

Chapter 3

The Case for Duncan Junior

In this chapter we review the arguments for Duncan junior's parentage and adoption. Many researchers consider his parentage proven with the 1821 birth record in the Kenmore Church register. However, the diehard skeptic might proclaim it could apply to another man of the same name. After all, members of the Halton County branch give no hint of a second son of Duncan Campbell senior, nor of an adoption. Duncan senior, the man who might have mentioned it, died without a will. We must argue both points with circumstantial evidence. The evidence is abundant, which is fortunate, as we will need all of it to build a credible case.

<u>George III 1760-1820</u>		
Duncan senior is born in Kenmore	1769	Survey of Lochtayside
	1774	End of the MacGregor proscription
	1775-81	War of American Independence
	1782	John Campbell succeeds as 4th Earl of Breadalbane
Duncan senior and Janet McGregor #1 are married in Kenmore	1795	
	1801	Act of Union creating United Kingdom
Duncan senior and Janet McGregor #2 are married in Kenmore	1803	
	1807-19	The great Sutherland clearances
Duncan junior is born in <i>Croftnaln</i>	1821	
The Andersons emigrate to Canada		
<u>George IV 1829-30</u>		
<u>William IV 1830-37</u>		
	1832	Clearance of Glenquaich
The Campbell, McKerracher, McQuarrie, and McCallum families emigrate to Canada	1833	
Janet McGregor #2 dies in Canada		
	1834	John Campbell succeeds as 5th Earl and 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane
Duncan senior dies in Canada	1837	
<u>Victoria 1837-1901</u>		
Duncan and Christina are married in Scone	1846	
Duncan and Christina emigrate to Canada	1849	

Figure 1. *Timeline for Duncan Campbell senior and Janet McGregors #1 and #2.*

We need not rationalize his marriage to Christian McGregor. The facts are there in the registers of Aberdalgie and Scone churches. Marriage follows courtship so he must have courted Christian from somewhere within a reasonable distance of her home. There is nothing in the newspaper articles that seems fabricated, about him working on his father's sheepfarm as a boy, growing up with Christian and attending the same parish school. He was born in Perthshire he said, but did not elaborate. These facts are not *inconsistent* with him being a foster child. To understand the adoption we need to know more about his parents so let us begin this chapter with them.

Duncan's father, Duncan senior, was born to Archibald Campbell in 1769 on Shanlarich farm. The lease must have expired about this time as Archibald took on the lease of Croftnaln in Fearnan about a mile further east. He was a farmer of some talent, managing the holding and hiring the workers he needed from the local pool of cotters. On his retirement he arranged for the tenancy to be passed to his sons Duncan and

James.

As to Archibald's other sons, Robert and Archibald, we have only their baptismal records so we suppose they died in infancy. About James we will have more to say later (Family C5b and *James Campbell and His Family*).

For the sons of tenant-farmers the brothers received a good education. The Rev. Duff wrote in 1834-45 of the parish having nine schools, one overseen by the church, three by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, one by the Marchioness of Breadalbane, and the others by self-employed school-teachers charging fees of parents.¹ Reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic were taught in English. The society school taught Gaelic. The church school offered Latin, mathematics, grammar, bookkeeping and geography. All schools delivered a good dose of the Church of Scotland religion, sufficient to make Duff crow: "The Scriptures are read daily in all the schools; nor does a day pass without some portion of religious information being conveyed to the pupils." Exactly which school the brothers attended is not known.

Duncan's life took early turns. In 1795 he married Janet McGregor, a Fortingall girl. On 14 November the two put up their names for marriage in Kenmore Church and on the following day, 15 November, the two exchanged their vows in Fortingall Church (*Record Images for Family C6*). Duncan described himself to the vicar as of Croftnaln, Janet of Metlmount (Melmont) in Fortingall.

Duncan and Janet were old friends. She was born in 1776 to Duncan McGregor and Christian Cameron in the hamlet of Lagfern in Kenmore. Sometime between 1782 and 1785 Duncan McGregor moved his family the short distance from Lagfern to Melmont in Fortingall. Melmont was a small farm near the hamlet of Croftgarrow about a mile and a half north of Croftnaln. Duncan and Janet returned to Croftnaln to make their home. Christian was born in 1798, Elizabeth in 1800 and Catherine in 1803.

There was, it would seem, a problem with Catherine's birth, as soon afterwards Janet died. Duncan at thirty-four was left with three small children, a five year-old, a three year-old and a newborn. Of the greatest importance was a new wife and quickly. Not surprisingly, at this point, February 1803, we come upon the record of a second marriage of a Duncan Campbell and a Janet MacGregor in the Kenmore Church register. Like the first Janet, the second Janet was a girl Duncan knew well.

The new Janet was born in 1775 to John McGregor and Catherine McGregor in Croftnaln. This family, too, had spent time in Lagfern, having moved to Croftnaln around 1772.² Janet's father was likely a worker on Duncan Campbell's farm. It would seem that the second Janet was willing to come forward, live in, and help Duncan in his hour of need and Duncan, being an honorable man asked her to marry him.³

Duncan and his new wife had eight children in Croftnaln: Ann (1805), Janet (1807), Isobel (1809), Archibald (1811), Margaret (1813), Elizabeth (1815-16?), and finally Duncan junior (1821). There is nothing in this list (except a five-year gap) to suggest the last seven were not born to the same parents. This supposition is reflected in the names given the boys, the first, Archibald, being named after his grandfather, the second, Duncan, after his father.

What was the language spoken in everyday conversation? Probably Gaelic. In Kenmore the Gaelic was gradually giving way to English though "the Irish" as the locals called it would remain the *lingua franca* of cotter and crofter for years to come:

It is likewise the language in which the greater part of the ministrations of religion is discharged. While I would say that, within the last forty years, the language has neither lost nor gained ground, I would likewise say that the English language is becoming everyday more generally familiar; for there is now hardly an individual who is not capable, more or less, of making use of it.

1 The Rev. Mr. Colin McVean (*Statistical Accounts* 1791-99, pp. 456-467) <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Kenmore> and the Rev. David Duff (*New Statistical Accounts* 1834-45, pp. 452-485) <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Perth/Kenmore>.

2 These movements are relatively easy to follow in the placenames given in baptismal records.

3 This is one of the major inferences of this chapter. It is not the conclusion of all researchers. However, detractors have yet to provide proof of the Duncan Campbell in question.

1 Record Images for Family C6

Janet the Parish of Dull, gave up their names for proclamation Kenzie
 Novr 14th 1795
 Duncan Duncan Campbell in this Parish & Janet MacGregor in Campbell
 Janet in the Parish of Fortingale, gave up their names for pro: MacGregor
 clamation

Marriage Record of Duncan Campbell and Janet McGregor, 14 November 1795, Kenmore church. 'Novr 14th 1795 Duncan Campbell in this Parish & Janet MacGregor in the Parish of Fortingale, gave up their names for proclamation'.

Novr 1795 (40) 58
 Duncan Campbell in Croftnalton Parish of
 Kenmore and Janet MacGregor in Metlmount
 in this Parish 21 Novr

Marriage Record of Duncan Campbell and Janet McGregor, 15 November 1795, Fortingall church. '15 Novr 1795 Duncan Campbell in Croftnalton Parish of Kenmore and Janet McGregor in Metlmount in this Parish'.

proclamation Feb: 13th 1803
 Duncan Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor both Campbell
 Janet in this Parish, gave up their names for proclamation MacGregor
 tion

Marriage Record of Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor, 13 February 1803, Kenmore church. 'Feb 13th 1803 Duncan Campbell and Janet McGregor both in this Parish gave up their names for proclamation'.

December 25th 1821
 Duncan Son of Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor in Campbell
 Croftnalton was bapt: born 23rd

Baptismal Record of Duncan Campbell, 25 December 1821, Kenmore Church. 'December 25th 1821 Duncan Son to Duncan Campbell and Janet Macgregor in Croftnalton was baptd, born 23rd'.

Problems

Names At this time the practice of fathers naming a first son after his father, the second after himself was generally the rule.

The Two Elizabeths The two Elizabeths who were baptized within a month of each other do pose a problem. They might be taken as evidence of a second Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor in Kenmore. However, the record of the first Elizabeth contains no birthdate as do the records of the other children; she may have been born earlier and died. Closer study might yield an explanation.

Figure 2. *The location of Melmont relative to Croftgarbh (Croftgarrow) in Fortingall parish. This fragment of OS map does not have a scale but the places can be no more than a few hundred yards apart.*



The political situation at this time was relatively stable. Long before Duncan junior was born Scots had abandoned their interclan warfare and “old barbaric ways”. This the Reverend McVean saw coming forty years earlier:

Our people are no longer the “Reidschankes” of Pitscottie, “cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt, fashioned after the Irish manner, going bair-legged to the knie;” for a single instance of the kilt is scarcely to be seen from one end of the parish to the other. Irish-like, indeed, we use a vast deal of potatoes, but then we manage to season these roots with a due mixture of beef, mutton, and pork; not to speak of the milk, cheese, and butter with which we are supplied from our dairies; or the higher dainties of tea and sugar with which not a few contrive to regale themselves.

The issue that was to uproot many of Scotland’s working classes in the 19th century was the efforts of chiefs to improve their estates. The clan system, in existence since the coming of the Gaels to Scotland in the 11th century and headed by chiefs of honored memory, was changing with the end of interclan warfare and the battle of Culloden. The ending of the Napoleonic wars meant for fewer men needed by Britain for her military and a decline in the influence of chiefs over their clansmen.

The safety net enjoyed, then, by clansmen, tenants, crofters and cottars on ancient clan domains was unravelling. Chiefs were becoming more landlords than leaders of men and were regarding the domains as their personal property. The estates were enormous, yielding incomes sufficient to support mansions and London homes. The lifestyle required ever increasing amounts of cash. In an effort to increase their rental income chiefs were hiring professional estate managers. Their advice was invariably the same: enlarge fields best suited for arable agriculture and merge the rest to run sheep—then raise the rent. The farmer and crofter were expected to submit whether kinsmen or not.

For whatever the reason Duncan and James did not enjoy the relationship one might expect of brothers. One factor may have been the ten-year difference in their ages. The conditions between them were not just tense but antagonistic, hinting of a deep grievance, something documents are unable to reveal. In 1821 the two were sharing the lease of Croftnaln they had inherited from their father, Archibald. Their lack of cooperation is underscored by the fact they worked their own fields with, presumably, their own tools and stock. One can imagine the wives (two McGregor girls) were not on speaking terms.

Compounding the antagonism were the earl’s plans to rerun the boundaries of the fields. Thus far he had held back on large scale clearances to run sheep, something other chiefs had long pursued. Perhaps he wanted to avoid the negative publicity. But in 1822 he changed his mind. To sway his tenants to his ideas

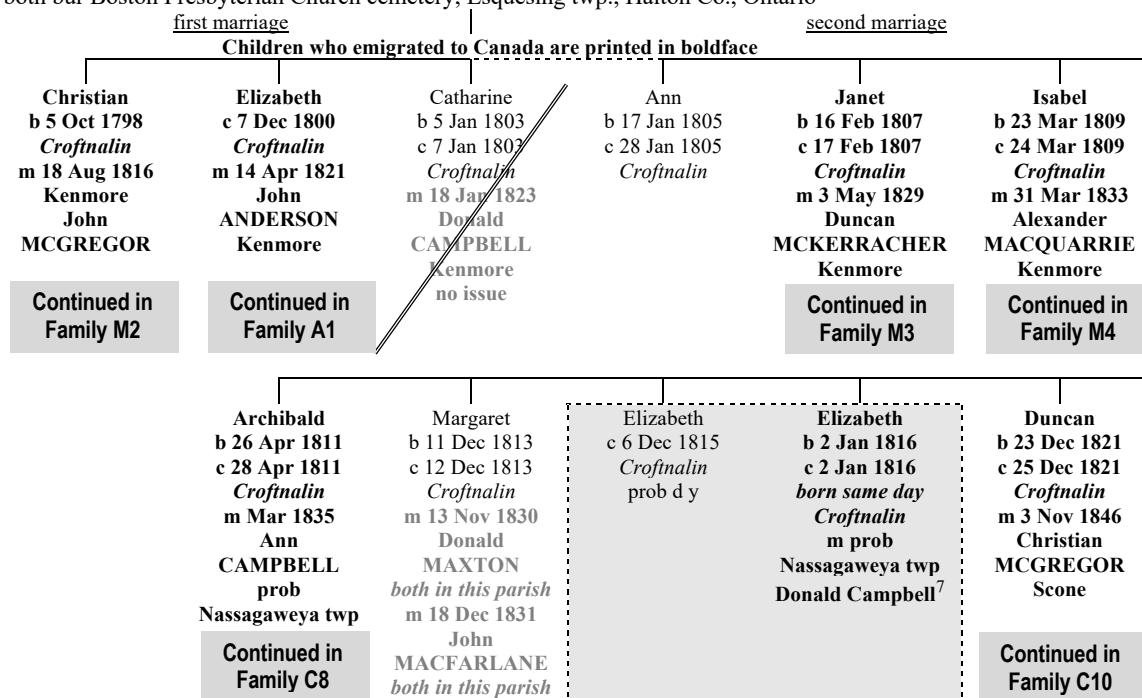
he offered a “premium” amounting to the first choice on a farm in another part of the estate once the changes were complete. He ordered his surveyor to draw up a list of “... tenants... most deserving of the Premiums allowed by His Lordship for the encouragement of a proper System of management...”. The surveyor responded by entering the names “Dun and James Campbell” under the heading of Croftnalin.⁴ It would seem James, the field-officer, had a heads up on the coming events before Duncan.

Continued from Family C5, page 27

his 1st, her 1st
Duncan CAMPBELL. m 15 Nov 1795 Fortingall = Janet MCGREGOR <<< **Duncan McGrigor & Christian**
Duncan Campbell in Croftnalin, Janet McGregor in Metlmount in this parish (Fortingall) **Cameron**
b 8 Jan 1769 Kenmore c 26 Aug 1776 b Lagfern d prob Croftnalin 1803⁵

And

his 2nd, her 1st
Duncan CAMPBELL m 13 Feb 1803 Kenmore = Janet MACGREGOR⁶ <<< **John McGrigor & Catherine**
both of this parish gave up their names for proclamation **McGregor**
b 8 Jan 1769 Kenmore b 29 Jun 1775 Croftnalin
d 13 May 1837 Nassagaweya twp., Halton, Co., Ont. d 19 Sep 1833, Halton, Co., Ont. 57 yrs [1776]
both bur Boston Presbyterian Church cemetery, Esquesing twp., Halton Co., Ontario



Family C6. Duncan CAMPBELL and his two Wives, Croftnalin and Nassagaweya, 1769 - 1852.

- 4 James was still there in 1824. In his application for the post of inspector of livestock he described himself as ‘ground officer of districts of Lawers and Fearnan’. NRS: GD112/11/8/16/23.
<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>.
- 5 The place where Janet was buried is not, strictly speaking, known. A good guess would be Cladh Machuim cemetery in Lawers, though there is no memorial to her. Her name is not on the James Campbell tablet.
- 6 The first marriage record has “Janet McGregor”, the second “Janet MacGregor”. This difference in spelling is not considered significant.
- 7 I wish to thank Sheila Hobeck (kinalytic) for pointing out this marriage to me.

In the meantime the brothers had families to feed and bills to pay. Before the planting got under way in the spring of 1828, James attempted to get Duncan to agree to the redraw. With the backing of MacGillewie, the Earl's factor, McKay, the road contractor, and McLagan, the surveyor (and a few jars at the local tavern) he put the following paper before his brother and pressed him to sign it:

Tynloan 25 March 1828⁸

We James and Duncan Campbell Croftnallane hereby agree Bond & oblige ourselves to rest satisfied with the division of said farm as this day marked off on the ground by Thomas McLagan Land Surveyor and in the event of there being any material difference in the quality of the two Lots, it is hereby provided and distinctly understood that neutral Berleymen appointed by Lord Breadalbanes factor shall forthwith examine said divisions and proportion the rent according to the best of their skill and judgment and to their decision we are hereby bound to abide under the penalty of twenty pounds Sterling. In witness whereof we have subscribed this presents written by Robert MacGillewie Factor to the Earl of Breadalbane place and date as above before these witnesses Duncan McKay road Contractor now residing at Leitterella and the said Thomas McLagan.

(Signed)

Duncan Campbell

James Campbell

The letter caught Duncan off guard. Had the plan called for a reduction in rent to accompany the lower acreage, he might have accepted. But harvests had been bad over the past several years and a smaller rent was no compensation for hunger. He had a change of heart. A few days later he put his concerns in a letter to the Earl:

4 April 1828

The Right Honble Earl of Breadalbane,

The Petition of Duncan Campbell, Tenant in Croftnallin Fearnan, Breadalbane, Sheweth

The Facts of the Petitioners Case are these. — That he and his ancestors had lived as respectable and creditable Tenants for several generations under the different noble Earls of Breadalbane:— The Petitioner & Father had acted as ground officer for upwards of 40 years.—

The Farm of Croftnallin, forms a compact Town, consisting of three Lots, the Petitioner's Father occupied a Lot of that Farm for 45 years.— What the Petitioner has to complain off is the most extraordinary conduct of his Brother.—at Whitsunday last he received a Lot in addition to the half of Said Croftnallin, which belonged to the Borting, the farm adjoining on the west side.—

That his Brother through interest on his Side, and the most impotent malice towards the Petitioners, got the Factor, and Surveyor, to make two halves of the said Croftnallin, and accordingly they drew a new march.— they have given the Brother the west side, and the good side,—They succeeded in completing this arrangement by making the Petitioner to go to the Public House; and there persuaded him to sign a submission to this effect as they threatened him with summons of removal—

—The Petitioners considering his removal in a year like this, would amount nearly to his ruin—therefore his reason for signing the submission was, that it would keep him in possession, and would afford him an opportunity of laying his case before your Lordship—

—The Petitioner feels it a painfull duty to have to complain to your Lordship—but such is the extent of the injustice extended towards him, that he hopes that your Lordship will pardon the liberty he takes—In his honesty stating the truth—

8 Additional Papers from the Taymouth Estate Office NRS: GD112/74/693 #18. This is a copy and does not contain actual signatures. <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>.

2 Christian Campbell and John MacGregor

Duncan's daughter Christian and her husband John MacGregor found a measure of success in Scotland. Born and married in Kenmore, they left around 1836 for the town of Aberfeldy. John made a good living as a miller. They had ten children altogether, six boys and four girls. They were given good educations. Duncan, their third child, received an M.A. in theology from St. Andrews University, Edinburgh. He moved to Glasgow and was given charge of the True Hope Street Gaelic Church. In 1855 he married Elizabeth Fleming in Glasgow. He was, at the time of his retirement, minister of the Augustine Free Church. His son Duncan Campbell MacGregor born in Glasgow in 1858 also became a clergyman. He died a minister of the Church of England in 1943 in Surrey, England.

Continued from Family C6, page 37

Christian CAMPBELL m 18 Aug 1816 Kenmore = John MACGREGOR <<< Hugh MacGregor & Margaret MacKercher
both in this parish
 b 5 Oct 1798 Kenmore b 29 Apr 1796 Stronfearnan
 d 24 Jan 1862 age 65 [1797] bur Lawers d 1870 prob Aberfeldy



Family M2. John MACGREGOR & Christian CAMPBELL, Stronfearnan, 1798 - 1862.

That these gentlemen, McGillewie and McLaggan, in making the division had drawn the march, so irregular, and unjust, and besides, they attached the whole of the good ground to west side and left nothing on the side allotted for the Petitioner; but, not an unimproveable ground—and another evil follows—if the plan is carried into effect.—the Brother removes at Whitsunday to the lot in Borling—and he has let all the houses he had in the Said Croftnallin to poor Cotters, who will in the first place be continually annoying your Lordship for charity.—and in the second place, they will prove the ruin of the Petitioner, thier Poultry & Pigs will consume his cornfields, and their personall preambulation spoils his pasture and annoys the cattle grazing thereon.—

—The Petitioner is a good Tenant, an honest and good neighbour.—Kept the regulation of the Estate.—paid his rents when due.—has ample means of keeping the Farm in full Stock.—and will be perfectly contented by your Lordship having the goodness, to order the original marches to be kept, the submission alluded to be made null and void.—may it therefore please your Lordship to consider these facts, and be pleased to acquaint the Petitioner your Lordships pleasure relative to the grievance complained off and he shall ever pray etc—

(signed)

Duncan Campbell

Croftnallin 4th April 1828.

(note at bottom in another hand) If the facts above represented are correct and that the Memorialist paid his rent regularly, Lord B. disapproves of altering the Marches in the way mentioned, & orders that the

arrangement under these circumstances should be suspended till he returns next Summer to Taymouth
London April 10th 1828 (initialled 'B').⁹

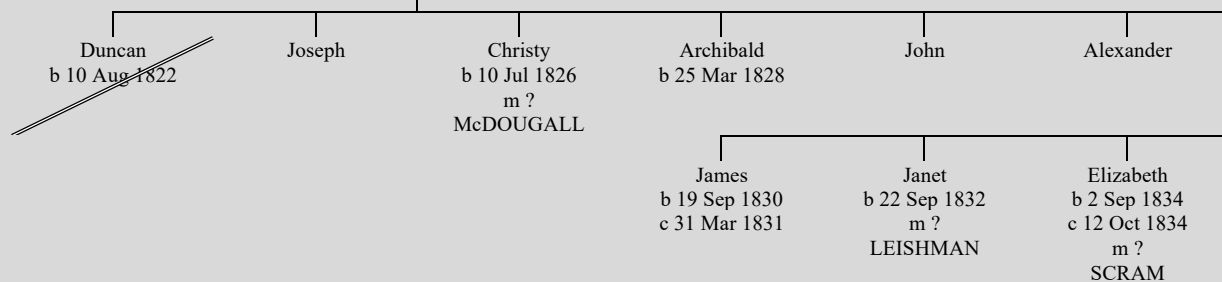
The letter failed in its intent. The factor was a powerful man and not to be trifled with. A letter written to the earl over his head would not please him. The factor, if not already an enemy, was one now.¹⁰

3 Elizabeth Campbell and John Anderson

Elizabeth Campbell and John Anderson's story will continue in Chapter 4. It was Elizabeth and John who, it seems, encouraged the extended family to emigrate. They lived out the rest of their lives and died in Nassagaweya township, Halton County, Ontario.

Continued from Family C6, page 37

Elizabeth CAMPBELL m 14 Apr 1821 Kenmore = John ANDERSON <<< John Anderson & Christian Campbell
b 7 Dec 1800 Kenmore c 11 Nov 1801 Middle Claonlawer, Kenmore
d 8 Sep 1882, *aged 82 yrs 9 mos.* d 29 Jul 1873 *aged 71 yrs 8 mos.*
Nassagaweya tp. [1800] Nassagaweya tp. [1802]
both bur Boston Presbyterian Church cemetery, Esquesing tp., Halton Co. Ontario



Family A1. John ANDERSON & Elizabeth CAMPBELL, Fearnan and Nassagaweya, ca. 1802 - 1882.

Summer passed to fall with no change. Just after Christmas with thoughts returning to the coming planting season, Archibald and his mother put their own views on the matter to the Earl:¹¹

Croftnailen, Dec 30th 1828
Unto the Right Honble the Earl of Breadalbane

We the undersigned humbly beg leave to return your Lordship our grateful thanks in behalf of our husband and father Duncan Campbell who in April last petitioned your Lordship against an alteration in the marches of the farm of Croftnailen made by James Campbell his brother, the Factor and Mr McLaggan.

9 Additional Papers from the Taymouth Estate Office NRS: GD112/74/693 #20.

<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>.

10 In 1830, continuing in his position of grounds officer, James submitted a report to the Earl detailing funds distributed 'to poor of district of Fearnan and Lawers'. We would not expect the list to include his brother and it did not. Miscellaneous Papers NRS: GD112/14/13/10 #33.

<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>.

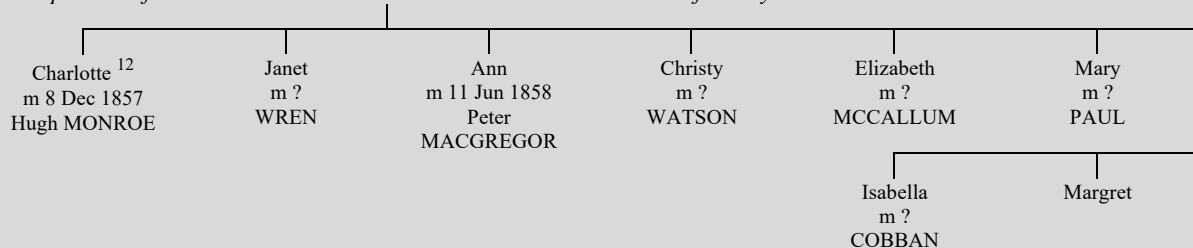
11 The Earl was not entirely unresponsive. There is a note on the reverse in another hand: 'Lord Breadal-bane desires J. Ferguson to speak to the Factor about this Petition, the first opportunity. 1 Jany 1829.' I do not know what came of this. Additional Papers from the Taymouth Estate Office NRS: GD112/74/693 #22.
<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>.

4 Janet Campbell and Duncan McKerracher

Duncan's daughter Janet and her husband Duncan McKerracher were married in Kenmore in 1829 some four years before the emigration. They left with the senior family in 1833, settled in Nassagaweya township in Halton County and lived the rest of their lives there. They had eight children all girls.

Continued from Family C6, page 37

Janet CAMPBELL m 3 May 1829 Kenmore = Duncan MCKERRACHER of Fortingall <<<
 b 16 Feb 1807 Kenmore c 31 Dec 1802 Stroncomrie, Kenmore
 d 6 May 1885, *aged 78* [1807] Nassagaweya d 25 Feb 1879 *aged 76 yrs* [1803]
 both bur Pioneer Cemetery, Acton, Ontario
Inscriptions: 'of Kenmore' 'Duncan McKerracher of Glenlyon'



Family M3. Duncan MCKERRACHER & Janet CAMPBELL, Fearnan and Nassagaweya, 1807-1885.

5 Isobel Campbell and Alexander McQuarrie

Duncan's daughter Isobel was a casualty of the trip to Canada. She married Alexander McQuarrie in March 1833 just prior to the departure. She and her husband had not lived two years in Canada when she died in Norval.

Continued from Family C6, page 37

Isobel CAMPBELL m 31 Mar 1833 Kenmore = Alexander MCQUARRIE <<<
 b 23 Mar 1809 c 24 Mar 1809 Kenmore c 12 Jan 1808 Kenmore
 d 14 Sep 1835, *age 26* [1809] Norval, Esquesing
 bur Pioneer Cemetery, Acton, Inscription: 'born at Bradalben'
 no issue

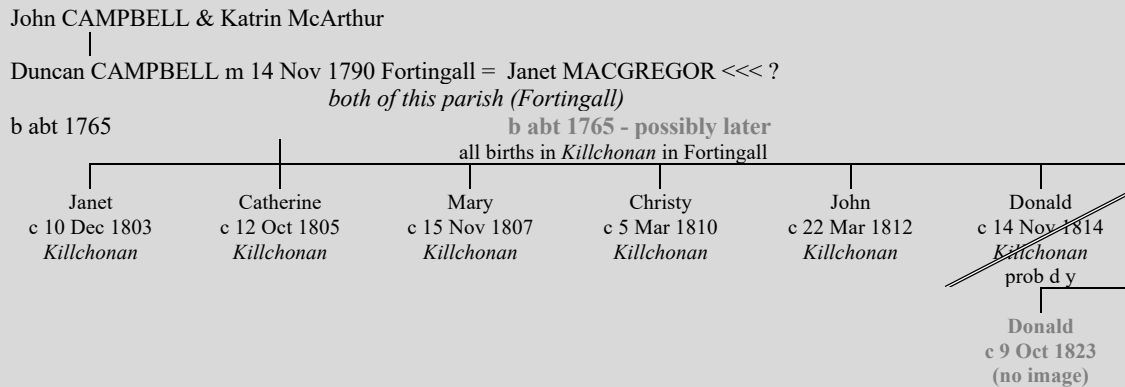
Family M4. Alexander MCQUARRIE and Isobel CAMPBELL, Fearnan and Narragaweya, 1809-1835.

Notwithstanding your Lordship's deliverance on the back of said petition the said James Campbell took possession of the grasing and hay last harvest and now has begun to plough in defiance of all remonstrance and the said Duncan Campbell's spirit is broken down with his brother's threats and McLaggan's abusive tongue for daring write your Lordship to London, expressing themselves that they would make his life disagreeable, which actually is the case.

12 *Halton Journal*, as printed in "A List of Births, Marriages and Deaths in the Halton Journal 1855-1858", A. Cooke (Halton-Peel Branch OGS, 1990).

6 Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor of Fortingall

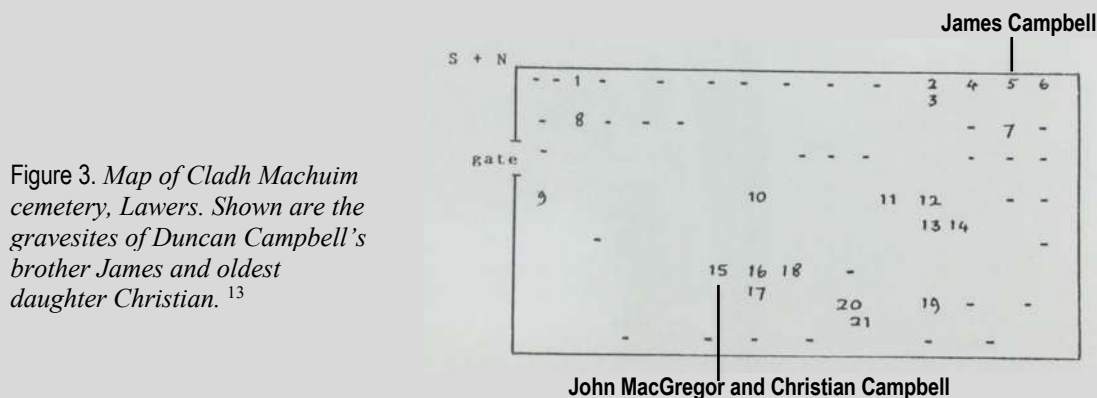
There was a second couple named Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor living in Fortingall parish at the time of this story who could be confused with our family. Duncan and Janet had their names proclaimed for marriage in Fortingall church 14 Nov 1790. They are surely the same couple who had 7 children in *Killchonen* (*Killichonen*) between 1803 and 1823. The lapse of 13 years between their marriage and the baptism of their first child is, however, suspicious, especially in the light of the regularly-spaced births of the 6 children afterwards. Perhaps a number were stillborn. However that might be, Killichonan is on the north side of Loch Rannoch a long way from Croftnalin. Though our Duncan junior (1821) might be thought of as belonging to this family, geography and age render it unlikely. If this Janet MacGregor were born in 1765 then she would have been 56 in 1821. There is no evidence these people were connected in any way with our family.



Family C7. Duncan CAMPBELL and Janet MACGREGOR, Fortingall, ca. 1765 - 1823.

7 James Campbell and Family

In 1822 Duncan's brother James was the grounds-officer of Fearnan and Lawers. He soon took up the lease of Boreland Farm next door to Fearnan (apparently without informing his brother).



He and wife Catherine lived for the next 40 years on Boreland, raised a family and died there. He was buried in Lawers cemetery. The stone on his grave contains an inscription tracing his ancestry back several generations (Figure 1, Chapter 2). Boreland was more than double the size of Croftnalin and increased his standard of

13 MINorth

living considerably. On the 1851 census he describes Boreland as having 100 acres requiring 4 servants. By the time of the 1861 census he is alone, Catherine having died two years before. I have constructed his family tree (Family C5b) from information on his gravestone combined with records from Kenmore church. His family line did not prosper. Of his 8 children only the one, John, seems to have had family and he died in 1866 at the relatively young age of 52. James left a will but makes no mention of his brother Duncan.¹⁴

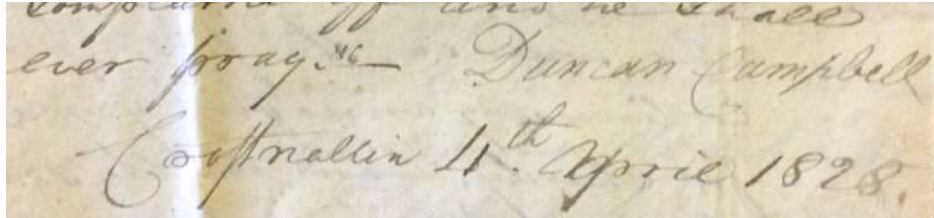
A photograph of a handwritten document, likely a petition, showing a signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Duncan Campbell" and is dated "4 April 1828". The paper is aged and slightly discolored.

Figure 4. Signature of Duncan Campbell senior on his petition of 4 April, 1828.

This induced us to come forward in his stead to beseech your Lordship to cause the facts stated in the petition to be forthwith investigated without partiality favour or affection by any neutral men your Lordship may choose to appoint.

By the intended division of the farm the said James Campbell has chosen the best part, nearly a third superior to what is left, besides we are encumbered with his cottars (no fewer than five families and a sixth is expected) in all his steadings standing in the division of the farm allotted to us.

If it should be agreeable to your Lordship the said Duncan Campbell will take Croftnailen entire as your Lordship and the late Mr Reid? wished him to do when he was ground officer of this district. This with the funds he has in reserve and a numerous family brought up in the strictest habits of industry. he flatters himself to be able to manage much to his own comfort and also to your Lordship's advantage.

I am my Lord Your Lordship's most Obed Servt

(signed) Archd Campbell

(signed) Mrs. Campbell

Worth noting for later recall are the statements of "numerous family" and "funds... in reserve". Young bachelors were now courting his daughters and Duncan could imagine a time when his financial burden would be less. But in 1821 a second son, Duncan junior, made his appearance.

We now enter a period in which the historical record goes dark. Except for clearances at Glenquaiach, Breadalbane did not run sheep on the scale of the Earl of Sutherland.¹⁵ The senior Campbells did not have to watch their homes being torched and dismantled to prevent them from being reoccupied, actions that put the fear of God into many who were emotionally bound to their birthplaces. Duncan was threatened by his brother to be sure, not with physical harm, perhaps, but with eviction by the factor and the connivance of the surveyor. The Earl, now failing in health, wanted peace and quiet and the execution of his plans. One family was of no account.

Duncan's daughters were married in the period 1816-1833. In 1816 Christian married John MacGregor, a man of talent and ambition. The two would move to Aberfeldy and do well (*Christian Campbell and John MacGregor*).¹⁶ In 1821 Elizabeth married John Anderson, and the two, if by prearrangement, left for

14 Legal Records Wills and Testaments Perth Sheriff Court NRS: SC49/31/79.

15 Richards.

16 Scotlandspeople.com. Both claimed to be "in this Parish". A memorial in Lawers cemetery records the death of Christian Campbell 24 January 1862 at the age of 65 and husband John MacGregor 'of Aberfeldy'. MINorth.

Canada.¹⁷ In 1829 Janet married Duncan McKerracher¹⁸ and in 1833 Isabel married Alexander McQuarrie¹⁹. The last marriage took place just before the departure. Let us now take a break from the senior Campbells and bring Duncan junior's story up to date.

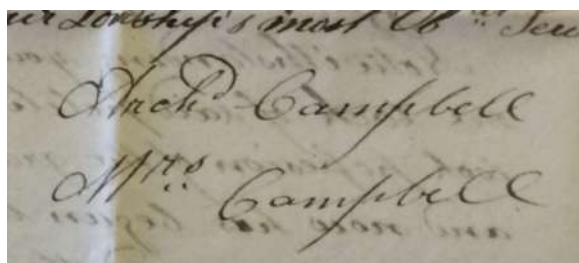


Figure 5. Signatures of Archibald Campbell and Mrs. Campbell on their petition of 30 December 1828. The reader with an interest in signatures may wish to quickly turn to Figure 5 of Chapter 4 to see how little Archibald's signature would change over the next forty years.

Duncan Campbell junior

When the senior Campbells left Scotland in 1833 Duncan junior was around twelve, still in school or nearly finished. If the later newspaper articles about him are accurate and he *did* grow up with Christian and attend the same parish school then it stands to reason he was living near the MacGregor home if not within it.

Thirteen years later, in 1846, we see Duncan and Christian dropping into the church in Aberdalgie to announce their intention to marry. Aberdalgie is a mile or two east of Trinity Gask and four miles southwest of Perth. Surely Duncan was working at his first job in Trinity Gask.

Trinity Gask, or “Tarnty” as the locals called it, is a parish that consists even today of mostly arable farms and few sheep. The land stretches east and west several miles on both sides of the Earn River.²⁰ North of the river the land rises gently towards the highlands. On the south side of the river the land is mostly flat, the deposit of river alluvium. Winding east through Aberdalgie the river empties into the Tay beyond Perth. In 1834 the parish was a backwater boasting “two or three weavers, as many masons and carpenters as are required for the work of the parish, two shoemakers, but no tailor”. The little church stood out on the landscape. An anonymous contributor to the *Statistical Accounts* of 1795 describes the farms:

Arable farms, generally consist[ing] of a plough-gate²¹ of land, containing about 50 or 60 acres. The use of lime and marle has greatly improved the system of agriculture. Grasses are now sown with success; and turnips have lately been cultivated with profit. Clover and potatoes in general do well; and are highly advantageous to the farmer. A considerable part of the soil, being a mixture of clay and loam, is well calculated for producing wheat, which, in small quantities, is now sown, and it is hoped will soon be in more general use. Lint²² in some places grows very well; and premiums for cultivating it have been obtained in the parish.

17 Scotlandspeople.com. Both claimed to be “in this Parish”.

18 Duncan MacKerchar in “the Parish of Fortingall” and Janet Campbell “in this Parish”.

19 Both described themselves as “in this Parish”.

20 ‘A Friend to Statistical Enquiries’ (*Statistical Accounts* 1791-99, pp. 482-488)

<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/TrinityGask/>

The Rev. Alexander H. Gray (*New Statistical Accounts* 1834-45, pp. 335-344)

<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Perth/TrinityGask/>

21 A ploughgate was the Scottish equivalent of the English carucate, the area a plough team could plough in a season. Ploughgates could vary in size though it was generally understood to be 100 Scots acres. The minister is no doubt referring to the English acre here.

22 Scots word for flax.

From 6 to 12 milk cows are kept on each farm of a plough-gate of land. The milk is made into butter, and skimmed milk cheese, chiefly for the market in Perth. Sheep are almost wholly banished from the parish; and a few hogs are reared for home consumption.

The leases in general are for fifteen, seventeen, or nineteen years, the last the most common.

For the farmer, Trinity Gask had two advantages over Breadalbane, a lesser dependence on sheep and the existence of long-term leases.

8 A Hypothetical Counter Argument

The critic might argue that the Duncan who married Christian MacGregor and went to Canada in 1849 was not the son of the Duncan senior and Janet MacGregor of Croftnaln at all, and that, moreover, his actual parents were still alive in 1841 and living somewhere in Perthshire. If this be true, they would by the 1841 census be in their seventies and should appear on the 1841 census. I argue that the findings in Table 6 of Chapter 1 disproves this. The 1841 census cannot be dismissed as a poor source of information. It reveals his uncle James well enough—as does the 1851 and 1861 censuses. By 1841 our Duncan was twenty and no doubt out on his own. He can hardly be other than the Duncan Campbell who appears in the return for the “Farm Offices” of *Well Fould* in Trinity Gask (below). If he had recently been living in William MacGregor’s house then he is there for the most obvious of reasons: to prove himself in his first job.²³

Trinity Gask had experienced its own loss of population, though more from the consolidation of farms than the running of sheep:

The rapid decrease is caused by the converting of a number of small into one large farm, and the dislike which the tenants have to keeping up the cottages upon them, both from the expense which it occasions, and the annoyance and loss to which they are subjected, by their occupants persisting in keeping poultry, which support themselves at the farmer’s expense, and generally aid the poor people in paying their rents.

How long did Duncan live there? That we don’t know; it could not have been long. In 1841 he was only twenty. The chance of finding a record of him there is slight. Living as he did in the farm offices implies his job was partly administrative, bringing in, one supposes, a higher wage than labourer.

Having followed Duncan to Trinity Gask we should not be surprised to see him five years later in nearby Aberdalgie. At his marriage registration in 1846 he gave Aberdalgie as his home parish.²⁴ In our search for a reason for him being there we note that only four years earlier the Rev. Stewart²⁵ wrote dispiritedly of the decline of population of Aberdalgie due to the consolidation of farms and the demolition of cottars’ houses. Farmers were complaining of the dearth of labourers, especially during the harvests, and were advertising in Perth for workers. Perhaps Duncan moved there for a job with higher pay. Unhappily

23 Another Duncan Campbell was living in Trinity Gask in this period. He was married to Janet Thompson in Trinity Gask church in 1849 and appears on the 1851 census. The date of his marriage makes it impossible for him to be our Duncan’s father. He describes himself a Chelsea pensioner of age 42, so he could not be the 20 year-old Duncan who appears on the 1841 census. Moreover there is no evidence he had been a sheep-farmer.

24 Duncan enjoyed a greater mobility than a labourer in England. The English poor law did not apply in Scotland. There was no such thing as a home parish. There were no workhouses and seekers of relief were not forceably removed to their home parishes.

25 The Rev. William Garvie (*Statistical Accounts* pp. 149-157)
<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Aberdalgie/>
The Rev. C. C. Stewart (*New Statistical Accounts* pp. 875-881)
<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Aberdalgie/>

for us he moved in the decade between the 1841 and 1851 censuses when the only record he would leave was his marriage.

9 The Church at Trinity Gask

Little is known of the history of Trinity Gask church. The Mitchells surveyed the cemetery and copied memorial inscriptions, but found no memorials in the name of Campbell.



Figure 6. *The church at Trinity Gask.*

Had Duncan contemplated sheepfarming as an occupation he would have abandoned the idea by now and resigned himself to arable agriculture. The agriculture practiced in Aberdalgie in 1846 hadn't changed much from what the Rev. Garvie described in 1795:

The whole lands of the parish, exclusive of those within Duplin enclosures, are divided into 14 farms. By abolishing that very baneful arrangement of them which was commonly termed runrig, by draining, enclosing, liming, and summer-fallowing the ground, by doing equal justice to every part, and observing a proper rotation of crops, these farms have, within the last thirty years, been greatly improved. Much of the merit of this improvement is justly ascribed to the late Earl of Kinnoul; who, when he came to reside in Scotland, not only took care so to restrict his tenants in the leases he gave them, as to prevent their continuing such of their old practices as were hurtful to the soil...

Garvie describes the soil as of variable quality—for the most part a rich sandy clay near the Earn River. Stewart in 1838 was somewhat optimistic of the parish's agricultural potential:

This parish is not behind the rest of the district in its agricultural improvements. The more essential of these has certainly been the system of wedge-draining, now so generally adopted, which, from its instant effects in drying wet and tilly lands and cold subsoils, speedily repays the tenant for his labour and expense. The introduction of turnip husbandry has likewise proved very beneficial both to the tenantry and to the lands, and has been the means of introducing not a little sheep-husbandry, especially during the winter season. Potatoes, which have become of late years a valuable article of export from Strathearn, have been much grown in this district, and have much improved the lands, owing to the facilities thereby given to the obtaining of foreign manure, great quantities of which are driven to this parish from Perth.

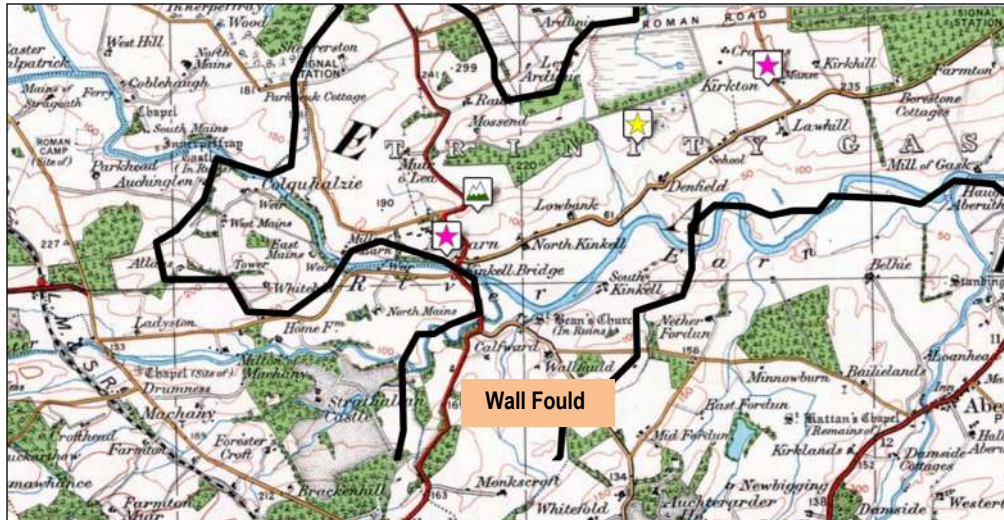


Figure 7. *The region of Trinity Gask and Wall Fould. The River Earn flows east through Aberdalgie. Adapted from an OS map.*

10 Aberdalgie Church

Duncan lived in Aberdalgie only briefly. We should therefore not be surprised at our failure to find a record of him beyond his marriage. The Mitchells surveyed the cemetery and copied memorial inscriptions, but found none in the name of Campbell.



Figure 8. *Aberdalgie church. Duncan and Christina had their intentions to marry registered here on 31 October 1846.*

A family history usually says something of meeting and courtship, so the topic should concern us a little. In 1846 the commonest places for meeting and greeting were school and church. Sometimes we find the future bride working as a domestic in the house of the parents of the future groom. But Duncan and

Christian are not of this mold. If our theory of fostering is correct then Duncan knew Christian from boyhood. The fact we find him in Aberdalgie (if, indeed, it is him) is consistent with the MacGregors being in New Scone, five miles away. There was no momentous meeting or love at first sight; Duncan was never out of touch with Christian from the time he joined the family.

Recapitulation

This concludes our arguments for Duncan junior's connection to the senior Campbells and for his fostering by the McGregors. It is true that the birthdate of August 1821 carved on his gravestone in RoseHill Cemetery differs from the date of 13 December 1821 written into the register of Kenmore church. Now gravestones have been known to display incorrect birthdates. It is perfectly plausible that the difference between August 1821 and 13 December 1821 results from the faulty memory of a man who left his boyhood home at a tender age. The August 1821 birthdate must, in fact, be incorrect for another reason. No Duncan Campbell in the whole of Perthshire has this birthdate (Table 12-6). And this surely does not mean the August 1821 record has been lost. The records provided by scotlandspeople.com are, in the writer's experience, generally complete. It would be too convenient for this particular record to go missing, and that of a tenant-farmer's son to boot. Duncan junior was surely the same Duncan born to Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor in Croftnalin.

It cannot be denied that the evidence of connection, though unproven, is strong. Duncan junior paid court to and married the daughter of a man who was born in Croftgarrow, a hamlet that lay only a few yards from where his father's first wife once lived, two miles or so from where Duncan Campbell worked a farm in Croftnalin.

There is evidence in names. Duncan junior surely honored his adoptive father by giving his first son the middle name "MacGregor".

This firms up the identification about as well as can be expected with the evidence at hand, and that evidence being circumstantial.

On the other hand, if we play devil's advocate and suppose the subject of this chapter was not the son of Duncan Campbell and Janet MacGregor of Croftnalin (that son having died or whatever) then we should have to find another set of parents for him. This task, after all the research that has been done and the records pursued, is one I would not know how to begin.