennessee. The 1812 List of British

Aliens in the U. S. lists William McGillvary, age 28, seven years in the U. S., a tailor, in Franklin, Williamson County, Tenn.⁶ This same William McGilvray was very active in other Williamson County official records (q.v.). His will specified that his estate be divided between his brother Donald McGilvray of Scotland and his sister Catherine Forbes of Ohio.

There was a John McGilvery on the White County, Tennessee tax list in 1811.

The Virginia Taxpayers Roll of 1782-1787 contains William McGilvery of King George County. The 1812 List of British Aliens in the U. S. list John McGillivie,⁶ age 21, in U. S. since 1809, was a clerk in Richmond, removed to Lynchburg.⁷

In New York, there was a William McGillivray, age 25, in U. S. since 1802, a schoolmaster in Broadalbin, Montgomery County, New York⁸

An old account ledger from Burke County, North Carolina, dated 1782-1784, contained the following two names: Laughlon [Lachlan ?] McGilvery and Daniel McGilvery. No additional identifying information was given.

A Daniel McGilvery was on the 1784-1785 Tax List for Caswell County, North Carolina. He was also enumerated in the 1790 census in the Gloucester District of the County.

The 1812 List of British Aliens in the U. S. lists the following two individuals from North Carolina:⁹

Chalchom McGilberry, age 25, in U. S. 9 years.

H. McGevere, age 29, 11 years in U. S., Fayetteville, a merchant, applied in 1807.

A tombstone in the cemetery of the First Methodist Church in Lincolnton, Lincoln County, North Carolina has the following inscription: "Elizabeth H. McGilvray died June 23, 1813, age 41. Wife of Reverend V. R. McGilvray of the South Carolina Conference."

The 1820 census for Guilford County, North Carolina lists David McGilberry, age 26-45 with family.¹⁰ There was also a David McGibbory in the same county.¹¹

In 1820, there was an Alexander McGilvery in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.¹² There were those with surnames resembling McGilvary enumerated in each succeeding census for Mecklenburg County up until 1850 when a Caroline McGilvary, age 30, was enumerated.¹³ In 1860, she was a widow.¹⁴

In 1850, there was a Daniel and Mary McGilberry enumerated in Chatham County, North Carolina. He was 22 and a teacher and Mary was 27. They were living with a Rodrie McIntosh.

The compiled service records of Confederate soldiers from North Carolina lists a number of McGilvarys. In some cases the same person is listed under different spellings of the name. The following are three soldiers who were not identified and included in the family discussions.¹⁵

Pvt. Jefferson McGilbry, Company C, 3rd Artillery (4th State)
Pvt. Hugh L. McIlvery, Company C, 10th Battalion, N. C
Heavy Artillery
Pvt. Lilly McGilbert, Company F, 31st Infantry

In this final narrative we have presented a random selection of individuals with surnames that obviously were derived from the traditional MacGillivrays of Scotland who emigrated to America and whose descendants dispersed to the various parts of the United States. This list is by no means inclusive and the interested reader should use these names and locations as indicators of where additional detailed research should be done.

NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 6

1. Compiled Service Records of the American Revolution, National Archives, Washington, DC.
2. Compiled Service Records, War of 1812, NC Archives, Raleigh, NC.
3. Abstracts of South Carolina Wills, Volumes I, II and III, 1670-1784. In North Carolina Archives, Raleigh, NC
4. Holcomb, Brent H., South Carolina Marriages, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980).
5. South Carolina Wills, 1732-1737, Probate 12 Jun 1736, page 349.
6. Scott, Kenneth, British Aliens in the U. S. in 1812, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1979).
7. Williamson Co, TN Wills Vol. 5, page 21. In Tennessee State Library, Nashville, TN.
8. The Austin-Reed Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, NC.
9. 1790 Federal Census, Caswell Co, NC, Gloucester Dist, page 80.
10. 1820 Federal Census, Guilford Co, NC, page 101.
11. 1820 Federal Census, Guilford Co, NC, page 103.
12. 1820 Federal Census, Mecklenburg Co, NC, page 176.
13. 1850 Federal Census, Mecklenburg Co, NC, Charlotte, page 98.
14. 1860 Federal Census, Mecklenburg Co, NC, page 161.
15. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers from North Carolina. In NC Archives, Raleigh, NC.

It is a noble faculty of our nature which enables us to connect our thoughts, sympathies, and happiness, with what is distant in place or time; and looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. There is a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors which elevates the character and improves the heart....

Daniel Webster, 1782-1852

APPENDIX A

SOME SKYE FAMILY GROUPS

The man of the true quality is not he who labels himself with genealogical tables, and lives on the reputation of his fathers, but his is in whose conversation and behavior there are references and characteristics positively unaccountable except on the hypothesis that his descent is pure and illustrious.

Theodore Parker, 1810-1860

APPENDIX A

SOME SKYE FAMILY GROUPS

In this appendix we have attempted to arrange the MacGillivrays of Skye into family groups. The rationale for compiling these family data sheets is to provide a means whereby readers may identify their Skye ancestors.

The reader should be warned, however, there are several constraints that must be considered. The first and foremost is that the available data are not all inclusive. Formal record keeping of vital statistics by the civil authorities did not begin in Scotland until the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, family group sheets for Skye families prior to 1855 are almost entirely dependent on parochial records, augmented by sparse contemporary records when available.

Whereas some parochial records for mainland Scottish parishes are extant from the early 18th century, those for the Skye parishes are available only from the early 19th century. In some cases this deficiency stems from the insular climate which played havoc with written records, but in many cases it stems from a lack of diligence on the part of the ministers and session clerks of the parishes. The following notation from one of the parish registers of Sleat is a case in point.

"...after my induction into the Parish I made inquiry as to the Register of births, baptisms and marriages, and also the Minutes of former Kirk Sessions...but they could not be found. The former Sessions Clerk to whom application had been made, stated that his predecessor in office, having become of unsound mind, kept the records in his possession and would not deliver them to him..."

There is no indication that these purloined parish records have ever been found and another source of genealogical information has been apparently lost forever. This is indeed unfortunate because Sleat is a key parish as far the MacGillivrays of Skye are concerned.

Lack of diligence was not the only culprit; lack of money also contributed to sparse record keeping in some parishes. The Minister of Snizort Parish had this to say in the Statistical Account.

"The session funds for the parish are so poor (being only the Sunday collections, which are exceedingly small) that they do not admit to having a sessions clerk, consequently no register is kept of either births, marriages or deaths..."

Parish Registers listing births (or christenings) and marriages for the

parishes of Skye are available for the time periods shown below, but are not necessarily complete for all the years indicated. The parish number is also included for reference.

Bracadale (109)	1801-1854
Duirinish (110)	1817-1854
Kilmuir (112)	1823-1854
Portree (114)	1800-1854
Sleat (115)	1813-1853
Snizort (117)	1823-1854
Strath (119)	1820-1854

Censuses are extremely valuable genealogical tools, but in the remote parts of Scotland, as in other remote parts of the world, there tend to be gaps in the data, some of which are critical. Part of this stems from the innate suspicion of rural people who, through ignorance or fear, would often withhold or give erroneous information to the census enumerators. Part of the gaps in census data stem from the degree of dedication and diligence of the individual census enumerators themselves. Some were thorough; others were less thorough, and the quality of the final census product was governed accordingly. Ages recorded in censuses are probably the most troubling variable.

Take the recording of age for the 1841 census as an example. Enumerators were instructed to record ages according to the following criteria.

Actual age 1-15 years	Record as age at last birthday
Actual age 15-20 years	(born 1821-1826) Record as age 15
Actual age 20-25 years	(born 1816-1821) do 20
Actual age 25-30 years	(born 1811-1816) do 25
Actual age 30-35 years	(born 1806-1811) do 30
Actual age 35-40 years	(born 1801-1806) do 35
Actual age 40-45 years	(born 1796-1801) do 40
Actual age 45-50 years	(born 1791-1796) do 45
Actual age 50-55 years	(born 1786-1791) do 50
Actual age 55-60 years	(born 1781-1786) do 55
Actual age 60-65 years	(born 1776-1781) do 60
Actual age 65-70 years	(born 1771-1776) do 65
Actual age 70-75 years	(born 1766-1771) do 70
Actual age 75-80 years	(born 1761-1766) do 75
Actual age 80-85 years	(born 1756-1761) do 80
and so forth.	

It goes without saying that if the 1841 census is the primary source of information on an individual the best definition of his or her age may be accurate only to within plus or minus five years unless there is recourse to other data. Fortunately, the 1851 and subsequent censuses remedied this deficiency by requiring the enumerator to record the exact ages of individuals being interviewed.

Another problem with age is continuity and consistency. Censuses were taken every ten years and theoretically an individual's age should increase ten

years each succeeding census. Rarely was this the case. Ages reported could vary between censuses by as much as five to ten years. It is logical to ask why, but there is no definitive answer. In many cases the enumerators were probably given wrong age information because of vanity. In other cases, it was because some unknowledgeable person reported the census information and they would have to guess at other peoples age. And variations could occur between censuses because the Islanders sometimes might not know exactly how old they were and could not remember what had been given at the last census.

While on the subject of age, there is one other note of explanation necessary to clear up the frequent differences between census age and the ages reported on death records. Assume, for example, we have been following an individual through several censuses and have reliably determined him or her to be of a certain age. When this individual died the age reported on the death record was often grossly different. Why? The most plausible reason is because for the census the individual or a member of the family personally reported his or her age whereas the death record information was often given by someone who might be a distant relative or even a neighbor without any true knowledge of the decedents real age. In such cases the information given was estimated. Where possible we have included the death record age as recorded even though it sometimes conflicts with the more reliable data.

After 1855, the government established a standardized program for collecting and keeping vital statistics and the availability and quality of data tended to stabilize. Records were more complete, however, completeness in itself was no endorsement for accuracy. Input was still from the people and subject to each individual's idiosyncrasies and unpredictable memories.

One final caution is required because of a situation that seemed to be unique to the Highlands and Islands. That is the penchant for using only a limited number of given or Christian names, and the repeated use of these names within families. It is not uncommon to find a family with two sons or daughters with the same Christian name both living at the same time within the same household. It goes without saying that this habit or custom created much difficulty in trying to sort out the MacGillivrays. The scope of this problem is illustrated below where we have extracted the number of MacGillivrays with the same Christian names as reported for the 1841 census of Sleat.

Donald	14	Catherine	19
Alexander	12	Mary	13
John	7	Ann	12
Archibald	6	Christy	9
Angus	4	Margaret	4
Martin	4	Marion	4
Neil	4	Flora	3
Charles	3	Effy	2
Kenneth	3	Janet	2
Malcolm	3		
Duncan	2		
Farquhar	2		

All things considered, there were sufficient data available to compile the Skye family groups that we have presented in this appendix. These family groups are arranged, as far as possible, chronologically by date of marriage. When there is no recorded date of marriage, the family group is positioned in sequence according to the date of the first recorded birth. This in itself assures some error because the first recorded birth may not necessarily be the first born of that particular family. Illegitimate births are likewise placed in sequence according to the date of birth.

Some surname alignments are included that may or may not be families. Such cases arise when the data are sparse or conflicting. These alignments are connected by dashed lines indicating uncertainty. Illegitimate children are also indicated by dashed lines to show questionable connections.

Female MacGillivrays have not been excluded from this analysis. However, the female lines are terminated after one generation because there is a surname change after their marriage, and we are basically interested in MacGillivrays.

Each family group is identified by a notation similar to the following example: SLEAT/FG-21, where Sleat identifies the major parish of residence and the FG-21 indicates this is the 21st family group identified chronologically.

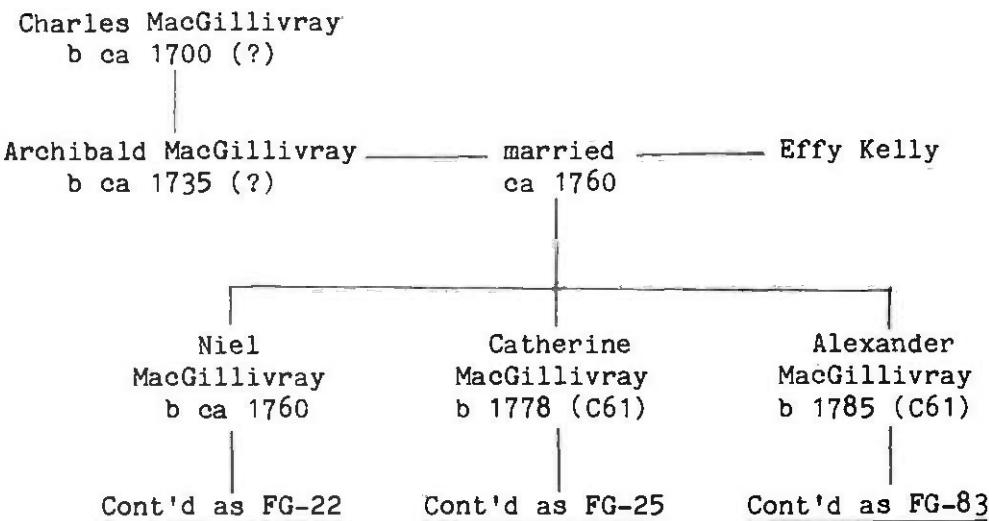
With this preamble, we now present more than 240 Skye family groups. Sources of data for each family member are indicated by a code enclosed in brackets. Other than the codes for censuses, the cardinal numbers following each code will have little or no meaning to the reader. They represent an internal identification system used by the editors to quickly locate and verify data sources. Despite any inconvenience or confusion this may cause the readers, we deemed it necessary to retain the codes in the finished product to assist in pinpointing references and to help answer any questions that may arise.

The data source codes are shown below.

- AS - Ancillary sources (family papers, letters, oral history, etc)
- BR - Official birth records
- CR - Cemetery records & tombstones
- C41 - 1841 Census
- C51 - 1851 Census
- C61 - 1861 Census
- C71 - 1871 Census.
- C81 - 1881 Census
- C91 - 1891 Census
- DR - Official death records
- MR - Official marriage records

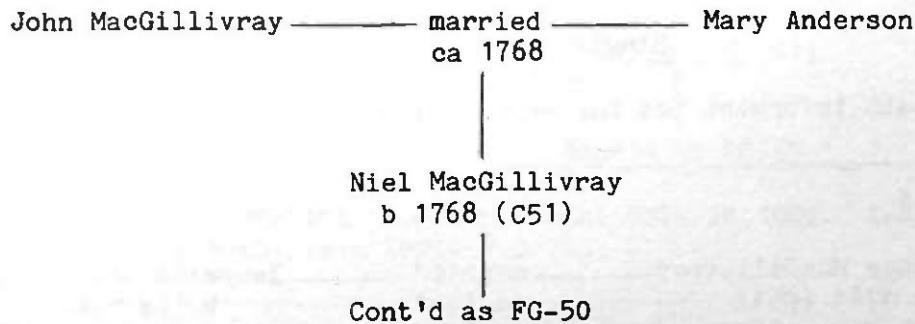
SOME SKYE FAMILY GROUPS

SLEAT/FG-1

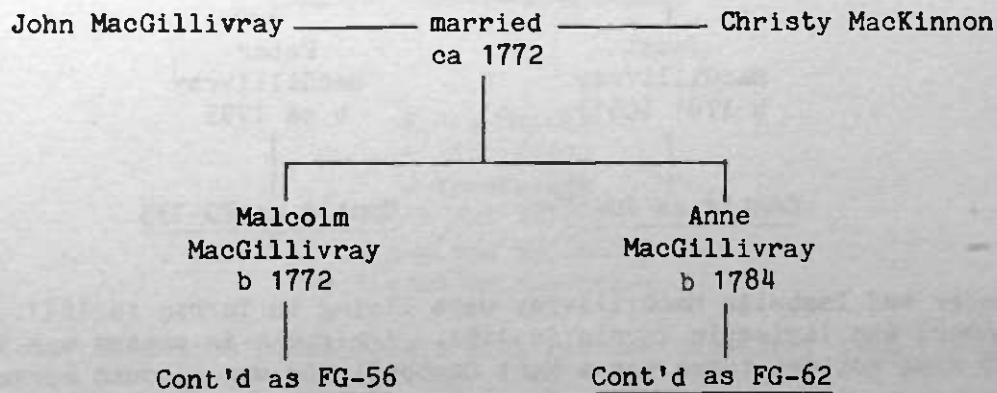


In the mid-eighteenth century data on Skye families was sparse. Because of the time span between births, it is very doubtful this family group is complete. However, what is shown is supported by available records and ancillary evidence.

SLEAT/FG-2



SLEAT/FG-3



SLEAT/FG-4

Niel MacKinnon _____ married _____ Mary MacGillivray
ca 1776

Lachlan MacKinnon
b 1776 (C51)
d Camascross
10 Jun 1857
age given 86 (DR7)

Lachlan was a tailor. Informant of his death was his son, Niel MacKinnon. This is an example of a 2nd generation format where the principal is not carried forward unless there is a remarriage back into the MacGillivrays.

SLEAT/FG-5

John MacIntosh — married — Marion MacGillivray
ca 1781

Janet MacIntosh Male
b 1781 (C51) |
d. Duisdalemore |
11 Apr 1861 Alexander MacIntosh
Single, age given 89 (DR8) b 1807

Janet's death informant was her nephew, Alexander MacIntosh.

STRATH/PG-6

Alexander MacGillivray married Isabella Cameron
b 1761 (C51) ca 1781 b. by 1761
d before 1855 | d before 1851 (C51)

Janet
MacGillivray
b. 1781 (C61)

Peter
MacGillivray
b. ca. 1795

Cont'd as FG-67

Cont'd as EG-133

Alexander and Isabella MacGillivray were living in Torrin in 1841. Alexander, a widower, was living in Torrin in 1851. Age given in census was 90 years. In the same cottage there was a Mary Campbell who was a house servant.

SLEAT/FG-7

John MacGillivray _____ married _____ Margaret MacSween
ca 1781

Catherine MacGillivray
b 1781 (C51)
d Camascross
18 Jan 1856
Single (DR25)

Catherine was living alone in Baravaig in 1841 and 1851. Baravaig was part of present Knock Farm. Her death informant was Mary Nicolson, a neighbor.

SLEAT/FG-8

Ewen MacGillivray married Catherine MacPherson
of Sasaig ca 1777
d ca 1825 (R25) |

Effy	Kenneth
MacGillivray	MacGillivray
b 1777 (C61)	b 1789/90 (C51/61)

Cont'd as FG-80 Cont'd as FG-55

Ewen MacGillivray was dropped from the Rental Roll in 1825. Croft was taken over by his son, Kenneth. (see Table V.)

SLEAT/FG-9

Niel MacKay _____ married _____ Mary MacGillivray
ca 1781

Flora MacKay
b 1781 (C51)
d Tarskavaig
9 Jul 1875
age given 90 (DR19)
m Alexander MacIntosh

Flora MacKay MacIntosh's death informant was her daughter, Isabella MacKinnon.

STRATH/FG-10

Martin Martin ————— married ————— Mary MacGillivray
ca 1782

Alexander Martin
b. 1782 (DR)
d Lower Breakish
13 Nov 1863
age given 81 (DR10)

Alexander Martin's death informant was his son, Alexander Martin.

SLEAT/FG-11

Duncan MacIntyre ————— married ————— Flora MacGillivray
cottar, d by 1863 ca 1783 d by 1863 (DR10)

Murdoch MacIntyre
b 1783 (C51)
d Aird
20 Aug 1871
age given 88 (DR16)
m Margaret MacDonald

Margaret MacIntyre
b 1791 (C51)
d Aird
20 Apr 1863
single, age given 71
(DR10)

Death record states that Margaret's death informant was her sister, Margaret MacIntyre. She was probably her sister-in-law, wife of Murdoch MacIntyre.

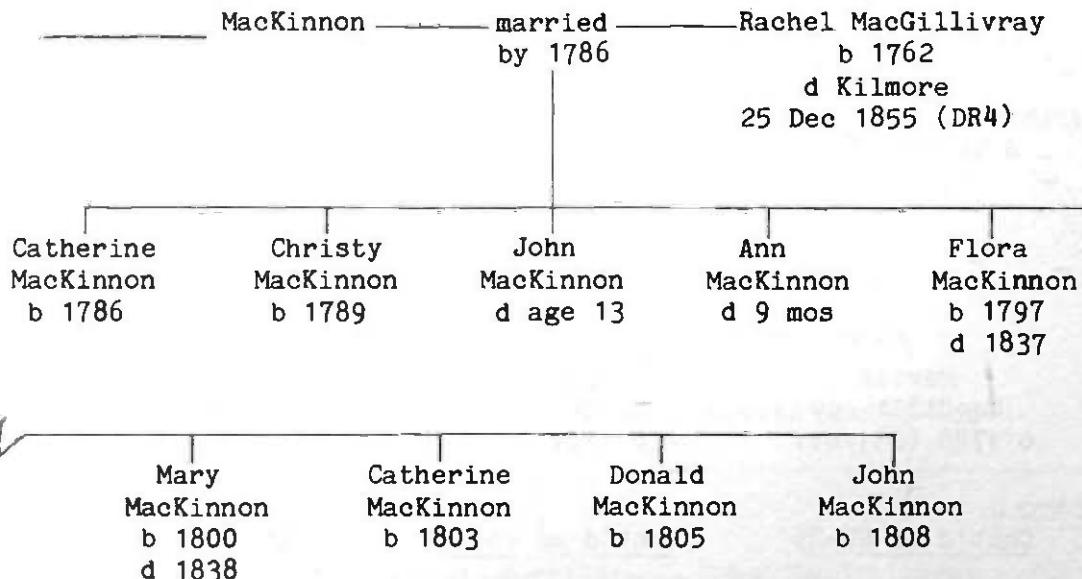
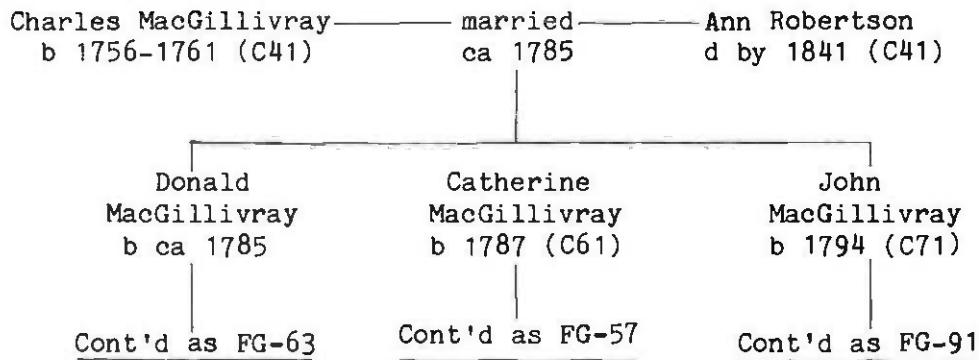
SLEAT/FG-12

Malcolm MacPherson ————— married ————— Effy MacGillivray
ca 1783

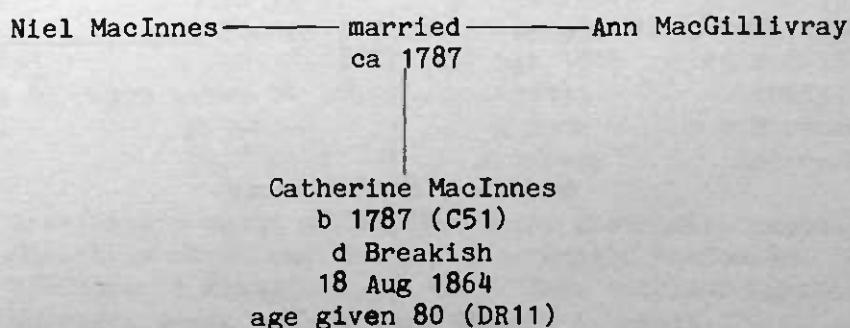
Catherine MacPherson
b 1783 (C61)
d Teangue
8 May 1865
single (DR12)

a female
Angus Nicolson
b 1818

Catherine's death informant was her nephew, Angus Nicolson. This implies there was an unidentified sister who married a Nicolson.

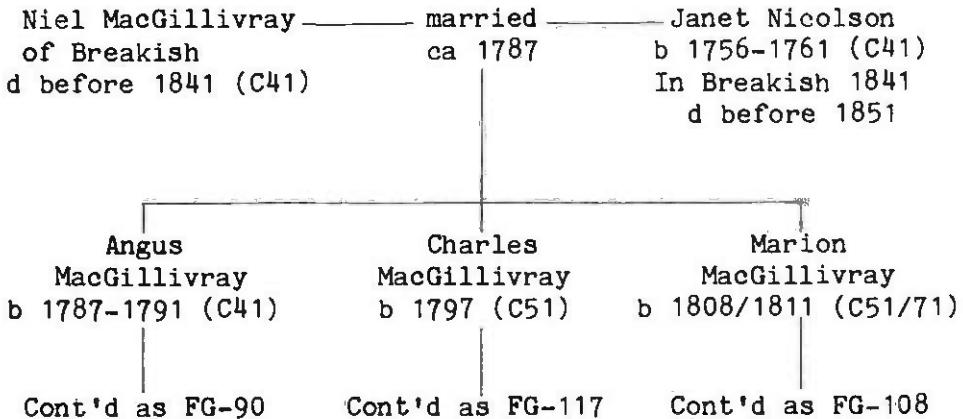


Informants of Rachel MacKinnon's death were Lybilla McPherson, occupier of part of Kilmore, and Donald MacGillivray of Aird. Donald's relationship to Rachel is unknown and he cannot be identified positively.



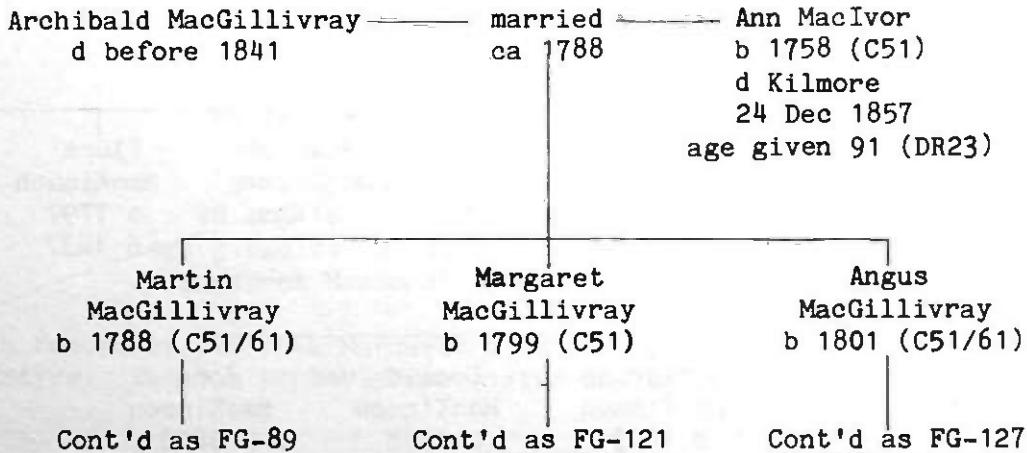
Catherine MacInnes married Niel Grant. Her death informant was her daughter, Catherine Grant.

STRATH/FG-16



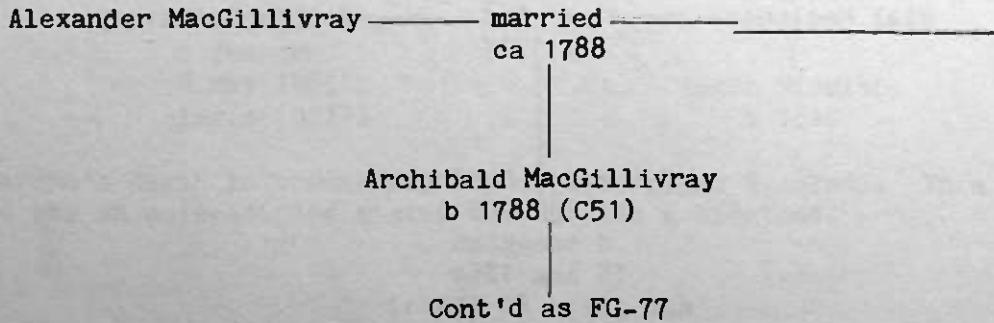
Janet MacGillivray living with Marion in Sasaig in 1847 (DL)

SLEAT/FG-17



Ann's parents were Kenneth and Marion (MacInnes) MacIvor. Informant of Ann's death was her son, Angus. The similarity in names in Family Groups 17, 35 and 42 is confusing. The alignments in Family Groups 17, 35 and 42 is our best estimate. Confidence level somewhat less than 100%.

SLEAT/FG-18



Alexander Grant ——— married ——— Rachel MacGillivray
 ca 1789

Christina Grant
 b 1789 (C51)
 d Kylerhea
 20 Jul 1859
 age given 75 (DR5)
 m Hugh Macpherson

Informant of Christina's death was her son, Malcolm Macpherson.

Hugh MacDonald ——— married ——— Catherine MacGillivray
 ca 1791

Christina MacDonald
 b 1791 (C51)
 d Camascross
 12 Feb 1862
 age given 72 (DR8)
 m James Macpherson

Informant of Christina's death was her son, Archibald Macpherson.

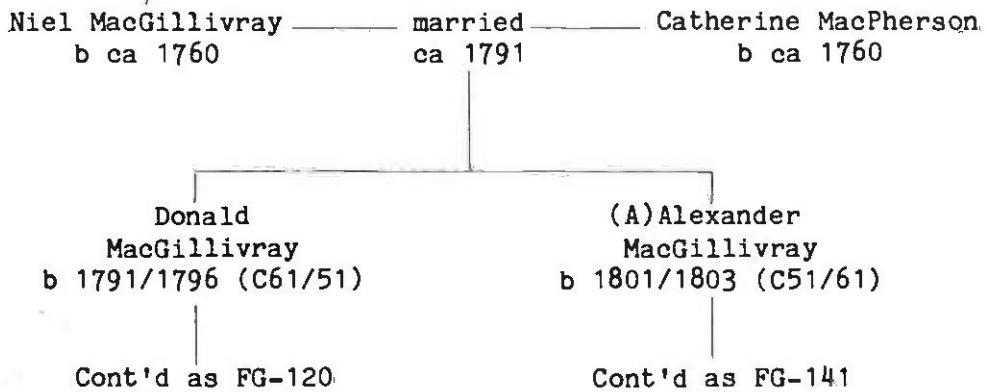
Samuel Campbell ——— married ——— Ann MacGillivray
 ca 1791

Archibald Campbell b 1791 (C51) d Sasaig 22 Mar 1859 age given 64 (DR5)	Christy Campbell b 1793 (DR7) d Sasaig 6 Jun 1857 age given 64 (DR7) m Donald MacDonald	Alexander Campbell b 1798 (C51) d Teangue 22 Oct 1876 (DR44) m Anne Nicolson	Duncan Campbell b 1800 (DR53) d Harripool 15 Feb 1888 (DR53) m Margaret Anderson
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Informant of Archibald's death was his brother, Alexander Campbell.
 Informant of Christy's death was her husband, Donald MacDonald.
 Informant of Alexander's death was his wife, Anne Nicolson Campbell.
 Informant of Duncan's death was his son, Donald Campbell.

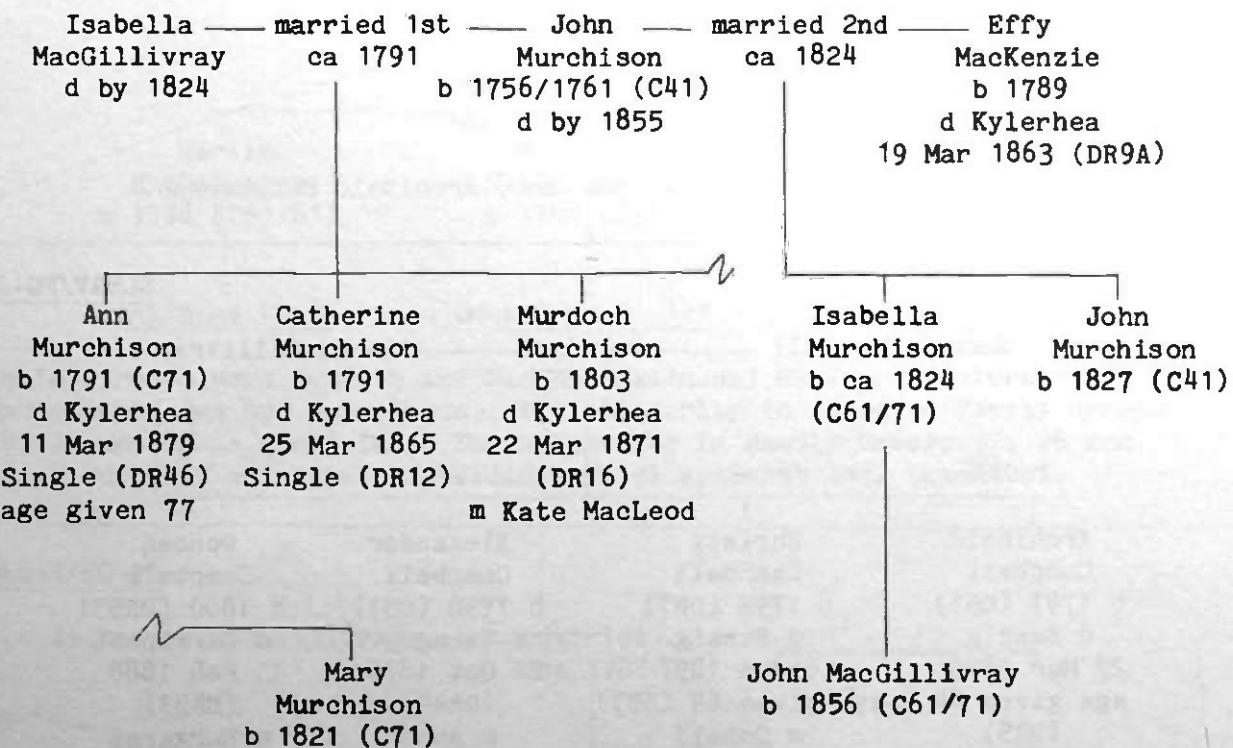
SLEAT/FG-22

[Cont'd from FG-1]



Undoubtedly this family group is not complete. Note that we have designated Alexander as (A)Alexander. There were at least four (4) Alexanders living in Sleat at the same time. The notation is to help keep them straight.

SLEAT/FG-23



This is a puzzling family group. John MacGillivray was possibly a natural (illegitimate) son of Isabella Murchison. There is no record of her marriage to a MacGillivray or of John's birth on Skye. Isabella and John were in the 1861 and 1871 census. Effy Murchison's death certificate says the informant was her son Colin. However, the 1851 census shows Colin as the son of a Margaret Murchison. There is no record of Effy or Isabella Murchison on Skye in 1851.

Dougal MacPherson — married — Marion MacGillivray
ca 1792

Ewen MacPherson
b 1792 (C51)
d Ord
15 Feb 1873 (DR17)
age given 89
m Mary Robertson

James MacPherson
b 1794
d Gillin
23 Jan 1863 (DR10)
m Mary MacDonald

[Cont'd from FG-1]

Marion — married 1st — Finlay — married 2nd — Catherine
MacGillivray ca 1792 MacPherson ca 1813 MacGillivray
b 1778 (C61)
d Aird
24 Jul 1871 (DR32)

```

graph TD
    Marion[Marion MacGillivray] ---|1st| Finlay[Finlay MacPherson]
    Marion ---|2nd| Catherine[Catherine MacGillivray]
    Finlay ---|---| Ewen[Ewen MacPherson]
    Finlay ---|---| Niel[Niel MacPherson]
    Catherine ---|---| Martin[Martin MacPherson]
    Ewen ---> Niel
  
```

Ewen
MacPherson
b 1792 (C51)
d Camascross
10 Feb 1865 (DR11)

Niel
MacPherson
b Ferrindonald
8 May 1813
(BR5/19)

Martin
MacPherson
b 1818
(C51)

Catherine MacGillivray MacPherson was living with her son, Martin, in Ferrindonald in 1841. Martin emigrated to Australia in 1852. Catherine apparently then went to live with her niece Flora MacGillivray of Croft 14, in Aird. The informant of her death was her niece, Flora MacGillivray (see FG-83, 127 and 160). Cross Index is FG-59.

Niel MacGillivray — married — Mary Kennedy
b ca 1750 ca 1793 b ca 1750

Marion MacGillivray
b 1793 (C71)

Cont'd as FG- 69

SLEAT/PG-27

Alexander MacPherson — married — Christy MacGillivray
 ca 1794/1801

Mary MacPherson
 b 1794/1801 (DR/C51)
 d Kilmore
 3 Oct 1890
 age given 96 (DR55)
 m Niel MacDonald

SLEAT/PG-28

John MacKinnon — married — Marion MacGillivray
 ca 1795

John MacKinnon b 1795 (C71)	John MacKinnon b ca 1800	Lachlan MacKinnon b 1803 (C51)	Angus MacKinnon b 1815	Donald MacKinnon b 1819 (C51)
d Stonefield 8 Mar 1872	d Stonefield 16 Jan 1861	m Anne MacDonald	d Tariskavaig 17 Jan 1888	
age given 70 (DR18)	age given 61 single (DR8)		age given 73 (DR52)	

First John's death informant was his brother, Lachlan. Second John's death certified by his brother, Donald. Angus married twice, 1) Effy MacIntosh and 2) Isabella MacIntosh.

SLEAT/PG-29

Alexander MacGillivray — married —
 b 1776-1781 (C41) ca 1796

Euphemia MacGillivray b 1796-1801 (C41)	Archibald MacGillivray b 1801-1806 (C41)
--	---

These three MacGillivrays were recorded in Calligary in 1841. No relationship was given. Euphemia was listed as Head of Household. However, we have arbitrarily put Alexander as a parent because it was biologically possible for him to have been the father of the other two. They were not on the rental lists and were probably cottars. None of these individuals were identified in the 1851 census for Skye.

KILMUIR, DUILINISH/FG-30

John MacGillivray --- 1799 --- Marion MacLean

John MacGillivray
 (Illegitimate)
 b 1799 Duirinish
 d Kilmuir
 9 Mar 1864
 age given 65
 single (DR10)

This may have been the John MacGillivray who appeared in several places in Northern Skye. In 1841, a John MacGillivray (age 40) was recorded in Lyndale, Snizort. In 1851, a John MacGillivray was recorded at Caroline House, Snizort. His age was listed as 65 and he was identified as an idiot. In 1861, the above John MacGillivray (age 60, a pauper) was living with Niel Stewart in Kilmuir, Duirinish. Stewart was the informant of John's death. It is probable they were all the same person despite the discrepancy in ages.

STRATH/FG-31

Niel Fraser — married —— Rachel MacGillivray
 ca 1798

Archibald Fraser
 a tailor
 b 1798 Strath (C51)
 d Breakish
 23 Feb 1870
 age given 73 (DR15)
 m Catherine Nicolson

Informant of Archibald's death was his son, Niel Fraser. See FG-191

STRATH/FG-32

John MacKenzie — married —— Mary MacGillivray
 ca 1799

Ann MacKenzie b 1799 (C51) d Breakish 14 Feb 1856 age given 56 single (DR6)	Roderick MacKenzie b 1800 (C61) d Breakish 13 Jun 1862 age given 62 (DR9)	Donald MacKenzie b 1813 (C51) to Australia (EMS387)
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SLEAT/FG-33

Ewen MacInnes married Catherine MacGillivray
 d by 1841 ca 1799 b 1771-1776 (C41)
 In Sasaig 1841

Flora MacInnes b 1799 (C51) d Sasaig 8 Apr 1886 age given 92 m Ewen MacDonald (DR51)	Angus MacInnes b 1799 (C51) d Carradale 10 Jun 1857 a widower (DR7) age given 53	Mary MacInnes b 1804 (C51) d Aird 15 Nov 1889 (DR54) m Angus MacInnes	Margaret MacInnes b 1815 (C51) d Kilmore 8 Feb 1883 age given 72 (DR48) m(1) Campbell m(2) Myles MacInnes
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The MacInnes of Sleat are difficult to categorize. However, the above Family Group is substantiated in the death records. The informant of Flora's death was her daughter, Christy MacInnes. The informant of Angus death was Lachlan MacInnes. No relationship recorded. The informant of Mary's death was her son, Donald MacInnes. The informant of Margaret's death was her husband, Myles MacInnes See FG-34.

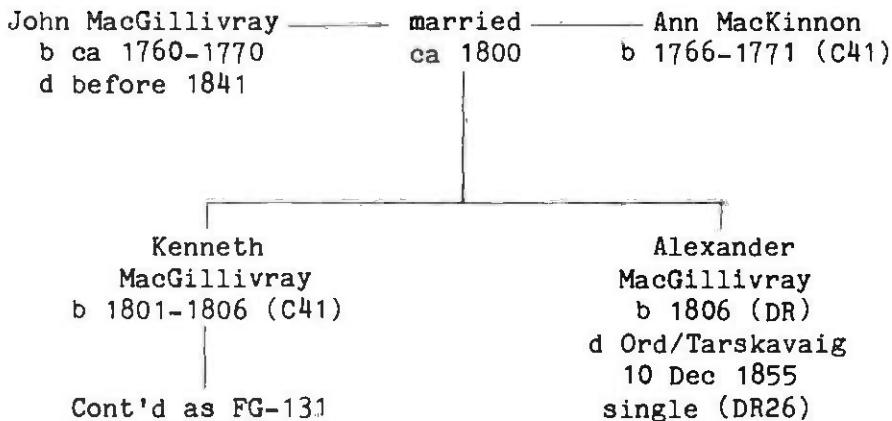
SLEAT/FG-34

Angus MacInnes married Catherine MacGillivray
 d before 1841 1796-1801 (?) b 1766-1771 (C41)
 In Carradale 1841

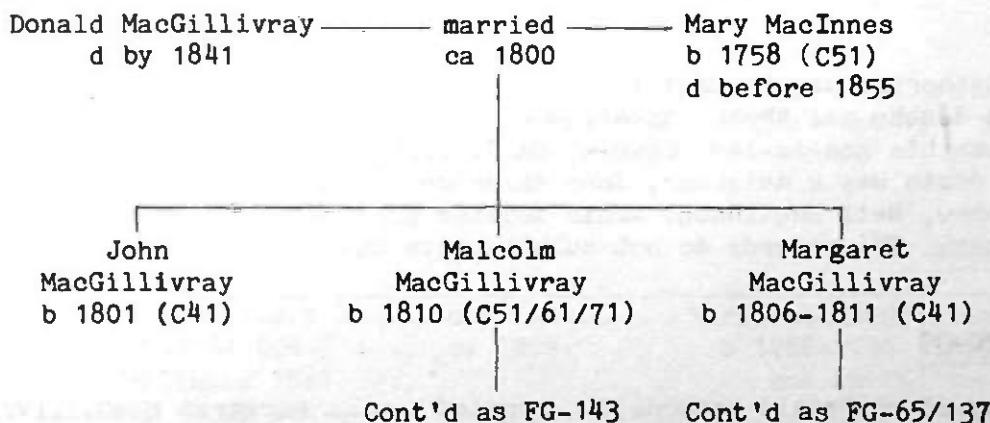
Flora MacInnes b 1796-1801 (?) (C41)	Niel MacInnes b 1811 (C51) d Drumfern 29 Dec 1891 (DR35a/56) age given 88 m Peggy Robertson	John MacInnes b 1814 (C51) d Dalville 8 Mar 1883 (DR48) age given 76 m Catherine Robertson	Myles MacInnes b 1815 (C51) m Margaret MacInnes Campbell (see FG-33)
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As pointed out above in FG-33, the MacInnes tend to be confusing. Note that both heads of household married Catherine MacGillivrays. Widow Catherine MacInnes was head of household in Carradale in 1841 with the above individuals as part of her household. Flora is assumed to be a daughter. Myles MacInnes could not be positively identified but his place in the family is assured. He was listed as the informant in both Niel's and John's deaths and designated as a brother. By 1851, Myles had married Margaret MacInnes Campbell. They were living in Carradale in 1851. A Janet Campbell (age 14) was living with them and she was designated a "step-daughter."

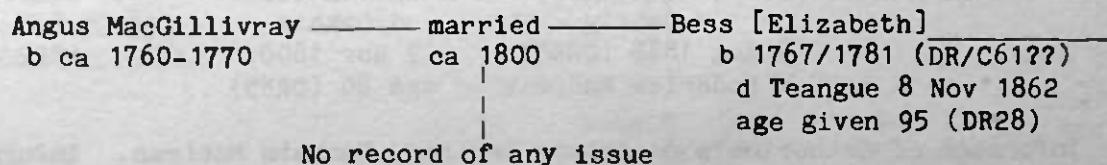
SLEAT/FG-35



SLEAT/FG-36



SLEAT/FG-37



Angus was a Private in the Infantry, Regiment unknown. Bess surname unknown. Neither identified in the 1841 census. Informant of Bess' death was Ewen MacGillivray, occupier of part of Teangue. No relationship given.

SLEAT/FG-38

Alexander MacIntyre — married — Catherine MacGillivray
 d before 1841 ca 1801 b 1771 (C51)

Duncan MacIntyre b 1801 (C51) d Aird 26 Nov 1864 age 60 (DR11)	Effy MacIntyre b 1811 (C51) d Aird 30 Mar 1868 age 63 (DR13)	Janet MacIntyre b 1813 (C51) d Aird 22 Aug 1879 age 73 (DR46) m Donald Buchanan	Alexander MacIntyre b 1813 (C61) m Christy _____ of Strath
---	---	---	--

Archibald MacIntyre b 1815 (C51) d Aird 22 Feb 1879 age 71 (DR46) m Ann Anderson	Mary MacIntyre b 1817 (C51) d Aird 14 Jan 1891 age 80 (DR56) m Duncan MacInnes
--	--

Widow Catherine was in Capistole in 1841. Informant of Duncan's and Janet's deaths was their sister, Mary MacInnes. Informant of Archibald's death was his son-in-law, Charles MacGillivray (see FG-218). Informant of Mary's death was a neighbor, John Anderson. Informant of Effy's death was her nephew, Neil MacKinnon. This implies Effy had a sister who married a MacKinnon. The records do not substantiate this.

SLEAT/FG-39

Ranald or Ronald MacDonald — married — Margaret MacGillivray
 b 1756-1761 (C41) ca 1802 (not identified in 1841)

Allan MacDonald b 1802/03 (C51/61)	Catherine MacDonald b 1808 (C51) d Ostaig 9 Aug 1888 (DR53) m Roderick MacLean	Anne MacDonald b 1813 (C51) d Ostaig 7 Nov 1890 age 80 (DR55)	Alexander MacDonald b Kilbeg 8 Feb 1815 (BR2/35)
--	---	--	--

Informant of Catherine's death was her son, Kenneth MacLean. Informant of Anne's death was her nephew, Kenneth MacLean.

John McGiloray married Mary Finlayson
of Mugary ca 1802 of Mugary

↓

Effy McGiloray
b Portree
5 Jun 1803 (BR 15)

Other than the above birth record there is no further evidence of this family on Skye.

Widow Flora MacIntyre was living in Aird in 1841. In the same household there was an unidentified male named Alexander MacIntyre (age 13). The informant of Mary's death was her grandson, Angus Robertson.

Ronald Stewart b 1776-1781 (C41) in Calligary 1841 not in C51	married ca 1804	Margaret MacGillivray b 1786-1791 (C41) not in C51
Angus Stewart b 1804 (C51) d Calligary 21 Oct 1890 age 86 (DR55)	Catherine Stewart b 1811-1816 (C41)	Effy Stewart b Tormore 28 Nov 1814 (BR19)
m Flora MacDonald		
	2	
	Donald Stewart b Tormore 25 Aug 1817 (BR19)	John Stewart b Glen Capisto 16 Oct 1820 (BR21)

Informant of Angus' death was his daughter, Ann Stewart.

SLEAT/FG-42

Alexander MacDonald — married — Anne MacGillivray
b 1766-1771 (C41) ca 1804 b 1776-1781 (C41)

James MacDonald b 1804 (C51) d Kilmore 24 Feb 1878 age 86 (DR45)	Isabella MacDonald b 1805 (C51) d Camascross 20 Jan 1888 age 87 (DR52)	Ronald MacDonald b 1811 (C51) d Kilmore 30 Jan 1864 age 57 (DR11)
m Isabella MacDonald	m Angus MacIntosh	m Catherine MacKinnon

Margaret MacDonald b 1816-1821 (C41) not ID'ed in 1851	Janet MacDonald b Kilmore 1 Sep 1818 (BR20) not ID'ed in 1851	Niel MacDonald b Kilmore 1 Jan 1822 (BR22) not ID'ed in 1851
---	---	--

Informant of James' death was his wife, Isabella. Informant of Isabella's death was her son, George MacIntosh. Informant of Ronald's death was his brother, James MacDonald.

SLEAT/FG-44

Niel MacLeod married Ann MacGillivray
ca 1805

|

Jonathan MacLeod
b 1805 (C51)
d Drumfearn
15 Sep 1883 (DR50)
age given 80

Informant of death was daughter-in-law, Mary MacLeod

UNKNOWN/FG-46

John MacKinnon married Janet MacGillivray
ca 1806

↓

Donald Mackinnon
b 1806 (DR)
d Portree Poor House
9 Sep 1877
age 71 (DR45)
m Marion Macinnes

Informant of death was the Governor of the Poor House.

STRATH/FG-45

Donald MacGillivray — married — Janet MacKinnon
 b Sleat 1766/71 (C51/71) ca 1805/11 b 1783 (C51)
 d Torrin 17 Apr 1864 d before 1855
 age 93 (DR29)

Marion
 MacGillivray
 b 1805/11
 (C61/51)

Niel
 MacGillivray
 b 1813 (C61)

Margaret (Mary)
 MacGillivray
 b 1816/21 (C41)

Christina
 MacGillivray
 b ca 1826

Cont'd as FG-113

Cont'd as FG-201

Cont'd as FG-154

Cont'd as FG-190

Anne
 MacGillivray
 b 1831 (C51)

Janet
 MacGillivray
 b 1837 (C41)

Informant of Donald's death was his son, Niel. Daughter Anne, presumed to be in this family, was living with her aunt, Flora MacKinnon, in Keppoch in 1841. Daughter Janet was not identified in 1851.

SLEAT/FG-47

Niel MacGillivray — married — Catherine Anderson
 d before 1841 ca 1806/11 b 1791 (C51)
 — — — — — d Aird
 — — — — — 8 Dec 1860 (DR22)

Ewen
 MacGillivray
 b 1806/11 (C41)
 not in C51

Marion
 MacGillivray
 b 1813 (BR1)

John
 MacGillivray
 b 1815 (BR37)

Cont'd as FG-142

Cont'd prob. as FG-183

Catherine
 MacGillivray
 b Dalville
 7 Sep 1819
 (BR37)

Donald
 MacGillivray
 b Glen Capistole
 14 May 1820
 (BR21)

Mary
 MacGillivray
 b Dalville
 1 Jan 1822
 (BR22)

Cont'd prob. as FG-162

Informant of Catherine's death was her brother, Alexander Anderson. Catherine and Donald MacGillivray were both single and sharing the same croft in Aird in 1861.

STRATH/FG-48

Niel MacGillivray ————— married ————— Janet Nicolson
of Breakish ca 1808/11 b 1756-1761 (C41)
d before 1841 | d before 1851

Marion MacGillivray
b 1808/1811 (C51/71)

Cont'd as FG-108

Widow Janet MacGillivray was living with Marion in Sasaig in 1847 (DL). Based on information contained in the Emigration Lists, Angus MacGillivray (FG-90) and Charles MacGillivray (FG-117) may have been siblings of this family.

STRATH/FG-49

Catherine	1st	John	2nd	Christy
MacKinnon	married	MacGillivray	married	MacKinnon
d by 1815	ca 1810	of Elgol	ca 1815	b 1771 (C51)
		b 1759 (C51)		d before 1855
		d before 1855		

Alexander
MacGillivray
b 1810 (C51)

MacGillivray
b 1806/11 (C41)

Margaret
MacGillivray
b 1815 (BR58)

Lachlan
MacGillivray
b 1821 (C51/61)

Cont'd as FG-158

Cont'd as FG-165

Cont'd as FG-152

Cont'd as FG-175

Catherine
MacGillivray
b 1811-1816 (C41)

Janet
MacGillivray
b 1814 (C51)

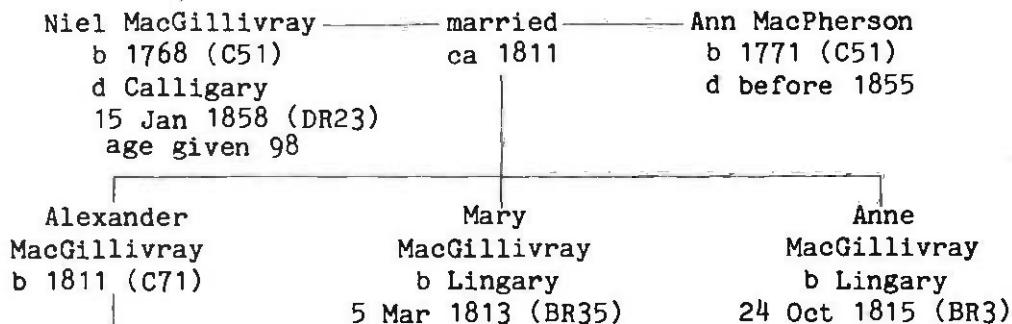
Mary
MacGillivray
b Elgol
7 Aug 1823 (BR41)

Cont'd as FG-179

Cont'd as FG-148

Cross index, see FG-71

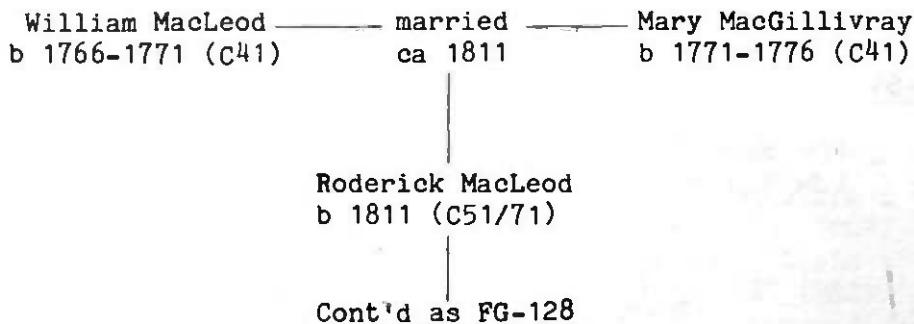
[Cont'd from FG-2]



Cont'd as FG-144

Informant of Niel's death was his son, Alexander. Mary was living with her brother Alexander in Calligary in 1861.

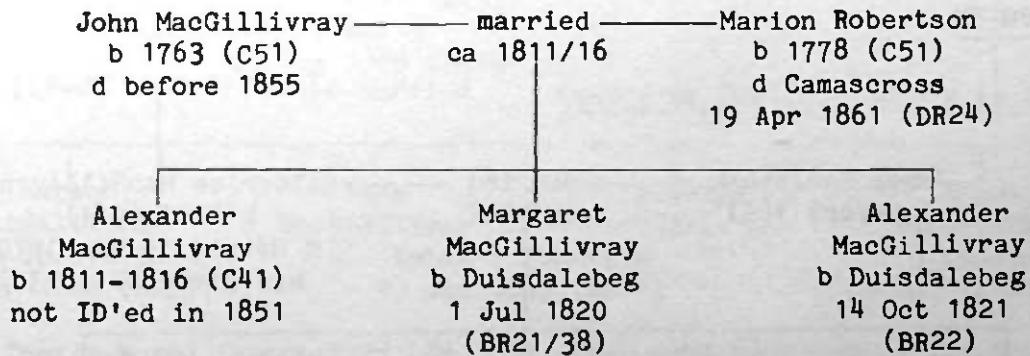
STRATH/FG-51



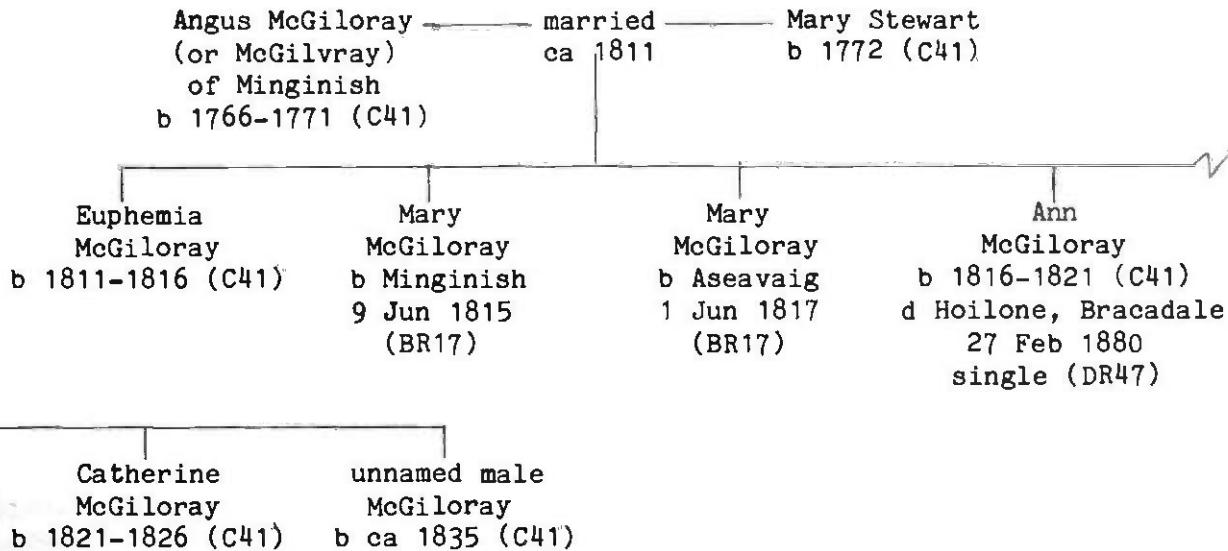
Cont'd as FG-128

William and Mary MacLeod were in Lower Breakish in 1841.

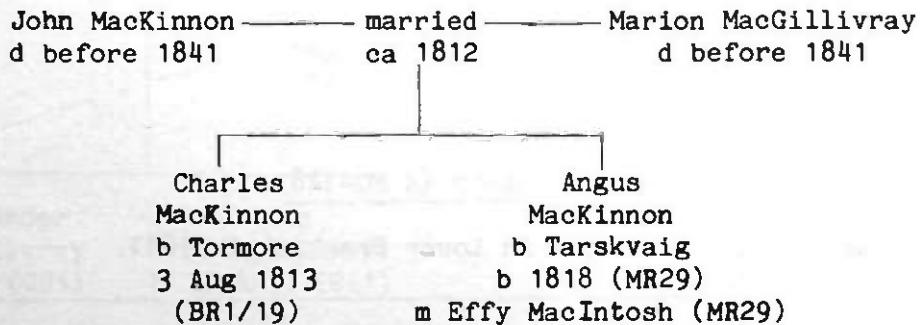
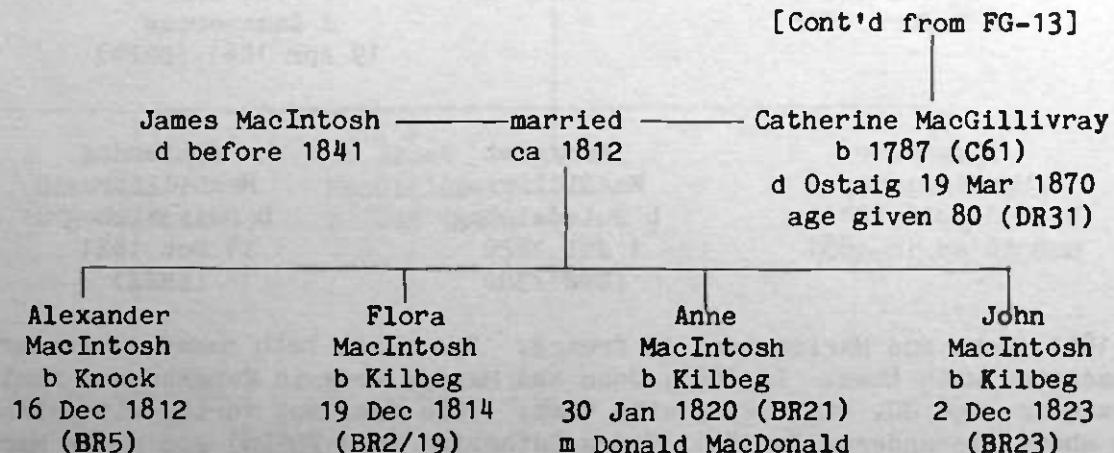
SLEAT/FG-53



In 1841, John and Marion were in Cruard. Two sons, both named Alexander, were enumerated with them. In 1851, John and Marion were in Camascross. Only one Alexander, age 20, was living with them. This does not verify with either of the above Alexanders. In 1861, Widow Catherine (see FG-98) and Widow Marion were living in Camascross with Malcolm McLure. It is probable the two widows were cousins. Informant of Widow Marion's death was Malcolm MacLure, who was listed as occupier of part of Camascross (see FG-169.).

BRACADEALE/FG-52

Informant of Ann's death was her sister, Effy. Angus and Mary not identified in 1851. Some members of this Family Group remained in Bracadale until after 1871. Ages reported varied from census to census as did the spelling of the surname.

SLEAT/FG-54SLEAT/FG-57

Informant of Widow Catherine MacIntosh's death was her son-in-law, Donald MacDonald.

[Cont'd from FG-8]

[Cont'd from FG-72]

Ann MacGillivray	1st married ca 1812	Kenneth MacGillivray	2nd married 1 Apr 1852 (MR9)	Margaret (Robertson) MacKinnon d Sasaig 12 Mar 1886 age 74 (DR37/50)
b 1786-1791 (C41)	b 1789/90 (C51/61)		1 Apr 1852	b 1819 (C61)

John MacGillivray	Ewen MacGillivray	Donald MacGillivray	Charles MacGillivray	Farquhar MacGillivray
b 1813	b 1816	b 1819 sickly (C51)	b 1823	b Sasaig 26 Apr 1827 (BR24)

Cont'd FG-167Cont'd FG-176Cont'd FG-189

Parish register gives the name of Kenneth's second wife as Mary. Census and death certificate give Margaret. Margaret was first married to a MacKinnon. Informant of her death was her son, Alexander MacKinnon. Cross Index FG-178.

SLEAT/STRATH/FG-56

[Cont'd from FG-3]

Malcolm MacGillivray	married ca 1812	Flora Nicolson
b Sleat 1772 (C61)		b Sleat 1791 (C61)
d Heast, Strath		d Heast, Strath
8 Apr 1866 (DR30)		13 Jan 1865 (DR29)
age given 90		

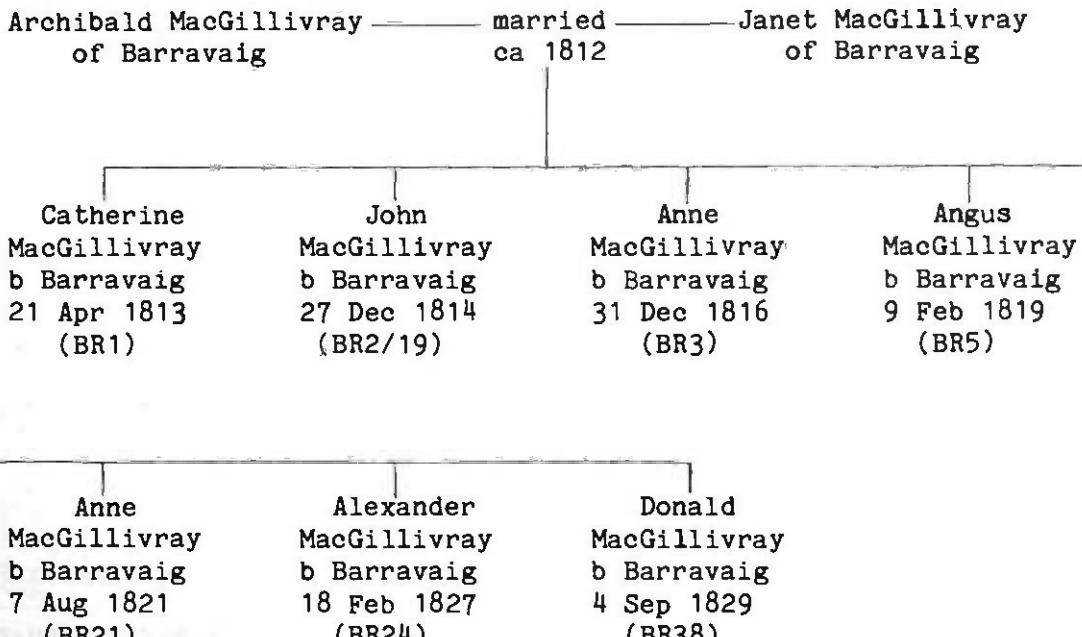
Catherine MacGillivray	Martin MacGillivray	Christy MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray
b Lingary	b Lingary	b 1816 (C51)	b 1821/1823 (BR57/C61)
25 Mar 1813 (BR35)	3 Dec 1815 (BR35)		
	d Heast		
	20 Oct 1885 (DR50)		
	never married		

Cont'd as FG-146Cont'd as FG-166

Marion MacGillivray	Anne MacGillivray	Isabella MacGillivray	Angus MacGillivray
b Tocovaig	twins b Tocovaig		b Tocovaig
12 Mar 1824 (BR23)	10 Jan 1827 (BR24)		29 Mar 1831 (BR27)

This family moved frequently. In 1841, they were in Tocovaig, Sleat. In 1851, they were in Boreraig, Strath. In 1861, they were in Heast, Strath. Daughter Catherine presents a problem. The birth of a Catherine of Lingary was recorded in 1813. However, a Catherine MacGillivray whose parents were Malcolm and Flora (Nicolson) MacGillivray married Duncan MacRae in 1848. Her age given was 34 (b. 1821). This same date is reflected in the 1841 census. Conclusion is that the first Catherine died and a later daughter was given the same name or there was only one Catherine and she deleted about seven years from her true age. Informant of both Malcolm's and Flora's deaths was their son, Martin. Informant of Martin's death was his nephew, Alexander MacRae.

SLEAT/FG-58



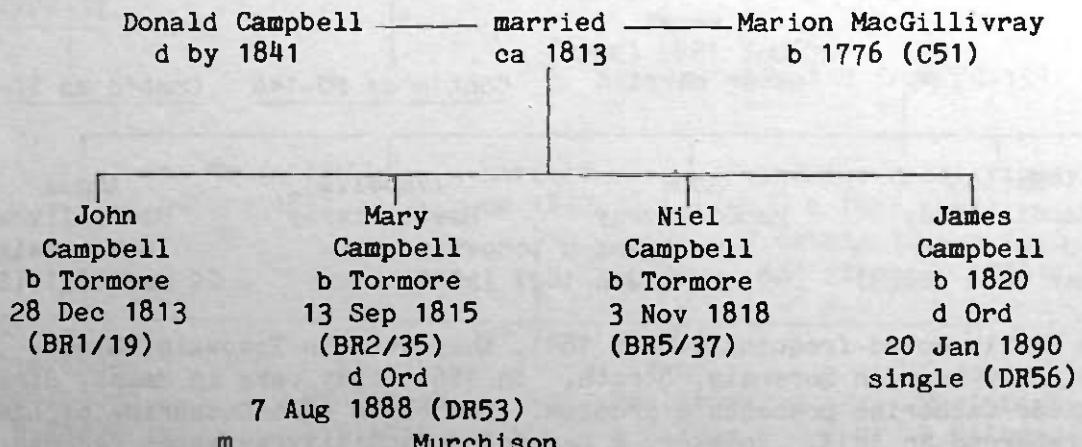
This family group not positively identified in the 1841 census.

SLEAT/FG-59

Finlay MacPherson — married — Catherine MacGillivray
ca 1813

Cross index, see Family Groups 1 and 25.

SLEAT/FG-60



In 1851, Widow Marion Campbell was living with John and Niel in Duisdlemore. Informant of James Campbell's death was his neighbor, Donald Mackenzie. The cause of Mary (Campbell) Murchison's death as "Drowning in sea by throwing herself into it." In other words, a suicide.

SLEAT/FG-61

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graph TD
    JM[John MacKinnon  
b 1786-1791 (C41)] --- M[married ca 1813]
    CM[Christy MacGillivray  
b 1781-1786 (C41)] --- M
    M --- J[John MacKinnon  
b Achnacloich  
31 Jun 1814 (BR19)]
    M --- A[Alexander MacKinnon  
b Achnacloich  
16 Feb 1817 (BR4)  
d Ord  
31 Dec 1881 (DR47)]
    M --- C[Catherine MacKinnon  
b 1821-1826 (C41)]

```

Family in Ord in 1841. Informant of Alexander's death was his nephew, John MacKinnon.

SLEAT/FG-62

[Cont'd from FG-3]

Martin MacDonald — married — Anne MacGillivray
b 1783 (C51) ca 1813 b 1784 (C51)
d Tarskavaig
14 Jun 1870 (DR15)
age given 90

Margaret MacDonald b 25 Jun 1814 (BR2/19)	Isabella MacDonald b 10 Apr 1816 (BR5/20)	Mary MacDonald b 18 May 1818 (BR4)	Christy MacDonald b 14 Nov 1819 (BR38)
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Peter MacDonald Flora MacDonald
MacDonald twins b 30 Jun 1822 (BR22)

All children were born in Tarskavaig. Informant of Anne's death was her daughter, Flora MacDonald.

SLEAT/FG-63

[Cont'd from FG-13]

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Marion MacLeod
b ca 1785 ca 1813 b 1772 (C51)
d by 1825 (R25) d Aird
28 Jun 1857
age given 78 (DR23/26)

Margaret
MacGillivray
b Aird
3 Apr 1814 (BR2)

Anne
MacGillivray
b 1816

John
MacGillivray
b 1817

Cont'd as FG-142 & 156

Cont'd as FG-153

Marion was the daughter of Roderick and Margaret (Beaton) MacLeod. She was living in Aird in 1851 with her daughter, Anne MacInnes, who was also the informant of her death.

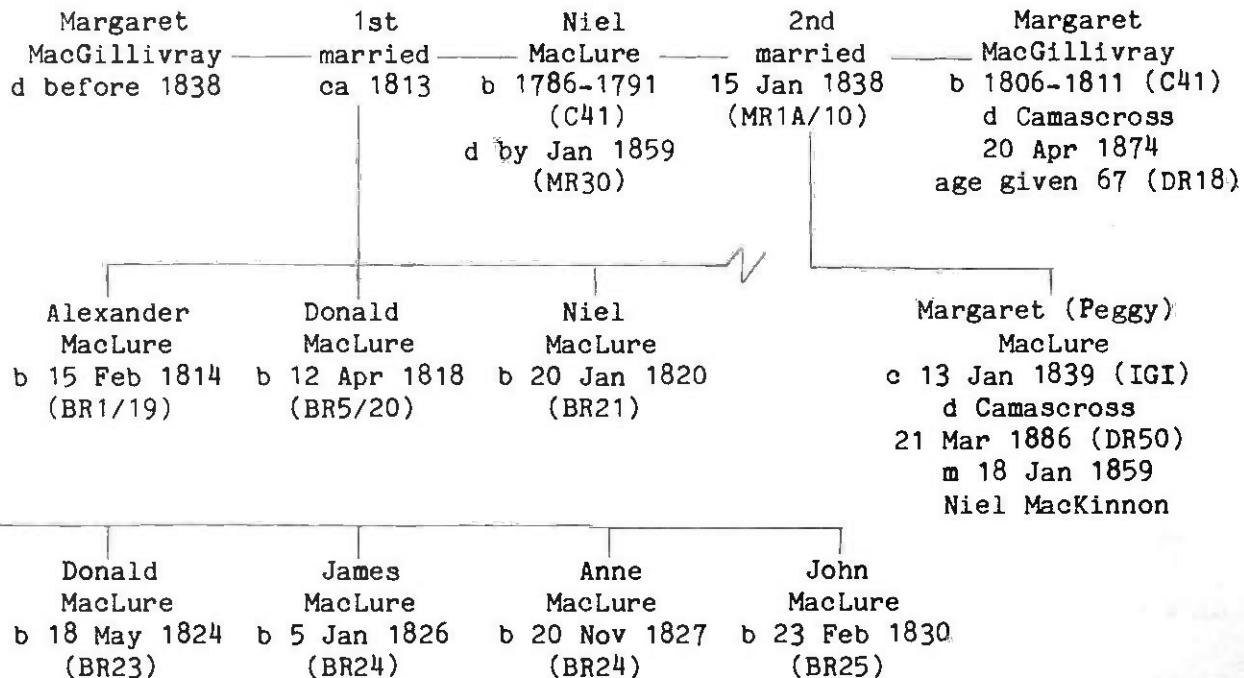
SLEAT/FG-64

Roderick (Rory) Chisolm ————— married ————— Catherine MacGillivray
ca 1813

Christy Chisolm Catherine Chisolm Marion Chisolm John Chisolm
b 30 Dec 1813 b 24 Apr 1816 b 18 Apr 1817 b 9 Aug 1819
(BR1/19) (BR3/20) (BR4/20) (BR5A)

Mary Chisolm Donald Chisolm
b 24 Jun 1821 b 7 Jul 1823
(BR21) (BR38)

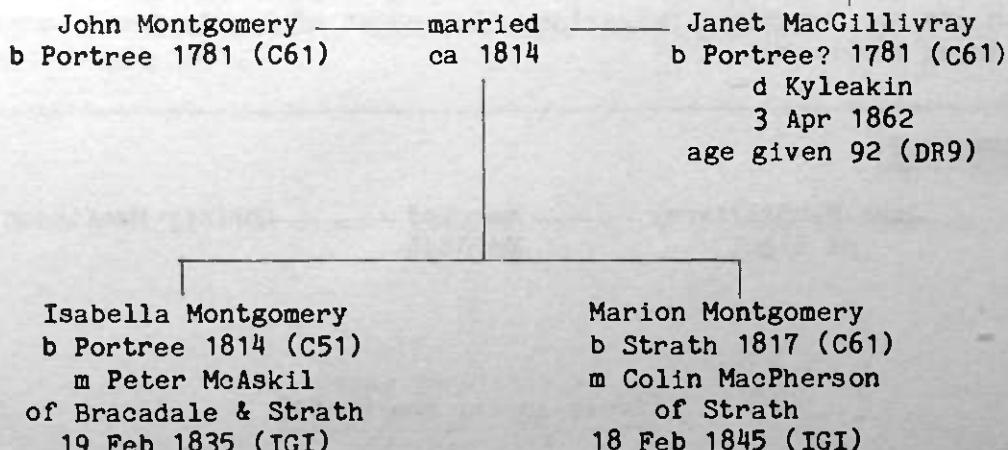
All children born in Teangue and all above data from birth records. Family not identified on Skye in 1841.



This is a best assessment. All of the children in this Family Group were born in Drumfearn. Apparently Niel MacLure, Senior married twice, each time to a Margaret MacGillivray. The births of the first seven children and the parents are verified in the Parish Registers. There was a marriage between a Niel MacLure and a Margaret MacGillivray recorded in January 1838. The eighth child, Margaret MacLure married Niel MacKinnon. She was 20 years old and her parents were given as Niel MacLure and Margaret MacGillivray. Informant of Widow Margaret MacLure's death was her son-in-law, Niel MacKinnon. Informant of Margaret (MacLure) MacKinnon's death was her brother, Alexander MacLure. Cross Index, 137.

STRATH/FG-67

[Cont'd from FG-6]



John Montgomery was a tailor. Informant of Janet's death was her son-in-law, Colin MacPherson.

SLEAT/FG-68

Alexander MacGillivray — married — Anne MacGillivray
ca 1814

Angus MacGillivray
b Ostaig
12 Aug 1815
(BR2/20)

No further information on this family.

SLEAT/FG-69

[Cont'd from FG-26]

Donald Gillies — married — Marion MacGillivray
ca 1814 b 1793 (C71)
d Glen Capistole
8 Jul 1886
age given 95 (DR37)

Catherine Gillies
b 1814 (C61)
d Aird
1896 (DR57)

Mary Gillies
b 1818 (C61)
d Aird
19 Feb 1888
age given 72 (DR52)

Apparently, Marion took back her maiden name after Donald Gillies died or disappeared. She was enumerated as Marion MacGillivray with the above two daughters surnamed Gillies in all census through 1881. Informant of Marion's death was her daughter, Catherine. Informant of Mary's death was her neighbor Angus Robertson.

STRATH/FG-71

John MacGillivray — married — Christy MacKinnon
of Elgol ca 1815

[Cross Index, see FG-49]

SLEAT/FG-72

Duncan Robertson ————— married ————— Marion MacGillivray
 b Strath 1787 (C61) ca 1815 b 1786-1791 (C41)
 d before 1851

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graph TD
    DR[Duncan Robertson] --- M[Marion MacGillivray]
    DR --- Janet[Janet Robertson]
    DR --- Margaret[Margaret Robertson]
    DR --- Duncan[Duncan Robertson]
    DR --- Christy[Christy Robertson]
    DR --- John[John Robertson]
    Janet --- Jinfo["b Barravaig  
30 Mar 1815  
(BR20)"]
    Margaret --- Minfo["b 1819  
(C61)"]
    Duncan --- Dinfo["b 1829  
(C41)"]
    Christy --- Cinfo["b 1831  
(C51)"]
    John --- Jinfo["b 1831  
(C41)"]
  
```

Cont'd as FG-55

Margaret married twice. First to a MacKinnon. Duncan, Senior was living with daughter Christy in 1851. In 1861, he was living alone in Barravaig.

SLEAT/FG-73

Alexander Robertson married Catherine MacGillivray
ca 1814

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graph TD
    A[Alexander Robertson  
married  
ca 1814] --- B[Rachel]
    A --- C[Ann]
    A --- D[John]
    A --- E[Donald]
  
```

Rachel	Ann	John	Donald
Robertson	Robertson	Robertson	Robertson
b Ostaig	b Ostaig	b Kilmore	b Kilmore
24 Apr 1816 (BR3)	25 Aug 1819 (BR5/20)	4 Jun 1825 (BR24)	11 Oct 1827 (BR24) d Ostaig 11 Dec 1871 single (DR16)

Family not identified in 1841, however, John and Donald are identified in Ostaig in 1861 and 1871.

SLEAT/FG-74

John MacGillivray — married — Catherine MacPherson
ca 1815

|

Angus MacGillivray
b Dalville
25 Dec 1815
(BR3)

Family not identified on Skye in 1841.

SLEAT/FG-75

John MacGillivray — married — Catherine Robertson
 d by 1841 ca 1815 b 1781 (C51)
 d before 1855

Flora MacGillivray b 1815	John MacGillivray b Dalville 12 Nov 1817 (BR4) not in C41	John MacGillivray b Dalville 26 Sep 1818 (BR5A) not in C41	Anne MacGillivray b Dalville 25 Jun 1821 (BR21)	Archibald MacGillivray b Ostaig 28 Aug 1829 (BR25) not in C41
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Cont'd as FG-139

The similarities between this family group and FG-98 could easily lead to the conclusion they were the same family. However, there were two Widow Catherine MacGillivrays in Sleat in 1841 and 1851. The above Widow Catherine was living in Ostaig in 1841 (with daughter Flora) and in Ostaig in 1851 (with daughter Anne). The other Widow Catherine was living in Camascross with her daughter Christy (MacGillivray) MacLure (see FG-169).

SLEAT/FG-76

Niel MacLean — married — Mary MacGillivray
 of Strath 2 Jan 1816 of Teangue
 (MR2/16)

Margaret MacLean b Teangue 26 Oct 1816 (BR3)	John MacLean b Sasaig 4 Dec 1818 (BR5/37)	Alexander MacLean b Sasaig 23 Sep 1821 (BR21)	Anne MacLean b Sasaig 2 Jul 1824 (BR22)	Donald MacLean b Sasaig 13 May 1827 (BR38)
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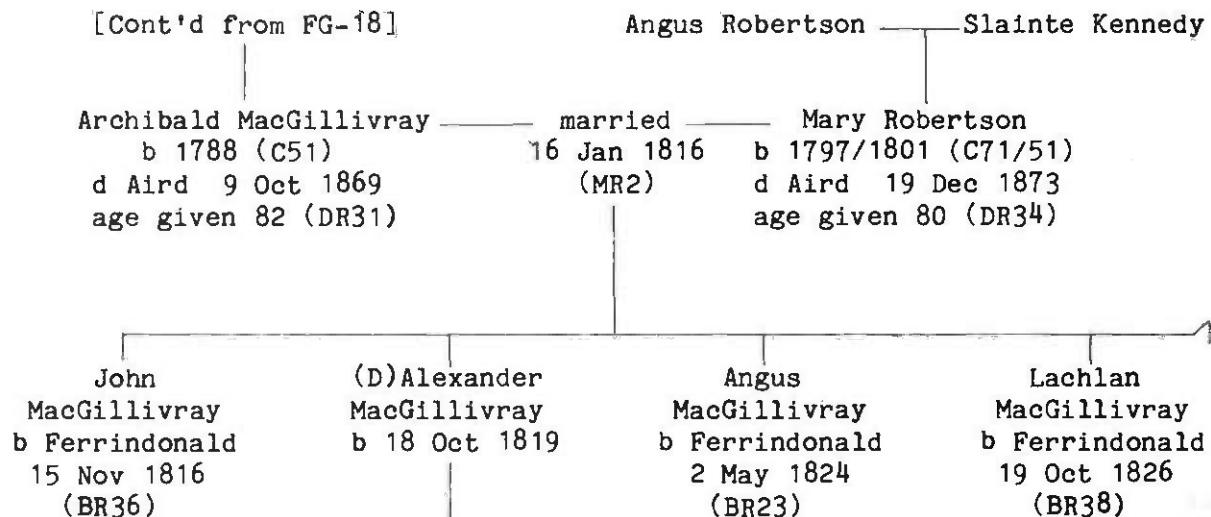
This family was not identified in Sleat in 1841 or 1851.

SLEAT/FG-78

Donald MacGillivray — married — Flora MacLennan
 of Teangue 16 Jan 1816 of Knock
 (MR2)

Ann MacGillivray b Teangue 1 Mar 1817 (BR4/20)	Mary MacGillivray b Aird 21 Oct 1818 (BR5A)	Archibald MacGillivray b Teangue 25 Mar 1834 (BR28)
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Note the disparities in the dates and places of the childrens birth. However each birth was recorded in the Parish Registers and it is unlikely there were two Donald MacGillivrays married to Flora MacLennans. The family was not identified in Sleat in 1841.



Contd as FG-162/177

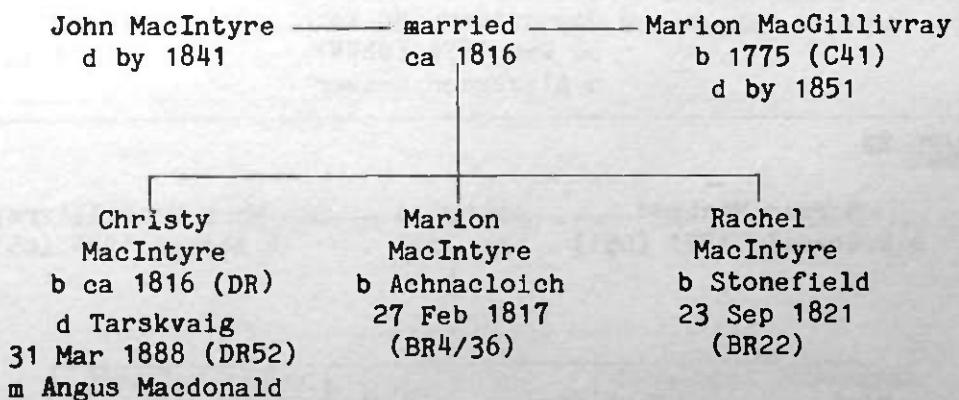
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graph TD
    John --- Lachlan[Lachlan MacGillivray  
b Ferrindonald  
4 Feb 1830  
(BR26)]
    John --- Donald[Donald MacGillivray  
b 7 Apr 1833]
    John --- Catherine[Catherine MacGillivray  
b 4 Oct 1838]
  
```

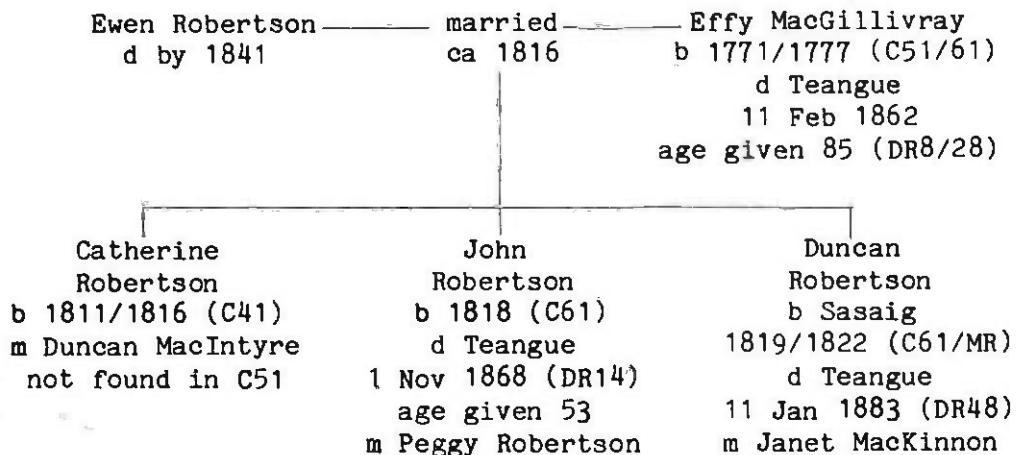
Cont'd as FG-187

Cont'd as FG- 196

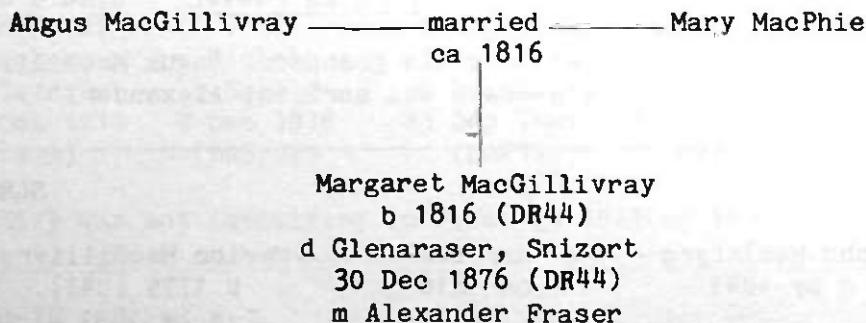
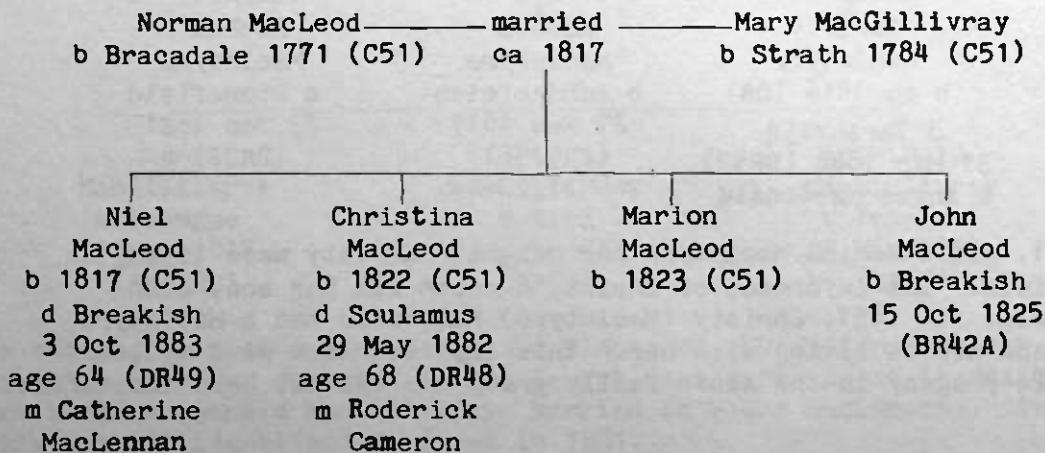
The informant of Archibald's death was his grandson, Angus MacGillivray (see FG-162). the informant of Mary's death was her son, Alexander.



In 1841, Widow Marion MacIntyre and daughter Christy were living in Stonefield. The informant of Christy's death was her son, John Macdonald. In 1851, Christy (MacIntyre) Macdonald had a MacIntyre niece and nephew living with her. This implies there were at least one male progeny in the above family group who has not been identified.



In 1841, Effy, John and Duncan Robertson were living in Teangue with Duncan and Catherine MacIntyre. The MacIntyres could not be found in Sleat in 1851 and Effy and Duncan were living in Teangue with John and Peggy Robertson. An Alexander MacIntyre was in the same household identified as a nephew (age 8). The informant of Duncan's death was his son, Hector Robertson. The informant of Widow Effy's death presents a puzzle. He is recorded as Duncan MacPherson, son. Perhaps this was a recording error, however, there was a Duncan MacPherson (age 36) living in Teangue at the same time.

SNIZORT/FG-81STRATH/FG-82

[Cont'd from FG-1]

(B) Alexander MacGillivray — married — Una Robertson
 b 1785 (C51) 29 Jan 1817 b 1793 (C51)
 d Aird (MR2) d Aird
 3 Oct 1868 (DR30) 24 Sep 1859 (DR27)
 age given 67

Donald MacGillivray b 1818	Flora MacGillivray b 1819	John MacGillivray b Aird 14 Oct 1822 (BR22/38)	Niel MacGillivray b 1824
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Cont'd as FG-170Cont'd as FG-127Cont'd as FG-186

Catherine MacGillivray b 1827	Archibald MacGillivray b Aird 5 Dec 1829 (BR25)	John MacGillivray b Aird 2 Oct 1832 (BR27)	Duncan MacGillivray b Aird 27 Jul 1835 (BR28)
-------------------------------------	---	--	---

Cont'd as FG-184

not in C41

not in C41

not in C41

Alexander is designated (B) to help follow him and his progeny. Alexander was a Pensioner who was hired for 20 pounds Sterling to serve in the British Army in lieu of a wealthy man's son. He was in the 42nd Foot Infantry and fought at the Battle of Waterloo. The informant of Alexander's and Una's deaths was their son, Niel. Note the family members who were not identified on Skye in 1841.

Donald Robertson — married — Margaret MacGillivray
 ca 1817

John Robertson b Tormore 26 Oct 1817 (BR3/36)	Catherine Robertson b Tormore 3 Apr 1818 (BR5/20)
---	---

Family not identified in Sleat in 1841.

SLEAT??/FG-85

Archibald MacGillivray _____ married _____ Janet Macdonald
ca 1817

Alexander MacGillivray
c 19 Sep 1818
(BR55A)

Family not identified on Skye in 1841.

SLEAT/FG-86

Alexander Macdonald ————— married ————— Anne MacGillivray
ca 1818

Janet Macdonald
b Kilmore
1 Sep 1818
(BR37)

Niel Macdonald
b Kilmore
1 Jan 1822
(BR22)

Family not identified in Sleat in 1841.

SLEAT/PG-87

John MacGillivray _____ married _____ Flora Nicolson
ca 1818

Alexander MacGillivray
b Tarskvaig
12 Mar 1819
(BR20/37)

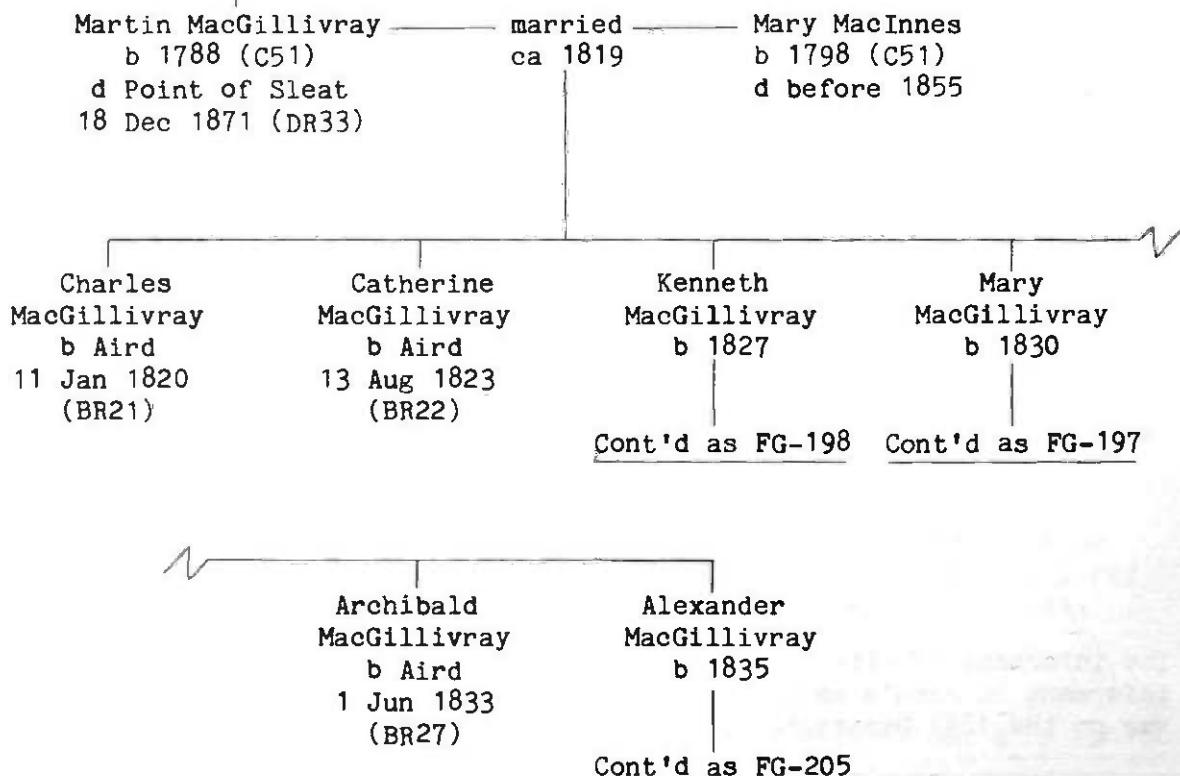
Family not identified on Skye in 1841.

STRATH/PG-88

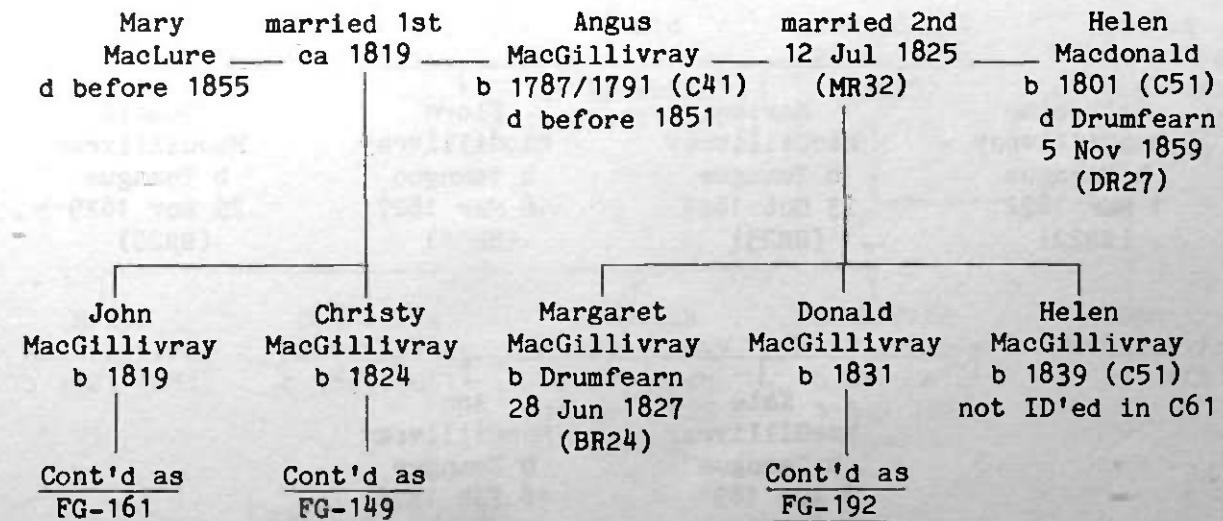
Alexander Robertson ————— married ————— Mary MacGillivray
ca 1818

John Robertson
b 1818
d Corry, Strath
3 Feb 1889 (DR55)
m Peggy Macdonald

[Cont'd from FG- 17]



Informant of Martin's death was his son, Alexander.



Widow Helen MacGillivray and the two youngest children (Donald and Helen) were living alone in Drumfearn in 1851. John MacGillivray and his family emigrated to Victoria in 1852 (see page 274). The informant of Helen's death was her son, Donald. Cross index, see FG-99.

SLEAT/FG-91

[Cont'd from FG-13]

Ewen MacGillivray	Christy MacGillivray twins b Tormore 24 Oct 1822 (BR22)	Alexander MacGillivray b Tormore 1824	Duncan MacGillivray b Aird 25 Jul 1830 (BR26)
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Cont'd as FG-171 Cont'd as FG-172

The informant of Effy's death was her husband, John MacGillivray. The informant of John's death was his daughter, Christy MacLean. This family was on the 1847 Destitute List (see page 255).

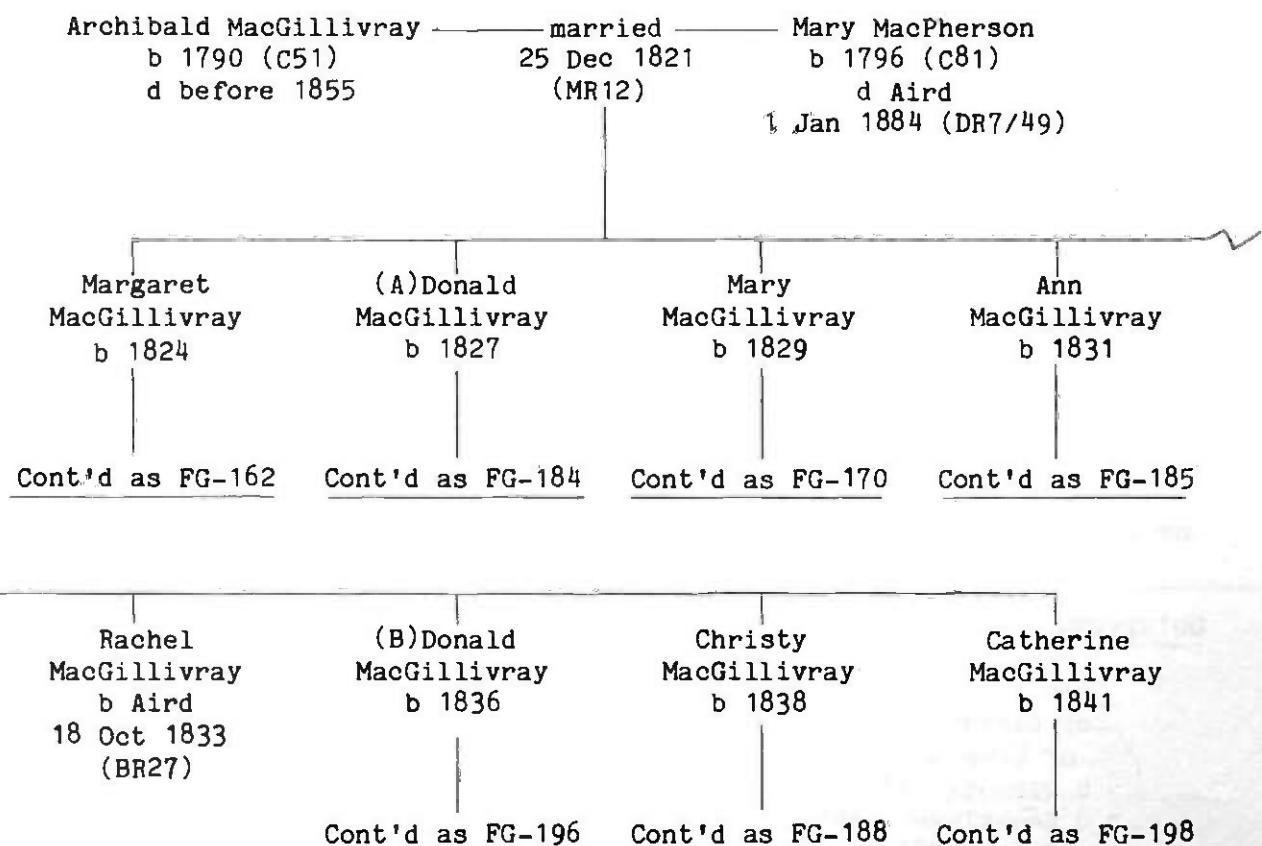
SLEAT/PG-92

Charles MacGillivray — married — Catherine MacInnes
10 Feb 1821
(MR13)

Catherine MacGillivray b Teangue 1 Mar 1822 (BR22)	Marion MacGillivray b Teangue 23 Oct 1824 (BR23)	Flora MacGillivray b Teangue 18 Mar 1827 (BR38)	Donald MacGillivray b Teangue 25 Nov 1829 (BR25)
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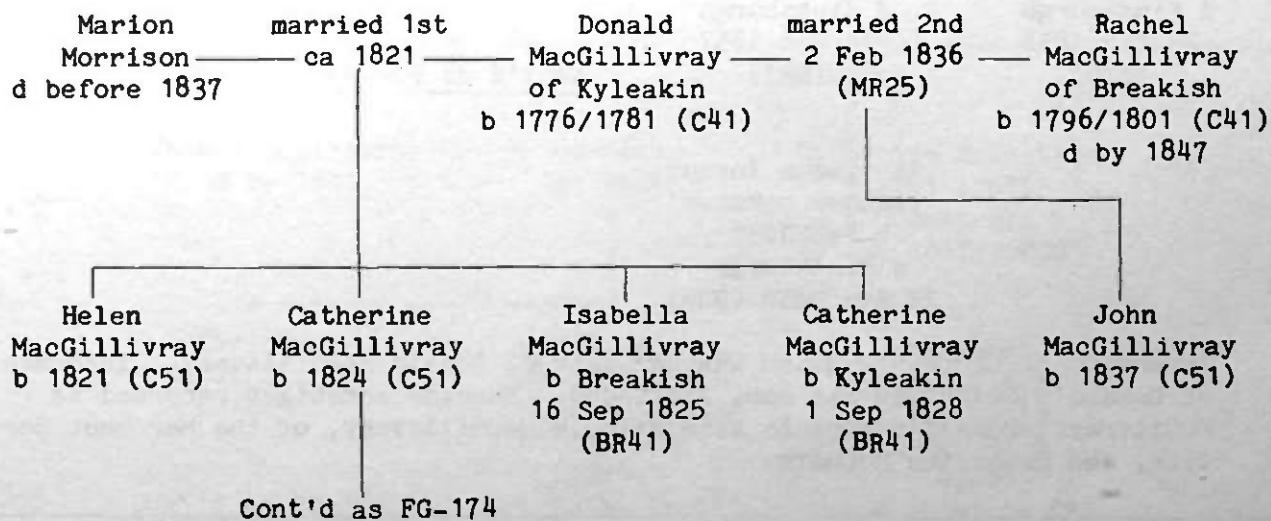
Kate	Ann
MacGillivray	MacGillivray
b Teangue	b Teangue
3 Aug 1832	18 Feb 1836
(BR39)	(BR29)

This family apparently emigrated. They are not identified in the 1841 or subsequent census.



All children born at Aird. This family was on the Destitute List (see page 254). The two Donalds are designated A and B for ease in following.

STRATH/FG-94



Helen MacGillivray was head of household in 1851. In 1852, the three younger children (Isabella, Catherine and John) emigrated to Australia (see page 273). In 1861, Helen was living in Kinloch-Eishort with her sister, Catherine MacGillivray Grant. Cross index, FG-130.

SLEAT/FG-95

Roderick Robertson — married — Christy MacGillivray
 b 1797 (C61) 9 Jan 1822 d by 1841
 d Aird (MR8/13)
 4 Dec 1866 (DR13)

Catherine Robertson b Aird 12 May 1824 (BR23)	John Robertson b Aird 7 Nov 1828 (BR25)	Ann Robertson b Aird 1830 (C51)	Donald Robertson b 1832	Duncan Robertson b Aird 12 May 1834 (BR27)
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Cont'd as FG-202

The informant of Roderick's death was his son, Donald Robertson.

DUIRINISH, SOUTH SNIZORT/FG-96

Donald MacGillivray — married — Ann MacRae
 of Claggin (formerly Waternish b Glenelg
 of Ferrindonald) 4 Feb 1823 1804 (C61)
 b Glenelg 1805 (C61)
 d Kensaleyre, Snizort
 10 Jan 1887 (DR51)

Donald MacGillivray b 1826 (DR) d Kingsburgh 25 Feb 1856 (DR6)	Christy MacGillivray b 1831 d Kingsburgh 14 Jan 1857 (DR7)	Mary MacGillivray b 1833	Alexander MacGillivray b 1842/1845 (C61/MR)
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Cont'd as FG-200 Cont'd as FG-230

Anonymous Infant
 (father unknown)
 b Feb 1856
 d Kingsburgh
 12 Apr 1856 (DR6)

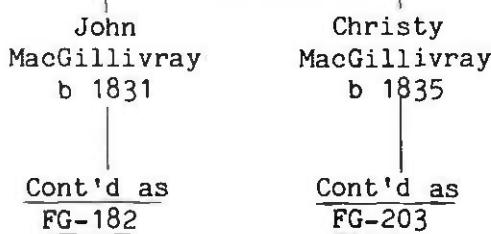
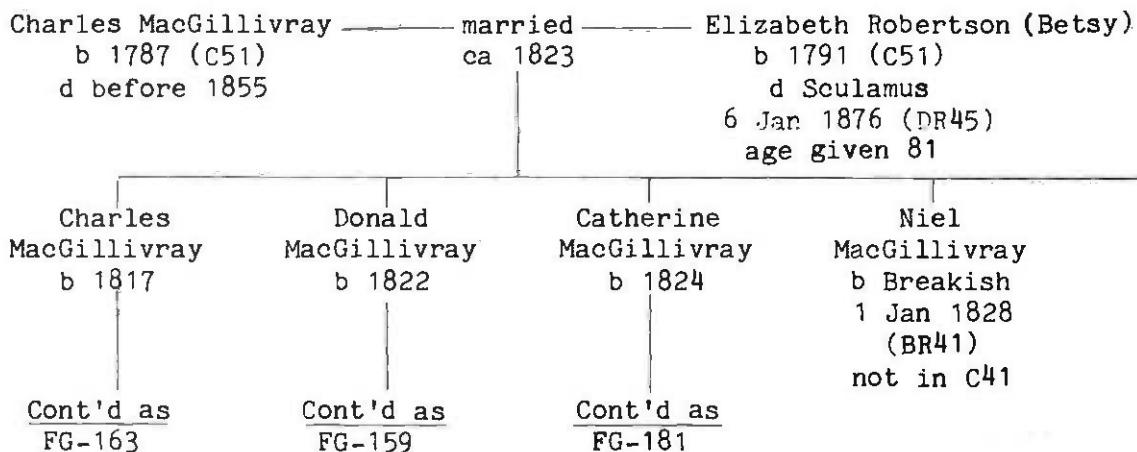
Informant of Christy's death was her father, Donald MacGillivray. Informant of Donald's death was his son, Alexander. Surname sometimes recorded as McGilvray. Donald's parents were Malcolm MacGillivray, of the Merchant Service, and Catherine McCuaig.

SLEAT/FG-99

Angus MacGillivray — married 2nd — Helen Macdonald
 12 Jul 1825 (MR32)

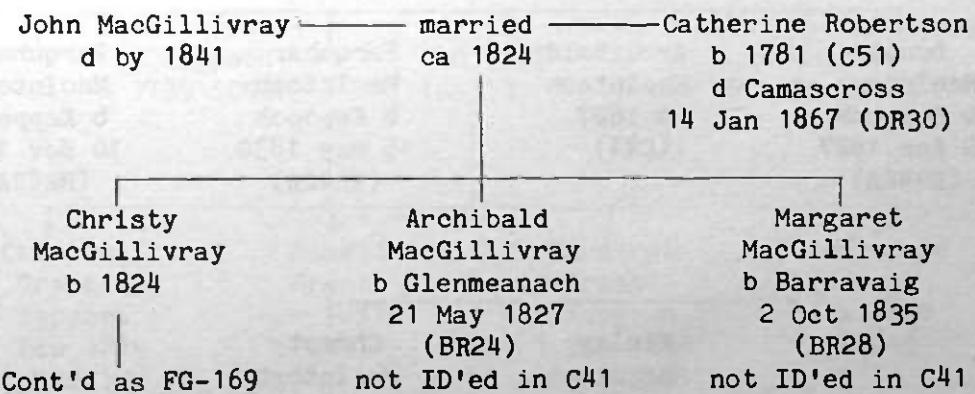
Cross index of marriage date. See FG-90 for details on this family.

STRATH/FG-97



Charles was a crofter of 4 acres in Lower Breakish. Betsy Robertson was the daughter of Neil Roberston and Anne MacLeod. Family tradition claims there may have been a seventh child with the un-Scottish name of Ernest. The official records do not substantiate this. In 1847, this family was on the Destitution List. In 1871, Widow Elizabeth was living in Lower Sculamus with her daughter, Christy Grant. The informant of Elizabeth's death was Charles MacLeod, widower.

SLEAT/FG-98



See notes for FG-75 concerning the John MacGillivray-Catherine Robertson families. Widow Catherine living with daughter Christy MacLure in 1841, 1851 and 1861. The informant of Widow Catherine's death was her son-in-law, Malcolm MacLure.

STRATH/FG-100

Malcolm MacLeod ——— married ——— Margaret MacGillivray
ca 1825

Ann MacLeod
b Strathaird
15 Jul 1826
(BR42A)

No further record of this family.

STRATH/FG-101

Charles MacGillivray — — — 1826 — — — Marion MacLeod

Donald MacGillivray
(natural son)
b Breakish
2 Oct 1827
(BR41)

Cont'd as FG-191

STRATH/FG-102

John MacIntosh ——— married ——— Marion MacGillivray
b 1796/1801 (C41) ca 1826 b 1801/1806 (C41)

Donald MacIntosh Archibald MacIntosh Farquhar MacIntosh Farquhar MacIntosh
b Keppoch b 1827 b Keppoch b Keppoch b Kepoche
30 Apr 1827 (C41) 15 May 1830 (BR42A) 10 Nov 1832 (BR42A)

Finlay MacIntosh Christy MacIntosh
b 1838 b 1841
(C41) (C41)

Family not identified in Strath in 1851.

Farquhar Macdonald married Mary MacGillivray
of Aird 28 Nov 1826 of Aird
(MR8)

No further information on this family.

SLEAT/FG-104

SLEAT/FG-105

Family not identified on Skye in 1841 census.

STRATH/FG-106

Donald Grant ————— married ————— Christy MacGillivray
 of Keppoch 2 Jan 1827 of Keppoch
 b 1795 (C51) (MR23) b 1809 (C51)

Catherine Alexander Niel
Grant Grant Grant
b 1842 (C41) b 1844 (C51) b 1846 (C51)

SLEAT/FG-107

(C) Alexander MacGillivray — married — Catherine Robertson
 b Sleat 1801 (C51) 27 Feb 1827 b Sleat 1803 (C51)
 (MR1)

Anne MacGillivray b Aird 20 Dec 1827 (BR24)	Duncan MacGillivray b Aird 12 Jan 1830 (BR25)	Janet MacGillivray b Aird 29 Apr 1832 (BR26)	Kate MacGillivray b Aird 21 Nov 1834 (BR39)	Donald MacGillivray b Aird 10 Dec 1836 (BR30)
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Kate MacGillivray b Aird 2 Jan 1840 (BR30)	Alexander MacGillivray b Aird 14 Nov 1840 (BR30)	Angus MacGillivray b Aird 1843 (C51)	Peggy MacGillivray b Aird Jan 1848 (BR34)
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Alexander MacGillivray, the head of this household, is designated (C) to distinguish him from the other three Alexander MacGillivrays in Aird in 1851. This family group is not identified on Skye after 1851.

SLEAT/FG-108

[Cont'd from FG-48]

Donald Robertson — married — Marion MacGillivray
 of Sasaig 1 Jan 1828 of Breakish
 b 1795 (C61) (MR8/15/23) b 1808/1811 (C51/71)
 d Sasaig 28 Dec 1886 (DR37/50)
 24 Mar 1866 (DR12) age given 80
 age given 74

John Robertson b Sasaig 16 Dec 1828 (BR25)	Margaret Robertson b 1830	Catherine Robertson b Sasaig 25 Mar 1832 (BR26)	John Robertson b Sasaig 25 Mar 1835 (BR28)
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Cont'd as FG-192

Niel Robertson b Sasaig 8 Feb 1839 (BR30)	Ann Robertson b Sasaig 15 Jun 1843 (BR32)	Janet Robertson b Sasaig 28 Sep 1845 (BR33)
--	--	--

The informant of both Donald's and Marion's deaths was their son, Niel.

SLEAT/FG-109

Ewen MacIntosh of Teangue b 1796-1801 (C41)	married 3 Mar 1829 (MR8/16)	Marion MacGillivray of Portree b 1796 (C51)		
Janet MacIntosh b Teangue 29 Jan 1830 (BR38)	Flora MacIntosh b Teangue 4 May 1832 (BR26)	John MacIntosh b Teangue 5 Aug 1834 (BR28)	Kate MacIntosh b Teangue 18 Jan 1839 (BR30)	Donald Archibald MacIntosh b Teangue 8 Nov 1841 (BR31)

This family emigrated to Australia in 1852.

STRATH/FG-110

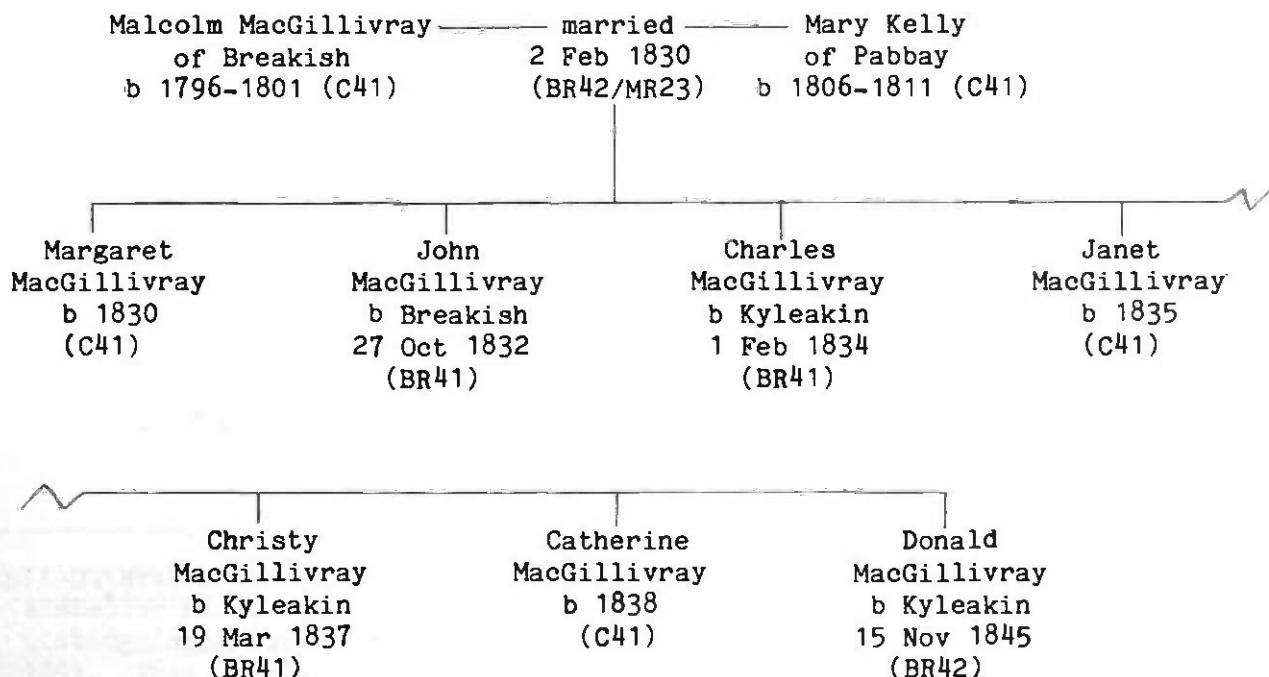
Angus MacGillivray — — — 1829 — — —	Christy MacKinnon
Ann MacGillivray (Illegitimate) b Breakish 1 Dec 1829 (BR41)	

SLEAT/FG-111

Kenneth MacPherson b 1800 (C51)	married 21 Jan 1830 (MR8/11)	Anne MacGillivray b 1802 (C51)		
Marion MacPherson b Aird 1831 (C51)	Flora MacPherson b Aird 25 Mar 1833 (BR27)	Mary MacPherson b Aird 25 Nov 1835 (BR39)	Kate MacPherson b Aird 2 Aug 1838 (BR30)	(Dougal) Donald MacPherson b Aird 25 Jul 1841 (BR31)

Note the variation in the name of the youngest child. In the Parish records the name is Dugald. In the 1851 census it is Donald. This family not identified in Sleat after 1851.

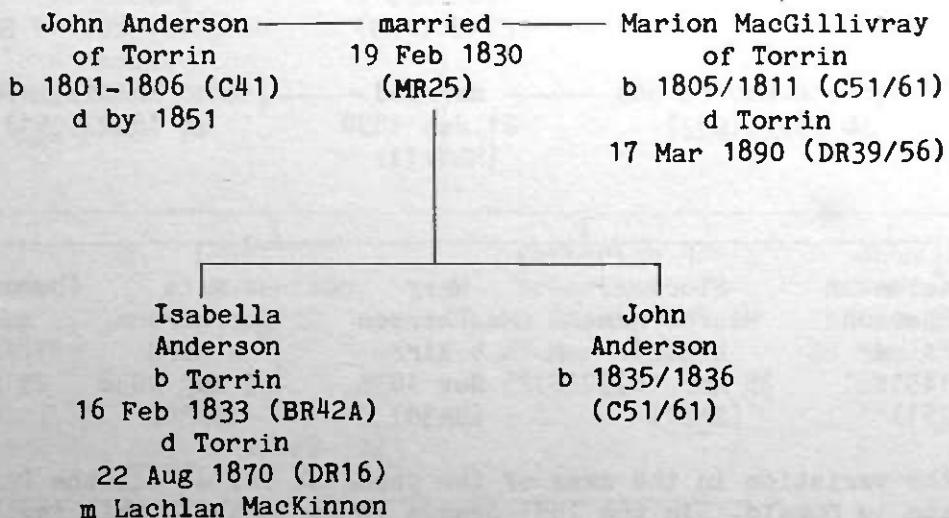
STRATH/FG-112



Malcolm was a tailor. Family not identified on Skye in 1851.

STRATH/FG-113

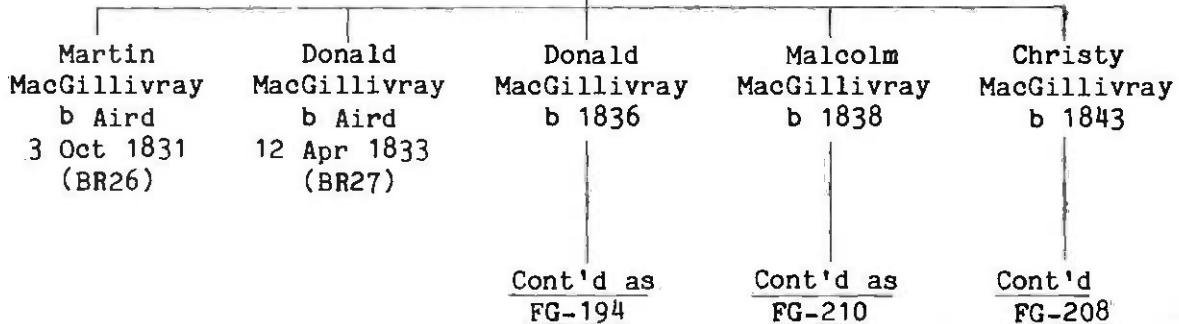
[Cont'd from FG-45]



The informant of Marion's death was not recorded. The informant of Isabella's death was her husband, Lachlan MacKinnon.

SLEAT/FG-114

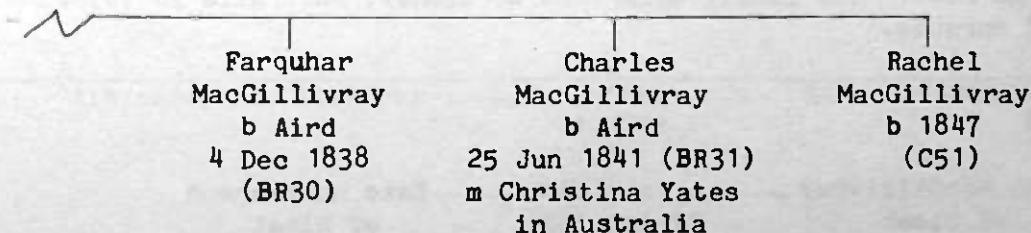
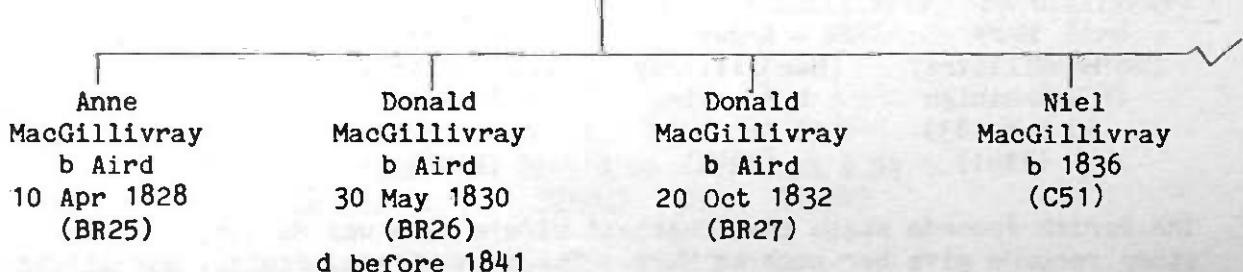
Farquhar MacGillivray ————— married ————— Catherine Beaton
b Sleat 1801-1806 (C41) ca 1831 b Sleat
d by 1847 (DL) 1808/1812 (C51/61)
|
| d 1897 age given 97 (DR57)



Widow Catherine MacGillivray was on the Destitution List in 1847 (see page 255). After 1861, she lived with her son Malcolm at No. 11, Aird.

SLEAT/PG-115

Donald MacGillivray — married — Christy Macdonald
b 1809 (C41) 18 Jan 1831 b 1809 (C41)
d Southampton, England (MR9)
1853 (EM415)



This family was on the Destitution List in 1847 (see page 254). Family emigrated to Australia in Dec 1852 (see page 274). Donald, Senior died in Southampton, England before boarding ship. Note that this family alignment is substantiated by both census and Parish records. Also note that Anne and Donald No. 1 were both recorded as being born before the recorded date of the marriage of their parents.

STRATH/FG-117

Rachel MacInnes	Charles MacGillivray of Breakish b 1797 (C51) d 1852	married 21 Feb 1831 (MR25)	Marion Matheson of Breakish b 1807 (C51)	
Finlay MacGillivray (Illegitimate) b Breakish 28 Oct 1830 (BR41)	Niel MacGillivray b Breakish 7 Dec 1831 (BR41)	John MacGillivray b Breakish 28 Jul 1833 (BR41)	Margaret MacGillivray b Breakish 26 Dec 1834 (BR41)	John MacGillivray b Breakish 18 Jul 1837 (BR41)
Mary MacGillivray b Breakish 10 Feb 1839 (BR41)	Angus MacGillivray b Breakish 12 Oct 1841 (BR42)	Malcolm MacGillivray b Breakish 6 Mar 1844 (BR42)	Archibald MacGillivray b Breakish 13 Nov 1848 (BR42)	

The Parish records state that Charles' wife's name was Marion, however, all other records give her name as Mary. The natural son, Finlay, was living with Charles and Mary in 1841. The family was on the Destitution List in 1847 (see page 256). The family emigrated to Sidney, Australia in 1852. Charles died enroute.

SLEAT/FG-118

John MacGillivray _____ married _____ Kate MacPherson
of Sleat 11 Aug 1831 of Sleat
(MR28)

```
graph TD; A[John MacGillivray  
of Sleat] --- B["11 Aug 1831  
(MR28)"]; B --- C[Anne MacGillivray  
b Morsaig  
25 Jan 1835 (BR28)]; B --- D[Kate MacGillivray  
b Morsaig  
28 Dec 1836 (BR29)];
```

SLEAT/FG-119

Martin MacKinnon ————— married ————— Margaret MacGillivray
of Knock 28 Sep 1831
 (MR9)

Christy MacKinnon
b Knock
25 Jul 1834
(BR28)

Family not identified in Sleat in 1841.

SLEAT/FG-120

[Cont'd from FG-22]

Donald MacGillivray married Catherine Robertson
b 1791/1796 (61/51) ca 1831 b 1801-1806 (C41)
d Aird d by 1851
20 Sep 1872 (DR33)

Niel MacGillivray b Aird 4 Jun 1832 (BR26/29)	Ann MacGillivray b 1835	Catherine MacGillivray b 1839	Donald MacGillivray b 1842	Archibald MacGillivray b Aird 5 Mar 1845 (BR33)
<u>Cont'd as</u> FG-193	<u>Cont'd as</u> FG-204	<u>Cont'd as</u> FG-209		

The informant of Donald's death was his son, Donald.

SLEAT/FG-122

Alexander MacGillivray _____ married _____ Kate MacKinnon
ca. 1832

Donald	Charles
MacGillivray	MacGillivray
b Aird	b Morsaig
12 Apr 1833	15 Mar 1835
(BR27)	(BR28)

Family not identified on Skye in 1841.

SLEAT/FG-121

[Cont'd from FG-17]

James Macdonald b 1783 (C41) d by 1851 in Kilmore 1841	married ca 1831	Margaret MacGillivray b 1799 (C51) d Stonefield 17 Oct 1875 (DR20) age given 80
Archibald Mary Ann Macdonald Macdonald Macdonald b Teangue b 1836 (C51) b Teangue 16 Apr 1832 d Stonefield 3 Jan 1838 (BR26) 16 Aug 1877 (DR45) (BR29) m Charles MacInnes (MR30)		

Widow Margaret Macdonald and family were living in Kilmore in 1851 and 1861. By 1871 they had moved to Stonefield. The informant of Margaret's and Mary's deaths was Archibald Macdonald, shepherd from Capistole. There is a puzzle concerning this family. Margaret's death certificate states that her husband was Ronald Macdonald. However, all of the birth records give the father's name as James Macdonald. So does Mary's marriage record.

DUIRINISH/FG-124

Lachlan Morrison of Glaspein	married ca 1833	Betty MacGillivray of Glaspein
Catherine Morrison b Glaspein 30 May 1834 (BR15)		

SLEAT/PG-125

John MacKinnon	1833	Christy MacGillivray
Christy MacKinnon (Illegitimate) b Teangue 15 Dec 1833 (BR28)		

None of these individuals are identified in the 1841 census.

Archibald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Janet Macdonald
14 Jan 1834
(MR9)

Margaret MacGillivray
b Aird
5 Oct 1834
(BR28)

Not identified in the 1841 census.

[Cont'd from FG-17]

[Cont'd from FG-83]

Ann Macdonald	married 1st b 1801-1806 (C41) d by 1845	24 Jan 1834	Angus MacGillivray	b 1801 (C51)	married 2nd (MR10) d Aird 5 Nov 1868 (DR30)	1 Jan 1846	MacGillivray b Aird 14 Dec 1819 (BR21) d Aird 13 Dec 1871 (DR32)	Flora MacGillivray
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Alexander
MacGillivray
b Teangue
2 Dec 1835
(BR28)

Mary
MacGillivray
b 1838

Ann
MacGillivray
b 1841

Cont'd as FG-128/214

Cont'd as FG-202

Angus MacGillivray was a religious layman, a catechist. The informant of Angus' death was his nephew, Kenneth MacGillivray (see FG-89). Flora certified her aunt Catherine MacPherson's death (see FG-25/59). Flora's death was certified by her brother-in-law, Donald MacGillivray (see FG-93/184). Cross index, see FG-160.

[Cont'd from FG-51]

[Cont'd from FG-127]

Margaret (and/or Jane)	married 1st ca 1834	Roderick MacLeod	married 2nd 28 Dec 1875 (MR17/39)	Mary MacGillivray of Kilmore
MacLennan b 1815 (C51)		b 1811 (C51) d Breakish 30 Apr 1891 (DR22)	at Sleat	b Teangue 19 Mar 1838 (BR30)
d by 1871				

10 Children

Ronald
MacLeod
b Breakish
27 Jul 1877
(BR104)

Roderick MacLeod was a mason. Note the variation in his wife's first name. Wife was Margaret in 1851; Jane in 1861. Roderick was a widower in 1871. Roderick and Margaret's children were: John, b 1834, Christy, b 1836, Isabella, 1839, Alexander, 1841, William, 1844, Hector, 1850. Roderick and Jane's children were: John, b. 28 Jul 1859, Margaret, 1861, Mary Ann, b 10 Feb 1864, Duncan, 1870.

SLEAT/FG-129

Martin MacGillivray	married	Janet Bruce
b Strath 1811 (C51)	8 Jan 1835 (MR9/15)	b Sleat 1813 (C51)

Donald MacGillivray b Aird 10 Dec 1835 (BR29)	Kate MacGillivray b Aird 12 Feb 1836 (BR29)	Neil MacGillivray b Ord 14 May 1841 (BR31)	Archibald MacGillivray b 1841 (C41) d by 1847
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Margaret MacGillivray b 1844 (C51)	Martin MacGillivray b 1846 (DL) d by 1851	Flora MacGillivray b 1847 (C51)	Catherine MacGillivray b 1850 (C51)
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Martin MacGillivray was a carpenter and a boat builder. The family was on the Destitution List in 1847 (see page 254). The family emigrated to Victoria, Australia in Dec 1852 (see page 274).

Charles MacGillivray — married — Margaret Anderson
 of Elgol 20 Jan 1835 of Torrin
 b 1796 (C51) (MR25) b 1810 (C51)
 d ca 1854 | d Elgol
 | 27 Oct 1881 (DR21/25A)

Alexander MacGillivray b 1837 (C51)	John MacGillivray b 1840 (C51)	Niel MacGillivray b 1846 (C51)	Angus MacGillivray b 1853 (C51)
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Cont'd as FG-223

Presumably all children born in Elgol. Family on Destitution List (see page 257). Angus was living with his aunt Catherine Anderson in Torrin in 1861.

SLEAT/FG-131

[Cont'd from FG-35]

Kenneth MacGillivray — married — Christy MacInnes
 b 1801-1806 (C41) 18 Dec 1835 b 1817 (C51)
 d before 1851 (MR9)

Catherine MacGillivray b Teangue 25 Sep 1836 (BR29) d Sasaig 28 Nov 1876 single (DR34)	Mary MacGillivray b Teangue 16 Mar 1839 (BR30)
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Christy was a widow in Sasaig in 1851. On 30 Jun 1855, she remarried to Ewen MacKinnon of Sasaig (BR42G).

STRATH/FG-132

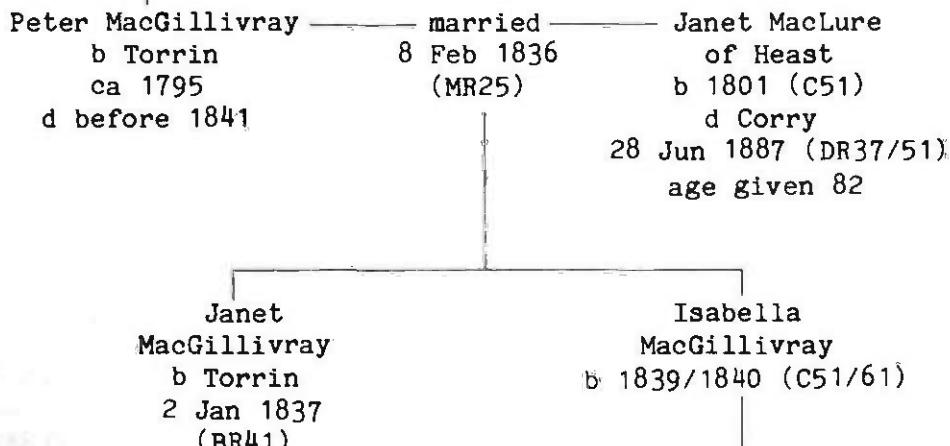
Donald MacGillivray — married 2nd — Rachel MacGillivray
 of Kyleakin 2 Feb 1836 of Breakish
 b 1776-1781 (C41) (MR25) b 1796-1801 (C41)
 | d before 1851

John MacGillivray b Kyleakin 1837 (C51)

Cross index. See FG-94 for Donald's first marriage and family.

STRATH/FG-133

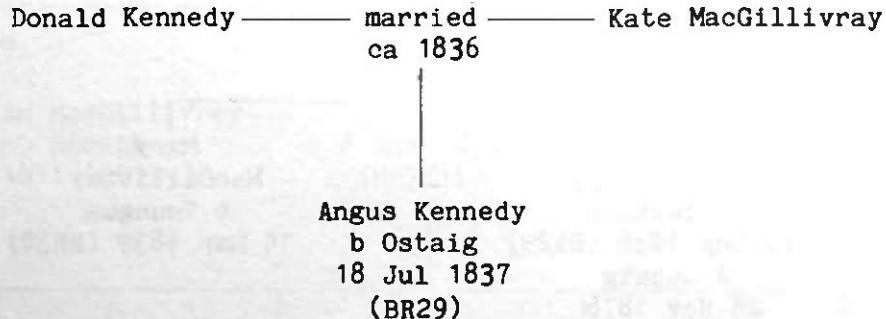
[Cont'd from FG-6]



Cont'd as FG-211

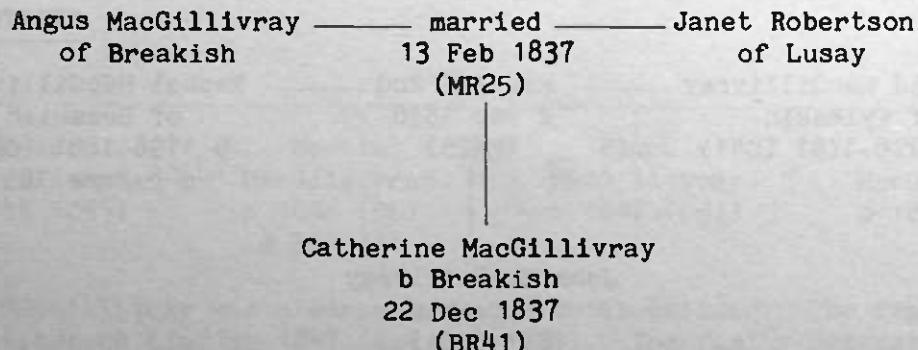
The informant of Janet's death was her daughter, Janet MacGillivray.

SLEAT/FG-134



Family not identified in 1841 census for Sleat.

STRATH/FG-135



Family not identified in Strath in 1841.

STRATH/FG-136

Niel Fletcher — married — Ann MacGillivray
 of Breakish of Breakish
 b 1811 (C61) b 1817 (C61)

28 Feb 1837 (MR25)

John Marion Christy Anne Charles
 Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher
 b 1838 b Breakish b 1842 b Breakish b 1845
 (C41) 24 Oct 1841 (C51) 12 Nov 1844 (BR42B)
 (BR42A)

Kenneth Betey Duncan Charles Donald
 Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher Fletcher
 b Sculamus b 1848 b 1850 b Sculamus b Sculamus
 29 Aug 1847 (C51) (C51) 13 Nov 1853 21 Oct 1850
 (BR42B) (BR42C) d Sculamus 7 Jun 1857
 (BR42B/DR9)

Donald
 Fletcher
 b Sculamus
 15 Oct 1857 (BR60)

SLEAT/FG-137

Niel MacLure — married 2nd — Margaret MacGillivray
 15 Jan 1838 (MR1A/10)

Cross index of second marriage. See FG-65 for first marriage and families.

STRATH/FG-138

Farquhar MacGillivray — married — Mary MacIntosh
 of Elgol of Keppoch
 b 1801-1806 (C41) b 1811-1816 (C41)

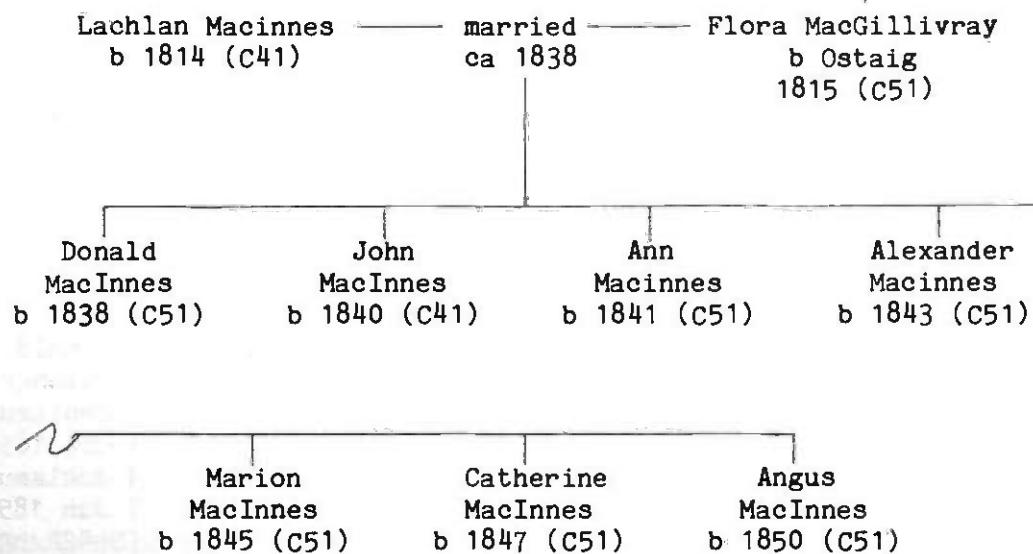
13 Mar 1838 (MR25)

Unnamed Male
 b Elgol
 1841 (C41)

Family not identified on Skye in 1851 census.

SLEAT/FG-139

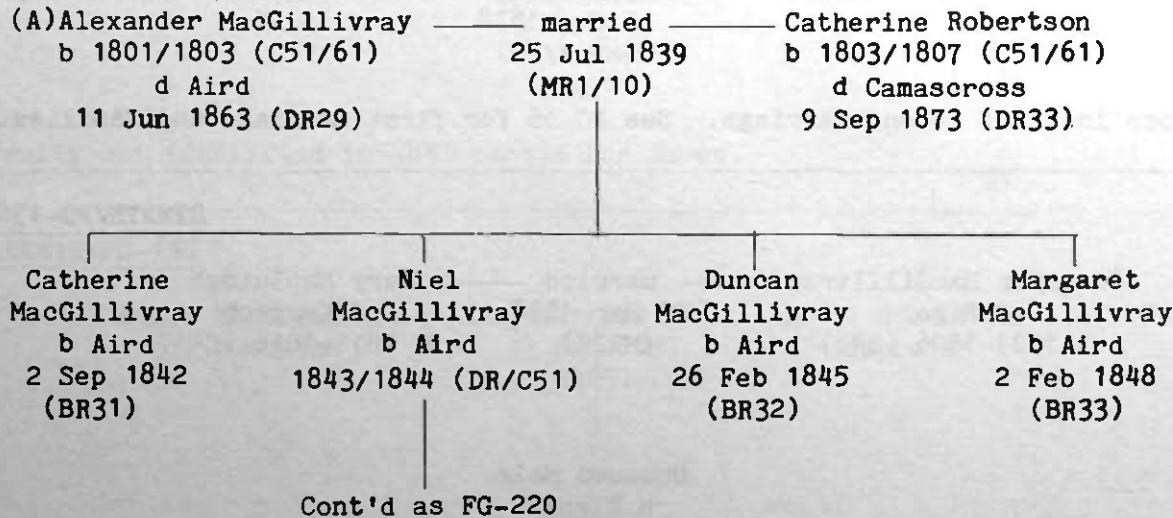
[Cont'd from FG-75]



Family living at Knock Farm in 1851. Not identified in Sleat in 1861.

SLEAT/FG-141

[Cont'd from FG-22]



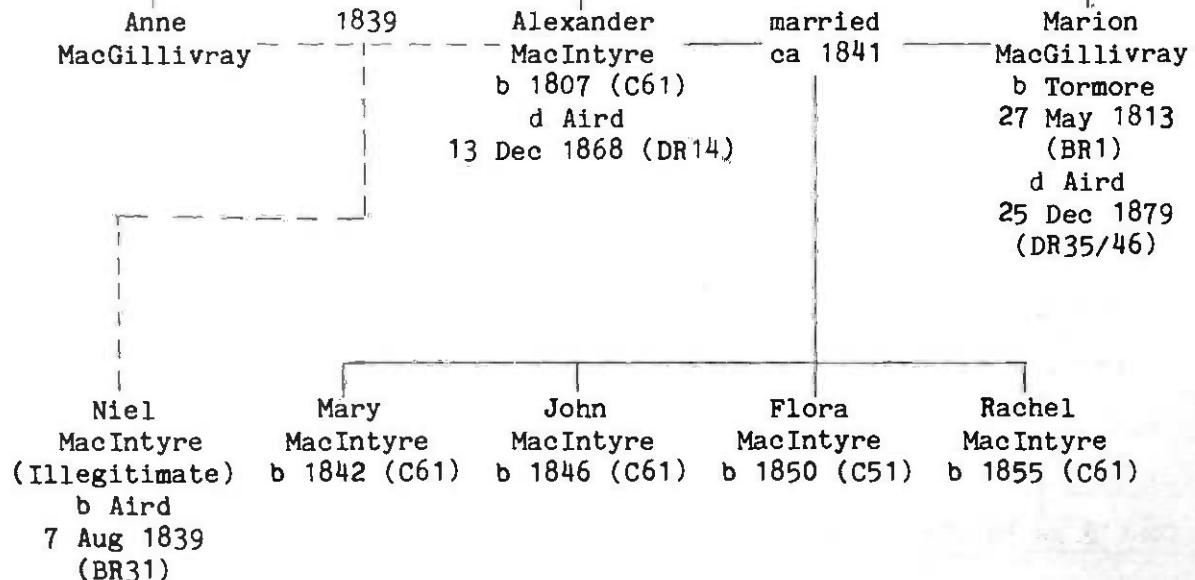
Cont'd as FG-220

There were four Alexander MacGillivrays living in Aird in 1851. This one is designated (A) to help follow him and his progeny. Widow Catherine was living in Camascross in 1871. Niel and Margaret, both single, were living with her. The informant of Alexander's death was his brother-in-law, Roderick Robertson. The informant of Catherine's death was her son, Niel.

[Cont'd from FG-63?]

[Cont'd from FG-41]

[Cont'd from FG-47]



Niel MacIntyre was a natural son. The families of Alexander MacIntyre and Anne MacGillivray were immediate neighbors in 1839. In 1841, Alexander, Marion and young Niel were living in Aird with his mother, Widow MacIntyre. The informant of Alexander's death was his son, John. The informant of Marion's death was her brother, Donald MacGillivray (see FG-47).

[Cont'd from FG-50]

Alexander MacGillivray married Mary Anderson
 b Lingary 1811 (C51) 7 Mar 1840 b 1814 (C51)
 d Calligary (MR11) d Calligary
 20 Jul 1882 (DR36/47) 13 Feb 1870 (DR31/CR2)
 age given 76 age given 54

Anne MacGillivray b 1841	Effy MacGillivray b Calligary 12 Jan 1843 (BR32) d Ullapool 27 Feb 1860 (DR/CR2)	Mary MacGillivray b Calligary 28 May 1845 (BR32)	Donald MacGillivray b 1847	John MacGillivray b Calligary 18 Feb 1850 d Calligary 18 Jan 1912 (DR/CR2)
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Cont'd as FG-206

Cont'd as FG-219

SLEAT/FG-143

[Cont'd from FG-36]

Niel MacLure — Abbie Nicolson

Malcolm MacGillivray — married — Catherine (Janet?) MacLure
 b 1810 (C51) 16 Feb 1840 (MR10) b 1817 (C51)
 d Aird d Aird
 31 Aug 1888 (DR38) 1 Feb 1871 (DR32)
 age given 88

Christina MacGillivray b Aird 12 Feb 1841 (BR31)	Margaret MacGillivray b Aird 13 Sep 1843 (BR32)	Donald MacGillivray b Aird 1 Aug 1845 (BR32)	John MacGillivray b Aird 13 May 1848 (BR34)
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Cont'd as FG-199

Cont'd as FG-213

Charles MacGillivray b Aird 1853 (C81/91)	Mary MacGillivray b Aird 3 Dec 1857 (BR60) d Aird 29 Mar 1864 (DR11)
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Cont'd as FG-218

Parish records state that Malcolm MacGillivray married a Janet MacLure in Feb 1840. However, all censuses and birth records give her name as Catherine. The informant of Malcolm's death was his neighbor, Alexander MacInnes. The informant of Catherine's death was her son, Charles.

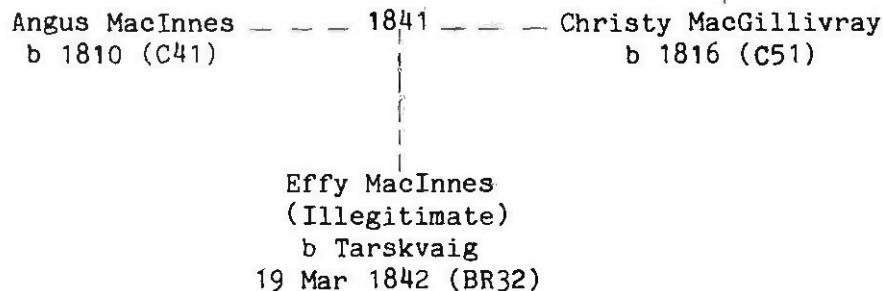
SLEAT/FG-145

Angus Robertson — married — Flora MacGillivray
 of Aird 8 Sep 1840 of Aird
 b 1801-1806 (C41) (MR10) b 1812 (C51)

Couple living in Aird in 1841 with Widow (Rachel) Robertson. Flora was also living in Aird with Widow Robertson in 1851. She was not identified as a widow so Angus was apparently not residing in Sleat at that time. There was no record of issue and the couple were not identified in Sleat in 1861.

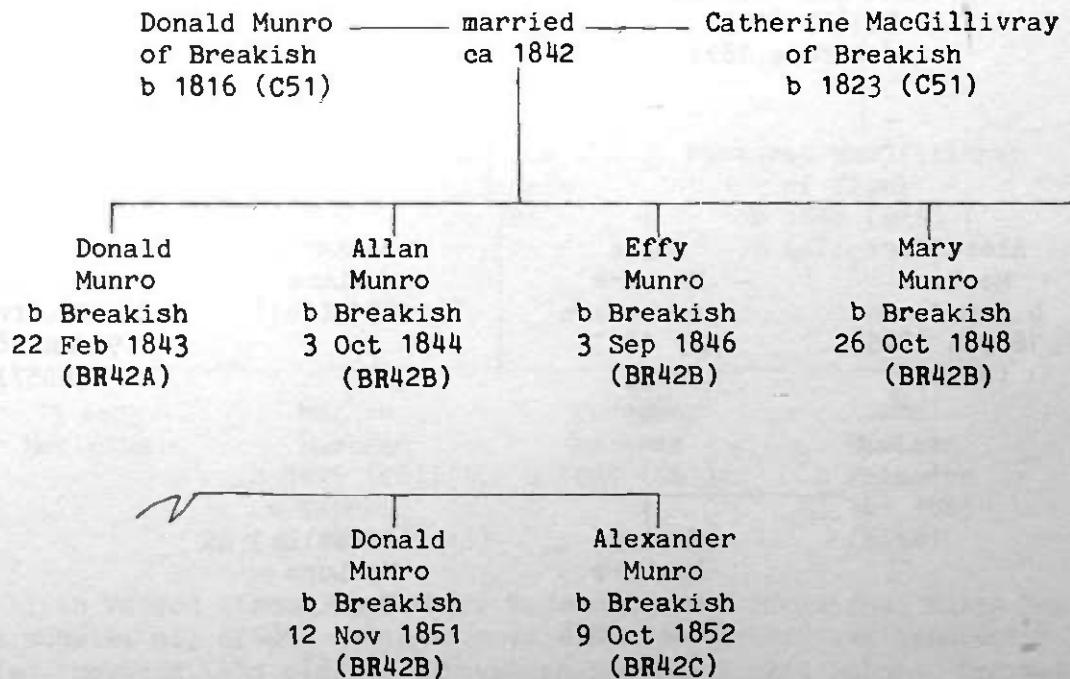
SLEAT/FG-146

[Cont'd from FG-56]



Angus MacInnes, age 31, a gamekeeper, was living with Christy's father Malcolm MacGillivray at Tocovaig in 1841. Christy, single, was living with her father in Borreraig, Strath in 1851. Euphemia (Effy) MacInnes, age 8 (b 1843), was a member of the same household. Also enumerated in the same household in 1851 were Mary MacInnes, age 8 (b 1843), and Donald MacInnes, age 6 (b 1845), who were listed as Malcolm's grandchildren. It is not known whether these are also progeny of Angus MacInnes and Christy MacGillivray.

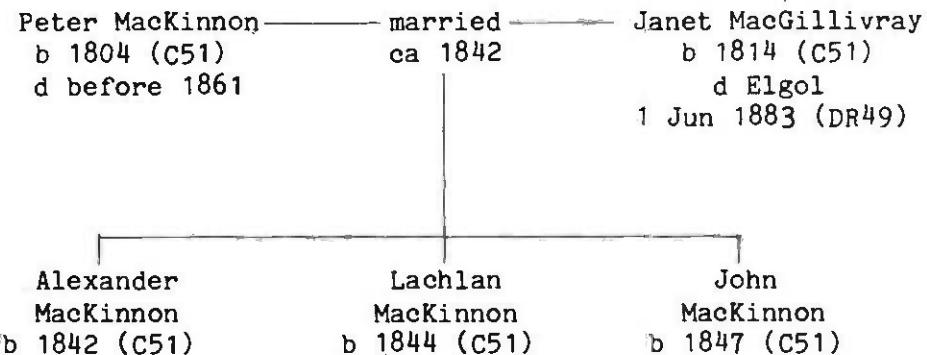
STRATH/FG-147



Family not identified in Lower Breakish in 1861.

STRATH/FG-148

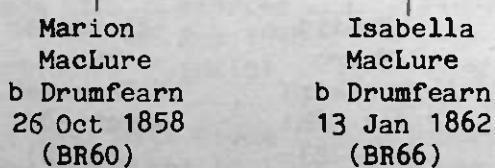
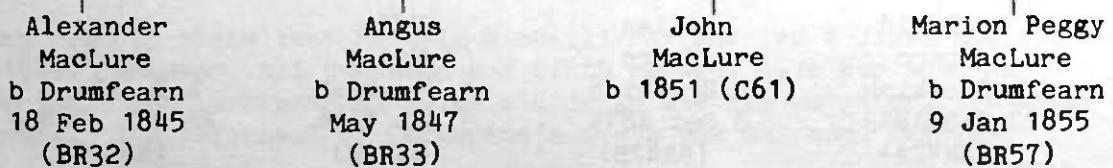
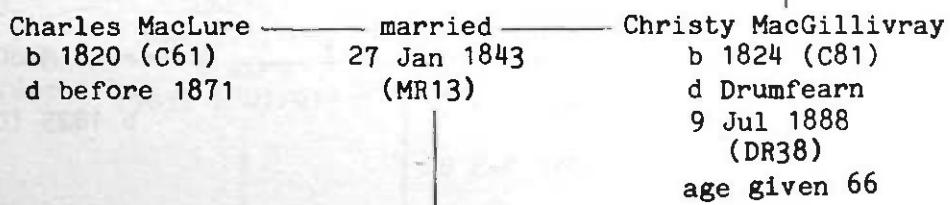
[Cont'd from FG-49]



The informant of Janet's death was her sister, Margaret MacLean (see FG-152).

SLEAT/FG-149

[Cont'd from FG-90]



The informant of Christy's death was her brother, Donald MacGillivray.

SLEAT/FG-150

John MacGillivray — married — Maclean
 of Armadale & Glenelg 13 Feb 1843
 at Sleat (MR10)

This marriage was recorded in the Parochial records. Miss MacLean's name was missing from the records. Family not identified on Skye in 1851.

SLEAT/FG-151

Donald MacGillivray — married — Mary Stuart
 ca 1843 b 1816-1821 (C41)

Kenneth MacGillivray
 b Barraraig
 12 Mar 1844
 (BR32)

This family was not identified in 1851. It is possible they may have emigrated to Australia because, in 1854, Mary's sister, Catherine Stewart (Stuart), and two nieces emigrated to Geelong.

STRATH/FG-152

[Cont'd from FG-49]

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graph TD
    A[John MacLean  
of Glasnakille  
b 1813 (BR58)  
d before 1878] --- B[Kilbride  
ca 1843]
    A --- C[Margaret MacGillivray  
of Elgol  
b 1815 (BR58)  
d before 1878]
    B --- D["3 male  
MacLeans"]
    B --- E[Marion  
MacLean  
b 1845 (C61)  
d Keppoch  
26 Feb 1878 (DR46)]
    B --- F[Farquhar  
MacLean  
b 1851 (C61)]
    B --- G[John  
MacLean  
b Kilmoire  
23 Apr 1855  
(BR58)]
  
```

John MacLean — married — Margaret MacGillivray
 of Glasnakille b 1813 (BR58) d before 1878 Kilbride ca 1843 Margaret MacGillivray
 of Elgol b 1815 (BR58) d before 1878

3 male MacLeans Marion MacLean b 1845 (C61) d Keppoch 26 Feb 1878 (DR46) Farquhar MacLean b 1851 (C61) John MacLean b Kilmoire 23 Apr 1855 (BR58)

John's birth record stated that there had been three additional males born to this couple, all of who were deceased. Marion MacLean was apparently unmarried, however, she died of exhaustion from prolonged labor. Her death was certified by her brother, Farquhar MacLean.

SLEAT/FG-153

[Cont'd from FG-63]

Niel Macinnes — Flora Campbell

John MacGillivray — married — Flora MacInnes
 b Aird 19 Jan 1843 b 1821 (C51)
 31 Dec 1817 (BR4) (MR10) d Aird
 d Aird 25 Nov 1878
 28 Jul 1882 (DR47) (DR4/36/45)

Donald MacGillivray	Effy MacGillivray	Archibald MacGillivray	Niel MacGillivray	John MacGillivray
b Aird	b 1846	b 1849 (C51/61)	b 1853 (C61)	b 1853
26 Nov 1843 (BR32)				

Cont'd as FG-221

Cont'd as FG-229

Marion MacGillivray	Christy MacGillivray	Anne MacGillivray	Margaret MacGillivray
b 1856 (C61)	b 1857 (BR60)	b 1860 (C61)	b 1865 (C71)

Cont'd as FG-225

Cont'd as FG-224

The informant of John's death was his daughter, Effy. The informant of Flora's death was her son Niel. All children born in Aird.

STRATH/PG-154

[Cont'd from FG-45]

Campbell — — 1843 — — Margaret MacGillivray
 | b 1816-1821 (C41)

Mary Campbell
 (Illegitimate)
 b 1843 (DR)
 d Heast
 14 Jun 1865
 single (DR12)

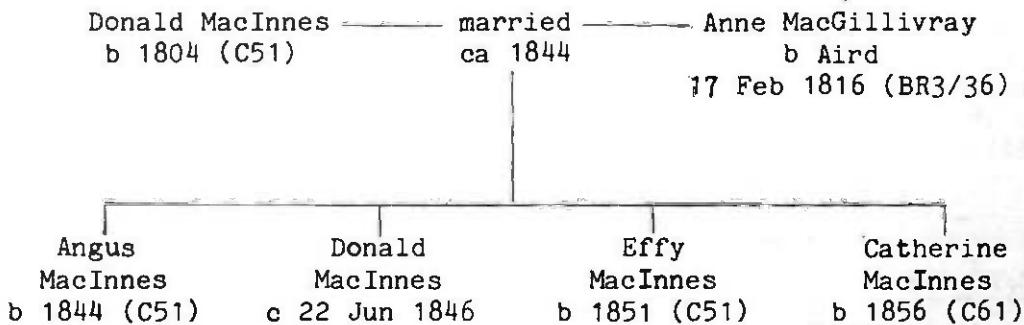
The informant of Mary Campbell's death was her aunt, Christy MacGillivray.

Ewen MacNabb — married — Mary MacGillivray
 of Lyndale Mar 1844 of Lyndale

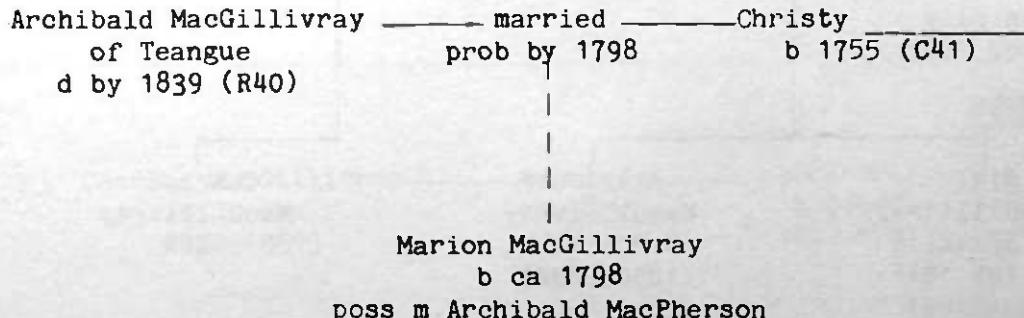
The MacGillivrays in Snizort are a puzzle. In 1841, a John MacGillivray, age 40, was enumerated in Lyndale. In 1851, a John MacGillivray was enumerated in Skeabost, Snizort at Caroline House. His age was given as 65 years and he was identified as an idiot. Any relationship between this John and the above Mary, if there is one, has not been established. Mary MacGillivray was not identified on Skye in 1841 and the family was not identified in the 1851 census.

SLEAT/FG-156

[Cont'd from FG-63]



Anne's mother, Marion MacLeod MacGillivray, was living with this family in Aird in 1851.

SLEAT/FG-66

Archibald MacGillivray was on the Rent Rolls for Teangue from the year 1823. The 1840 Rent Roll (see Table XI) carries his entry with the notation "widow" indicating Archibald had died ca 1839 while the rent roll was being compiled. In 1841, a Widow Christy McGillivray was living in Teangue with an Archibald McPherson. McPherson's wife was Marion (b 1798) and she could have been a daughter of Christy McGillivray.

STRATH/FG-158

[Cont'd from FG-49]

Alexander MacGillivray ————— married ————— Isabella Anderson
 b 1810 (C51) ca 1845 b 1821 (C51/61)
 d Elgol d Strath
 12 Feb 1891 (DR22/29) 1893 (DR57)
 age given 88 age given 80

Farquhar MacGillivray b 1845 (C51) Donald MacGillivray b 1848 (C51) Christina MacGillivray b 1851 John MacGillivray b 1853 (C61)

Cont'd as FG-207

Ann MacGillivray b Elgol 23 Sep 1857 (MR11) Charles MacGillivray b Elgol Dec 1861 d Dec 1861 (BR66/DR28)

STRATH/FG-159

[Cont'd from FG-97]

Anne (Nancy ?) — married 1st — Donald — married 2nd — Mary
 MacLean ca 1845 MacGillivray in NSW Munro
 b Strath b Strath ca 1863
 1817 (DL) 1822 (DL)
 d accidentally
 NSW 18 Dec 1862

Niel MacGillivray b Breakish 10 Feb 1846 (BR42/55) Alexander MacGillivray b Breakish 1850 (EMF) Charles MacGillivray b NSW

Donald was the brother of Charles MacGillivray (see FG-163). He was missing from the 1851 Census indicating he was probably out of country to find employment. However, his wife and children were enumerated in Lower Breakish. This census presents a puzzle inasmuch as his wife is recorded as Nancy McGilvray. All other records list her as Anne. Family was on the Destitute List in 1847. Family departed from Skye in August 1852 and arrived in Sidney, Australia in November 1852. Anne died accidentally by fire in 1862. Donald remarried the next year to Mary Munro.

[Cont'd from FG-17]

[Cont'd from FG-83]

Angus MacGillivray ————— married 2nd ————— Flora MacGillivray
b 1801 (C51) 1 Jan 1846 b Aird
d Aird (MR10) 14 Dec 1819 (BR21)
5 Nov 1868 | d Aird
(DR30) | 13 Dec 1871 (DR32)
| age given 57
(No known issue this marriage)

Cross index for second marriage, see FG-127. The informant of Angus' death was his nephew, Kenneth MacGillivray (see FG-89/198). The informant of Flora's death was her brother-in-law, Donald MacGillivray (see FG-184).

[Cont'd from FG-90]

John MacGillivray — married — Ann Grant
b 1819 (C51) 13 Feb 1846 b 1825 (C51)
(MR10/15)

Angus	Margaret	Margaret
MacGillivray	MacGillivray	MacGillivray
b Drumfearn	b Drumfearn	b Drumfearn
17 Dec 1846	29 Jan 1849	1852 (EMF)
(BR33)	(BR34)	

On Destitute List in 1847. Family emigrated to Victoria, Australia in 1852.

Charles MacGillivray — married — Flora Graham
b Strath ca 1846 b Sleat
1820 (C51) | 1820 (C51)

Ann	Niel
MacGillivray	MacGillivray
b Breakish	b Breakish
13 Jan 1847 (BR42)	27 Jan 1851 (BR42)

Charles was the brother of Donald MacGillivray (see FG-159). Family on Destitute List in 1847. Emigrated to Sidney, Australia in 1852.

SLEAT/FG-162

[Cont'd from FG-93]

[Cont'd from FG-77]

[Prob. from FG-47]

Margaret married 1st (D) Alexander married 2nd Mary
 MacGillivray — 12 Mar 1846 — MacGillivray — 1 Jan 1852 — MacGillivray
 b Aird b Ferrindonald (MR9) b Dalville
 28 Oct 1824 18 Oct 1819 1 Jan 1822
 (BR23) (BR26) (BR22)
 d by 1851

Angus
 MacGillivray
 b 1848

Charles
 MacGillivray
 b 1854

Niel
 MacGillivray
 b Aird
 16 Jan 1857 (BR59)
 d Aird
 12 Nov 1857 (DR23)

Duncan
 MacGillivray
 b 1858

Cont'd as
FG-208

Cont'd as
FG-232

Cont'd as
FG-228

Because there were four Alexander MacGillivrays in Sleat, this Alexander is designated as (D) for ease in following. Angus MacGillivray was living with his grandfather, Archibald MacGillivray, in 1851 (see FG-77). He was living with his father and step-mother in 1861 and 1871. Cross index for second marriage is FG-177.

SLEAT/FG-164

Alexander MacGillivray — married — Peggy MacGillies
 of Aird of Aird
 b 1817 (DL) b 1825 (DL)

Angus
 MacGillivray
 b 1846 (DL)

Charles
 MacGillivray
 b Aird
 6 Nov 1847
 (BR33)

Family on the Destitute List in 1847 (see page 254). Family not identified on Skye in 1851.

STRATH/FG-165

[Cont'd from FG-49]

Donald MacIntosh _____ married _____ Anne MacGillivray
of Camasunary ca 1847 of Camasunary
b 1806-1811 (C41)

John MacIntosh
b Camasunary
4 Dec 1847 (BB33)

Not identified in 1851.

STRATH/FG-166

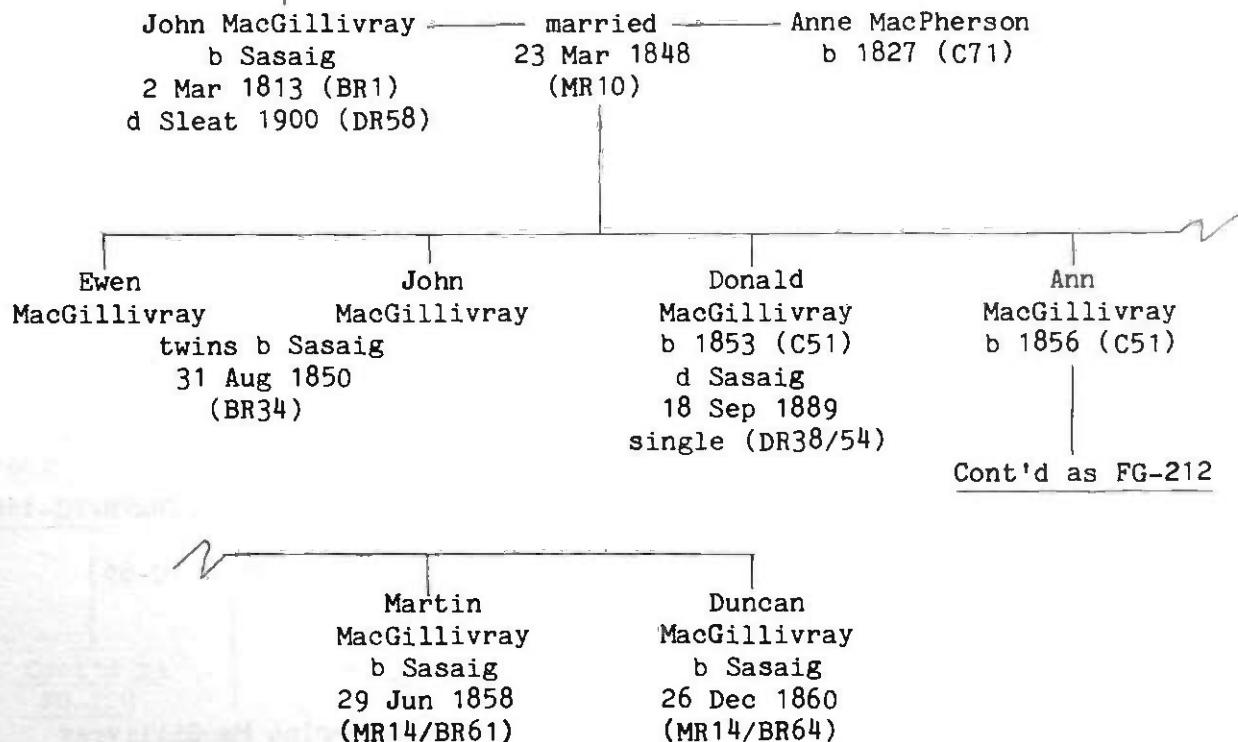
[Cont'd from FG-56]

PORTREE/FG-168

Duncan MacIntyre ————— married ————— Mary MacGillivray
ca 1849
|
Maria MacIntyre
b Mill
5 Jul 1850
(BR15A)

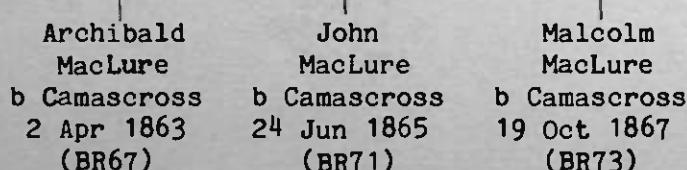
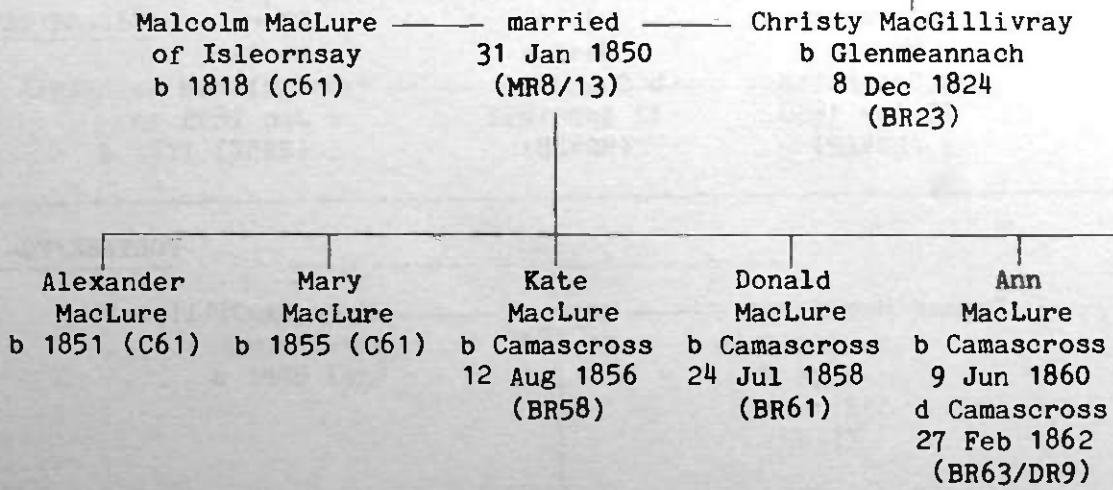
SLEAT/FG-167

[Cont'd from FG-55]



SLEAT/FG-169

[Cont'd from FG-98]



[Cont'd from FG-83]

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Mary MacGillivray
 b Aird 28 Jan 1851 b Aird
 11 Aug 1818 (BR5) (MR8) 28 Aug 1829 (BR25)
 d 1901

[Cont'd from FG-93]

John MacGillivray b 1852	Peggy MacGillivray b 1855	Donald MacGillivray b Aird 15 Aug 1857 (BR5)	Archibald MacGillivray b 1860 (C61/71)	Hannah MacGillivray b Aird 19 May 1862 (MR15/BR66)
<u>Cont'd as</u> <u>FG-226</u>	<u>Cont'd as</u> <u>FG-215</u>	<u>Cont'd as</u> <u>FG-224</u>		

Mary MacGillivray b Aird 3 Feb 1866 (MR16)	Marion MacGillivray b Aird 5 Jan 1869 (BR75)	Alexander MacGillivray b Aird 20 Sep 1871 (BR77)	Flora MacGillivray b Aird 7 Oct 1875 (BR80)
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Cont'd as FG-233

From 1861, Donald, Jr. lived with his aunt and uncle (Donald MacGillivray, see FG-184) in Aird. In 1881, Marion was also living with this same couple.

[Cont'd from FG-91]

John MacLean ————— married ————— Christy MacGillivray
 of Glen Capistole 31 Jan 1851 of Aird
 b 1830/1831 (C71/81) (MR9/14) b Tormore
 d Glen Capistole 24 Oct 1822 (BR22)
 9 Feb 1884 (DR49)

Janet MacLean b 1852 (C71)	James MacLean b 1856 (C71)	Marion MacLean b Glen Capistole 11 Nov 1862 (BR67)	Margaret MacLean b Glen Capistole 22 Jul 1865 (BR70)	Alexander MacLean b Glen Capistole 22 Sep 1867 (BR73)
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[Cont'd from FG-91]

Alexander MacGillivray ——— married ——— Mary MacRae
 of Carradale 6 Mar 1851 of Suishnish
 b Tormore (MR1) b 1828 (C51)
 8 Jul 1824 (BR23)

Janet MacGillivray
 b Carradale
 1 Feb 1852
 (PC/BR34)

Family emigrated to Victoria, Australia in Dec 1852 (see page 273).

PORTREE/FG-173

Donald MacGillivray ——— married ——— Janet Macdonald
 of Scorrybreck 20 Mar 1851 of Portree
 b 1828 (C51) (MR1/BR1A/15) b 1824 (C51)

Duncan MacGillivray b 1851 (C61)	John MacGillivray b 1852 d Portree 2 Jun 1855 (DR4)	Donald MacGillivray b 1855 (C61)
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Donald was known as the son of the fisherman of Scorrybreck House. In 1851 and 1861, this family was living with Roderick Macdonald, Bosville Terrace, Portree. Donald's occupation was a tailor & sometimes fisherman. This family was considered for emigration to Australia in 1854. Apparently they changed their minds and did not go or else were rejected.

STRATH/FG-175

[Cont'd from FG-49]

Lachlan MacGillivray ——— married ——— Jane MacKinnon
 b 1821 (C51) ca 1851 of Mull
 d Elgol b 1831 (C61)
 28 Jun 1881 d Strath
 (DR25A) 1892 ((DR57)
 age given 68 age given 55
 (No record of any issue)

The informant of Lachlan's death was his nephew, John MacGillivray. Jane was living in Elgol in 1891 with her cousin, Lachlan MacKinnon.

STRATH/FG-174

[Cont'd from FG-94]

Donald Grant of Kinloch b 1824 (C61) d Camascross 10 Jan 1890 (DR55)	married 31 Mar 1851 (MR9)	Catherine MacGillivray of Kyleakin b 1824 (C61)
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Ewen Grant b 1854 (C61)	Farquhar Grant b Kinloch 31 Mar 1857 (BR60)	Donald Grant b Kinloch 19 Sep 1859 (BR63)	John Grant b Kinloch 8 Jan 1863 (BR68)
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Donald Grant was a shepherd. Could not find in Strath in 1871 but was in Camascross in 1881.

SLEAT/FG-176

[Cont'd from FG-55]

Ewen MacGillivray b Sasaig 12 Apr 1816 (BR3) d Sasaig 16 Aug 1889 (DR38/54)	married ca 1852	Mary MacKinnon of Waternish b Duirinish 1832/1835 (C61/81)
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Hector MacKinnon (Adopted) b Greenock 1875 (C81)

The informant of Ewen's death was his widow, Mary.

SLEAT/FG-177

[Cont'd from FG-77]

Alexander MacGillivray ————— married 2nd ————— Mary MacGillivray
 b Ferrindonald 1 Jan 1851 b Dalville
 18 Oct 1819 (BR26) (MR9) 1 Jan 1822 (BR22)

[Prob from FG-47]

Charles
MacGillivray
b 1854

Niel
MacGillivray
b Aird
16 Jan 1857 (DR59)
d Aird

Duncan
MacGillivray
b 1858

Cont'd as FG-232

12 Nov 1857 (DR23)

Cont'd as FG-228

In 1891, Alexander was living on Croft No. 154, Aird. Cross index, FG-162.

SLEAT/FG-178

[Cont'd from FG-8]

Kenneth MacGillivray
b 1789/1790 (C51/61)

————— married 2nd —————
1 Apr 1852
(MR9)

[Cont'd from FG-72]

Margaret (Robertson)
MacKinnon
b 1812/1819 (DR/C61)
d Sasaig
12 Mar 1886 (DR37/50)

No record of issue

Margaret was married previously to a MacKinnon. The informant of her death was her son, Alexander MacKinnon. Cross index, FG-55 & FG-72.

STRATH/FG-179

[Possibly from FG-119]

Donald MacCharles
of Kirkhill

————— married —————
28 Jul 1852
(MR28)

Catherine MacGillivray
of Torrin
b 1811-1816 (C41)

Janet MacCharles
b Kilmonivary, Inverness
26 Mar 1855

No further record of this family. Catherine and Margaret (prob her sister) were working as female servants in Glasnakille in 1841. Their parents cannot be positively identified.

James MacGillivray ——— married ——— Ann Manson
 of Broadford 23 Dec 1852 of Kyleakin
 b Fifeshire 1818 (C51) (MR5) b 1829 (C51)

Hannah L. J. MacGillivray b Broadford 17 Oct 1853 (BR42/51)	Charles MacGillivray b Harripool 19 Feb 1855 (BR57)	Alexander MacGillivray b Harripool 10 Jan 1857 (BR43/60)	Eleanor MacGillivray b Harripool 9 Dec 1858 (MR14/BR62)
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James MacGillivray was Collector of Internal Revenue. Not in 1861 census of Skye. Government worker. Either was transferred or emigrated.

[Cont'd from FG-97]

Alexander MacLeod ——— married ——— Catherine MacGillivray
 of Ardorcha 13 Dec 1853 of Lower Sculamus
 b Kilmuir (MR5/13) b Breakish
 1811 (C61) 15 May 1824 (BR41)

Ann MacLeod b Kyleakin 17 Jan 1857 (BR60)	Betsy MacLeod b Strolamus 10 Aug 1859 (BR63)	Christy MacLeod b Strolamus 7 Apr 1861 (BR65)
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Family not in Strolamus in 1871.

[Cont'd from FG-93]

[Cont'd from FG-83]

(A)Donald MacGillivray ——— married ——— Catherine MacGillivray
 b Aird 25 Jan 1855 b Aird
 30 Jan 1827 (MR27) 1 Jul 1827
 (BR38) (BR24)

No record of issue

Designated as (A)Donald for clarity. Apparently this couple did not have children. A young Donald MacGillivray identified as a "nephew" lived with this couple in 1861, 1871 and 1881. A Marion MacGillivray identified as a "niece" lived with them in 1881. These two young people have been identified as the progeny of Donald and Mary MacGillivray (see FG-170).

STRATH/FG-182

[Cont'd from FG-97]

John MacGillivray b Breakish 16 Jul 1831 (BR41)	married 31 Jan 1854 (MR5)	Christina MacKinnon of Luib b 1833 (C61)
Betsey MacGillivray b 1855	Jesse MacGillivray b Sculamus 14 Nov 1858 (BR61)	Charles MacGillivray b Sculamus 13 Oct 1861 (BR66)
		Donald MacGillivray b Luib 30 Aug 1864 (BR70)
		Donald MacGillivray b Sculamus 4 Feb 1866 (BR72)

Cont'd as FG-217

Catherine MacGillivray b Sculamus 18 Oct 1869 (BR75)	Christy MacGillivray b Sculamus 15 Sep 1872 (BR78)	Lachlan MacGillivray b Sculamus 5 Aug 1875 (BR81)	John MacGillivray b Sculamus 9 Jun 1878 d Sculamuis 17 Sep 1881 (BR104/DR20)
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SLEAT/FG-183

[Cont'd prob from FG-47]

John MacGillivray b Tormore 20 Apr 1815 (BR2/37)	married 20 Feb 1854 Greenock (BR42D)	Christy MacKinnon b Sleat 1833 (C61)
Angus MacGillivray b Greenock b 1855 (C61)	Mary MacGillivray b Greenock b 1856 (C61)	Ewen MacGillivray b Greenock 26 Feb 1860 (BR42D)
		Margaret Ann MacGillivray b Greenock 2 Sep 1866 (BR42E)

This is probably John MacGillivray, son of Niel and Catherine MacGillivray (see FG-47). Family lived in Greenock, Lanarkshire from at least 1854. Christy was in Aird on Skye in 1871. John and son, Angus, remained in Greenock in 1871. Family not identified in Aird in 1881.

[Cont'd from FG-93]

Alexander MacInnes b Aird 1826 (C61)	married 12 Jun 1855 (MR28)	Ann MacGillivray b Aird 28 Oct 1831 (BR39)		
Mary MacInnes b Aird 7 May 1856 (BR58)	Jonathan MacInnes b/d Aird 2 Aug 1858 3 Mar 1859 (BR61/DR5)	Archibald MacInnes b Aird 1 Aug 1860 (BR63)	Christy MacInnes b 1863	Peggy MacInnes b/d Aird 19 Jan 1866 7 Mar 1867 (BR71/DR13)

Cont'd as FG-231

Jonathan MacInnes b Aird 8 Feb 1868 (BR74)	Donald MacInnes b Aird 25 Dec 1870 (BR76)	Angus MacInnes b Aird 25 Dec 1872 (BR76)
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[Cont'd from FG-83]

Malcolm Anderson — Mary MacInnes

Niel MacGillivray b Aird 5 Oct 1824 (BR23) d Aird 20 Apr 1873 (DR33)	married Calligary 12 Feb 1856 (MR2/3/28)	Marion Anderson of Aird b 1835 d Aird 19 Nov 1868 (DR30)
--	---	--

Mary MacGillivray b Aird 28 Jan 1857 d Aird 21 Oct 1861 (BR59/DR24)	Catherine MacGillivray Hannah MacGillivray b Aird 13 May 1859 4 Nov 1859 Cont'd as FG-238	John MacGillivray b Aird 19 Dec 1861 (BR65) Cont'd as FG-231	Mary MacGillivray b Aird 5 Jul 1864 (BR69) Cont'd as FG-228	Catherine MacGillivray b Aird 14 Oct 1866 (MR12) Cont'd as FG-234
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Note that in the official record, the 2nd child's name and date of birth was recorded as "Catherine, 13 May 1859." This was crossed out and the name and date of birth "Hannah, 4 Nov 1859" was entered. The informant of Niel's death was his daughter, Hannah. The informant of Marion's death was her cousin, John Robertson.

SLEAT/FG-187

[Cont'd from FG-77]

Allan and Mary Beaton

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Flora Beaton
 b Ferrindonald 3 Feb 1857 b 1838 (C61)
 7 Apr 1833 (BR25) (MR25)
 d Aird
 10 Jul 1870 (DR22)

Archibald
MacGillivray
b 1859

Slainte (Sophia)
MacGillivray
b 1861

Donald
MacGillivray
b Aird
20 Dec 1863
(BR68)

Angus
MacGillivray
b Aird
29 Nov 1867
d Kylerhea
15 Feb 1870
(BR73/DR31)

Cont'd as
FG-233

Cont'd as
FG-229

Flora MacGillivray was living with Archibald in 1891. As Widow Flora MacGillivray she was on the Rent Rolls at No. 15, Aird until at least 1905. The informant of Donald's death was his nephew, Charles MacGillivray (see FG-162/232).

SLEAT/FG-188

[Cont'd from FG-93]

Angus MacInnes ————— married ————— Christy MacGillivray
 b 1833 (C51) 1 Feb 1859 b Aird
 d Aird (MR31) 18 Jul 1838
 27 Aug 1887 (DR48) (BR30)

Marion John Peggy Myles
MacInnes MacInnes MacInnes MacInnes
 b Aird b Aird b Aird b Aird
 24 Aug 1860 18 Nov 1863 17 Sep 1865 15 Dec 1867
 (BR64) (BR69) (BR71) d Point of Sleat
 drown at sea Nov 1884 (CR2) d 26 Oct 1901 1 Feb 1889
 (CR2) (BR73/DR54)

Mary Christy Christina
MacInnes MacInnes MacInnes
 twins b Point of Sleat b Point of Sleat
 6 Aug 1871 (BR77) 22 Feb 1875 (BR80)

[Cont'd from FG-55]

Charles MacGillivray ——— married ——— Christy Macdonald
 b Sasaig 10 Mar 1859 b 1832 (MR31)
 15 Oct 1823 (MR31) d Sasaig
 (BR22) 6 Oct 1861 (DR24)

Archibald MacGillivray
 b/d Sasaig
 25 Sep 1861
 3 Oct 1861 (BR65/DR8)

Christy MacGillivray died of abcess and plebitis after childbirth. Charles was not identified on Skye in 1871 census.

STRATH/FG-190

[Cont'd from FG-45]

Alexander Macinnes ——— married ——— Christina MacGillivray
 of Dunan Kilbride of Torrin
 b 1833 (C61) 10 Mar 1859 (MR31) b 1826 (C61)

John MacInnes b Torrin 19 Jan 1863 (BR68)	Donald Macinnes b/d Torrin 13 Jun 1865 6 Jun 1885 (BR71/DR50)
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STRATH/FG-191

[Cont'd from FG-101]

Archibald Fraser ——— Catherine Nicolson

Donald MacGillivray ——— married ——— Rachel Fraser
 b Breakish Breakish b Strath 1838
 2 Oct 1827 (BR41) 15 Mar 1859 (C71/81)
 d Strath 1897 (DR57) (MR31)

Janet MacGillivray b Breakish 12 Mar 1860 (BR64)	Niel MacGillivray b Breakish 2 Nov 1864 (BR70)
---	---

Donald was living with Rachel's father and working as an apprentice tailor in 1851.

SLEAT/FG-192

[Cont'd from FG-90]

Donald MacGillivray
b 1831 (C51)
d Aird 1892 (DR57)
age given 66

[Cont'd from FG-108]

married
31 Jan 1860
(MR32)

Margaret Robertson
b Sasaig
30 Feb 1830 (BR25)

Angus
MacGillivray
b/d Drumfearn
27 Feb 1861
7 Mar 1862
(BR65/DR28)

Helen
MacGillivray
b Drumfearn
26 Jun 1863
(BR67)

Donald
MacGillivray
b Drumfearn
2 Jul 1866
(BR72)

John
MacGillivray
b Drumfearn
29 Jul 1868
(BR74)

Angus
MacGillivray
b/d Drumfearn
28 Oct 1870
10 Jan 1871
(BR76/DR32)

Marion
MacGillivray
b Drumfearn
16 Jan 1872

Cont'd as FG-235

SLEAT/FG-193

[Cont'd from FG-120]

Niel Grant
b 1813 (C81)
d Aird
14 Oct 1882 (DR47)

married
13 Mar 1860
(MR32)

Ann MacGillivray
b 1835 (C51)

Niel
Grant
b/d Aird
29 Jan 1861
4 Apr 1862
(BR64/DR9)

Donald
Grant
b Aird
2 Sep 1862
(BR66)

Catherine
Grant
b Aird
12 Sep 1864
(BR69)

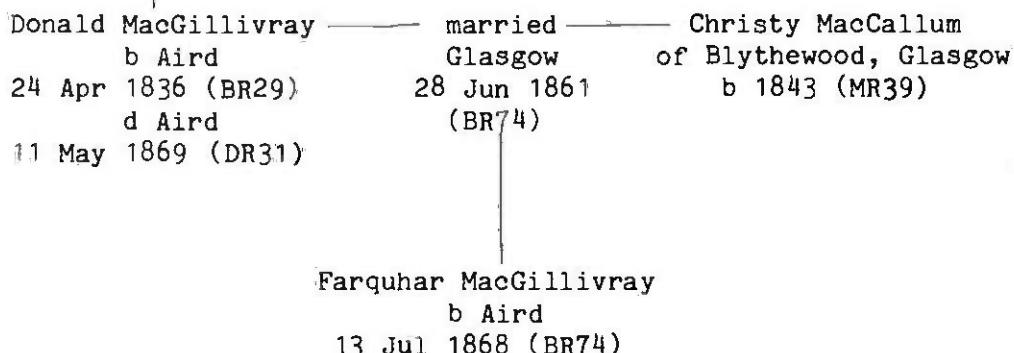
John
Grant
b/d Aird
17 Feb 1867
13 Dec 1868
(BR73/DR14)

Ann
Grant
b/d Aird
28 Jan 1869
30 Jul 1869
(BR75/DR14)

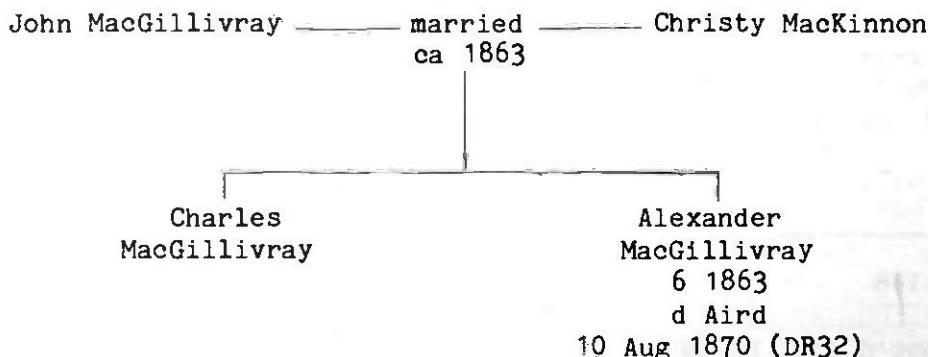
Christy
Grant
b Aird
12 Nov 1870
(BR76)

Niel
Grant
b/d Aird
4 Mar 1874
20 Apr 1876
(BR79/DR44)

[Cont'd from FG-114]

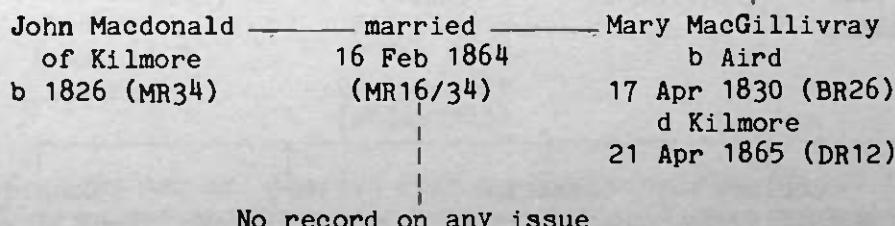


Farquhar's birth certified by his cousin, Flora Beaton (FG-187). Farquhar was living with his uncle Malcolm in 1871 (FG-210). Widow Christy was not identified on Skye in 1871. Possibly returned to Glasgow.



A puzzling case. Young Alexander died in 1870 at age 7. The informant of his death was recorded as his brother Charles. His parents were recorded as John and Christy (MacKinnon) MacGillivray. Intuitively, they would seem to fit into FG-183. However, that family is well documented and as far as can be determined did not include either an Alexander or a Charles. This problem is not resolved.

[Cont'd from FG-89]



Mary died of rheumatic fever. The informant of her death was her sister, Catherine MacGillivray.

SLEAT/FG-196

[Cont'd from FG-93]

[Cont'd from FG-77]

(B) Donald MacGillivray — married — Catherine MacGillivray
 b Aird 26 Jan 1864 b Aird
 13 Apr 1836 (BR29) (MR33) 4 Oct 1838 (BR30)
 d Aird d Aird
 17 Jul 1918 (CR2) 1 Oct 1918 (CR2)

Archibald MacGillivray	Angus MacGillivray	Peggy MacGillivray	Mary MacGillivray	Donald MacGillivray
b Aird	b/d Aird	b Aird	b Aird	b Aird
23 Dec 1864 (BR69)	30 Sep 1866	17 Aug 1869 (BR75)	6 Oct 1870 (BR75)	10 Jan 1874 (BR79)
	5 Feb 1892	m ca 1895		

Angus Robertson

John MacGillivray	Flora MacGillivray	Duncan MacGillivray	Charles MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray
b 1876 (C81)	b 1878 (C81)	b Aird 14 Aug 1881 (BR83)	b/d Aird Dec 1883	b Aird 27 Dec 1885
			5 Apr 1884 (DR36/49)	d Aird 24 Jun 1918 (BR100/CR2)

SLEAT/FG-198

[Cont'd from FG-89]

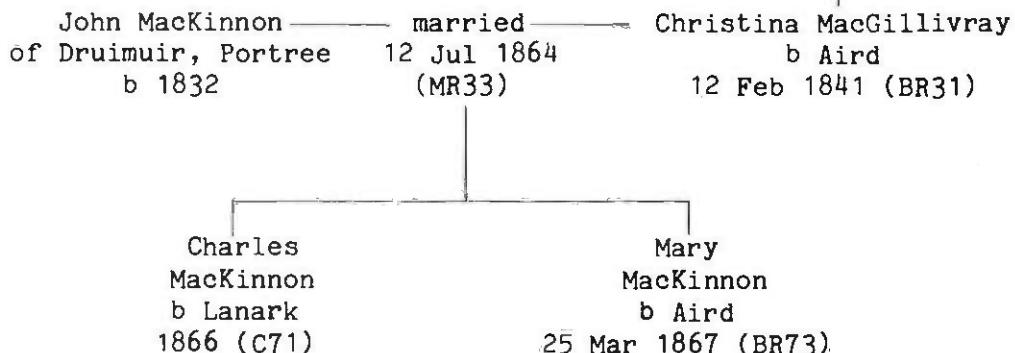
[Cont'd from FG-93]

Kenneth MacGillivray — married — Catherine MacGillivray
 b Aird 1 Mar 1864 b Aird
 1 Dec 1827 (BR24) (MR34) 14 Nov 1841 (BR31)

Charles MacGillivray	Mary MacGillivray	Peggy MacGillivray	Archibald MacGillivray	Martin MacGillivray
b/d P.O. Sleat 9 Feb 1865 28 Feb 1865	b P.O. Sleat 18 Aug 1866 (BR72/MR16)	b P.O. Sleat 5 May 1868 (BR74)	b P.O. Sleat 29 Oct 1870 (BR76)	b P.O. Sleat 9 Feb 1873 (BR78)

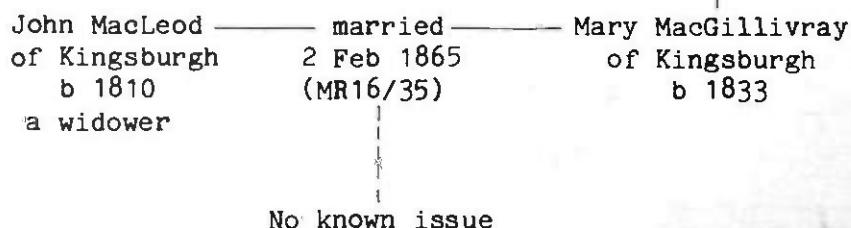
Christy MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray	Mary MacGillivray	Donald MacGillivray
b P.O. Sleat 27 May 1875	b P.O. Sleat 24 Sep 1877	b P.O. Sleat 6 Jul 1881 (BR83)	b P.O. Sleat 13 Nov 1884 (BR99)

[Cont'd from FG-143]



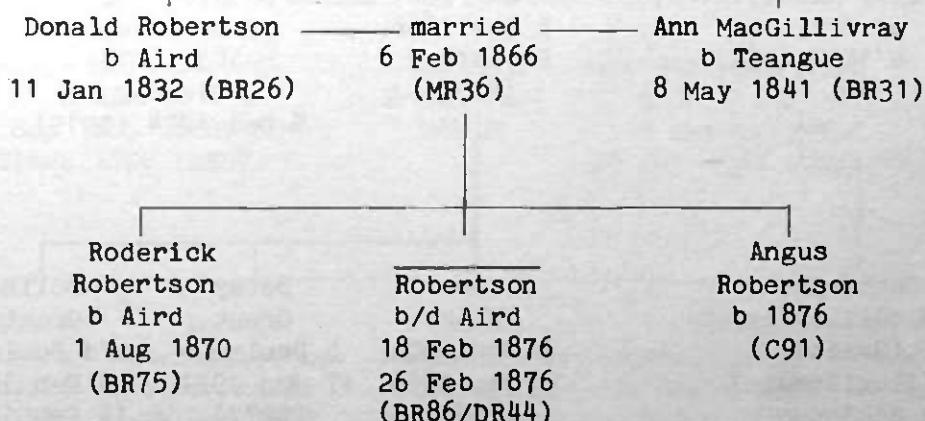
Family not identified in Aird in 1871, however, Charles MacKinnon was living in Aird with his grandfather Malcolm MacGillivray in 1871.

[Cont'd from FG-96]



[Cont'd from FG-95]

[Cont'd from FG-127]



Another puzzle. An unnamed boy was born to this couple on 18 Feb 1876 and on 26 Feb 1876, an unnamed Robertson baby (8 days old) was recorded as having died. His parents were given as Donald Robertson and Ann MacGillivray. However, in 1891, this family was still in Aird with two children - Roderick and Angus (age 15, b. 1876). Where did this Angus come from?

STRATH/FG-201

[Cont'd from FG-45]

Niel MacGillivray ————— married ————— Margaret MacLean
 b Strath 6 Apr 1865 of Torrin
 1813 (C61) (MR17/35) b 1837 (MR)
 d Torrin 1897 (DR57)
 3 Oct 1887 (DR38/51)

Donald MacGillivray b Torrin 25 Jan 1866 (BR72)	Janet MacGillivray b/d Torrin 5 May 1868 13 Sep 1870 (BR74/DR32)	Donald MacGillivray b Torrin 22 Jun 1870 (BR76)	Peggy MacGillivray b/d Torrin 14 Apr 1873 10 May 1873 (BR79/DR34)
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Marion MacGillivray b Torrin 9 Jul 1875 (BR81)	Janet MacGillivray b Torrin 31 Mar 1881 (BR84)
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STRATH/FG-203

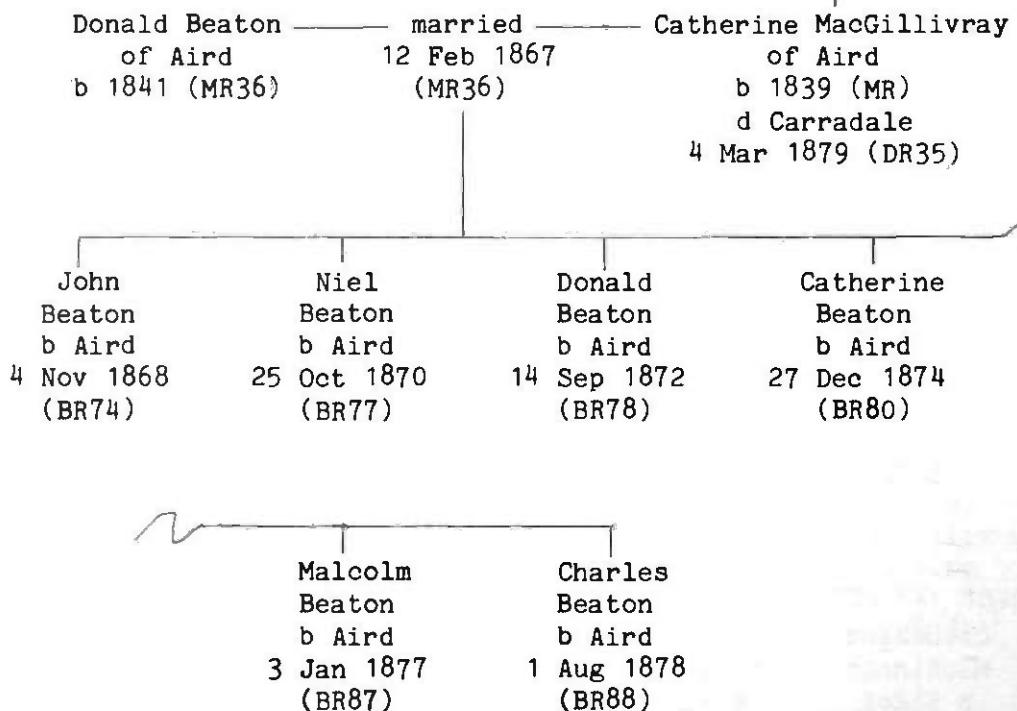
[Cont'd from FG-97]

Christy MacGillivray ————— married ————— Donald Grant
 of Sculamus 6 Dec 1866 of Sculamus
 b 1835 (C71) Broadford (MR36) b 1839 (C71)
 d Glenelg
 5 Dec 1874 (DR19)

Catherine MacGillivray (Grant) (Illegitimate) b Sculamus 6 Jan 1864 (BR69)	John Grant b Sculamus 10 Jan 1869 (BR75)	Betsy Grant b Sculamus 17 Jun 1971 (BR77)	Dolina Grant b/d Sculamus 9 Feb 1875 14 Feb 1875 (DR19)
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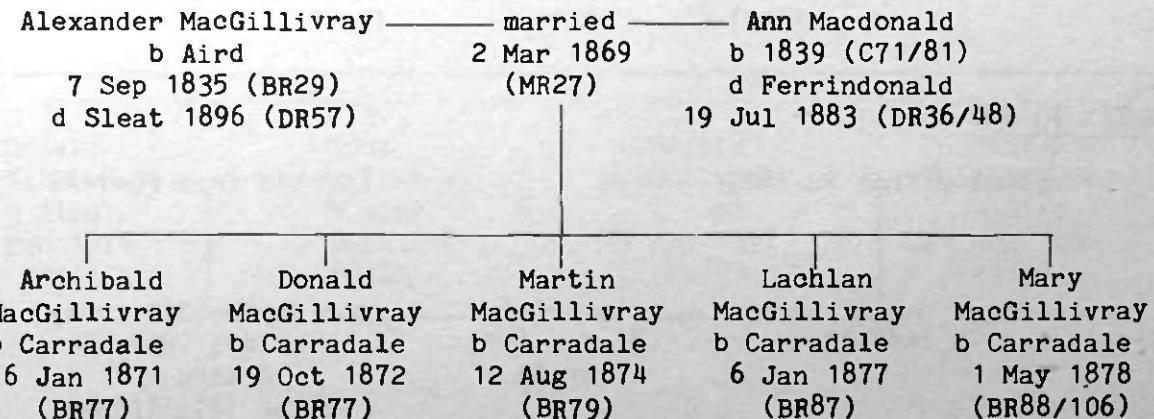
Donald Grant was a fisherman. He drowned near Lochbourne, Parish of Glenelg, when his boat capsized. Family living in Lower Sculamus with John MacGillivray in 1861. Living in Lower Sculamus with Betsy MacGillivray in 1871 (see FG-97).

[Cont'd from FG-120]



The informant of Catherine's death was her brother, Donald MacGillivray.

[Cont'd from FG-89]



SLEAT/FG-206

[Cont'd from FG-144]

Duncan Kelly	married	Ann MacGillivray
b 1835/1837 (C51/81)	Calligary	b Calligary
	25 Mar 1869	24 May 1841
	(MR37)	(BR31)

No record of issue in 1881

STRATH/FG-207

[Cont'd from FG-158]

Niel MacKinnon	married	Christina MacGillivray
of Elgol	24 Jan 1872	of Elgol
b 1840/1845 (MR37/C91)	(MR37)	b 1851/1855 (MR37/C91)

Catherine MacKinnon	Janet MacKinnon	Isabella MacKinnon	Catherine MacKinnon	Donald MacKinnon
b Elgol	b Elgol	b Elgol	b Camasunary	b Elgol
29 Jun 1873 (BR79)	10 Dec 1876 (BR104)	11 Mar 1879 (BR104)	29 Jun 1882 (BR104)	4 Nov 1883 (BR105)

John MacKinnon	Alexander MacKinnon	Kate MacKinnon
b Elgol	b Camasunary	b Camasunary
2 Nov 1886 (BR105)	9 Jun 1889 (BR106)	6 Mar 1891 (BR85)

SLEAT/FG-208

[Cont'd from FG-162]

[Cont'd from FG-114]

Angus Macgillivray	married	Christy MacGillivray
b 1848 (MR)	21 Jan 1873	b 1843 (MR)
	(MR38)	d Aird

16 Dec 1873 (DR34)

stillborn

Christy died of exhaustion from prolonged labor. Child must have been stillborn as there was no record of a live birth.

[Cont'd from FG-120]

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Margaret Macdonald
 b Aird b 1847
 1842 (MR/C81) (MR14/38) (MR/C81)

Donald MacGillivray b/d Aird 2 Oct 1875 6 May 1876 (BR80/DR34)	Angus MacGillivray b Aird 22 Sep 1877 (BR88)	Catherine MacGillivray b Aird 21 Sep 1879 (BR89)	Donald MacGillivray twins b Aird 1 Jul 1880 (BR90)	Peggy MacGillivray
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Niel MacGillivray b/d Aird 10 Jan 1881 (DR37)	Kate MacGillivray b Aird 15 Jun 1884 (BR99)	Niel MacGillivray b/d Aird 1 Mar 1886 10 Jan 1887 (BR100/DR51)	Ann MacGillivray b Aird 20 Oct 1887 (BR101)	Rachel MacGillivray b Aird 23 Oct 1890 (BR103)
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[Cont'd from FG-114]

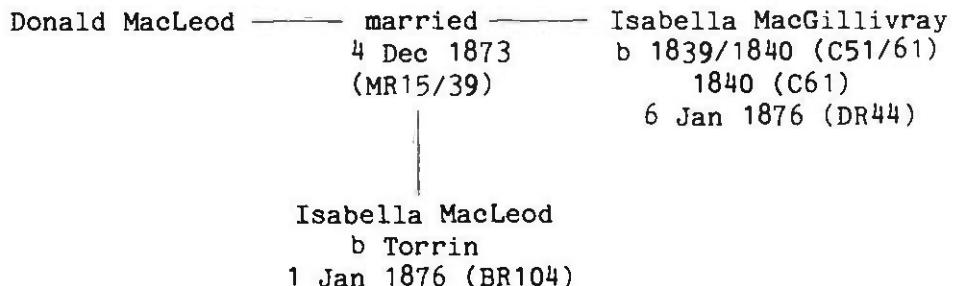
Malcolm MacGillivray ————— married ————— Catherine Matheson
 b Aird b 1844
 28 Dec 1838 (BR30) (MR38) (MR/C51)

Donald MacGillivray b Aird 5 Feb 1874 (BR79)	John MacGillivray b Aird 17 Jul 1875 (BR80)	Christy MacGillivray b Aird 25 Nov 1877 (BR88)	Jane MacGillivray b Aird 25 Jan 1880 (BR106)
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Catherine MacGillivray b Aird 28 Nov 1881 (BR84)	Peggy MacGillivray b Aird 24 Oct 1883 (BR99)
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STRATH/FG-211

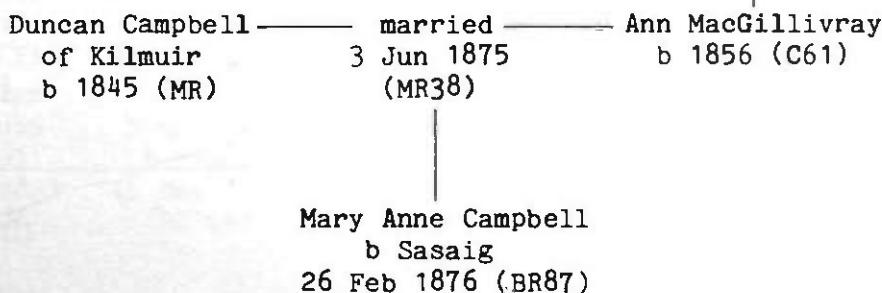
[Cont'd from FG-133]



Donald MacLeod was a grocer at Keppoch, Strath. Isabella died suddenly after childbirth.

SLEAT/FG-212

[Cont'd from FG-167]

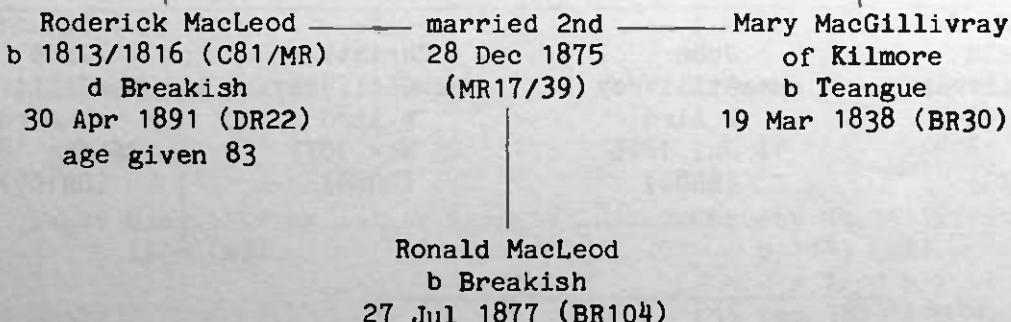


Donald Campbell was a shepherd.

STRATH/PG-214

[Cont'd from FG-51]

[Cont'd from FG-127]



Roderick MacLeod was a mason and a widower in Breakish when he remarried. The civil records show this family as shown here. However, the 1891 census lists Ronald as a grandchild. Cross index, see FG-128 for 1st marriage.

[Cont'd from FG-143]

Malcolm MacPherson — married — Margaret MacGillivray
 b 1839 (MR/C91) Knock b Aird
 14 Oct 1875 (MR39) 13 Sep 1843 (BR32)

Catherine MacPherson b Camascross 14 Sep 1876 (BR87)	Mary MacPherson b Duislebeg 10 Nov 1877 (BR88)	Christy MacPherson b Duislebeg 11 Jul 1879 (BR89)	Archibald MacPherson b Duislebeg 22 Dec 1880 (BR83)
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Aby MacPherson b Duislebeg 19 Feb 1883 (BR90)	Marion MacPherson b Duisdalebeg 15 Jun 1889 (BR102)
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[Cont'd from FG-170]

Angus Anderson — married — Peggy MacGillivray
 of Aird 25 Jan 1876 of Aird
 b 1842/1843 (MR/C91) (MR52) b 1855 (C61/MR)

Alexander Anderson b Aird 3 Jan 1877 (BR87)	Mary Anderson b/d Aird 1 Sep 1878 15 Nov 1880 (BR88/DR47)	Niel Anderson b 1882 (C91)	Donald Anderson b/d Aird 21 Jul 1883 17 Apr 1884 (BR90/DR50)
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Mary Anderson b Aird 18 Jun 1885 (BR100)	Donald Anderson b Aird 20 Sep 1887 (BR101)	John Anderson b Aird 21 Dec 1889 (BR102)
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PORTREE/FG-216

John MacGillivray married Margaret Anne MacIntosh
26 Sep 1876
Kilbride

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graph TD; A[John MacGillivray] --- B[Margaret Anne MacIntosh]; A --- C[Margaret Alice MacGillivray]; A --- D[Alexander MacGillivray]
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Margaret Alice
MacGillivray
b Portree
15 Sep 1877 (BR106)

Alexander
MacGillivray
b Portree
16 Dec 1878 (BR86)

John MacGillivray was a Police Constable in Portree. Residence was on Beaumont Crescent in Portree. Not identified on Skye in 1881.

STRATH/FG-217

[Cont'd from FG-182]

SLEAT/FG-218

Charles MacGillivray was a fisherman. Catherine remained single. Archibald moved to Glasgow. Malcolm married Rachel MacGillivray of Aird and moved to Glasgow. Rachel was possibly the youngest daughter of Donald and Margaret MacGillivray of Aird (see FG-209).

SLEAT/FG-219

[Cont'd from FG-144]

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Ann Robertson
 b Calligary 14 May 1878 of Glen Capistole
 18 Jul 1847 (BR33) (MR52) b 1857/1858 (C81/91)

Alexander MacGillivray	Angus MacGillivray	Effy MacGillivray	Mary Anne MacGillivray	Mary MacGillivray
b Armadale 21 Aug 1879 (BR89/106)	b Ardvasar 12 Sep 1880 (BR89)	b Ardvasar 23 Dec 1882 (BR90)	b Ardvasar 14 Feb 1885 (BR100)	b Ardvasar 3 Feb 1888 (BR102)

Family living at Armadale in 1891. A Maggie Robertson, age 40, was living with the family. She was designated as a "shepherd's mother." Relationship to this family not identified.

SLEAT/FG-220

[Cont'd from FG-141]

Niel MacGillivray ————— married ————— Ann MacInnes
 b Aird Glasgow b 1853 (DR)
 1843/1846 (C51/81) Nov 1879 d Gairloch
 d Gairloch 10 Jan 1944 (CR2)
 10 Dec 1934 (CR2)

Catherine MacGillivray b Camascross 8 Dec 1880 (BR89)	John MacGillivray b Camascross 18 Oct 1883 (BR40)	Marion MacGillivray b Camascross 7 Aug 1885 (BR100)	Flora MacGillivray b Camascross 4 Jan 1890 (BR103)
d Inverness 11 Apr 1929 (CR2)		d Gairloch 1 Nov 1931 (CR2)	d Camascross 12 Mar 1894 (DR57/CR2)

Cont's as FG-241

[Cont'd from FG-153]

— — — — — 1880 — — — — — Effy MacGillivray
 |
 | b Aird
 | 26 Oct 1846 (BR33)
 |
 |
 | Angus MacGillivray
 | (Illegitimate)
 | b Aird
 | 24 May 1881 (BR83)

The informant of Angus' birth was Janet MacInnes, a relative. Investigation reveals she was the wife of Myles MacInnes, a younger brother of Effy's mother, Flora MacInnes MacGillivray

PORTREE/FG-222

Roderick MacGillivray — — — 1880 — — — Ann Nicolson
 from Glenelg | of Gedintailor
 b 1836 (C81) | b 1855 (C81)
 |
 |
 |
 | Catherine MacGillivray
 | (Illegitimate)
 | b Gedintailor
 | 10 Aug 1880 (BR106)

Roderick was a Master Mason living in Stormy Hill, Portree in 1881. Ann Nicolson and daughter, Catherine, were living with Ann's mother in Gedintailor in 1881. Ann Nicolson was missing from the 1891 census but young Catherine was still living with her grandmother, Flora Nicolson.

STRATH/FG-223

[Cont'd from FG-130]

Niel MacGillivray — — — married — — — Rachel MacKinnon
 of Elgol | 11 Jan 1881 | of Elgol
 b 1846 (C51) | (MR41) | b 1853 (C81)
 |
 |
 | Charles | John | Mary
 | MacGillivray | MacGillivray | MacGillivray
 | b Elgol | b Elgol | b Elgol
 | 9 Feb 1881 | 4 Sep 1882 | 26 Feb 1885
 | (BR29) | (BR105) | (BR105)

SLEAT/FG-224

[Cont'd from FG-170]

Donald MacGillivray ————— married ————— Christina MacGillivray
 b Aird Greenock b Dearnoch, Sleat
 15 Aug 1857 (BR59) 26 Feb 1882 (BR101) 7 Oct 1857 (BR60)

Flora
 MacGillivray
 b Greenock
 1882 (C91)

Donald
 MacGillivray
 b Greenock
 1885 (C91)

[Cont'd from FG-153]

Christina MacGillivray
 b Dearnoch, Sleat
 7 Oct 1857 (BR60)

Anne
 MacGillivray
 b Aird
 14 Dec 1886 (BR101)

Family living in Aird in 1891. Donald, Senior's birth was certified by his grandmother, Mary MacPherson MacGillivray (see FG-93).

SLEAT/FG-225

Angus and Margaret Robertson

[Cont'd from FG-153]

Duncan Robertson ————— married ————— Marion MacGillivray
 b 1847 (MR) 14 Mar 1882 b 1856 (C61)
 (MR53) Aird

Angus Robertson John Robertson Janet Robertson Flora Robertson
 b Aird b Aird b Aird b Aird
 19 Feb 1883 18 Oct 1884 5 Jan 1887 14 Sep 1890
 (BR90) (BR99) (BR101) (BR103)

In Aird in 1891. Angus was the only child with his parents in 1891.

STRATH/FG-227

Murdo Campbell ————— married ————— Christina MacGillivray
 b 1860 (MR) Lussary, Strath b Glenelg
 d 27 Mar 1943 (CR1) 1 Dec 1885 1859 (MR)
 (MR53) d 16 Jun 1945 (CR1)
 bur Lower Breakish

Ann Campbell
 b Kyleakin
 19 Aug 1887 (BR105)

SLEAT/FG-226

[Cont's from FG-170]

John MacGillivray ————— married ————— Margaret MacInnes
b Aird 15 Jan 1885 b 1863
24 Nov 1852 (BR34) (MR53) (MR53)
d 1926 d 1925

Niel MacGillivray b Aird 24 Nov 1885 (BR100) d 1951	Angus MacGillivray of Drumnadrochit b Aird 3 Sep 1887 (BR101) d 1978	Flora MacGillivray b/d Aird 3 Dec 1889 10 Jun 1891 (BR102/DR21)	Catherine MacGillivray b Aird 1892 (BR110) m William Lindsay
m Catherine MacIntyre			

Flora
MacGillivray
b Aird
1895 (BR110)
d 1959

Alexander
MacGillivray
b Aird
1905
m Christina Campbell
in 1943

According to the official record, the cause of the 1st Flora's death was due to accidental strangling while playing with other children. Her death was immediate. Much of the information on this family group was provided by Alexander MacGillivray who now lives in Uig, Isle of Skye.

SNIZORT/FG-230

[Cont'd from FG-96]

Alexander MacGillivray ————— married ————— Isabella Lamont
of Kingsburgh 28 Mar 1889 of Glenhinisdale
b 1842/1845 (C61/MR) (MR54) b 1850 (MR)

No record of issue

Isabella's parents were Angus and Mary (MacKensie) Lamont. In 1891, this couple was living in Glenhinisdale, Snizort. There is no record of issue on Skye.

[Cont'd from FG-162/177]

Duncan MacGillivray ——— married ——— Mary MacGillivray
 b Aird 12 Jan 1886 b Aird
 25 Dec 1858 Ardvasar 5 Jul 1864
 (BR62) (MR53) (BR69)
 of #15, Aird d Aird 1951

Marion MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray	Mary MacGillivray	Niel MacGillivray	Alexander MacGillivray
b Aird	b Aird	b Aird	b Sleat	b Sleat
5 Sep 1887 (BR101)	13 Jul 1889 (BR102)	1 Sep 1891 (BR85)	1894 (BR110)	1896 (BR110)
m Alexander Bruce	m John Robertson	d 1936 single	m Christy Macdonald	did not marry
of #1, Aird	of #10, Aird			

Flora MacGillivray	Angus MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray	Duncanina (Duine) MacGillivray
b Sleat 1898 (BR110)	b Sleat 1901 (BR112)	b Sleat 1903 (BR113)	b Sleat 1906 (BR112)
m George Thomas	d ca 1917	did not marry	

Cont'd as FG-237

[Cont'd from FG-153]

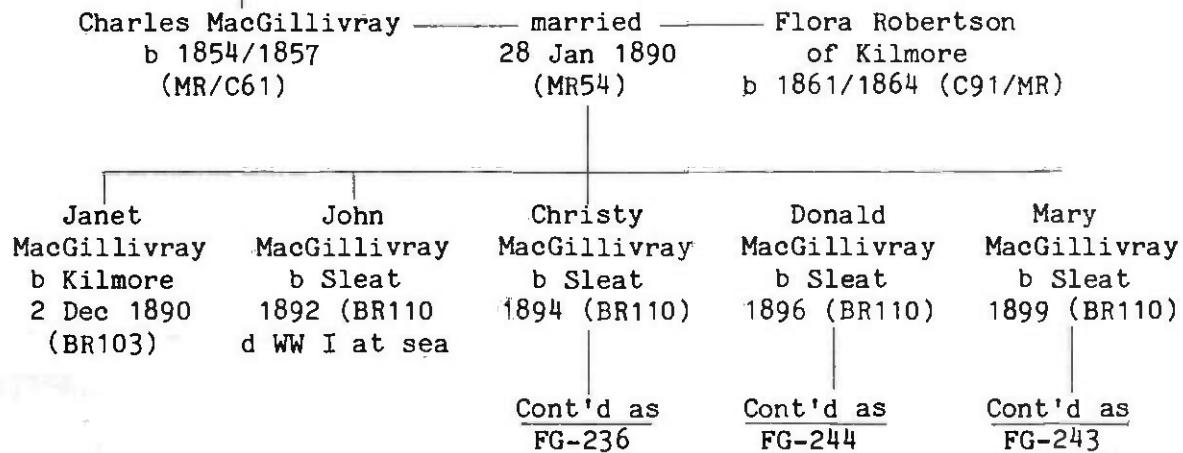
John MacGillivray ——— married ——— Sophia MacGillivray
 b Aird Ardvasar b Aird
 1853 (C61) 4 Oct 1887 14 Apr 1861 (BR65)
 d Aird (BR85/MR54) d Aird
 10 Sep 1925 (CR2) 17 Jan 1945 (CR2)

Mary MacGillivray	Flora MacGillivray	Christy MacGillivray	Catherine MacGillivray
b Aird 16 Jan 1886 (Illegitimate)	b Aird 1 Feb 1888 (BR102)	b Aird 30 Dec 1889 (BR102)	b Aird 4 Oct 1891 (BR85)
(BR100)			

In 1891, John and Sophia were on Croft #5, Aird. Mary was not identified in 1891. In 1891, Flora was living with her aunt and uncle, Marion and Archibald MacGillivray, at Croft #15, Aird.

SLEAT/FG-232

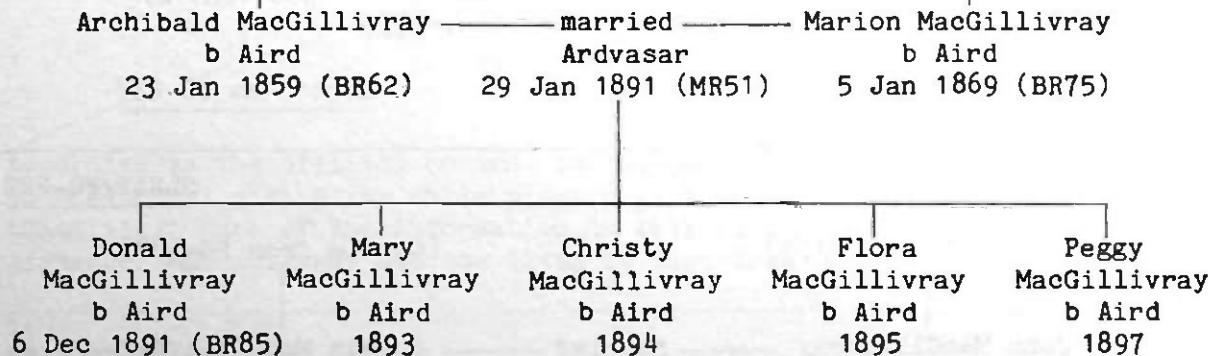
[Cont'd from FG-162/177]



SLEAT/FG-233

[Cont'd from FG-187]

[Cont'd from FG-170]



In 1891, Archibald and family were on Croft #15, Aird. His mother, Flora Beaton MacGillivray (FG-187) and niece, Flora MacGillivray (FG-229) were living with the family. Donald died in the Canary Islands.

[Cont'd from FG-186]

Malcolm Kennedy — married — Catherine MacGillivray
in Calligary 1891 1893 b Aird
b 1854 (C51) | 14 Oct 1866 (MR12)

Donald Kennedy b Sleat 1894 (BR111)	Marion Kennedy b Sleat 1896 (BR111)	Hector Kennedy b Sleat 1900 (BR111)	Mary Ann Kennedy b Sleat 1903 (BR112)	Hannah Kennedy b Sleat 1906 (BR112)
d 1960		m Mary		Graham
single				

Hector Kennedy spent most of his life in New Zealand. Came back to Skye to retire.

[Cont'd from FG-192]

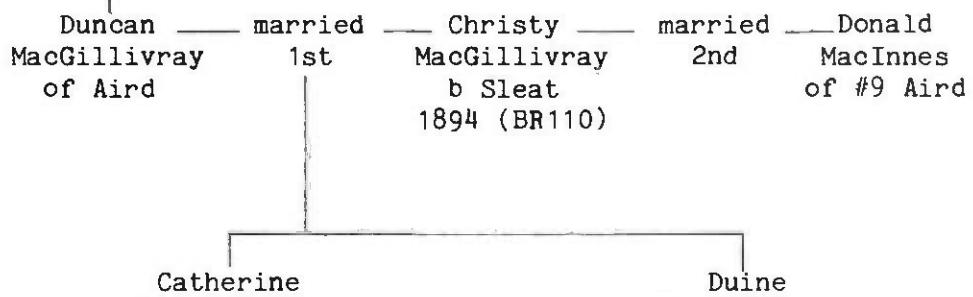
Niel MacLure married Marion MacGillivray
b Drumfearn 1898 b Drumfearn
1866 (C71) 16 Jan 1872 (BR77)
d 11 Jul 1948 (CR3) | d 7 Oct 1934 (CR3)

Alexander	Peter John
MacLure	MacLure
b Sleat	b Sleat
1900 (BR111)	1916 (BR113)
d 20 Mar 1966 (CR3)	d 19 Mar 1943 (CR3)

The marriage index indicates that Niel MacLure married a Sarah MacGillivray. However, the tombstones give his wife's name as Marion. Other evidence supports this. Note the span of 16 years between the birth of the two known children. There may have been other issue.

SLEAT/FG-236

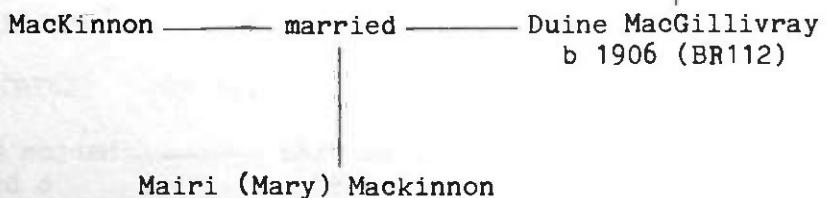
[Cont'd from FG-232]



Duncan MacGillivray was the first cousin of Christy's father. Catherine MacGillivray married Niel MacLeod from Harris who lived on the north end of Skye. Duine MacGillivray married Alexander Murchison.

SLEAT/FG-237

[Cont'd from FG-228]

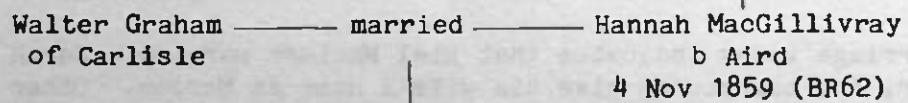


Mairi (Mary) Mackinnon

Duine MacGillivray's birth recorded in the official record as Duncanina MacGillivray. Duine and Mairi presently possess Croft #1, Aird.

SLEAT/FG-238

[Cont'd from FG-186]



Sarah Graham did not marry	Walter Graham	Jeanne Graham d ca 1930	Niel Graham d 1970 single	Hannah Graham d 1970 single
-------------------------------	---------------	----------------------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------------

[Cont'd from FG-218]

Alexander MacGillivray ————— married ————— Christina MacAskil
b Aird Kilmore b Port Glasgow
26 Feb 1890 28 May 1943 28 May 1913
d Glasgow
8 Dec 1963

Charles
MacGillivray
b 1944

Ian
MacGillivray
b Aird
31 Aug 1945
lives in Glasgow
single

Cont'd as FG-240

[Cont'd from FG-239]

Charles MacGillivray ————— married ————— Rhoda Stewart
b Aird Glasgow
24 Apr 1944 4 Apr 1964

Alasdair
MacGillivray
b Aird
19 Feb 1970

Donald
MacGillivray
b Aird
10 Sep 1973

Charles MacGillivray presently possesses Croft #7, Aird which has been in his family for generations. He manages the ferry office at Armadale Pier.

Angus MacGillivray ————— married —————

b Sleat

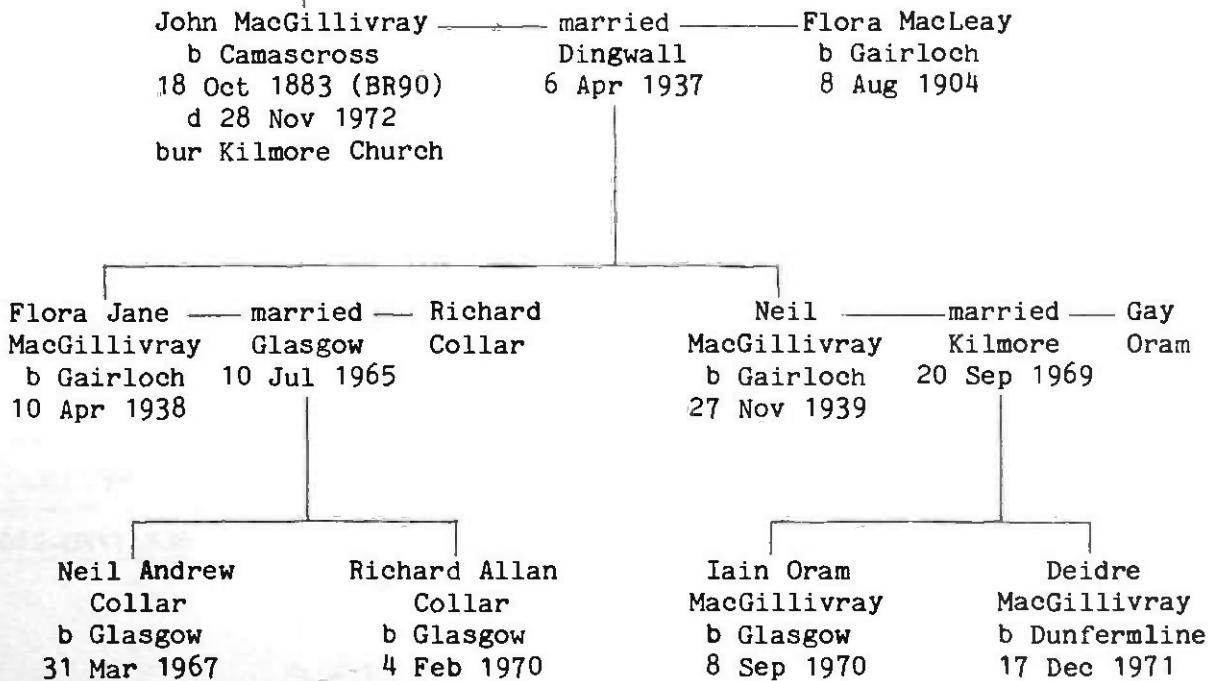
Donald
MacGillivray

Mary
MacGillivray

Donald emigrated to Australia.

SLEAT/FG-241

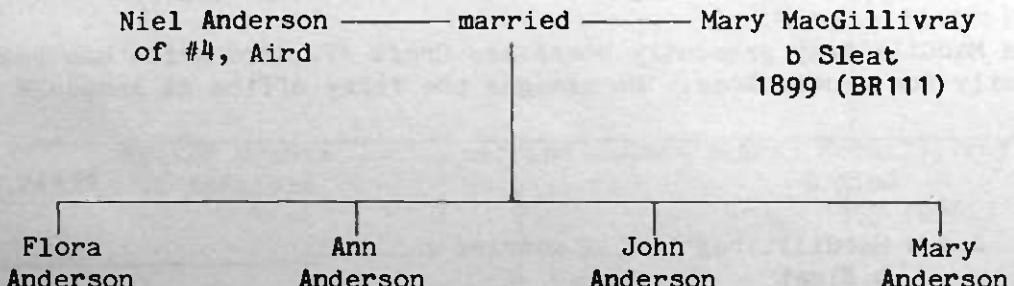
[Cont'd from FG-220]



Mrs Flora MacGillivray presently resides at #8 Camascross. She has been a continuous source of inspiration in compiling this history.

SLEAT/FG-243

[Cont'd from FG-232]



This family lived in Calligary.

[Cont'd from FG-232]

Donald MacGillivray — married — Ethel Watt
 b Sleat
 1896 (BR110)

Catherine
MacGillivray

Matthew
MacGillivray

Charles
MacGillivray

[Cont'd from FG-186]

John MacGillivray — married —
 b Aird 2 Jan 1890
 19 Dec 1861 (BR65) (BR103)
 d Hull, England
 19 Apr 1918

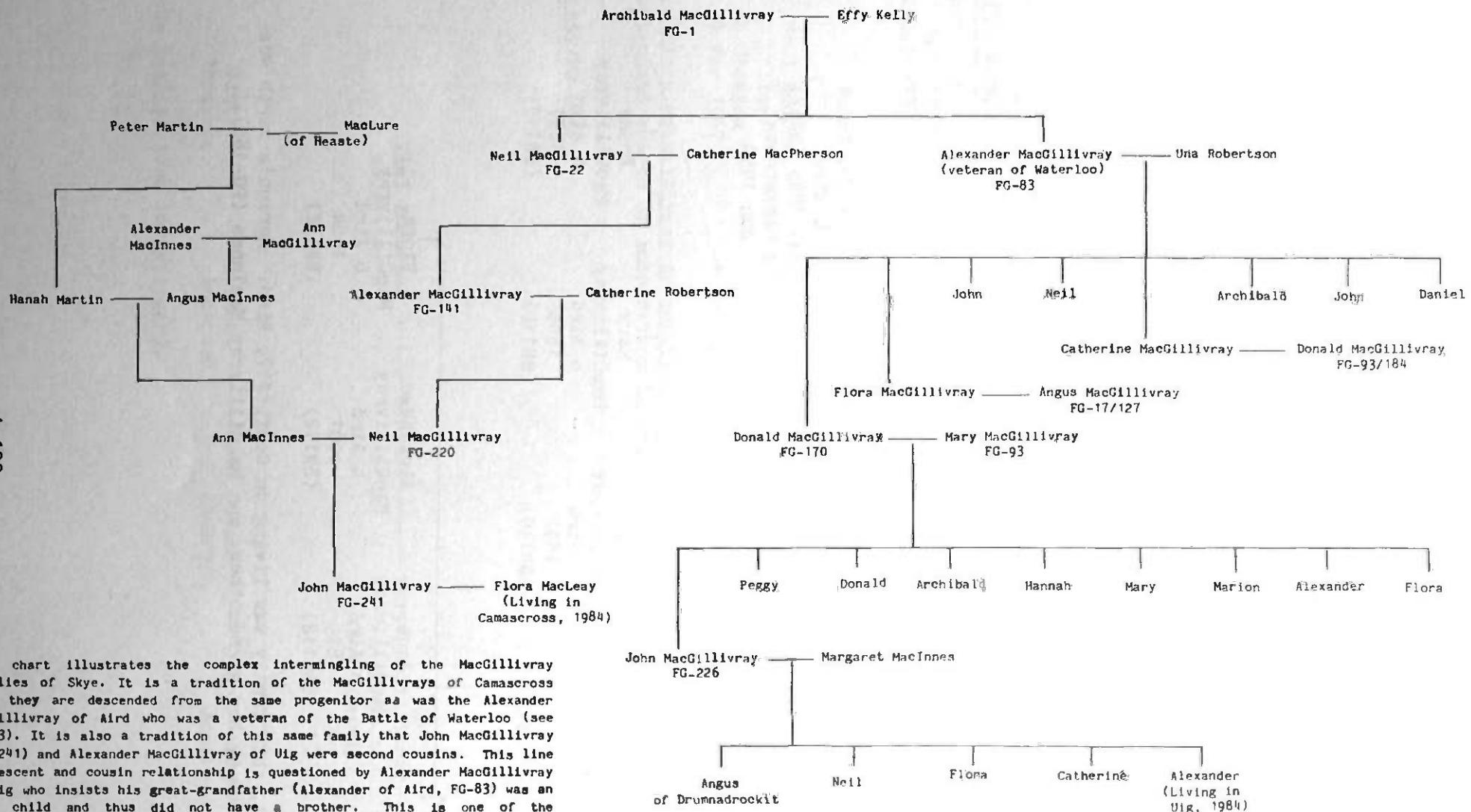
[Cont'd from FG-185]

Christina MacInnes
 b Aird
 11 Feb 1863 (BR67)
 d Camascross
 Jun 1950

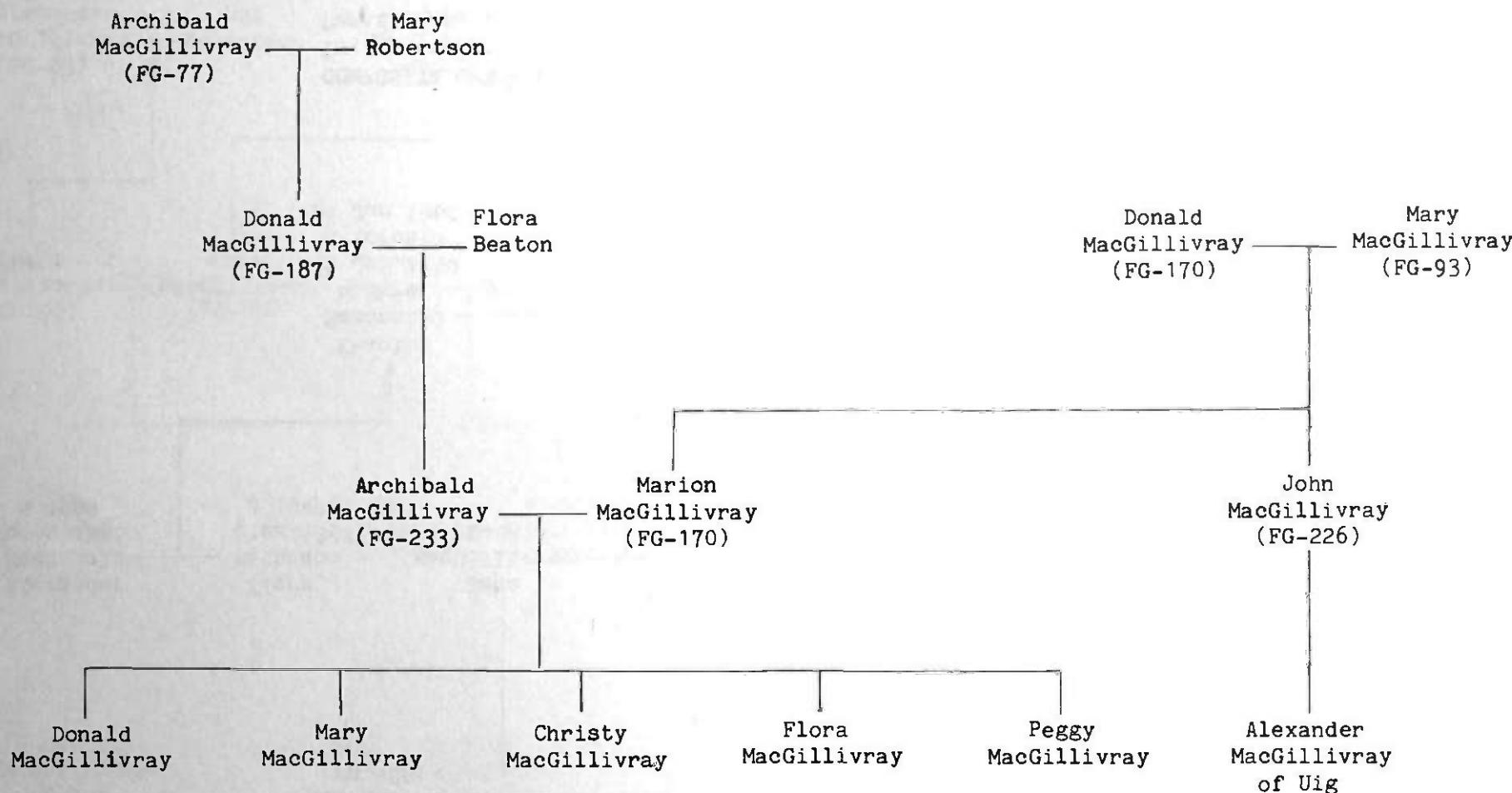
Marion MacGillivray Niel MacGillivray Mary MacGillivray Peggy MacGillivray
 b Aird b Aird b Aird b Aird
 30 Oct 1890 1892 1895 1897
 (BR103) (BR110) (BR110) (BR110)

Anne MacGillivray Alexander MacGillivray Flora MacGillivray
 b Aird b Aird b Aird
 1899 1901 1904
 (BR112) (BR112) (BR112)

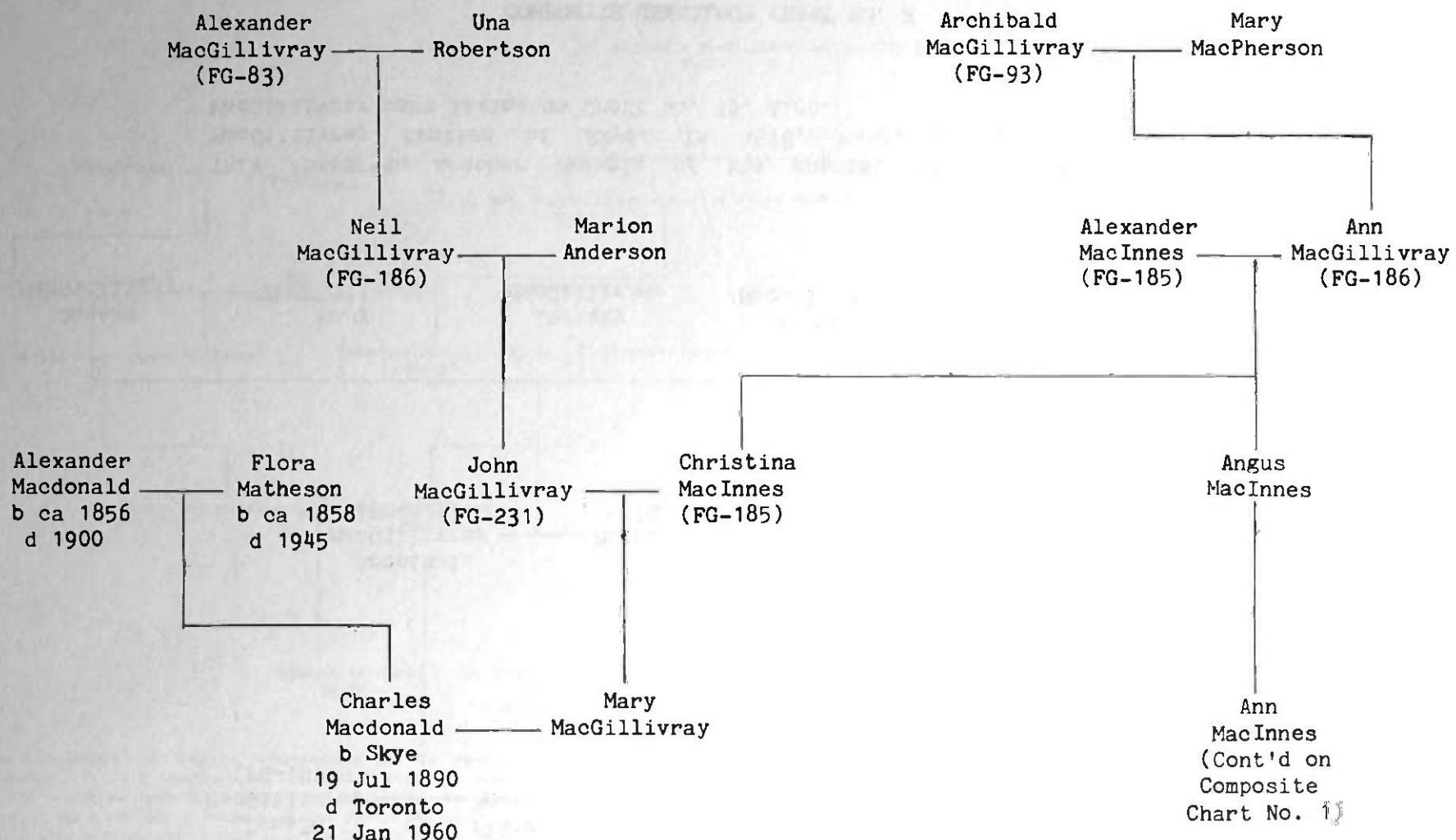
In 1891, this family was living on Croft #17, Aird. Marion's birth was certified by her grandmother, Ann MacGillivray MacInnes (FG-185).



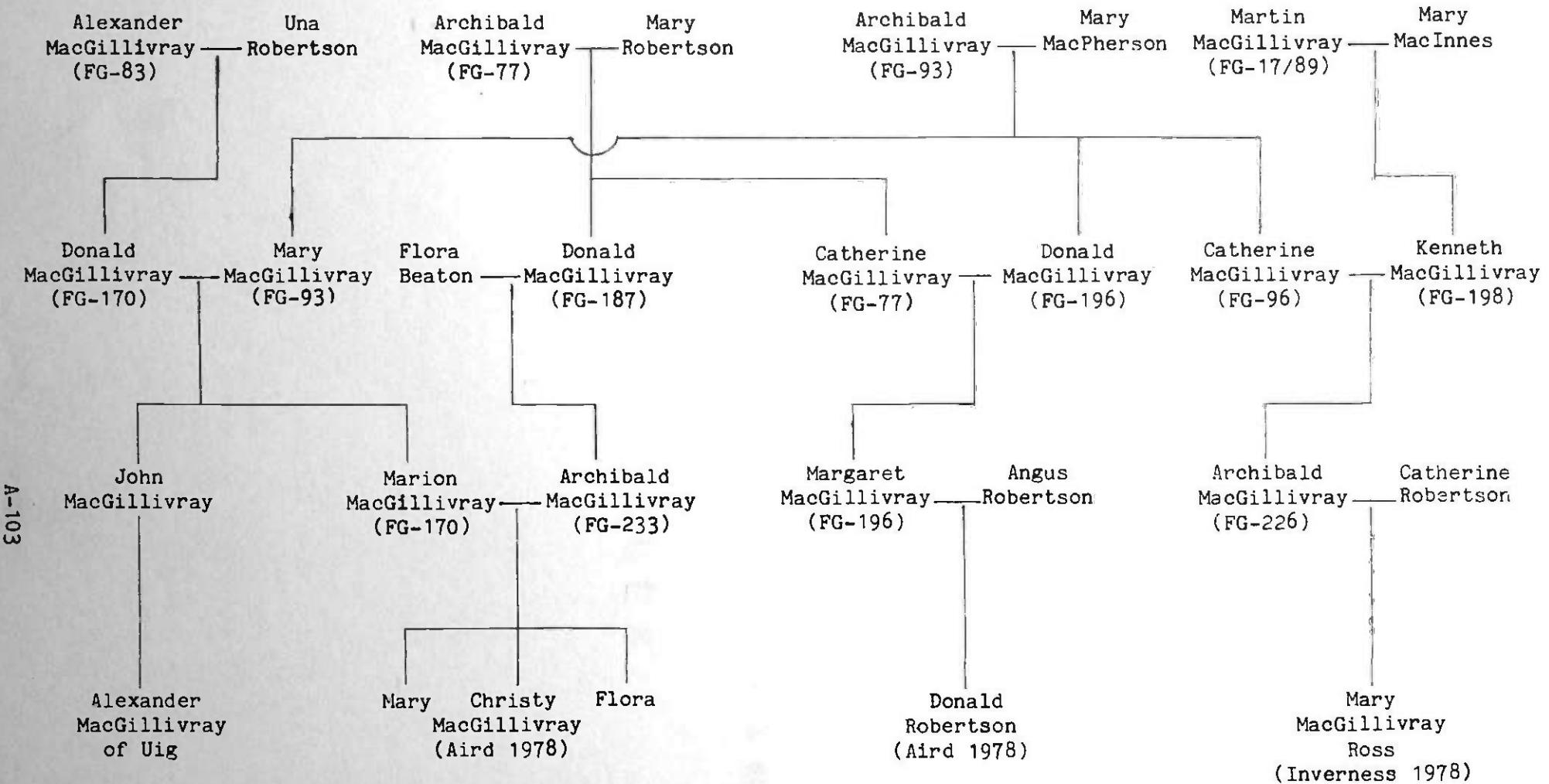
This chart illustrates the complex intermingling of the MacGillivray families of Skye. It is a tradition of the MacGillivrays of Camascross that they are descended from the same progenitor as was the Alexander MacGillivray of Aird who was a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo (see FG-83). It is also a tradition of this same family that John MacGillivray (FG-241) and Alexander MacGillivray of Uig were second cousins. This line of descent and cousin relationship is questioned by Alexander MacGillivray of Uig who insists his great-grandfather (Alexander of Aird, FG-83) was an only child and thus did not have a brother. This is one of the intangibles that crop up in this type of research. As seen from the chart, if they were indeed brothers then they would have been third cousins rather than second.



This chart is another example of the complex intermingling of the MacGillivray families of Skye. In 1978, Mary, Christy and Flora MacGillivray were living on Croft No. 15, Aird.



COMPOSITE GENEALOGY CHART NO. 3. Some of the data on this chart is from a letter in the possession of Mrs. Flora MacGillivray of Camascross, Sleat, Isle of Skye.



COMPOSITE GENEALOGY CHART NO. 4. The intermingling of the MacGillivrays of Skye shown here illustrates the difficulties involved in trying to unravel MacGillivray family lines of descent.

**There is a time to be born and a time to die, says Solomon, and
it is the memento of a truly wise man; but there is an interval
between these two times of infinite importance.**

Leigh Richmond, 1772-1827

APPENDIX B

SOME AMERICAN FAMILY GROUPS

THE AMERICAN FAMILY GROUP CHARTS

By and large, the initial inspiration for this book came from the American MacGillivrays (or McGilvarys as their name became in America). Because of their unfailing interest and encouragement we have tried to include as much information as possible on the American Family Group Charts in this Appendix so as to give them full recognition commensurate with the available data.

With regards to available data, one important point needs to be clarified. Surprisingly, getting consistent genealogical data on people who lived in the 18th and 19th centuries is sometimes easier than obtaining similar information on people who are alive now or who have lived in the 20th century. Although the present state-of-the-art in collecting and recording vital statistics is far superior to that of prior centuries the data so recorded are not generally available to the genealogist. Almost all States, as well as the Federal Government, have imposed Privacy Laws that restrict or hamper the mass collection of data on individuals who were born, married or died after about 1910. Therefore, the family charts in this Appendix that include primarily 20th century data are often incomplete. Lineages, in many cases, have been terminated simply for want of reliable data. Other overriding constraints were time and space.

Governed by these constraints, the following criteria were developed for developing the American Family Group Charts:

The lineage of the male descendants of the MacGillivray immigrants from the Isle of Skye to Moore County, North Carolina are carried forward into the 20th century as far as reliable data are available.

The lineages of the female descendants of the MacGillivray immigrants from the Isle of Skye to Moore County, North Carolina, with few exceptions, are terminated after one generation because there is a surname change and we are primarily interested in following the MacGillivray lines.

Family data on other MacGillivray immigrants from the Isle of Skye who settled in North Carolina counties other than Moore County are presented when data are available.

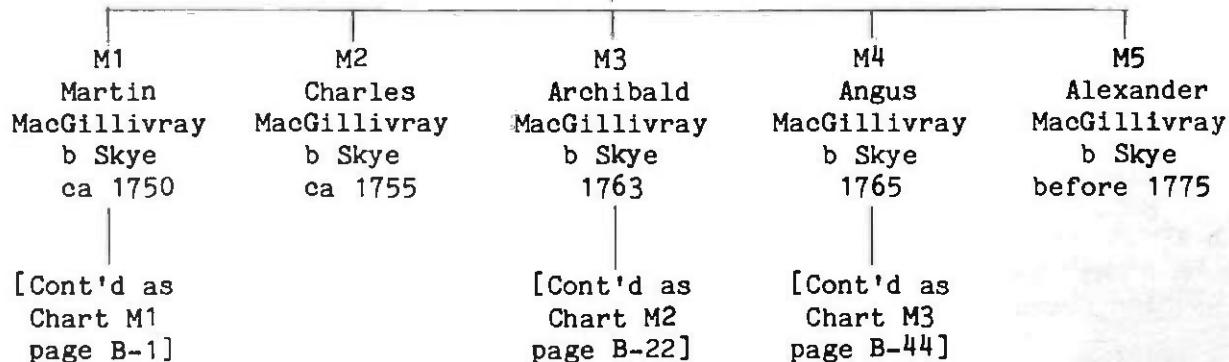
Quite expectedly there will be some exceptions to the above rules. In such cases, the lineage of each family presented in this Appendix must be judged on its own merits. We have tried to terminate the Family Charts at points where, within one or two generations, a comprehensive family chart can be readily completed by contemporary descendants of the original MacGillivray immigrants.

SOME AMERICAN FAMILY GROUPS

CHART M
The Immigrants from Skye to North Carolina

Charles MacGillivray in Teang
b prob ca 1683

Charles MacGillivray of Teangue
b prob ca 1720-1730



Charles remained on Farm of Teangue, Parish of Sleat, Isle of Skye. There may have been other members of this family who cannot be identified. After the immigrants arrived in America the surname was changed to McGilvary.

CHART M1
The Martin McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M, p B-1]

M1

Martin McGilvary ————— married ————— Mary Dalrymple
b Isle of Skye ca 1770 b Scotland
ca 1750 Isle of Skye ca 1755
d Moore Co, NC d Moore Co, NC
by 1800 before 1820

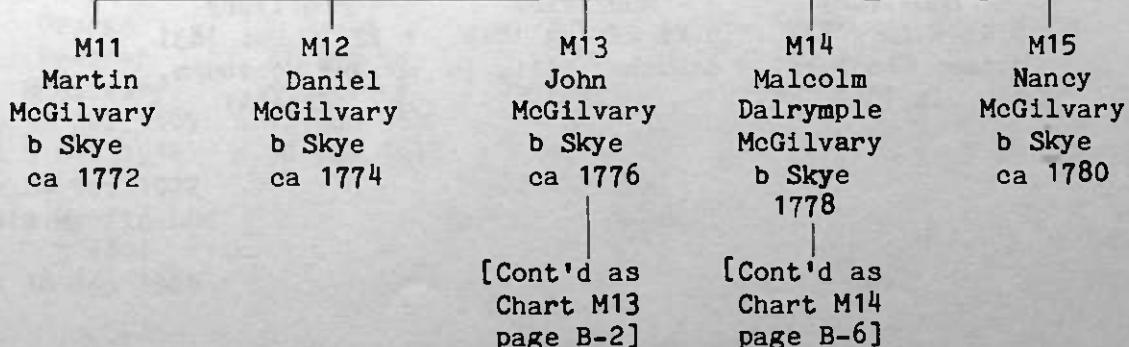


CHART M13
The John McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1, page B-1]

M13

John McGilvary	married	Ruth Owens
b Isle of Skye	Edenton, NC	b NC ca 1780
ca 1776		16 Jul 1809
d Christian Co, KY		d Christian Co, KY
1830-1837		1837

M131	M132	M133	M134
Alexander	Martin	John Camel	Mary
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b KY 25 Jun 1810	b KY 24 Nov 1811	b KY 26 Oct 1813	b KY 1 Jan 1816
m 8 May 1840	d Woodburn, IL	d Jackson, Miss	m Alexander Cooper
Ann Owens	m 18 Oct 1838	22 Aug 1835	
	Susan Owens		
	b TN 1824		

M135	M136	M137	M138
Christina	Johnson	Angus	Willis
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b KY 9 Jan 1818	b KY 1820	b KY 19 Mar 1822	b KY 1824
		d Columbus, KY	
		25 Aug 1844	

[Cont'd as
Chart M136
page B-3]

[Cont'd as
Chart M138
page B-5]

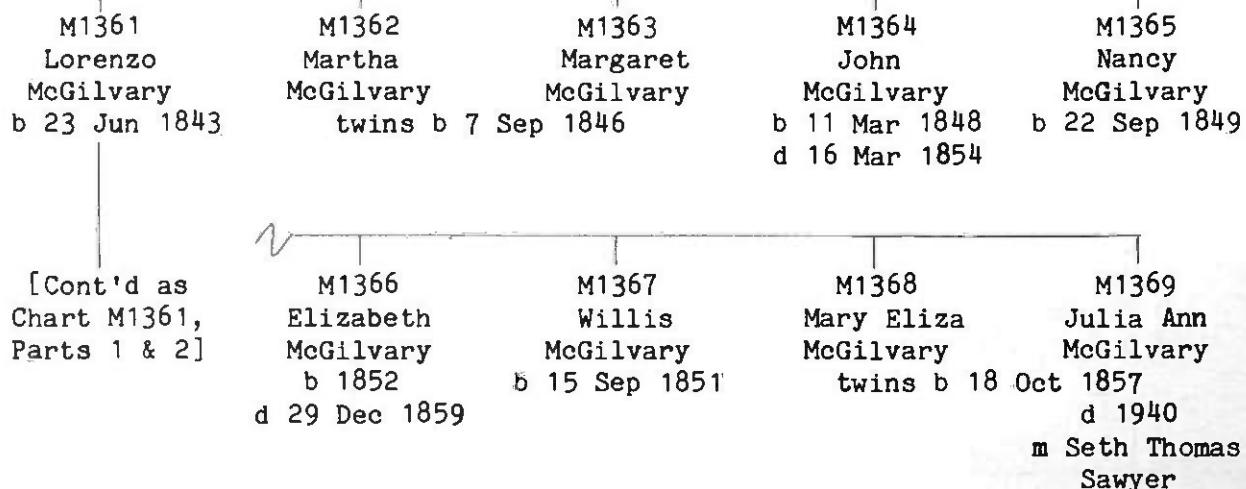
M139	M13A	M13B
Catherine	Helen Almira	Marshall Lorenzo
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b KY 4 Apr 1827	b KY 22 Aug 1829	b KY 10 Oct 1831
d near Woodburn,	d Bunker Hill, IL	d near Woodburn,
IL 1841	1841	IL 1841

CHART M136
The Johnson McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M13, page B-2]

M136

Johnson McGilvary — married — Lavina Swain
 b KY 12 Jun 1820 22 Sep 1842 b NC Jan 1817
 d Youngs Point, LA
 7 Mar 1863

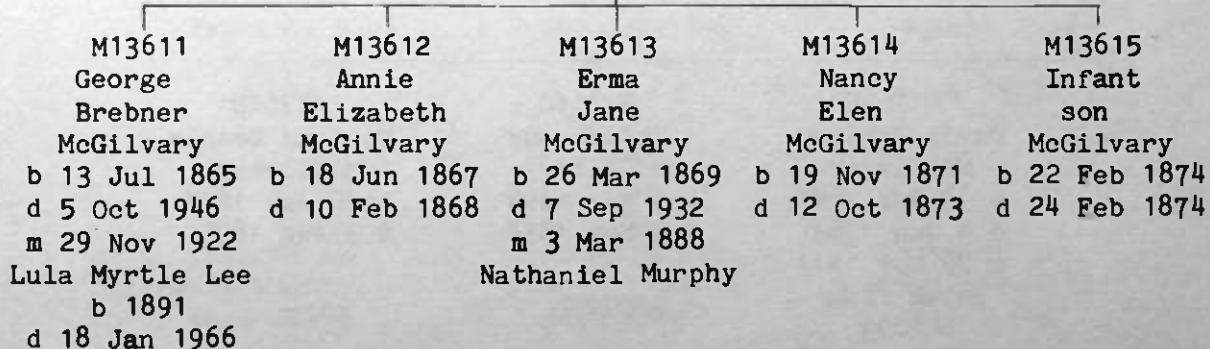


(CHART M1361, Part 1
The Lorenzo McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M136, page B-3]

M1361

Lorenzo McGilvary — married — Mary Elizabeth Maddox
 b 23 Jun 1843 1st b 22 Jul 1844
 d 2 Jun 1934 3 Oct 1864 d 1 Mar 1874



[Chart M1361 continued on page B-4]

Chart M1361 continued from page B-3

CHART M1361, Part 2
The Lorenzo McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M136, page B-3]

M1361

Lorenzo McGilvary — married — Margaret Jane Patterson
b 23 Jun 1843 2nd b 10 Nov 1856
d 2 Jun 1934 4 Feb 1875 d 10 Sep 1932

M13616
Eliza Bell
McGilvary
b 22 Jan 1876
d 3 Sep 1876

M13617
Mary Elizabeth
McGilvary
twins b
d 5 Dec 1879

M13618
Robert James
McGilvary
9 Oct 1878
d 24 Mar 1980
m 1st 25 Dec 1906
Lavina Martin
m 2nd 30 May 1911
Nora Shelton
b Feb 1888
d 8 Jun 1969

M13619
Mattie Ann
McGilvary
b 14 Aug 1880
d 1 Nov 1949
m 14 May 1907
Samuel Tilden
Miles
b 1875
d 3 Oct 1957

M1361A
Margaret Christina
McGilvary
b 20 Jun 1882
d 5 May 1885

M1361B
Lavina May
McGilvary
b 7 Jun 1884
d 11 May 1885

M1361C
John Willis
McGilvary
b 1886

M1361D
Minnie Armanda
McGilvary
b 1887

[Cont'd as
Chart M1361C
page B-4a]

[Cont'd as
Chart M1361D
page B-4d]

M1361F
David Johnson
McGilvary
b 14 Nov 1891
d 4 Jun 1962
m 29 Nov 1911
Helen Plum
b 1894
d 14 Oct 1956

M1361G
Infant son
McGilvary
b 3 Nov 1894
d 3 Nov 1894

M1361H
William Dennis
McGilvary
b 30 Jan 1897
d 3 Aug 1897

CHART M1361C

[Cont'd from Chart M136, page B-4]

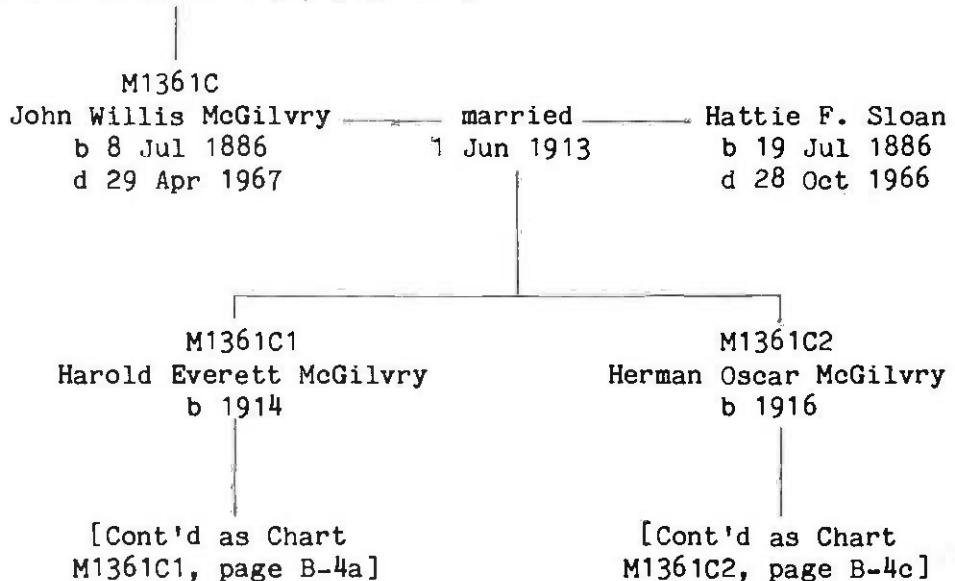


CHART M1361C1

[cont'd from Chart M1361C, page B-4a]

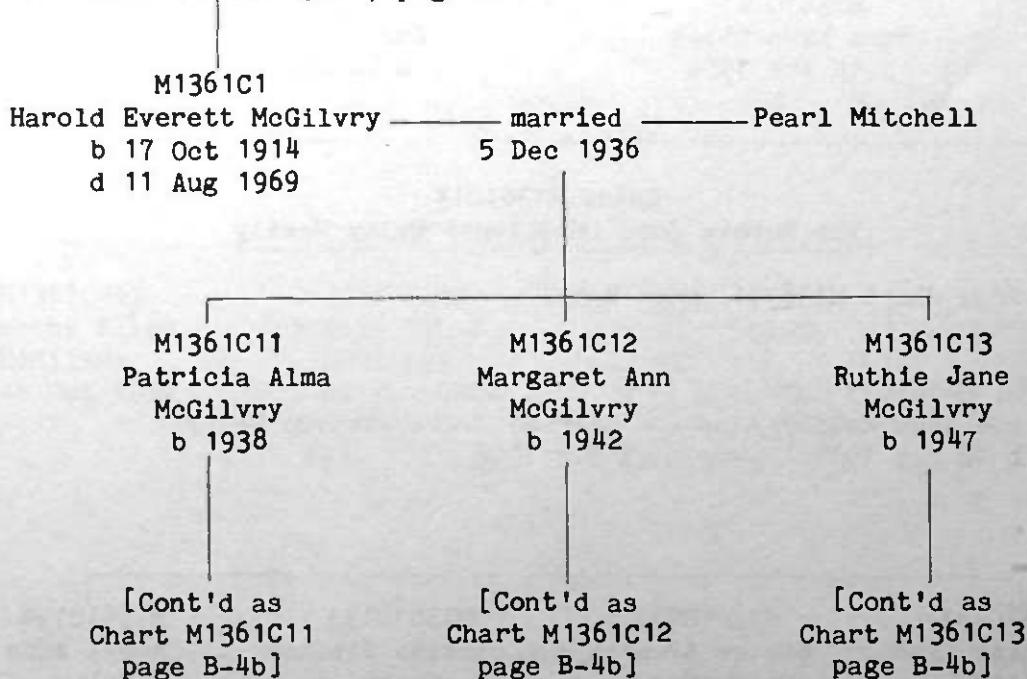


CHART M1361C11
The Patricia Alma (McGilvry) Wiles Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C1, page B-4a]

M1361C11

Everett Moore — married — Patricia Alma — married — Clyde Wiles
1st McGilvry 2nd
11 Dec 1954 b 3 Apr 1938 19 Nov 1978
divorced

M1361C111
Ruth Ann Moore
b 19 Oct 1956

M1361C112
Willis Everett Moore
b 8 Jul 1961

M1361C113
Dana Jo Moore
b 19 Aug 1965

CHART M1361C12
The Margaret Ann (McGilvry) Boles Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C1, page B-4a]

M1361C12

Margaret Ann McGilvry — married — Joe Bill Boles
b 25 Jun 1942 4 Aug 1960

M1361C121
Sara Lynn Boles
b 10 Apr 1964

M1361C122
Jody Dean Boles
b 20 Jan 1969

CHART M1361C13
The Ruthie Jane (McGilvry) Welty Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C1, page B-4a]

M1361C13

Ruthie Jane McGilvry — married — Steven Welty
b 12 May 1947 5 Jan 1966

M1361C131
Stephany Lynn
Welty
b 5 Apr 1972

M1361C132
Steven Everett
Welty
b 15 Mar 1976

M1361C133
Christina Alethea
Welty
b 26 Jan 1978

M1361C134
Cheryl Anne
Welty
b 14 Feb 1980

CHART M1361C2
The Herman Oscar McGilvry Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C, page B-4a]

M1361C2
Herman Oscar McGilvry married Nadine Pierpont
b 16 Mar 1916 16 Mar 1935 b 16 Mar 1917

M1361C21
Thomas Herman
McGilvry
b. 1936

M1361C22
John Michael
McGilvry
b. 1937

M1361C23
Daniel Franklin
McGilvry
b 1942

[Cont'd as Chart
M1361C21,
page B-4c]

[Cont'd as Chart
M1361C22,
page B-4d]

[Cont'd as Chart
M1361C23,
page B-4d]

CHART M1361C21

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C2, page B-4c]

H1301C21
Thomas Herman McGilvry married Alice Mae Chapman
b 1 Jan 1936 14 Aug 1958

M1361C211	M1361C212	M1361C213	M1361C214
Timothy Allen McGilvry b 16 Oct 1959	Robert Wayne McGilvry b 20 Nov 1960 m 1 Mar 1980	Melissa Louise McGilvry b 20 Oct 1962 m 20 May 1980	Gregory Thomas McGilvry b 6 Mar 1960
	Lisa Foster	Michael Lynn Ryde	

M1361C2131
Amanda Michelle McGilvry
b 13 Apr 1979

CHART M1361C22
The John Michael McGilvry Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C2, page B-4b]

M1361C22

John Michael McGilvry married Wilma Ruth Redfearn
b 11 Aug 1937 10 Mar 1957

M1361C221
amela Jean McGilvry
b 9 Mar 1958
m 8 Apr 1978
Danny Kent Dean

M1361C222
Michael Dean McGilvry
b 27 Aug 1960

CHART M1361C23

[Cont'd from Chart M1361C2, page B-4b]

M1361C23

M1361C231
Michael Paul
McGilvry
b 13 May 1965

M1361C232
Jonathan Sean
McGilvry
b 22 Feb 1968

M1361C233
Rachel Danielle
McGilvry
b 20 Nov 1976

CHART M1361D
The Minnie Armanda McGilvry Clay Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1361, page B-4]

M1361D

Minnie Armanda McGilvry married Jessie Lee Clay
b 18 Dec 1887 20 Jan 1908 b 6 Jul 1879
d 2 May 1952

M1361D1
Lorenzo Clay
24 Dec 1908
7 Mar 1962
9 Apr 1930
y Finney

Elsie Margarite Clay
b 10 Dec 1909
d 23 May 1975
m 4 Jun 1933
Austin Dunham

M1361D3
Lloyd Frank Clay
b 15 Aug 1913
m 12 Oct 1940
Karleen Swift

CHART M138

[Cont'd from Chart M13, page B-2]

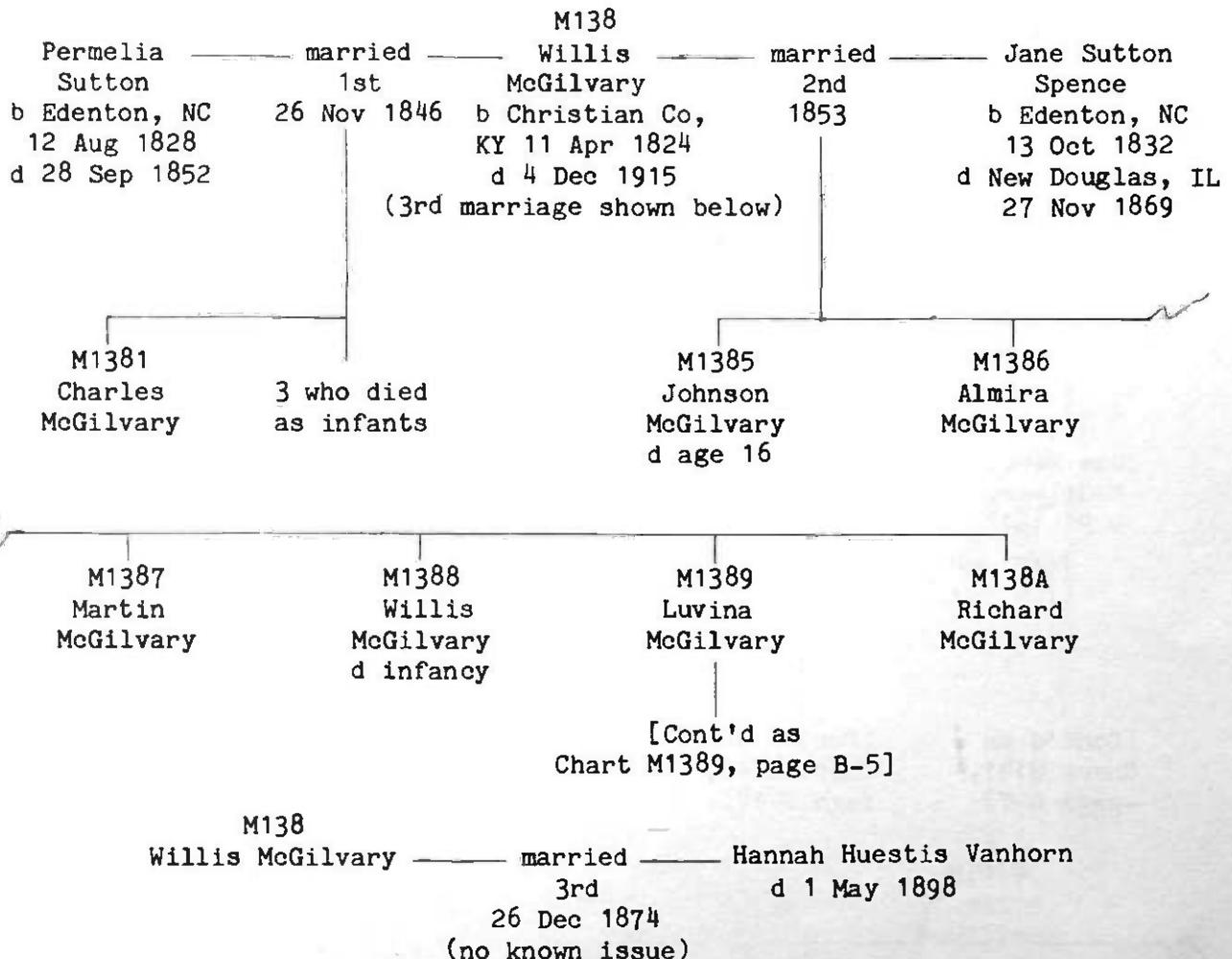


CHART M1389

[Cont'd from Chart 138, page B-5]

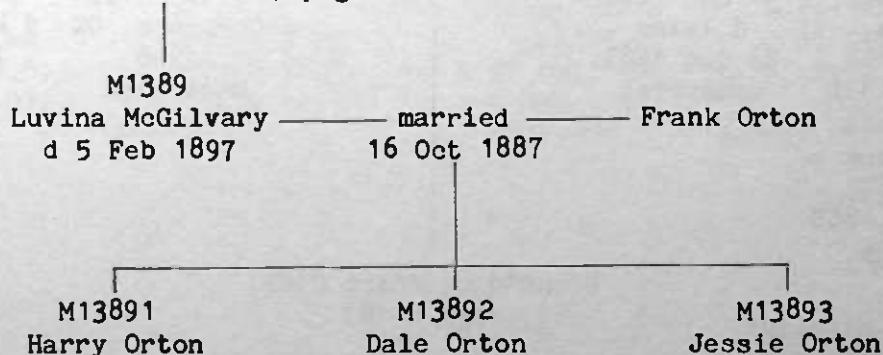


CHART M14
The Malcolm Dalrymple McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1, page B-1]

M14

Catherine	1st	Malcolm Dalrymple	2nd	Nancy
McIver	married	McGilvary	married	McIntosh
b NC	18 Sep 1811	b Isle of Skye	1832	b NC ca 1800
20 Aug 1787		1778		d 1852 Texas
d Moore Co, NC		d Moore Co, NC		
23 Nov 1828		8 Jun 1841		

M141	M142	M143	M144
John Martin	Evander	Archibald	Alexander
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b NC 1812	b NC 1815	b Moore Co, NC	b NC 1819
		14 Feb 1817	
		d Moore Co, NC	
		24 Apr 1818	

[Cont'd on
Chart M141,
page B-7]

[Cont'd on
Chart M142,
page B-17]

[Cont'd on
Chart M144,
page B-17]

M145	M146	M147
Mary	Angus	Daniel
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b Moore Co, NC	b Moore Co, NC	b NC 1828
20 Mar 1822	16 Mar 1825	
d Texas	d Texas	
1 Mar 1897	22 Jun 1863	
m 2 Mar 1856	unmarried	
Abram Helm		
b New York		
7 Mar 1803		
d 11 May 1860		
no issue		

M148	M149
Catherine	Flora Ann
McGilvary	McGilvary
b Moore Co, NC	b Moore Co, NC
15 Aug 1833	18 Mar 1837
d Cheyenne, OK	d Moore Co, NC
1916	25 Aug 1840
unmarried	

[Cont'd on Chart M147,
page B-18]

CHART M141
The John Martin McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14, page B-6]

M141

John Martin McGilvary	married	Eleanor McIver
b Moore Co, NC	Chatham Co, NC	b Moore Co, NC
20 Dec 1812	19 Oct 1837	27 Oct 1817
d Navarro Co, TX		d Montgomery Co, TX
18 May 1878		21 Aug 1852

M1411

William Thomas McGilvary	Mary Catherine McGilvary
b Madison Co, TN 14 Jul 1839	b Madison Co, TN 22 Sep 1840
d Navarro Co, TX 1869	d Montgomery Co, TX 15 Jul 1864

M1412

M1413

Elizabeth Ann McGilvary
b TN 1841

M1414

Alexander Murdock McGilvary
b Shelby Co, TN 14 May 1844
d Texas 30 Nov 1864

[Cont'd as
Chart M1413,
page B-8]

M1415

John Clinton McGilvary
b TX 1847

M1416

Angus Tyson McGilvary
b TX 1849

M1417

Theodora Louisa McGilvary	Eleanor McGilvary
b Montgomery Co, TX 1 Sep 1850	b Danville Montgomery Co, TX
d Navarro Co, TX 6 Feb 1927	16 Jan 1852 d Cheyene, OK
m 11 Dec 1891	5 Feb 1935
Moses Steven Reaves	b Birdston, TX 25 May 1881
b 31 Dec 1844	Gilbert Warren Hodges
d Jun 1931	b Boone, Wautauga Co, NC 25 Jul 1845
no issue	d 10 Nov 1910

[Cont'd as
Chart 1415,
page B-9]

[Cont'd as
Chart 1416,
page B-13]

Cornelia Margaret
Alexander Hodges
(adopted)
b 17 Apr 1889

CHART M1413
The Elizabeth Ann (McGilvary) Bonner Family

[Cont'd from Chart M141, page B-7]

M1413
 Elizabeth Ann McGilvary — married — Thomas Oliver Bonner
 b Madison Co, TN 17 Mar 1870 b 2 Mar 1842
 30 Nov 1841
 d Cheyenne, OK
 2 Jan 1918

<p>M14131 Eleanor Mary Bonner b 17 Feb 1871 d Cheyenne, OK 11 Nov 1915 m 24 Jun 1910 Aubrey Boulware</p>	<p>M14132 William Thomas Bonner b OK 1874</p>	<p>M14133 John McGilvary Bonner b 1880</p>
<p>[Cont'd as Chart M14132 page B-8]</p>		<p>[Cont'd as Chart M14133 page B-9]</p>

CHART M14132
The William Thomas Bonner Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1413, page B-8]

M14132
 Ruth Fields — married — William Thomas — married — Mrs Bertha
 b 22 Oct 1882 1st Bonner 2nd Sanders
 d 11 Oct 1911 20 Nov 1901 b Cheyenne, OK
 25 May 1874
 d 9 Jun 1957

b Kansas
 d Apr 1950
 bur Ft. Sumner, NM
 no issue

<p>M141321 Thomas Fields Bonner b 3 Sep 1902 m 10 Dec 1927</p>	<p>M141322 Ray Hodges Bonner b 13 Aug 1904 m 2 Aug 1931</p>	<p>M141323 William Buford Bonner b 9 Jan 1907 m 12 May 1928</p>	<p>M141324 John Tedrowe Bonner b 8 Aug 1908 m 1st Blanche Frances Trigg b 8 Nov 1910 m 2nd Jun 1949 Catherine Fisher b 26 Oct 1917</p>
<p>Berniece Alamarene Atkinson b 17 Dec 1906</p>		<p>Iris Ethelyn Ribble b 6 Aug 1908 no issue</p>	
<p>b Tolar, Territory of New Mexico</p>		<p>4 Jun 1909</p>	

CHART M14133
The John McGilvary Bonner Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1413, page B-8)

M14133

Flossie Lee Herring b 1888 d 23 Dec 1918 no issue	married 1st	John McGilvary Bonner b 15 Feb 1880 d 22 Oct 1960	married 2nd	Mittie Izora Hawkins b 16 Aug 1894 d Dec 1961
--	-------------	---	-------------	---

M141331

John Hawkins Bonner b 6 Feb 1929 m 29 Sep 1952 Betty Jo Lamar b 9 Feb 1932
--

M141332

Jo Ann Bonner b 7 Jun 1930 d 23 Jun 1930
--

M141333

Unidentified

CHART M1415
The John Clinton McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M141, page B-7]

M1415

Mary Adelaide Knowles b 12 May 1856 d 7 Feb 1874 no issue	married 1st	John Clinton McGilvary b Montgomery Co, TX TX 31 May 1847 d Freestone Co, TX 30 Jun 1914	married 2nd	Narcissa Annette Spillers b Freestone Co, TX 18 May 1855 d 19 Jun 1903
--	-------------	--	-------------	---

M14151

John William McGilvary b Freestone Co, TX 22 Feb 1877 d Freestone Co, TX 5 Sep 1891

M14152

Leta Pearl McGilvary b TX 1879

M14153

Ernest Linwood McGilvary b Freestone Co, TX 19 Sep 1881 d Anson, TX 31 May 1953 m 10 Aug 1902 Belle Permilia Rowell

M14154

Roy McGilvary b Limestone Co, TX 7 Nov 1884 d Freestone Co, TX 19 Jan 1886
--

[Cont'd as
Chart M14152
page B-10]

b 8 Jul 1884 no issue

[Chart M1415 continued on page B-10]

[Chart M1415 continued from page B-9]

M14155	M14156	M14157	M14158
Henry Angus McGilvary	Evander Martin McGilvary	Jennie Helm McGilvary	Reuben Clinton McGilvary
b Limestone Co, TX 19 Jun 1887	b Limestone Co, TX 16 Feb 1889	b Limestone Co, TX 1 Apr 1891	b TX 1893
m 4 Oct 1920	m 14 Apr 1924	d Mexia, TX 26 Dec 1935	
Nannie Jemima Matthews	Edith Margaret Nowlin	m 14 Feb 1933	
b 12 Feb 1892	b 7 Mar 1901	Warren Anderson b 1873/d 1947	
no issue	no issue	no issue	

[Cont'd as
Chart M14158
page B-11]

M14159	M1415A	M1415B
Maggie Eleanor McGilvary	Bettie Ilean McGilvary	Ralph
b Limestone Co, TX 7 Aug 1895	b TX 1897	McGilvary
d Freestone Co, TX 15 Jun 1896		b Limestone Co, TX 10 Jan 1900
		d TX 7 Feb 1915

[Cont'd as
Chart M1415A, page B-12]

CHART M14152
The Leta Pearl (McGilvary) Wright Family

[Cont'd from Chart 1415, page B-9]

M14152
 Leta Pearl McGilvary — married — Jesse Mack Wright
 b Freestone Co, TX 24 Dec 1899
 13 Jul 1879 b 26 Aug 1875
 d 2 Jan 1945

M141521 Harry Wright b TX 31 Jan 1902 m 1st 12 Jul 1930 Mrs Mary Conlon Davis b 12 May 1900 d 9 Sep 1943 m 2nd 8 Aug 1944 Viola La Farge b 10 Aug 1898 no issue. adopted son of Mrs. Davis	M141522 Juanita Wright b TX 1904	M141523 Marvin Wright b Freestone Co, TX 12 Oct 1906 m 1st 28 Nov 1936 Franciel Branaugh b 20 May 1912 m 2nd 19 Jun 1949 Hazel Frances Milam	M141524 Ray A. Wright b Freestone Co, TX 4 May 1909 d Ft Worth, TX 24 Dec 1954 m Davis, OK 17 May 1933 Pauline Elizabeth Riggs
	[Cont'd as Chart M141522 page B-11]	b 17 Nov 1908	b 30 Jun 1914 no issue

[Chart M14152 continued on page B-11]

[Chart 14152 continued from page B-10]

M141525 Fay Wright b Freestone, TX 4 May 1909 m 21 Oct 1933	M141526 Jack Wright b 15 Nov 1914 d 30 Dec 1914	M141527 J. C. Wright b 9 Mar 1916 d 25 Jan 1928
Moad Leonidas Earp b 7 Jan 1904 no issue		

CHART M141522

The Juanita (Wright) Vollintine Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14152, page B-10]

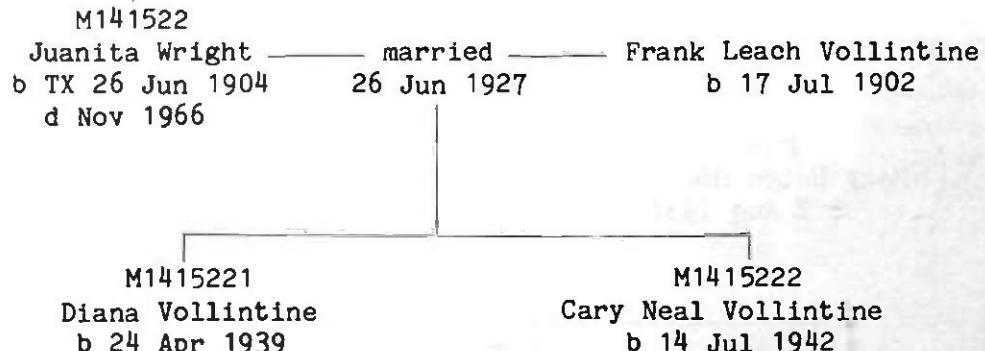


CHART M14158

The Reuben Clinton McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1415, page B-10]

M14158
 Reuben Clinton McGilvary — married — Mary Kate Holladay
 b Limestone Co, TX 5 Dec 1920 b 15 Nov 1896
 9 Sep 1893

M141581 Reuben Clinton McGilvary, Jr b 1922	M141582 Mary Helen McGilvary b 1931
---	---

[Cont'd as
Chart M141581, page B-12]

[Cont'd as
Chart M141582, page B-12]

CHART 141581
The Reuben Clinton McGilvary, Jr Family

[Cont'd from Chart 14158, page B-11]

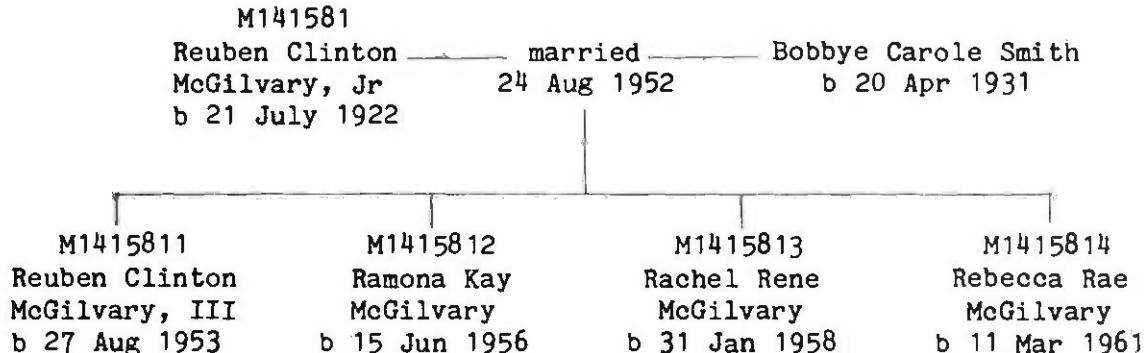


CHART M141582
The Mary Helen (McGilvary) Collier Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14158, page B-11]

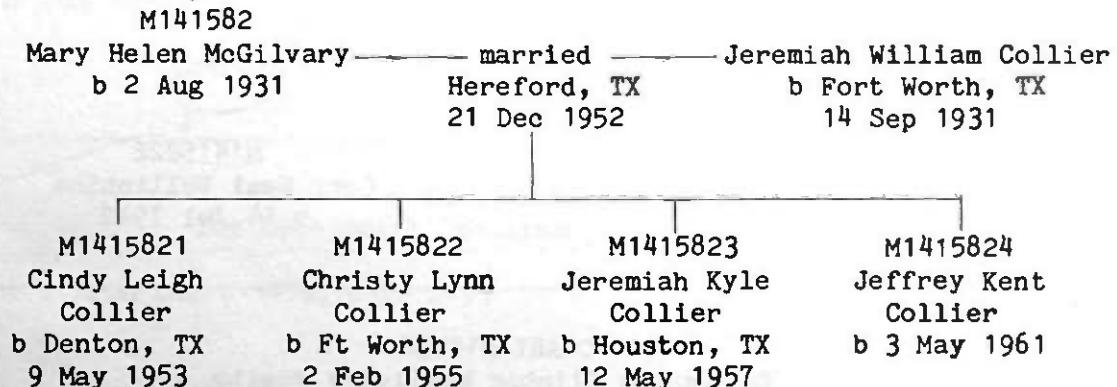


CHART M1415A
The Bettie Ilean (McGilvary) Ross Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1415, page B-9/10]

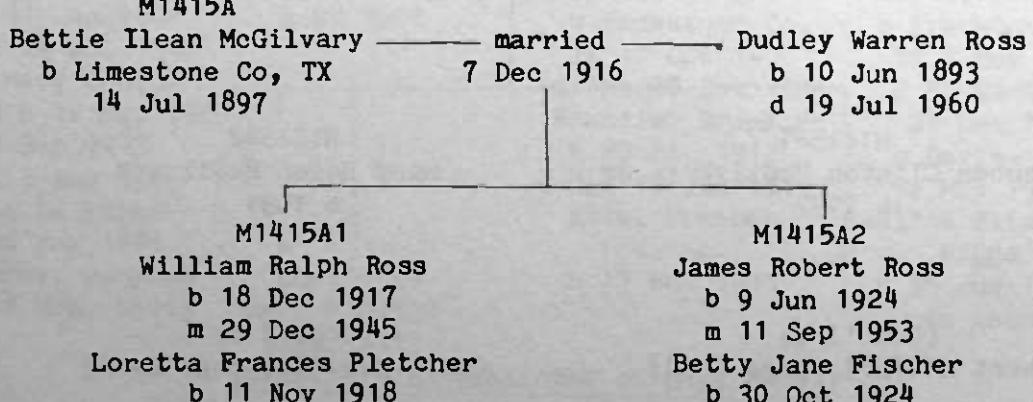


CHART M1416

[Cont'd from Chart 141, page B-7]

M1416

Angus Tyson McGilvary married Eliza Jane Davidson
b Montgomery Co, TX 16 Dec 1880 b TX 11 May 1859
17 Feb 1849
d TX 19 Aug 1909

M14161	M14162	M14163	M14164	M14165
Issie Hope McGilvary b 1881	Mary Eleanor McGilvary b 27 Nov 1882	Janie Davidson McGilvary b 1885	John Helm McGilvary b 1889	Dora Lee McGilvary b 1890
[Cont'd as Chart M14161 page B-13]		[Cont'd as Chart M14163 page B-14]	[Cont'd as Chart M14164 page B-14]	[Cont'd as Chart M14165 page B-15]

M14166	M14167	M14168	M14169
Betty Fleming McGilvary b 1893	Robert William McGilvary twins b 23 Jul 1897 m 5 Feb 1939 Cora Ella Dobbs b 9 Feb 1899	Ruby Belle McGilvary d Navarro Co, TX 18 Oct 1898	Annette McGilvary b 1900
[Cont'd as Chart M14166, p. B-16]	no issue		[Cont'd as Chart M14169, p. B-16]

CHART M14161
The Issie Hope (McGilvary) Meador Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14161

Issie Hope McGilvary ————— married ————— William Thomas Meador
b 2 Oct 1881 18 Dec 1901 b 14 Oct 1879

M141611	M141612	M141613
Bennie	Mary Blanche	Bruce Davidson
Meador	Meador	Meador
b 25 Sep 1902	b 19 Sep 1904	b 22 Oct 1905
d 27 Jan 1955	m 24 Dec 1927	d 28 Oct 1906
m 28 Dec 1926	Wilton Wall Larue	
Edna Calame	b 9 Nov 1908	
no issue	no issue	

[Chart M14161 continued on page B-14]

[Chart M14161 continued from page B-13]

M141614	M141615	M141616
Lynn Thomas Meador	Angus Tyson Meador	Isabel Emilie Meador
b 15 Apr 1906	b 23 Jul 1909	b 23 Feb 1915
m 26 Dec 1928	d 25 Oct 1955	m 7 Apr 1938
Elizabeth Vanita Williams	m 16 Dec 1942 Mary Francis Wright	Arthur Neal Brown
b 10 Apr 1909	b 12 Sep 1920	b 19 Jan 1915

CHART M14163

The Janie Davidson (McGilvary) Clark Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14163		
Janie Davidson McGilvary	married	Nash Gilbert Clark
b 7 Jul 1885	23 Mar 1910	b 15 Feb 1886
M141631	M141632	
John Gilbert Clark	Neil Davidson Clark	
b 13 Aug 1913	b 15 Feb 1915	
m 6 Aug 1949	m 7 Aug 1945	
Frances Zerline Mitchell	Leah Jane Garner	
b 27 Nov 1921	b 23 Oct 1919	

CHART M14164

The John Helm McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14164		
John Helm McGilvary	married	Lura Kent
b 16 Jan 1889	24 Nov 1912	b 5 Jul 1894
M141641	M141642	
Angus Kent McGilvary	Amelia Louise McGilvary	
b 1915	b 1922	
[Cont'd as Chart M141641 page B-15]	[Cont'd as Chart M141642 page B-15]	

CHART M141641
The Angus Kent McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14164, page B-14]

M141641
Angus Kent McGilvary married Jimmye Nell Whatley
b 26 Apr 1915 15 Dec 1950 b 29 Dec 1925

M1416411
John Hopson McGilvary
b 3 Jan 1953

CHART M141642
The Amelia Louise (McGilvary) Knotts Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14164, page B-14]

M141642
Amelia Louise McGilvary married Homer Knotts
b 28 May 1922 19 Aug 1948 b 18 Dec 1917

M1416421
John Kenny Knotts
b 29 Oct 1948

CHART M14165
The Dora Lee (McGilvary) Steele Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14165
Dora Lee McGilvary married Jim Elrod Steele
b 14 Dec 1890 28 Jan 1912 b 24 Oct 1887
d Navarro Co, TX
2 Jun 1955

M141651 M141652 M141653 M141654
Jim Sidney Steele Fred Hodges Steele John Tyson Steele Thomas Steele
b 12 Aug 1912 b 17 Sep 1913 b 10 Feb 1916 b 25 Jan 1919
m 22 Jul 1950 m 5 May 1937 d Navarro Co, TX m 3 Mar 1943
Edith Agnes Georgia Gail 23 Dec 1916 Ruba Sanger
Durbin Gibson
b St. Elmo, IL b 1 Apr 1919

[Chart M14165 continued on page B-16]

[Chart M14165 continued from page B-15]

M141655	M141656	M141657
Story Steele	Joel Steele	Harry Lee Steele
b 5 Aug 1921	b 8 Sep 1926	b 5 Nov 1935
m Lordsburg, NM	m 7 May 1956	m 7 May 1960
9 Jun 1946	Helen Miller	Dianne Noel Alexander
Edna Tucker	b 8 Sep 1940	b 24 Dec 1940
b 9 Feb 1916		
no issue		

CHART M14166

The Betty Fleming (McGilvary) Milligan Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14166						
Betty Fleming McGilvary b 2 Dec 1893	married 5 Jul 1917	Wayne Milligan b 24 Jun 1886 d 25 Sep 1951				
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>M141661</td> <td>M141662</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Alfred Davidson Milligan b 23 Aug 1918 m Mary Katherine Fleming</td> <td>Betty Jane Milligan b 16 Sep 1919</td> </tr> </table>			M141661	M141662	Alfred Davidson Milligan b 23 Aug 1918 m Mary Katherine Fleming	Betty Jane Milligan b 16 Sep 1919
M141661	M141662					
Alfred Davidson Milligan b 23 Aug 1918 m Mary Katherine Fleming	Betty Jane Milligan b 16 Sep 1919					

CHART M14169

The Annette (McGilvary) Ellis Family

[Cont'd from Chart M1416, page B-13]

M14169											
Annette McGilvary b 2 Sep 1900	married 20 Jun 1925	Walter Clyde Ellis b 10 Mar 1899									
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>M141691</td> <td>M141692</td> <td>M141693</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ernie Edwin Ellis b 11 Dec 1931 m 6 Jun 1957</td> <td>Dan Tyree Ellis b 21 Sep 1933</td> <td>John McGilvary Ellis b 12 Aug 1936 d 13 Aug 1936</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Carrie Vee Carruthers b 25 Jul 1941</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			M141691	M141692	M141693	Ernie Edwin Ellis b 11 Dec 1931 m 6 Jun 1957	Dan Tyree Ellis b 21 Sep 1933	John McGilvary Ellis b 12 Aug 1936 d 13 Aug 1936	Carrie Vee Carruthers b 25 Jul 1941		
M141691	M141692	M141693									
Ernie Edwin Ellis b 11 Dec 1931 m 6 Jun 1957	Dan Tyree Ellis b 21 Sep 1933	John McGilvary Ellis b 12 Aug 1936 d 13 Aug 1936									
Carrie Vee Carruthers b 25 Jul 1941											

CHART M142
The Evander McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14, page B-6]

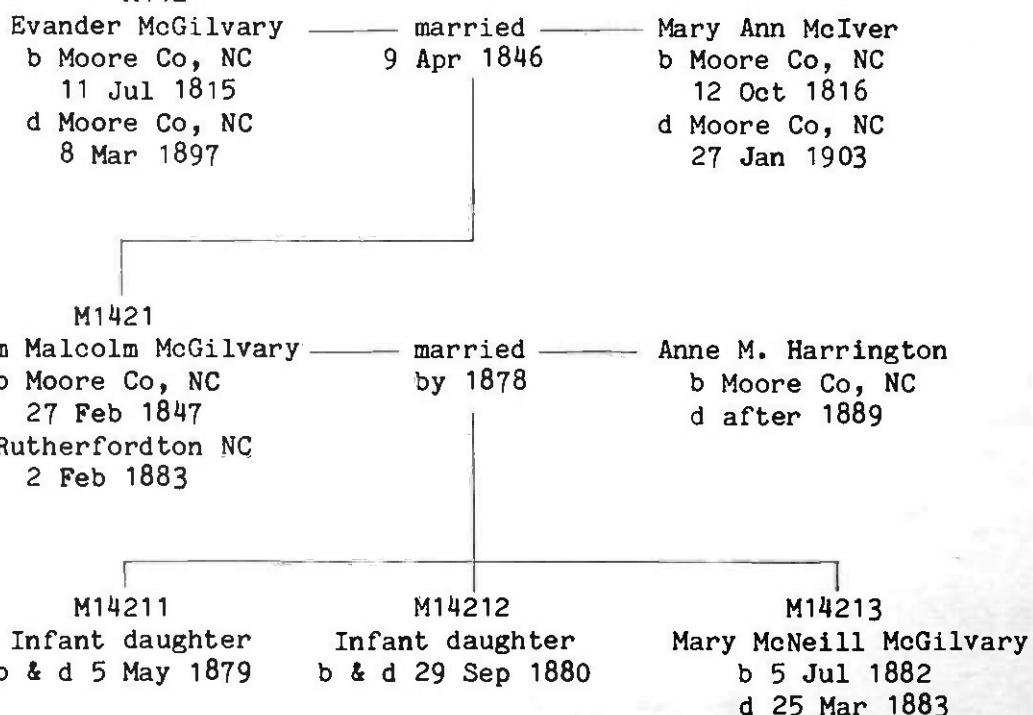


CHART M144
The Alexander McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14, page B-6]

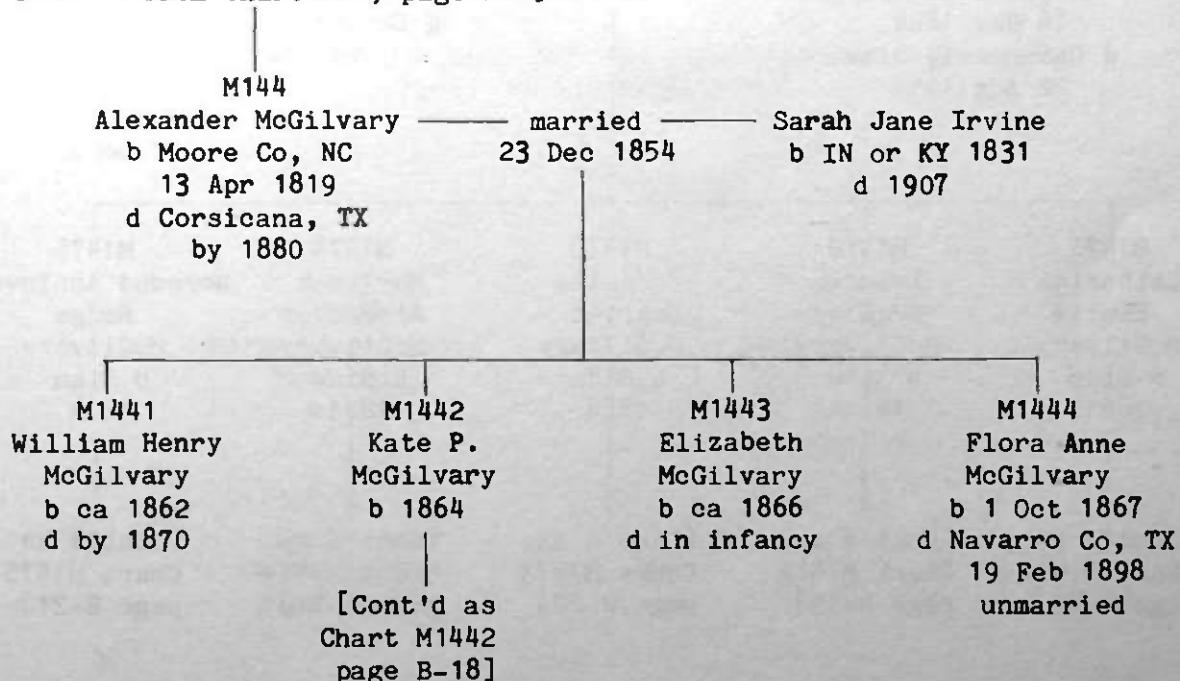


CHART M1442
The Kate P. (McGilvary) Bonner Family

[Cont'd from Chart M144, page B-17]

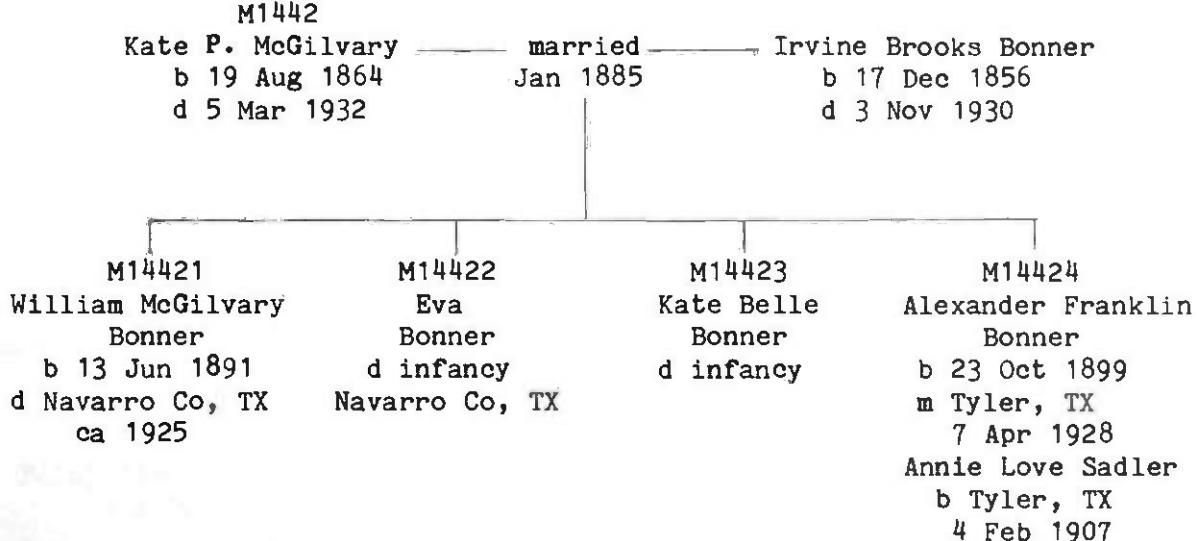


CHART M147
The Rev. Daniel McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M14, page B-6]

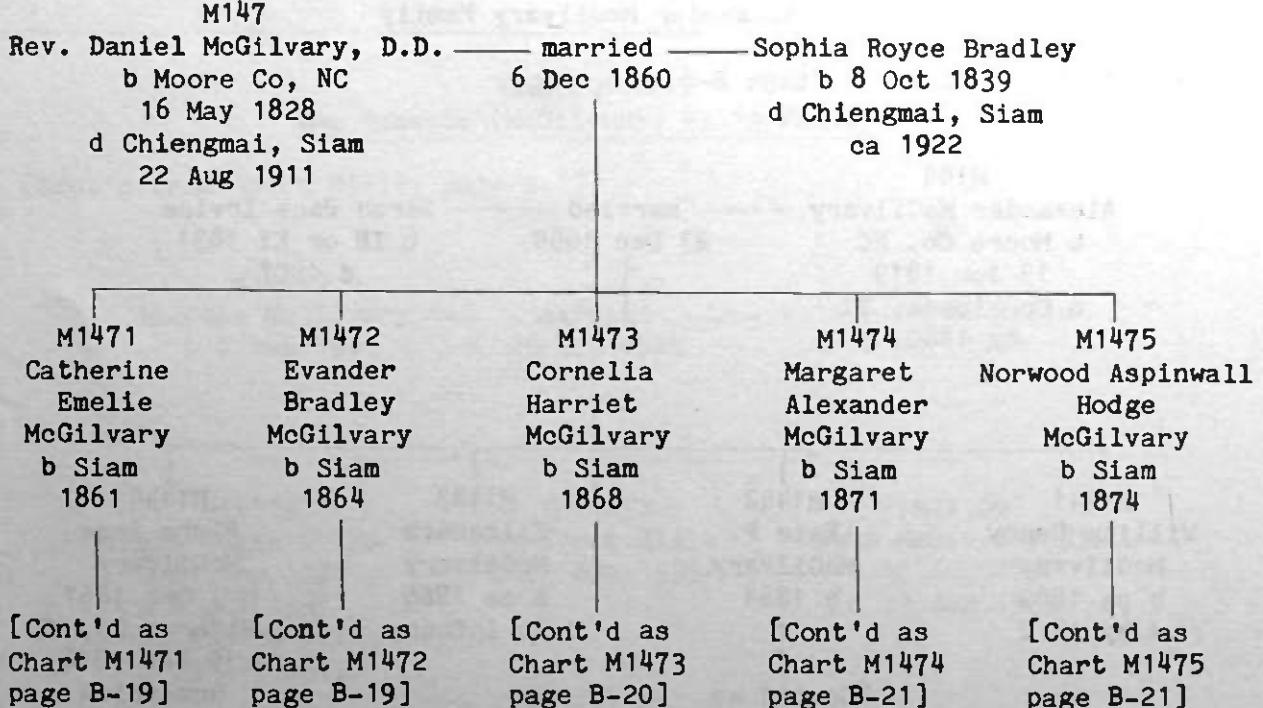
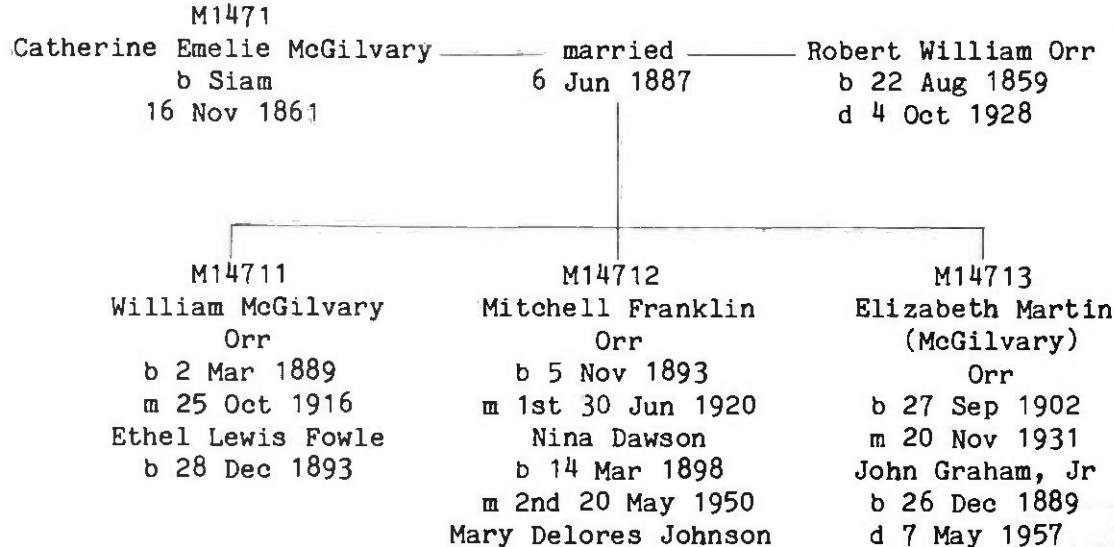


CHART M1471
The Catherine Emelie (McGilvary) Orr Family

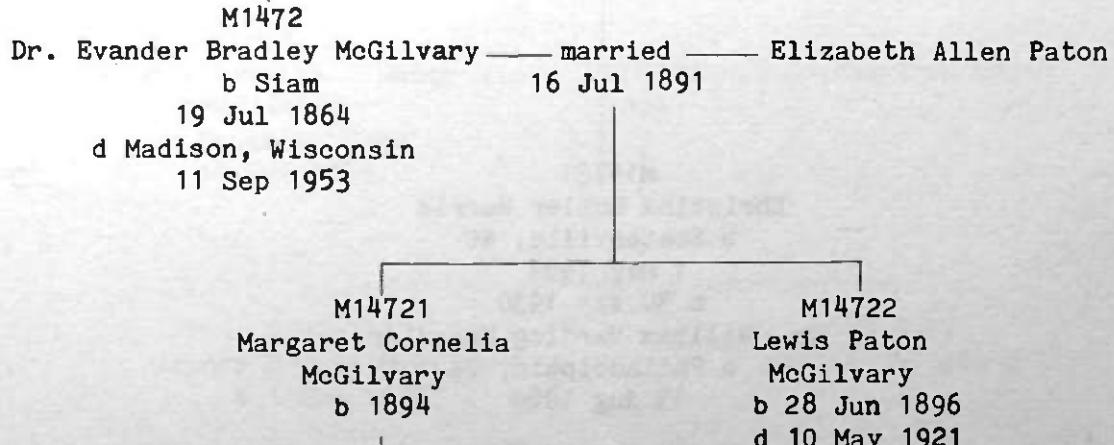
[Cont'd from Chart M147, page B-18]



As a child, Elizabeth Orr changed her middle name from Martin to McGilvary and used McGilvary for the remainder of her life.

CHART M1472
The Dr. Evander Bradley McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M147, page B-18]



[Cont'd as
Chart M14721
page B-20]

CHART M14721
The Margaret Cornelia (McGilvary) Zimmerman Family

[cont'd from Chart M1472, page B-19]

M14721

Margaret Cornelia McGilvary _____ married _____ David Martin Zimmerman
b Siam 25 Apr 1894 3 Oct 1922 b 27 Jun 1896

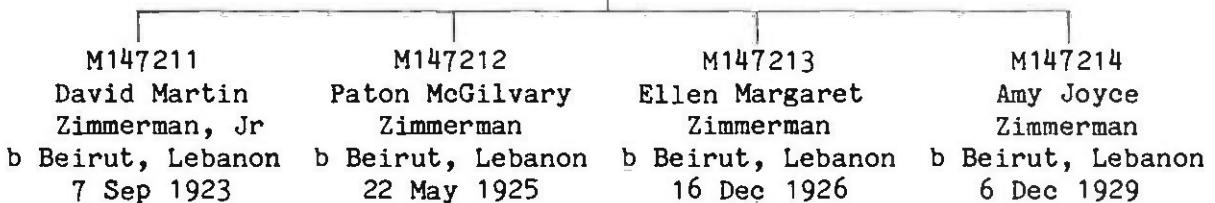


CHART M1473
The Cornelia Harriet (McGilvary) Harris Family

[Cont'd from Chart M147, page B-18]

M1473

Cornelia Harriet McGilvary _____ married Rev. William Harris
b Siam Canton, China b 1870
11 Mar 1868 1897
d 17 Feb 1961 |

M14731

Christina Butler Harris
b Statesville, NC
1 May 1904
m 30 Apr 1930
Dr. William Harding Kneedler
b Philadelphia, PA
13 Aug 1900

CHART M1474
The Margaret Alexander (McGilvary) Gillies Family

[Cont'd from Chart M147, page B-18]

M1474

Margaret Alexander McGilvary — married — Rev. Roderick McLeod Gillies
b Siam 1905 b Isle of Man
24 Feb 1871

M14741	M14742	M14743	M14744
Catherine	Roderick	Daniel	Isabel
Cornelia	McLeod	McGilvary	Bradley
Gillies	Gillies	Gillies	Gillies
b 30 Mar 1908		b Prae, Siam	b 2 Nov 1914
m 14 Dec 1935		5 Jun 1912	
Joseph Walker Martin		m 16 Jun 1945	
b Stamford, CT		Martha Torrey	
4 Jun 1909		b Philadelphia, PA	
		30 Jul 1919	

CHART M1475
The Norwood Aspinwall Hodge McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M147, page B-18]

M1475

Norwood Aspinwall Hodge — married — Adaline Kaji
McGilvary 1916
b Bangkok, Siam
14 Nov 1874

M14751
Winnie Sophia McGilvary
b 1 Dec 1919

M14752
Daniel McGilvary

CHART M2
The Archibald McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M, page B-1]

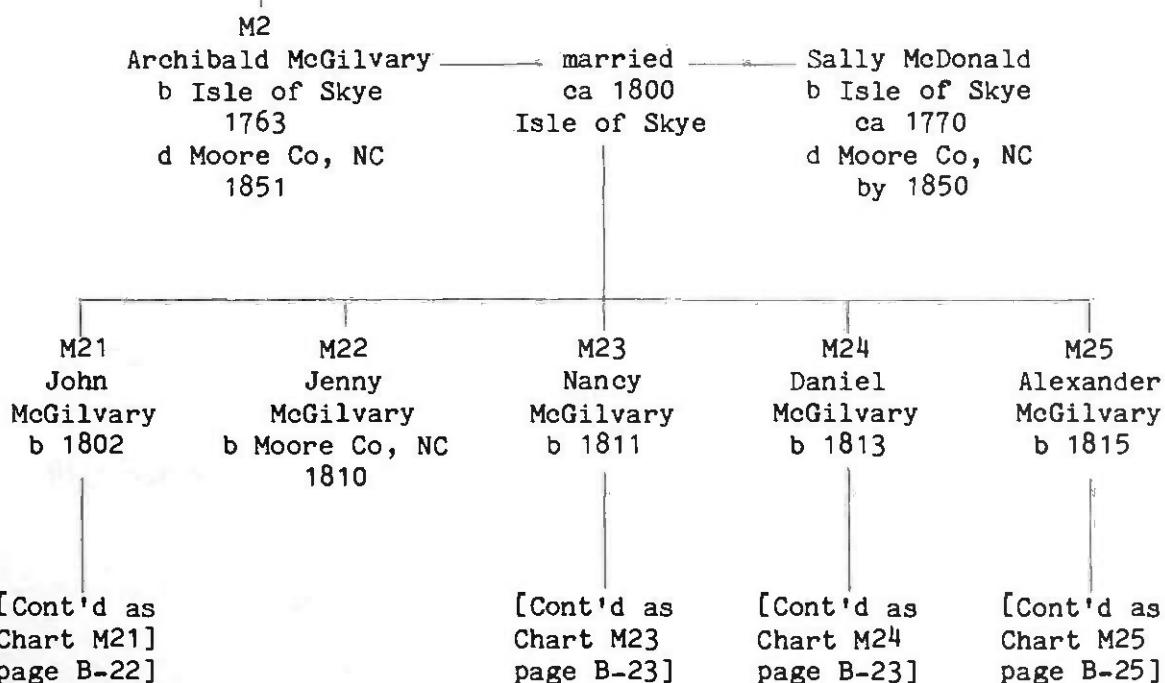
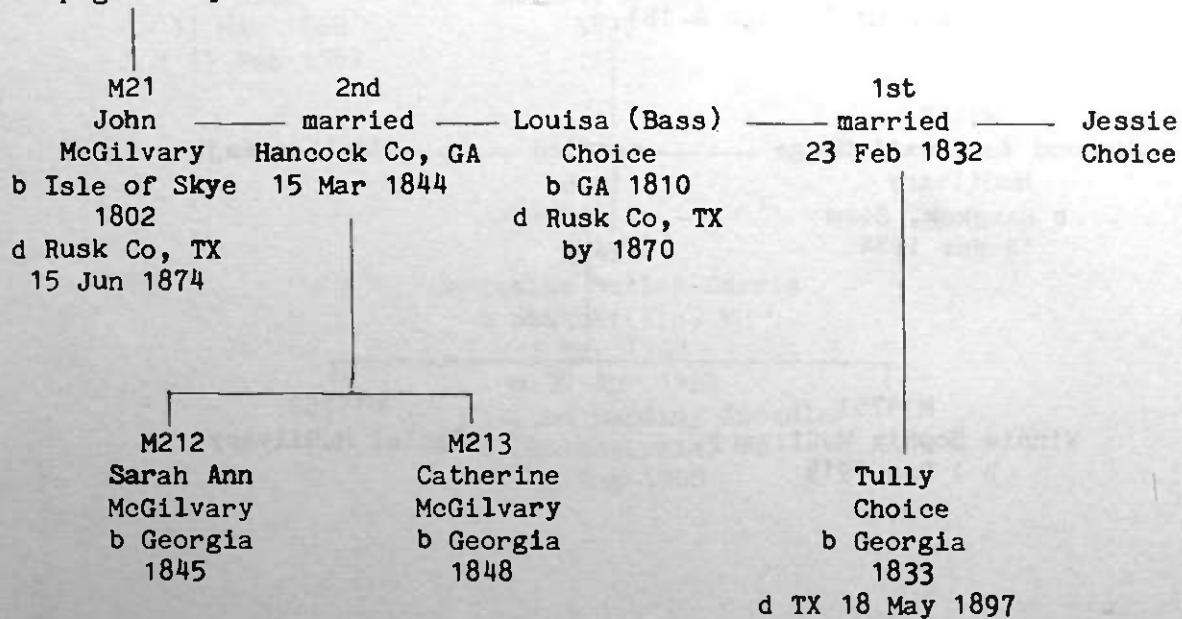


CHART M21
The John McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2,
 page B-22]



Tully Choice is included in this Family Group because of his close association with the McGilvarys in Texas. He was a Baptist Minister.

CHART M23
The Nancy (McGilvary) Morris Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2, page 22]

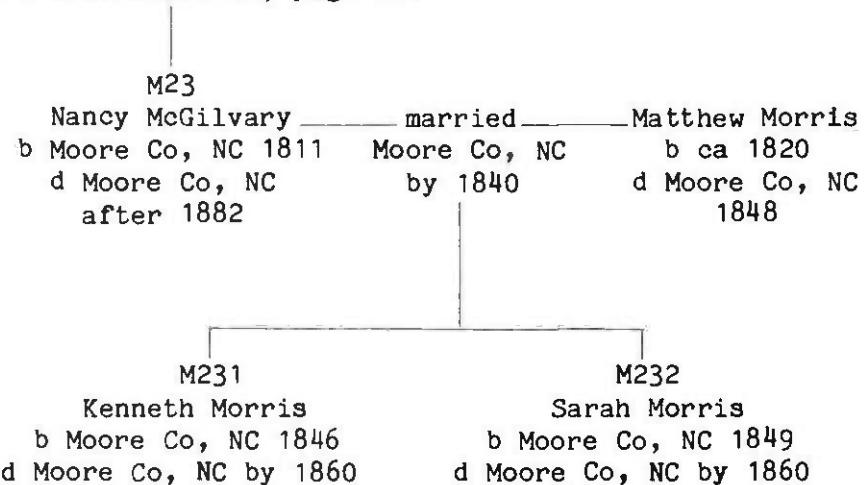


CHART M24
The Daniel McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2, page B-22]

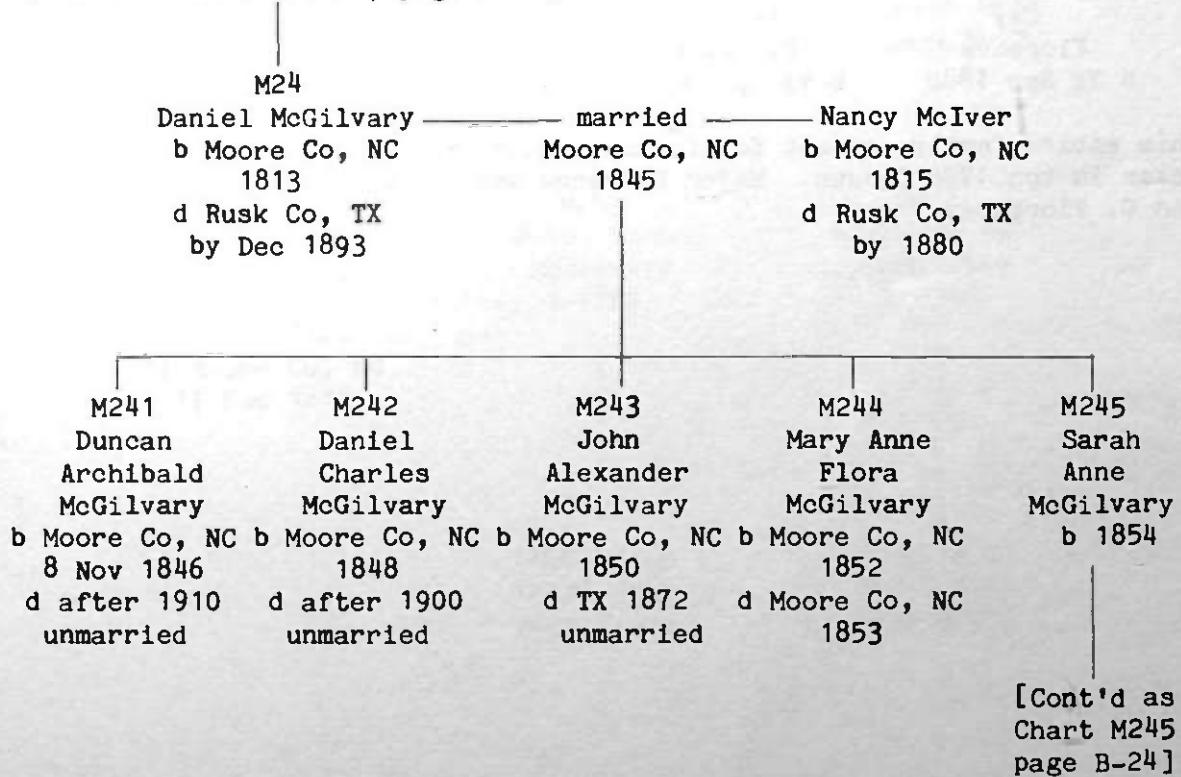
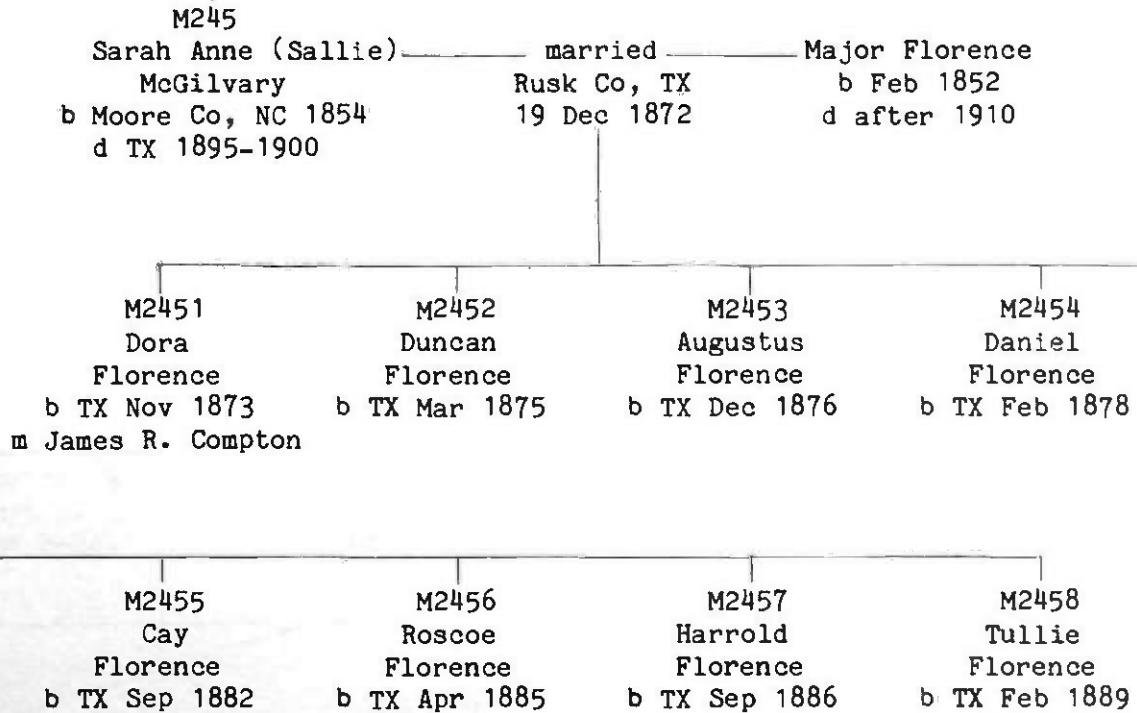


CHART M245
The Sarah Anne (McGilvary) Florence Family

[Cont'd from Chart M24, page B-23]



This entire family, except Sallie the mother, was enumerated in Rockwall, Texas in the 1900 Census. Major Florence was the son of Simeon J. and Ann C. Florence.

CHART M25
The Alexander McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2, page B-22]

M25

Alexander McGilvary	married	Sarah Morris
b Moore Co, NC 1815	Moore Co, NC ca 1854	b Moore Co, NC 5 Apr 1835
d Moore Co, NC 1 Mar 1874		d Moore Co, NC 27 Mar 1912

M251
 Flora Ann
 McGilvary
 b 1854

[Cont'd as
 Chart M251
 page B-26]

M252
 William Archibald
 McGilvary
 b 1857

[Cont'd as
 Chart M252
 page B-27]

M253
 Evander Jackson
 McGilvary
 b 1859

[Cont'd as
 Chart M253
 page B-31]

M254
 John Martin
 McGilvary
 b Moore Co, NC
 3 Aug 1862
 d Moore Co, NC
 17 Feb 1873

M255
 Peter Thomas
 McGilvary
 b 1865

[Cont'd as
 Chart M255
 page B-35]

M256
 Florence Ruth
 McGilvary
 b 1869

[Cont'd as
 Chart M256
 page B-43]

CHART M251
The Flora Ann (McGilvary) McFadyen Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25, page B-25]

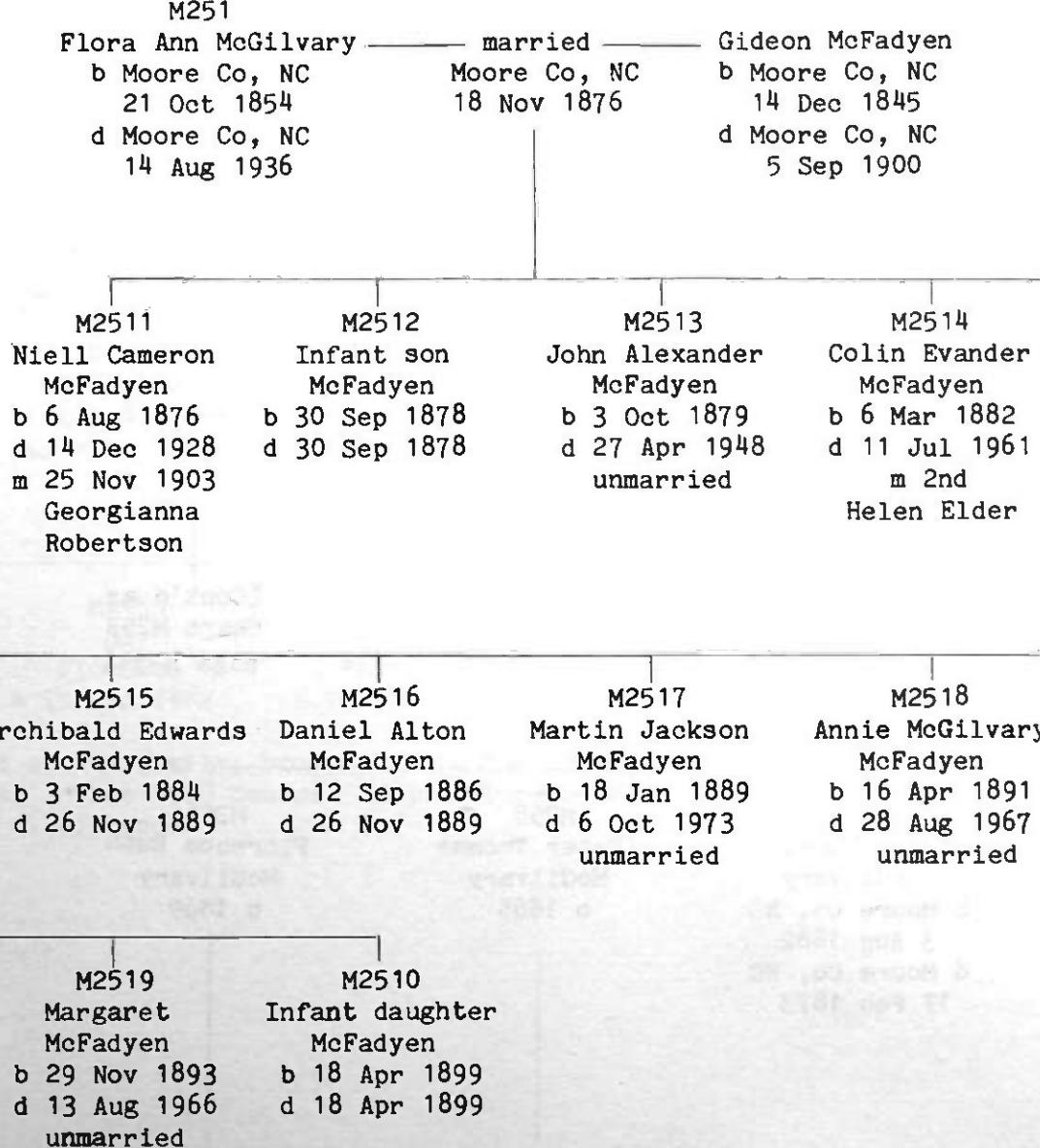


CHART M252
The William Archibald McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25, page B-25]

M252

William Archibald McGilvary	married	Sarah Elizabeth Garner
b Moore Co, NC	NC	b 23 Dec 1861
16 Oct 1857	9 Oct 1881	d 17 Feb 1960
d NC	5 Jun 1902	

M2521
Lelia Maude
McGilvary
b 23 Sep 1882
m 17 Oct 1907
Alonza Breece
b 1869
no issue

M2522
Annie M.
McGilvary
b 1884

M2523
Earnest Archibald
McGilvary
b 1886

M2524
William Alexander
McGilvary
b 27 Jul 1890
d 12 Aug 1892

[Cont'd as
Chart M2522
page B-28]

[Cont'd as
Chart M2523
page B-28]

M2525
Margaret May
McGilvary
b 1892

M2526
Nannie Elizabeth
McGilvary
b 1894

M2527
Martin McNeill
McGilvary
b 10 Feb 1896
d 30 Jul 1967
m. Louise _____

M2528
David Sebastian
McGilvary
b 1898

[Cont'd as
Chart M2525
page B-29]

[Cont'd as
Chart M2526
page B-29]

[Cont'd as
Chart M2528
page B-30]

CHART M2522
The The Annie M (McGilvary) McInnis Family

[Cont'd from Chart M252, page B-27]

M2522

Annie M. (Pearl) McGilvary — married — Luther A. McInnis
b 5 Apr 1884 14 Dec 1902
d Mar 1981

M25221	M25222	M25223	M25224	M25225
Margaret	John	Robert	Mary	Daniel
Elizabeth	Archibald	Glen	Catherine	McInnis
McInnis	McInnis	McInnis	McInnis	b 15 Feb 1911
b 10 Jan 1904	b 3 Oct 1905	b 27 Nov 1907	b 3 Mar 1909	m Mable
m Lewis		m Cornelia	m Arthur	Hubbard
Clanton		McKenzie	Lewis	

M25226	M25227	M25228	M25229
David	Grace	Lawrence	Henry
Dixon	Eugenia	Alexander	McIntyre
McInnis	McInnis	McInnis	McInnis
b 7 Jun 1915	b 25 Jan 1918	b 27 Jul 1920	b 4 Mar 1927
unmarried	m Walter	m Margaret	m Susanne
	Malone	Simpson	

CHART M2523
The Earnest Archibald McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M252, page B-27]

M2523

Earnest Archibald McGilvray — married — Alice English
b 9 Apr 1886 27 Jun 1910 b 6 Sep 1893
d 18 Dec 1962 |

M25231	M25232	M25233
Mary Elizabeth McGilvary b 6 Sep 1911	Earnest Archibald McGilvary, Jr b 26 Sep 1914	Dorothy Corinne McGilvary b 18 Jul 1918
m James Hubert Jerome	m Dale Thaggard	m 1st Russell Duncan m 2nd Carlyle Biggs

Joseph McGilvary Jerome

b 19 Feb 1935
m 1955

Mary Joan Bayles
b 30 Mar 1933

[Chart M2523 continued on page B-29]

[Chart M2523 continued from page B-28]

M25234 Martin Kraft McGilvary b 1 Apr 1921 m1st Mary Louise Asycue m2nd Hattie Braun	M25235 William Herbert McGilvary b 9 May 1924 m1st Margaret O'Tuel m2nd Angie Porter	M25236 Claire Maude McGilvary b 7 Jul 1927 m Elger Neeley
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CHART M2525
The Margaret May (McGilvary) Cameron Family

[Cont'd from Chart M252, page B-27]

M2525 Margaret May McGilvary b 6 Jul 1892	married ca 1913	Roderick Alexander Cameron b 12 Aug 1882 d 14 Aug 1955					
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>M25251 Jeanette Elizabeth Cameron b 26 Dec 1913</td> <td>M25252 Alexander McGilvary Cameron b 12 May 1917</td> <td>M25253 Kenneth Breece Cameron b 24 May 1920</td> <td>M25254 Roderick McDonald Cameron b 8 Mar 1923</td> <td>M25255 Margaret Garner Cameron b 26 Jan 1932 d 1 Sep 1935</td> </tr> </table>			M25251 Jeanette Elizabeth Cameron b 26 Dec 1913	M25252 Alexander McGilvary Cameron b 12 May 1917	M25253 Kenneth Breece Cameron b 24 May 1920	M25254 Roderick McDonald Cameron b 8 Mar 1923	M25255 Margaret Garner Cameron b 26 Jan 1932 d 1 Sep 1935
M25251 Jeanette Elizabeth Cameron b 26 Dec 1913	M25252 Alexander McGilvary Cameron b 12 May 1917	M25253 Kenneth Breece Cameron b 24 May 1920	M25254 Roderick McDonald Cameron b 8 Mar 1923	M25255 Margaret Garner Cameron b 26 Jan 1932 d 1 Sep 1935			

CHART M2526
The Nannie Elizabeth (McGilvary) McInnis Family

[Cont'd from Chart 252, page B-27]

M2526 Nannie Elizabeth McGilvary b 30 Apr 1894	married	Norman A. McInnis b 5 May 1882				
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>M25261 Elaine McInnis</td> <td>M25262 Clyde McInnis</td> <td>M25263 Kathleen McInnis</td> <td>M25264 Labern McInnis</td> </tr> </table>			M25261 Elaine McInnis	M25262 Clyde McInnis	M25263 Kathleen McInnis	M25264 Labern McInnis
M25261 Elaine McInnis	M25262 Clyde McInnis	M25263 Kathleen McInnis	M25264 Labern McInnis			
M25265 Gene McInnis	M25266 Glen McInnis	M25267 Vivian McInnis				

CHART M2528
The David Sebastian McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M252, page B-27]

M2528

David Sebastian McGilvary — married — Essie Rigsbee
b 27 Jul 1898
d 19 Nov 1960

M25281
David R.
McGilvary

M25282
Sybil Lee
McGilvary

M25283
Robert
McGilvary

M25284
Emily Elizabeth
McGilvary

CHART M25311
The Anne Louise Revelle Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2531, page B-32]

M25311

James Elmer — married — Anne Louise — married — James Saxon
Cashatt 1st Revelle 2nd Smith
b 27 Apr 1959 21 Jan 1943 b 6 Feb 1921 29 Mar 1975 b 17 May 1927
d 18 Jun 1983

M253111
Rebecca Louise
Cashatt
b 22 Feb 1944
m 5 Aug 1967
Andrew Jackson
Champion, Jr
b 25 Jun 1943

M253112
JoAnn Revelle
Cashatt
b 1 May 1948
m 10 Aug 1966
Alfred Boyd
Little
b 25 Sep 1946

M253113
James Thomas
Cashatt
b 16 Oct 1949
d 2 Jan 1951

M253113
John Thomas
Cashatt
b 16 Dec 1951
m Mary Gwynne Blair
b 1 Dec 1952

CHART M253
The Evander Jackson McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25, page B-25]

M253

Ida Estelle	married	Evander Jackson	married	Louetta
Davis	1st	McGilvary	2nd	McNeill
b NC Apr 1867	NC	b Moore Co, NC	NC	b NC 26 Jun 1875
d NC	28 Feb 1889	27 Feb 1859	3 Apr 1901	d NC 23 Nov 1968
1 Aug 1900		d Moore Co, NC		
		5 Sep 1931		

M2531 Iola Estelle McGilvary b 1891	M2532 John Alexander McGilvary b 1892	M2533 William Deveraux McGilvary b 1894	M2534 Roy Evander McGilvary b 16 Mar 1897 d 16 Feb 1899
---	---	---	--

[Cont'd as
Chart M2531,
page B-32]

[Cont'd as
Chart M2532,
page B-32]

[Con'd as
Chart M2533,
page B-33]

M2535 James Loas McGilvary b 1902	M2536 Lucille McGilvary b 15 Apr 1904	M2537 Allie Montez McGilvary b 28 Jan 1906	M2538 Mary Vannie McGilvary b 17 Mar 1908 d 17 May 1908	M2539 Lester Martin McGilvary b 1911
--	--	---	---	---

[Cont'd as
Chart M2535,
page B-34]

[Cont'd as
Chart M2539,
page B-34]

CHART M2531
The Iola Estelle (McGilvary) Revelle Family

[Cont'd from Chart M253, page B-31]

M2531

Iola Estelle McGilvary ————— married ————— Thomas J. Revelle
b 18 Mar 1891 18 Feb 1920 b 10 Aug 1894
d 18 Feb 1920 | d 25 Feb 1959

125311

Ann Louise Revelle
b 1921

[Cont'd as Chart M25311, page B-30]

CHART M2532

[Cont'd from Chart M253, page B-31]

M2532

John Alexander McGilvary — married — Isabella Hightower Clark
b 5 Nov 1892 15 Jun 1917 b 19 Mar 1898
d 26 Dec 1983 | d 7 Mar 1970

M25321

Frances Isabella McGilvary — married — George Bascum Muse
b 31 Oct 1920 9 Jan 1940 b 16 Jun 1915

M253211
Linda Frances
Muse
b 28 Oct 1942
m1st 1963
Norris Bridwel
n2nd 11 Nov 19
Dennis Kelly

M253212
David Alexander
Muse
b 16 Sep 1947
m 5 Feb 1972
Linda Marie Garth
b 27 Sep 1940

M253213
Katherine Ann
Muse
b 9 Feb 1955
m 1984
David Tolbert

M253214
John Alton
Muse
b. 18 May 1962

CHART M2533
The William Deveraux McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M253, page B-31]

M2533

Mary	married	William Deveraux	married	Nora Ann
Thomas	1st	McGilvary	2nd	McConnell
b 16 Oct 1895	23 Dec 1924	b Moore Co, NC	23 Jan 1962	b 27 Jul 1893
d 20 Sep 1958		30 Dec 1894		d 25 Oct 1974
		d Moore Co, NC		
		25 Jun 1971		

M25331

William Deveraux
McGilvary, Jr
b 26 Dec 1925
d 4 Jun 1950

M25332

Mary Alice
McGilvary
b 1927

[Cont'd as
Chart M25332
page B-33]

CHART M25332
The Mary Alice (McGilvary) Matthews Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2533, page B-33]

M25332

Mary Alice McGilvary	married	Gilbert Page Matthews
b 23 Apr 1927	19 Nov 1949	b 8 May 1927

M253321

Linda Sue Matthews
b 10 Sep 1954
m 20 Nov 1976
Larry Michael Wann
b 27 Sep 1954

M253322

Carol Page Matthews
b 21 Jan 1957
m 17 Sep 1983
Angus Allen McDonald
b 27 Jul 1952

CHART M2535

[Cont'd from Chart M253, page B-31]

M2535

James Loas McGilvary — married — Loree Williford
b 9 Aug 1902 3 Jul 1931 b 12 Dec 1906
d 1 Dec 1955

M25351

James Dewitt McGilvary — married — Madge Cline
b 25 Sep 1937 25 Jun 1960 b 15 Jul 1940

M253511	M253512	M253513	M253514	M253515
Becky Ann McGilvary b 15 May 1961 m Jessie Noble divorced	Sharron Lou McGilvary b 2 Jun 1962	Loree Lynn McGilvary b 16 Jun 1963	James Dewitt McGilvary, Jr b 5 Jul 1966	Daniel William McGilvary b 13 Mar 1971

M2525111

Christy Leigh Noble
b 29 Nov 1980

CHART M2539

[Cont'd from Chart M253, page B-31]

M2539

Lester Martin McGilvary — married — Pattie Mae Wilson
b 3 Jul 1911 25 Nov 1943 b 10 Mar 1916
d 29 Nov 1974 |

M25391

Ernie Gayle
McGilvary
b 15 Feb 1954
m 14 Feb 1976

William Ray Matthews
b 7 Jul 1948

M25392

Susan Martin
McGilvary
b. 12 Nov. 1957

CHART M255
The Peter Thomas McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25, page B-25]

M255

Cora Lee	married	Peter Thomas	married	Sarah Hunt
Hunt	1st	McGilvary	2nd	b Moore Co, NC
b Moore Co, NC	Moore Co, NC	b Moore Co, NC	Moore Co, NC	22 Dec 1875
9 Mar 1871	6 Feb 1890	12 Aug 1865	23 Sep 1896	d Polk Co, FL
d Moore Co, NC		d Polk Co, FL		10 Jan 1957
8 Jan 1895		22 Nov 1937		

M2551

Infant daughter
 McGilvary
 b 22 Jan 1892
 d 22 Jan 1892

M2552

Alexander Hunt
 McGilvary
 b 1895

[Cont'd as Chart M2552
 page B-36]

M2553 Stanley Derwood McGilvary b 1897	M2554 Harvey Evander McGilvary b 2 Feb 1900 d 30 Jan 1926 unmarried	M2555 Mary Lue McGilvary b 11 Dec 1901 m 28 May 1925 Leland Lefay Bryan b 24 Apr 1901 d 20 Nov 1962 no issue	M2556 Leon Peter McGilvary b 1904	M2557 Sarah Florence McGilvary b 1906
--	---	---	---	---

[Cont'd as
 Chart M2553,
 page B-38]

[Cont'd as
 Chart M2556,
 page B-39]

[Cont'd as
 Chart M2557,
 page B-40]

M2558 Raymond Clyde McGilvary b 5 Jan 1909 d 9 Jul 1947 m 1st Frances Goethe m 2nd Jun 1947	M2559 Dolly Agnes McGilvary b 1911	M255A William Griffith McGilvary b 1913	M255B Claudia Marie McGilvary b 9 Oct 1915 d 20 Mar 1917	M255C Richard Kenneth McGilvary b 1919
---	--	---	---	--

[Cont'd as
 Chart M2559,
 page B-40]

[Cont'd as
 Chart M255A,
 page B-41]

[Cont'd as
 Chart M255C,
 page B-42]

no issue

CHART M2552
The Alexander Hunt McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

M2552
 Alexander Hunt McGilvary — married — Lily May Inge
 b Moore Co. NC Petersburg, VA b Lunenburg Co, VA
 8 Jan 1895 25 Apr 1921 12 Jun 1902
 d Colonial Hts., VA Petersburg, VA
 16 Jul 1969 15 Oct 1982

M25521 Raymond Alexander McGilvary b 1924	M25522 Doris May McGilvary b 1935	M25523 Thomas Edward McGilvary b 17 Jan 1937 d Colonial Heights, VA d Colonial Heights, VA 15 Dec 1937	M25524 William Randolph McGilvary b Colonial Heights, VA 2 June 1942 m 18 Nov 1972 Mary Elizabeth Watkins b 22 Mar 1951 divorced
[Cont'd as Chart M25521, page B-36]	[Cont'd as Chart M25522, page B-38]		

CHART M25521
The Raymond Alexander McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2552, page B-36]

M25521
 Raymond Alexander McGilvary — married — Majorie Lee Hawks
 b Colonial Heights, VA Wichita, KS b MO 17 Aug 1922
 10 Jan 1924 5 Jan 1944

M255211 Michael Alexander McGilvary b 1945	M255212 William Ray McGilvary b 1946	M255213 Susan Kay McGilvary b 22 Nov 1952 m 2 Jun 1973 Michael Twichell b 21 Mar 1951 divorced no issue	M255214 Kathy Ann McGilvary b 1955
[Cont'd as Chart M255211, page B-37]	[Cont'd as Chart M255212, page B-37]		[Cont'd as Chart M255214, page B-37]

CHART M255211
The Michael Alexander McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25521, page B-36]

M255211

Linda Howe — married — Michael Alexander — married — Barbara Dollery
b 29 Jun 1946 1st McGilvary 2nd d 5 Apr 1982
3 Dec 1967 b 1 Feb 1945 19 Apr 1978
divorced d 5 Apr 1982

M2552111

Laura Louise McGilvary
b 21 Jun 1968

M2552112

Michaele Lee McGilvary
b 14 Apr 1971

CHART M255212

The William Ray McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25521, page B-36]

Gloria — married — William Ray — married — Erica
Abernathy 1st McGilvary 2nd Meinhardt
b 10 Oct 1944 10 Nov 1968 b 8 Apr 1946 21 Jan 1982 b 10 Oct 1958
divorced

M2552121

Amy Lynn McGilvary
b 25 Oct 1971

M2552122

Christopher Scott McGilvary
b 17 Jul 1975

CHART M255214
The Kathy Ann (McGilvary) Fisher Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25521, page B-36]

M255214

Kathy Ann McGilvary — married — Jack Earl Fisher
b 12 Jan 1955 25 Apr 1976 b 16 Sep 1953

M2552141

Jennifer Lynn Fisher
b 26 Apr 1984

CHART M25522
The Doris May (McGilvary) Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2552, page B-36]

M25522				
Joseph Anthony	married	Doris May	married	George Edward
Brown	1st	McGilvary	2nd	Carter
b 21 Apr 1931	4 Jun 1954	b 6 Apr 1935	12 Jun 1959	b 20 Oct 1929
d Jan 1977	divorced		divorced	
married 3rd 9 Jun 1975 Harold Austin Steiner b 13 Feb 1921				

M255221	M255222
George Arthur Carter	Kevin Alexander Carter
b 18 Mar 1960	b 10 Jul 1964

CHART 2553
The Stanley Derwood McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

M2553				
Stanley Derwood McGilvary	married	Thelma R. Andrews		
b 23 July 1897	21 Dec 1922	b 22 Jan 1903		
d 12 Feb 1964		d Nov 1977		
M25531				
Ruth Evelyn McGilvary	married	John T. Echols		
b 25 Nov 1925	2 Dec 1944			
M255311 M255312				
Sandra Rae Echols		John T. Echols, Jr.		
b 8 Nov 1948		b 29 May 1958		
m 5 Jul 1969				
William Flowers				

(8)

CHART 2556
The Leon Peter McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

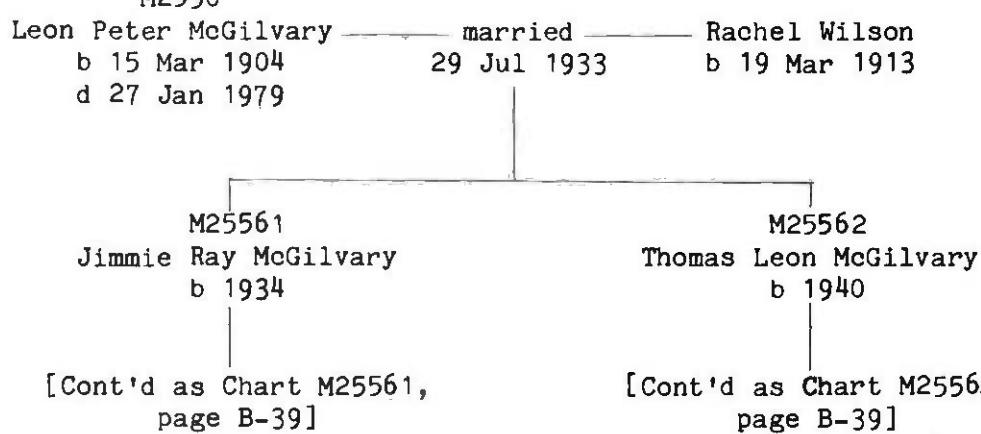


CHART M25561
The Jimmie Ray McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2556, page B-39]

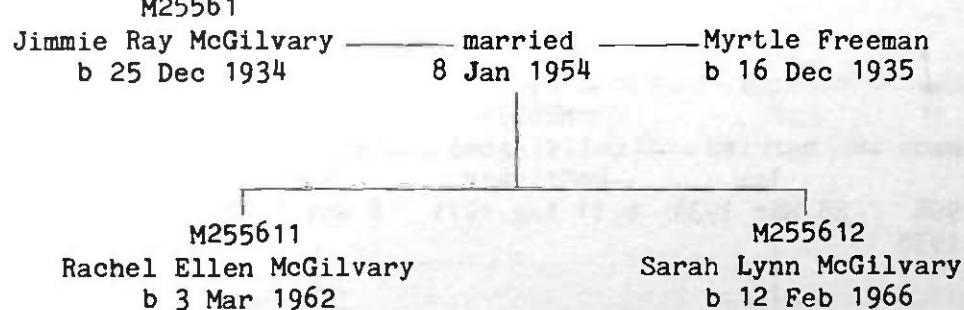


CHART M25562
The Thomas Leon McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M2556, page B-39]

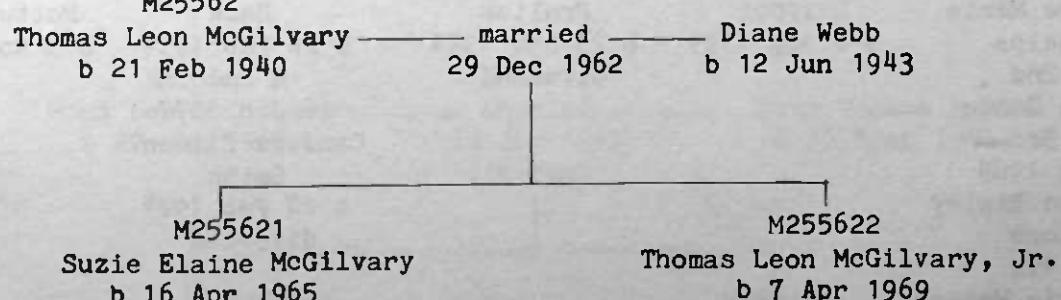


CHART M2557
The Sarah Florence (McGivray) Armstrong Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

M2557

Sarah Florence McGilvary married Irving Joseph Armstrong
b 2 Dec 1906 14 Dec 1929
d 8 Sep 1956

M25571

Veronica McGilvary Armstrong
b 4 Oct 1930
m 14 Oct 1950
Richard Harold Edwards

M25572

Irving Joseph Armstrong, Jr
b 14 Jun 1942
m 10 Jul 1963
Valerie Alvarez

CHART M2559
The Dolly Agnes (McGilvary) Fortson Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

M2559

Harry Jefferson — married — Dolly Agnes — married — William Opal
 Crosby 1st McGilvary 2nd Fortson
 b 8 Feb 1908 25 Mar 1934 b 11 Aug 1911 8 Nov 1942 b 14 Aug 1909
 d 17 Sep 1938 |

M25591

Bobby Richard
Crosby
b 21 Jun 1935
m 1st
17 Nov 1956
Janice Marie
Phelps
m 2nd
Anita Goods
m 3rd
Oct 1969
Sharon Rawley
Storm
m 4th
Majorie Messer
divorced

M25592

Carmen Leclai
Crosby
b 30 Jul 193
m 9 Mar 1957
Charles Whipple
Skipper
b 6 Aug 1929

M25593

Julia Opal
Fortson
b 28 Feb 1945
m 6 May 1967
Charles Wendel
Frollick
b 23 Dec 1944
divorced

M25594

Joe Henry
Fortson
b 6 Jul 1947
m 21 Mar 1966
Carole Dianne
Beck
b 28 Feb 1954
m 2nd
18 Jun 1977
Candace Eileen
Smith
b 20 Feb 1924
divorced

M25595

Jerry Edgar
Fortson
b 2 Oct 1952
m 17 Nov 1981
Cathy Lynn
Mottweiler
b 5 Nov 1956

CHART M255A
The William Griffith McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart 255, page B-35]

M255A

Lynn Vinson — married — William Griffith — married — Ramona Jean
1st McGilvary 2nd Stuart
divorced b 30 Jul 1913 1 Jun 1946 b 20 Oct 1920
d 17 Jul 1982 divorced

M255A1

Jeffery Scott
McGilvary
b 1947

[Cont'd as
Chart M255A1,
page B-41]

M255A2

Mona Lea
McGilvary
b 1948

[Cont'd as
Chart M255A2,
page B-41]

M255A3

Michael William
McGilvary
b 7 Jan 1952
m 3 Jun 1974
Marilyn Katherine Klarer
b 27 Nov 1931

CHART M255A1

The Jeffery Scott McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255A, page B-41]

M255A1

Rhonda Anne — married — Jeffery Scott — married — Mary Katherine
Overton 1st McGilvary 2nd Schutz
b 24 Apr 1951 24 Apr 1971 b 17 Feb 1947 17 Aug 1980 b 14 Jun 1958
divorced

M255A11

Michael Scott McGilvary
b 27 Feb 1981

M255A12

Jeffery David McGilvary
b 1 Jun 1982

CHART M255A2

The Mona Lea (McGilvary) Byrd Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255A, page B-41]

M255A2

Mona Lea McGilvary — married — Dave Thomas Byrd
b 22 Jun 1948 13 Jun 1967 b 20 Sept 1945
divorced

M255A21

Jennifer Lee Byrd
b 13 Mar 1971

M255A22

Christian David Byrd
b 31 Oct 1974

CHART M255C
The Richard Kenneth McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255, page B-35]

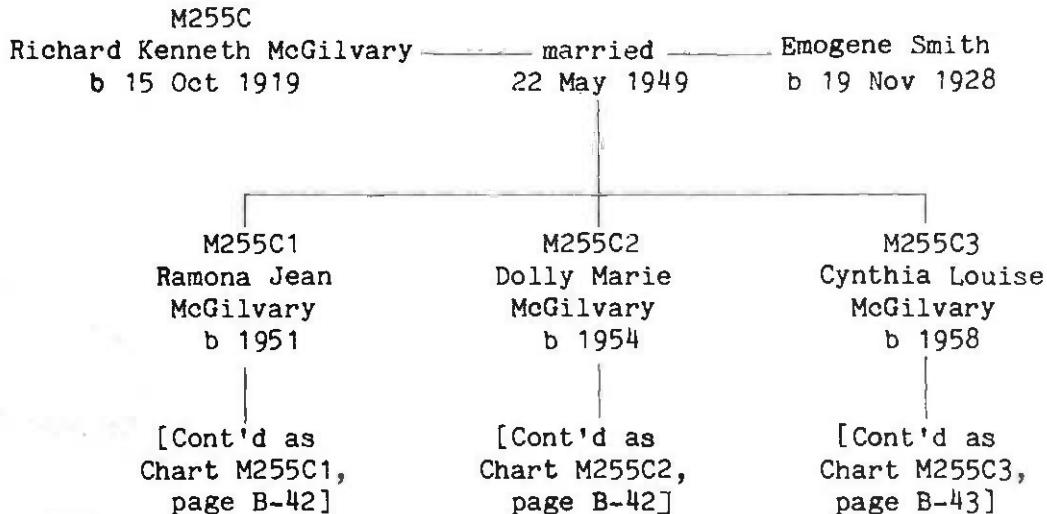


CHART M255C1
The Ramona Jean (McGilvary) Phillips Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255C, page B-42]

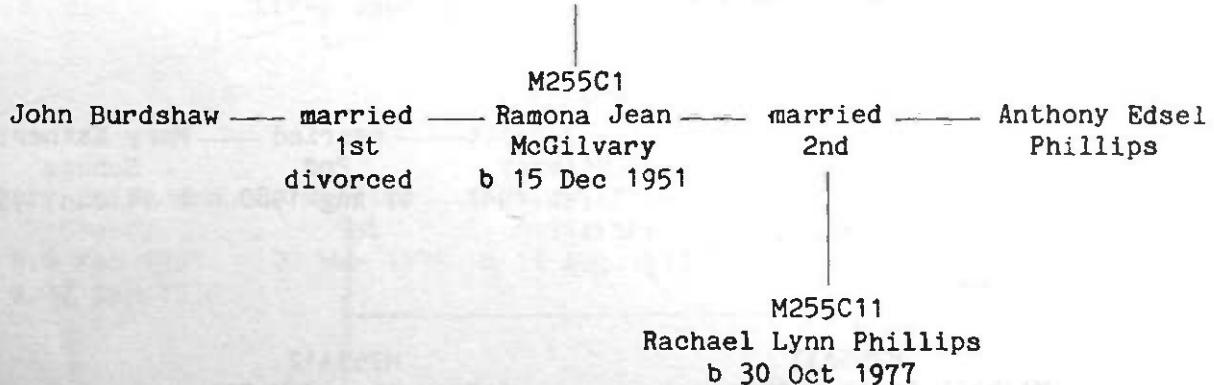


CHART M255C2
The Dolly Marie (McGilvary) Bath Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255C, page B-42]

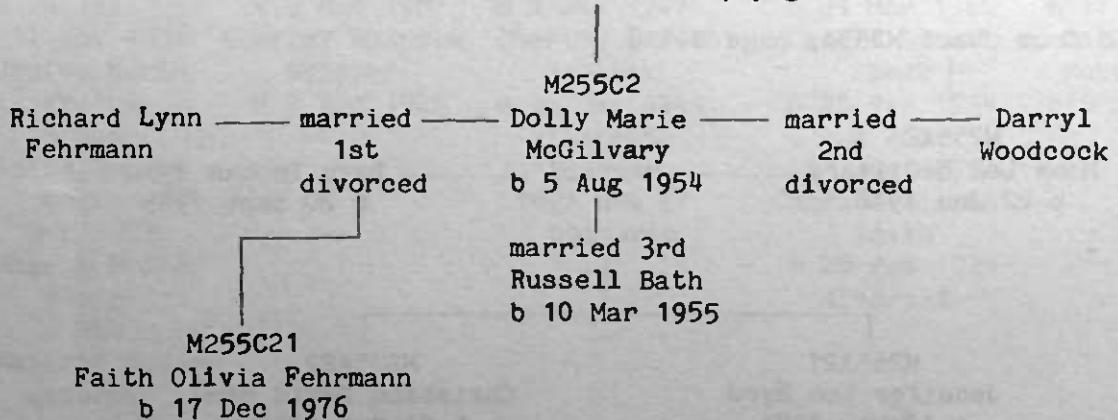


CHART M255C3
The Cynthia Louise (McGilvary) Johnston Family

[Cont'd from Chart M255C, page B-42]

M255C3

Cynthia Louise McGilvary _____ married _____ John Richard Johnston
b 18 Feb 1958 |

M255C31

Susan Elaine
Johnston
b 12 Sep 1978

M255C32
Christina Anne
Johnston
b 5 Aug 1980

M255C33
John Richard
Johnston,
b 3 Nov 19

CHART M256
The Florence Ruth (McGilvary) Buie Family

[Cont'd from Chart M25, page B-25]

M256

Florence Ruth McGilvary married Duncan Dixon Buie
b NC 10 Mar 1869 NC 1890 b NC 1864
d NC Jul 1956 | d NC 1929

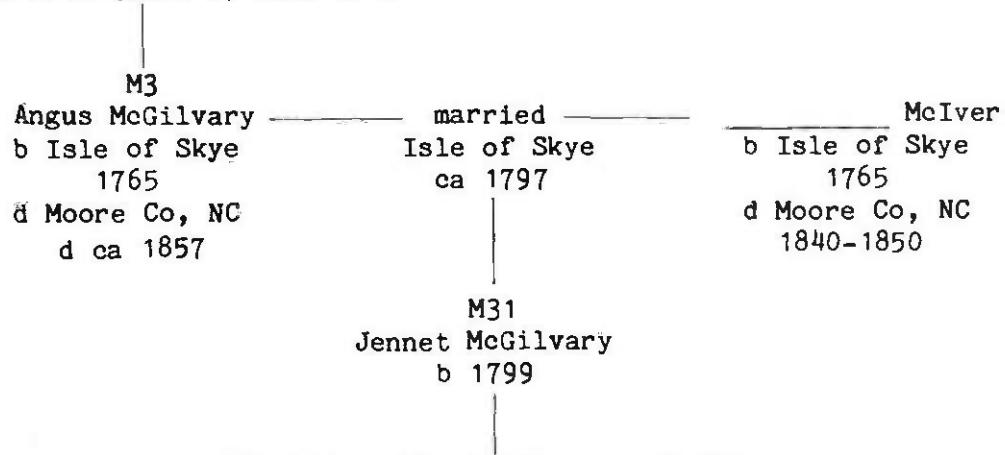
M2561
Carl Dixon Buie
b NC 20 Jul 1891
d 13 May 1919

M2562
Lex Earl Buie
b NC 3 Jun 1893
d 30 Sep 1938
m 1924
Maude Aldine Lyerly
b 13 Dec 1901
d 6 Feb 1938

M2563
William Gray Buie
b NC 4 Sep 1896
m 10 May 1925
Sadie Phillips
divorced

CHART M3
The Angus McGilvary Family

[Cont'd from Chart M, page B-1]



[Cont'd as Chart M31, page B-44]

CHART M31
The Jennet (McGilvary) McRae Family

[Cont'd from Chart M3, page B-44]

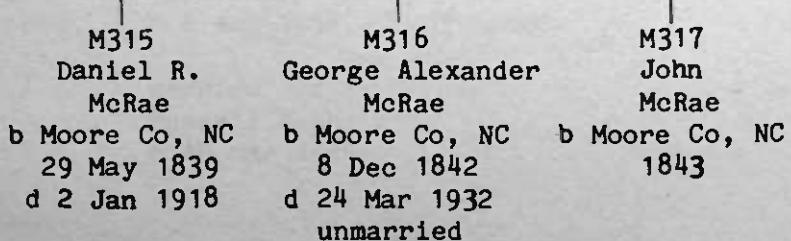
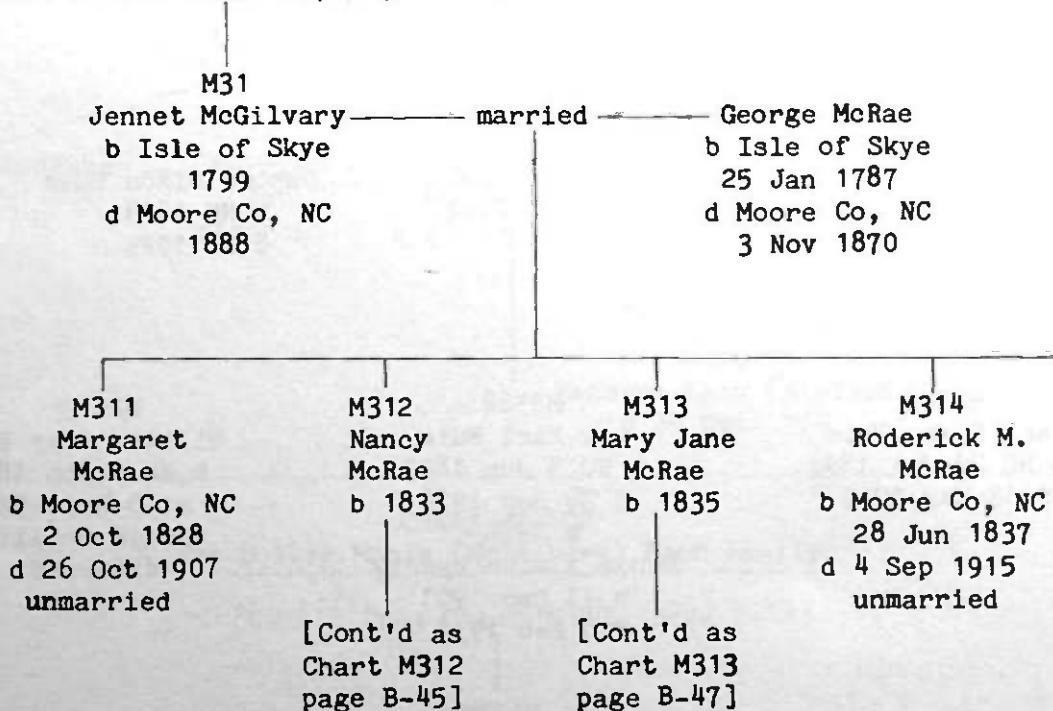


CHART M312
The Nancy (McRae) Campbell Family

[Cont'd from Chart, M31, page B-44]

M312

M3121
J. Walter
Campbell
b ca 1862
m Mary Adams
b Cumberland Co.,
NC ca 1865

M3122
Donald M.
Campbell
b ca 1864

M3123
Mary Ellen
Campbell
b ca 1866
m Carl Davis
no issue

M3124
Novella
Campbell
b 27 Sep 1868
m Samuel Thomas
Ewing

M3125
Willie Ann
Campbell
b 15 Sep 1872
d 5 Aug 1907
unmarried

M3126
Clinton Roderick
Campbell
b 24 Mar 1875
d 3 Aug 1934
m 18 Aug 1910
Mary Ella Boyd
b 20 Aug 1887
d 7 Aug 1938

M3127
Robena
Campbell
b. 1878

M3128
Agnes
Campbell
b 27 Jun 1879
d 9 Feb 1952
m 22 Jan 1920
Duncan Archibald
McGoogan
b 9 Sep 1861
d 10 May 1929

[Cont'd as
Chart M3127
page B-46]

CHART M3127
The Robena (Campbell) McIntosh Family

[Cont'd from Chart M312, page B-45]

M3127

Robena Campbell	married	Daniel Archibald McIntosh
b Sanford, NC	15 Dec 1898	b 23 Oct 1870
27 Sep 1878		d 21 Jan 1945
d 14 Nov 1951		

M31271 M31272
Fred Campbell David Herman
McIntosh McIntosh
b 2 Dec 1899 b 14 Feb 1901
d Charlotte,
NC 6 Jan 1953
m Charlotte, NC
14 Nov 1936
Ruby Hazeline
Welch
b Charlotte, NC
23 Oct 1908

M31273 M31274 M31275
Mary Ellen William Hill
McIntosh McIntosh
b 1902 b 27 Jun 1904
d 20 Jun 1953
m New Bern, NC
15 Sep 1940
Ruth Banks
b Jones Co, NC
27 Sep 1914

[Cont'd as
Chart M31273
page B-47]

M31276 M31277 M31278 M31279 M3127A
Elva Edith Annie Wilson Agnes Rachel Edna Pauline
McIntosh McIntosh McIntosh McIntosh McIntosh
b 5 Feb 1908 b 12 Jun 1910 b 28 Oct 1912 b 26 Sep 1915 b 12 Aug 1918
m 18 Sep 1926 m 21 Aug 1929 m 18 Nov 1931 m 28 Dec 1940 m 24 Jun 1942
James Marcus Clawson Willie Sandy James Reid Frank Ellis
Johnson Bateman Stout Thomas Decker
b 14 Mar 1904 Ellis b 12 Jun 1910 b 3 May 1911

CHART M31273
The Mary Ellen (McIntosh) McPhaul Family

[Cont'd from Chart M3127, page B-46]

M31273

M312731	M312732	M312733	M312734
Infant son McPhaul	Frances Campbell McPhaul	John Henry McPhaul, Jr	William Daniel McPhaul
b Red Springs, NC 5 Sep 1923	b Red Springs, NC 21 Jun 1925	b Red Springs, NC 29 Jul 1928	b Red Springs, NC 13 Jun 1936
d 5 Sep 1923	m 26 Jan 1947 James Pink McMillan, Jr	m Fayetteville, NC 20 Mar 1954 Doris Elizabeth	m 8 Apr 1955 Nancy Helen Laney
b Red Springs, NC 18 Jul 1924		Johnson	b Red Springs, NC 20 Jan 1937
		b Lillington, NC 10 Feb 1926	

CHART M313

[Cont'd from Chart M31, page B-44]

M313

Mary Jane McRae married John Campbell
b Moore Co, NC
20 Dec 1835
d 6 Jan 1918

M3131

Isabel Campbell married Joseph LaFayette Knight
ca 1896

M31311

Dr. Floyd
LaFayette
Knight
b. 1897

d 22 Oct 1977
m Dorothy Ward

M31312
Rev. J. Irvin
Knight

M31313
Daughter
Knight

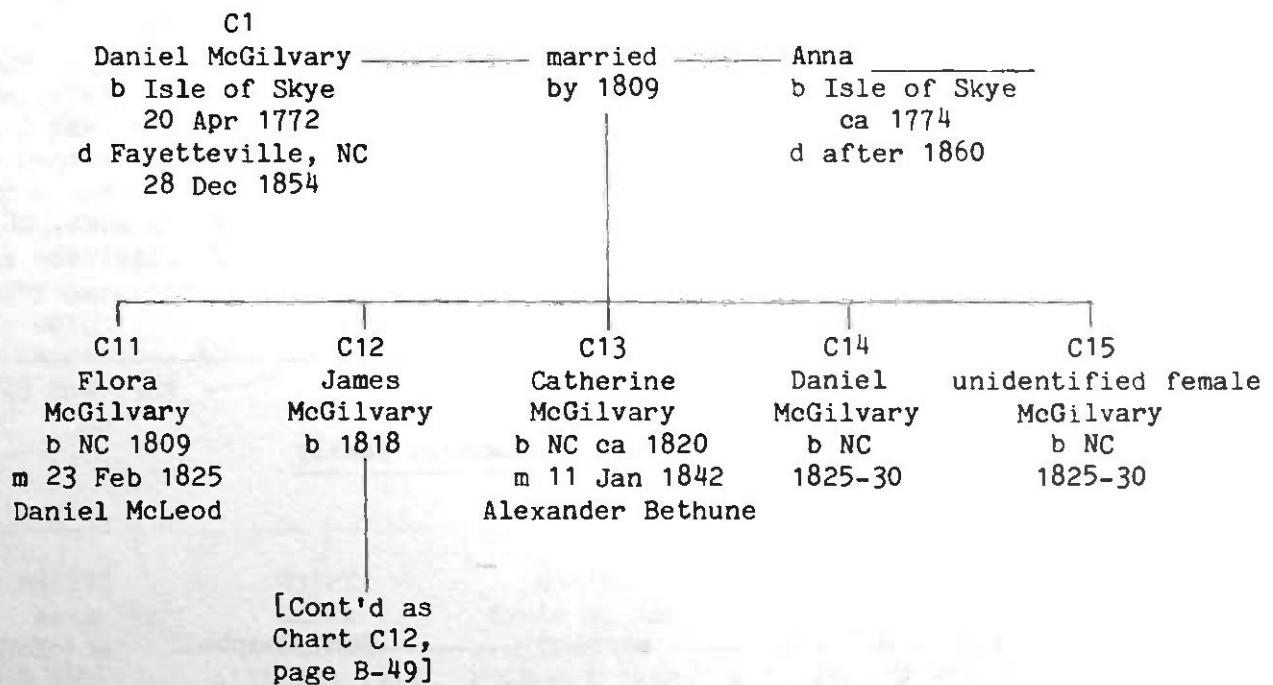
OTHER MACGILLIVRAY CONNECTIONS

In the first part of this appendix we presented data on the descendants of MacGillivrays who emigrated from the Isle of Skye to Moore County, North Carolina. In this part, we present as much information as is available on the descendants of other MacGillivrays who emigrated to neighboring North Carolina counties.

Some McGilvarys of Cumberland County, North Carolina

CHART C1

The Daniel (Donald?) McGilvary Family of Cumberland Co., NC



The progenitor of this family was identified in the records by two first names. Sometimes he was recorded as Daniel and sometimes as Donald. Sometimes both names are used interchangeably in the same document. Most evidence indicates they were the same person and the name is really Daniel.

CHART C12
The James McGilvary Family of Moore and Cumberland Co., NC

[Cont'd from Chart C1, page B-48]

C12

Elizabeth	married	James	married	Hannah
Tyson	1st	McGilvary	2nd	Whitfield
b Moore Co, NC	10 Mar 1840	b Cumberland	14 Aug 1851	b NC Aug 1827
1822		Co, NC		d NC after 1910
d Moore Co, NC		1 Mar 1818		
23 Feb 1844		d Cumberland Co, NC		
		by 1903		

C121

John Hale
 McGilvary
 b Moore Co, NC
 1842

C122	C123	C124	C125
James	Thomas T.	Charles	Mary
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b Cumberland	b Cumberland	b Cumberland	b Cumberland
Co, NC	Co, NC	Co, NC	Co, NC
1852	Feb 1855	1856	1858

C126	C127	C128
Nannie	Anna W.	Margaret Tyson
McGilvary	McGilvary	McGilvary
b Cumberland	b Cumberland	b Cumberland
Co, NC	Co, NC	Co, NC
Aug 1860	1861	1865
		m 14 Oct 1886
		John C. Jackson

Some McGilvarys of Richmond County, North Carolina

CHART R1
The Daniel McGilvary Family of Richmond Co., NC

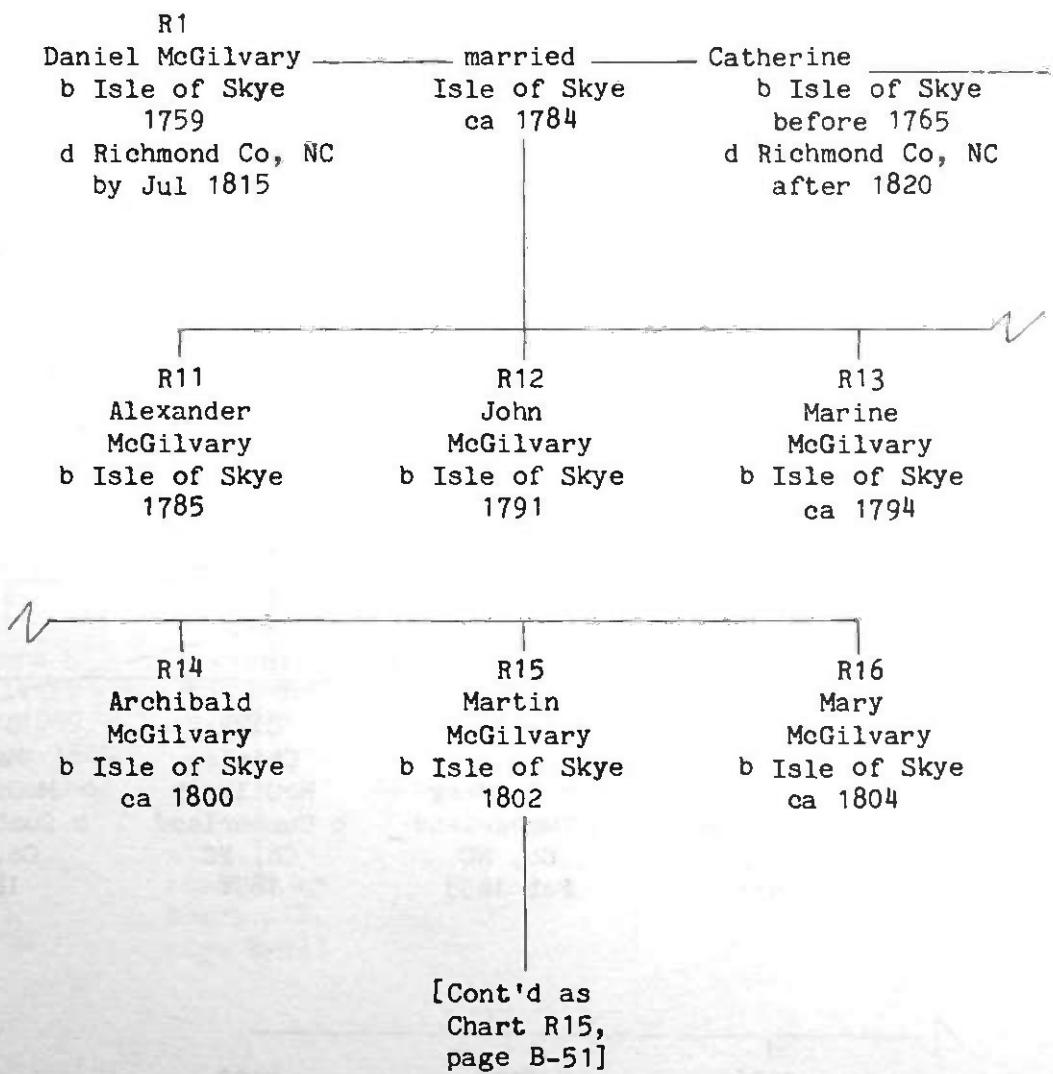


CHART R15
The Martin McGilvary Family of Richmond and Robeson Counties, NC

Cont'd from Chart R1, page B-50.]

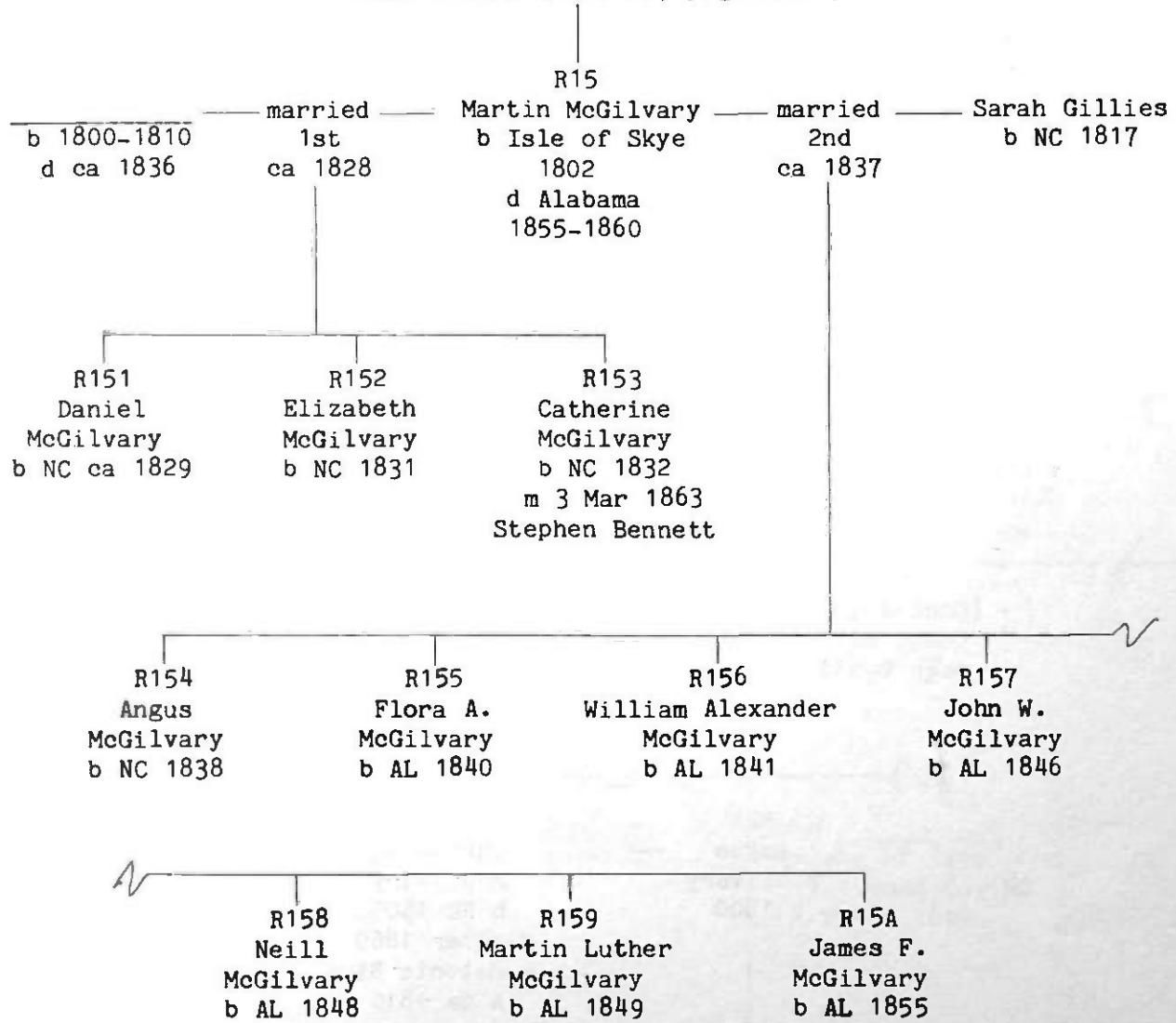


CHART R2
The Daniel McGilvary Family of Richmond Co., NC

R2

R21

Malcolm
McGilvary
Isle of Skye
1787

R22

James
McGilvary
b Isle of Skye
1789
d Barbour Co., AL
by 1863

R23

unidentified female
McGilvary
b Isle of Skye
ca 1795

[Cont'd as
Chart R21,
page B-53]

R24

Angus
McGilvary
b. 1800

R24

Christian
McGilvary
b NC 1805
d after 1860
m Malcolm Blue
b ca 1810

[Cont'd as
Chart R24,
page B-53]

Note: The records show that the Christian names of the females in this line are spelled "Christian." This is not a typical Scottish female name and probably was originally "Christina" which became "Christian" when the last two letters were accidentally transposed.

CHART R21
The Malcolm McGilvary Family of Richmond County, NC

[Cont'd from Chart R2, page B-52]

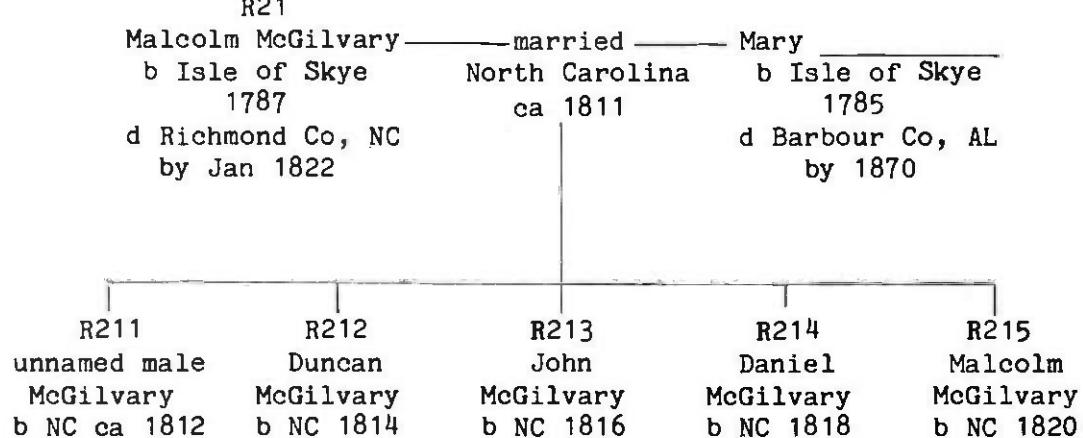


CHART R24
The Angus McGilvary Family of Richmond Co., NC

[Cont'd from Chart R2, page B-52]

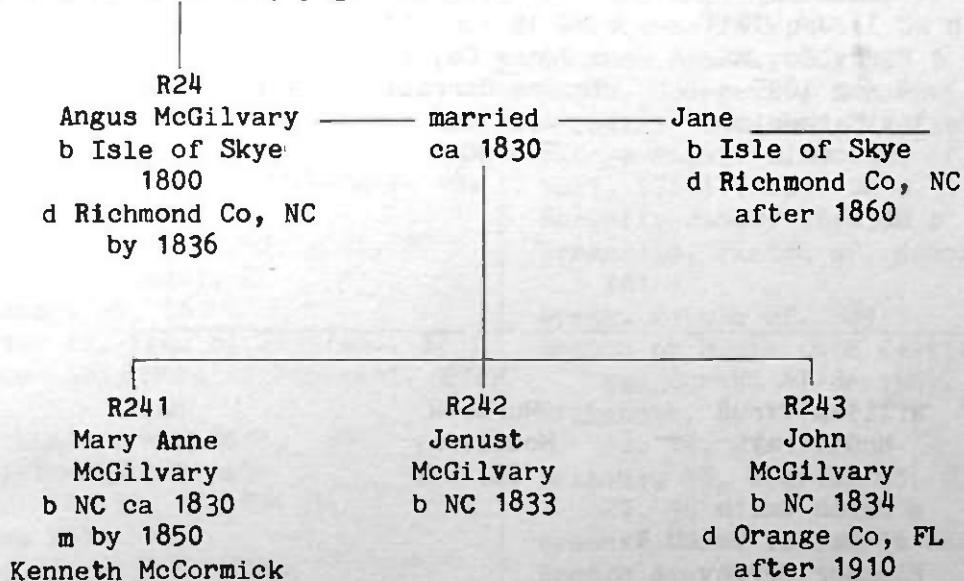
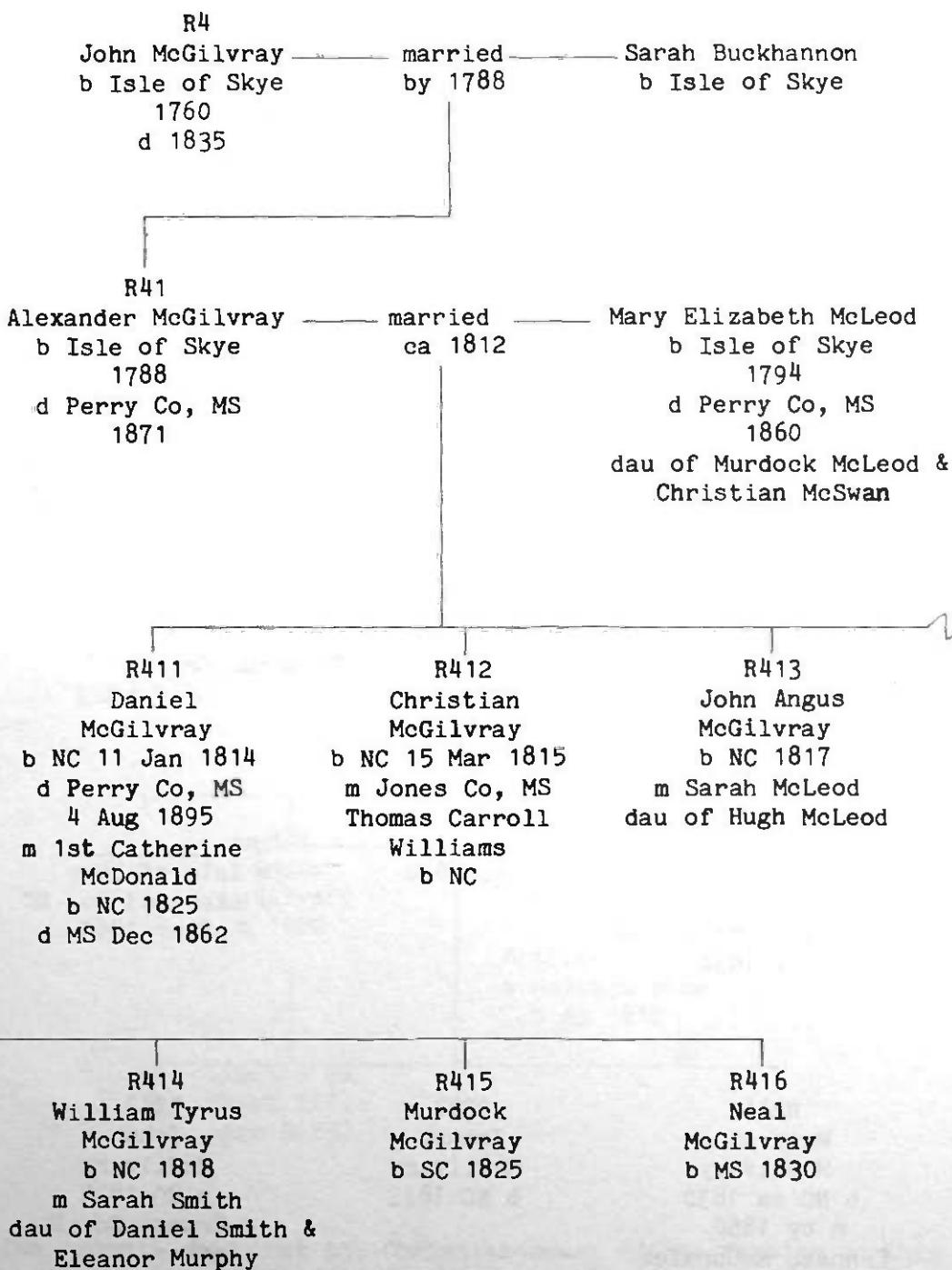


CHART R4
The John & Alexander McGilvray Families of Richmond Co., NC



John and Sarah McGilvray, Alexander and Mary McGilvray, Murdock and Christian McLeod and Daniel and Eleanor Smith all emigrated to America on the same ship about 1803 or 1804. On the Isle of Skye, Sarah's surname was probably spelled in the traditional way as Buchanan.

INDEXES

These indexes are designed to help readers locate specific references to persons, places and events discussed in this history. There are two parts. Part One refers to general places and events. Included are the names of persons prominent in history as well as the names of some individuals whose reference works are cited in the text. Part Two is genealogical and refers to specific individuals discussed in the text. This part is alphabetized by surname and Christian or given name. When the given name is repeated more than once on a page, the number of times it appears is included in parentheses. The reader is cautioned that, through the centuries, the surname MacGillivray has been spelled in a myriad of ways and all spellings should be reviewed.

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