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EDITORIAL

Should the title of this page be Pontifical? The bones of my ego must be thickening even to consider that as an option.

We are doing very well for membership at the moment, mainly thanks to most members renewing, so we must be doing something right. Our web site is also pulling in new people as well, so we are adding to it a page of frequently-asked questions, or FAQs in the jargon. The URL may be difficult to remember, but if someone is happily browsing in the Internet by setting his or her search equipment to look for anything containing Highland plus Genealogy then they'll get <http://sentinel.mcc.ac.uk/genuki/big/scot/highland.FHS.home.html> and a click of the mouse will tell them about us.

We have a new Monumental Inscriptions Co-ordinator in the monumental shape of Angus Bethune. He is looking for volunteers to help survey Chapel Yard in Inverness, which with 1400 stones is going to take more than a five-minute coffee break to deal with. We have finished the Old High Church in Inverness, so the booklets will be available any minute. Now that I am working in Inverness (yes, I have a job for the moment, looking after a 60-user network, good fun) I have the chance to notice the four spires along the east bank of the Ness as I walk from my car along the shady side of the river towards the Greig Street footbridge. The first in line is the square, centuries-old Old High, on its steep hillock, and I'm sorry but I cannot confirm that there are ball holes in any stones or doors from the execution of rebels after Culloden! John Durham tells more about the MIs in this Journal.

John Durham has brought out a new edition of the Members Research Directory. If you are not in it, that's because you didn't tell us your interests when you joined. Should you care to add some, or change interests which could be years out of date for all we know, just tell us in the usual way, by post or email to me (jonathan_dingwall@compuserve.com) or to John (JohnDurran@compuserve.com), and it will be printed in the next Journal and reprinted in the future editions of the Members Research.

Our library has been improved by the kind donation of a Scottish set of 1988 IGI from the Highland Council Archivist Bob Steward.

You will notice a long article by me on 18th-Century Dingwall. Do not say you were not warned that if you didn't send me sufficient pieces on Highland family history (emigre or local, records, whatever) you would get more about Dingwall and McColls than you could stand for. Please get writing to tell us all about what you and your ancestors were doing in the Highlands and Islands themselves and their descendant regions of Oz, NZ, North Calina, Nova Scotia, western Ontario and so on. If your name is McColl and you know someone of that name in Russia, fine tell us. The number of Highland soldiers of all ranks who were successful all over the world is legendary, tell us about yours. Do so now while the humour is on you!

As we are about to hit a new financial year, your subscriptions would be welcome. If you haven't had a reminder then you have either already paid up front or have set up covenants or bankers orders, for which we thank you. I am sure you will have noticed that we have managed to keep the subscription unchanged for several years now, long may it continue.

18th-Century Action Man -

A Story of Robert Munro of Foulis

by Jonathan McColl

[A small proviso before we start: this story is mainly based on the depositions of only the prosecution side of the 1721 court case, as they have survived when Foulis's defence papers have not.]

Over a long period of time the Councillors of the Royal Burgh of Dingwall had elections. Doesn't that sound wonderfully democratic? In truth, the electorate was a bit limited: it was made up of the Burgh's heritors, ie the score or so owners of its property, and its burgesses, ie those trading within the bounds, and the heritors especially were usually all related one to other by blood or marriage. Just these few dozen men with the franchise had an agreed 'Act of Sett' defining how often they were to hold these elections and how big the council was to be, so at the beginning of every October they elected each other again, shuffling each other around the offices, bringing on the odd new face, very few of whom stayed more than a year although some managed it. They would elect a pleb-burgess most years, a Glover or wright or joiner, but even if he came to every single meeting (unlike a lot of the bigger wigs) he would usually get kicked off next year and another vintner or plasterer elected in his place.

They all met every year in a house of one of the councillors, until the 1730s when they were finally able to build the imposing Town House that still dominates Dingwall's High Street. Whosever house was being used would have the bewigged Town Officers standing outside the doors with crossed halberds to keep the hoi polloi at bay (just how effective they were will shortly be illustrated) and the chaps inside would draw up short leets of who was going to be the next Provost or Treasurer, and a subcommittee would be selected who would withdraw to a side room to pick someone and return with the recommendation, and the rest would solemnly decide whether or not to accept the report and until long after this period there wasn't one where they rejected it and started again. And then we had a new Dean of Guild or Baillie just like that.

The Magistrates and Town Council, to be more formal about it, would also commission someone to represent the town at Conventions of Royal Burghs (the ancestor to today's COSLA) and another one for the meetings of the Northern Burghs of Kirkwall, Wick, Dornoch, Tain and Dingwall which jointly elected a Member of Parliament, and therein lies this tale. At this point in the story the MP had for some years been Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, later to be known as the Blind Baron when disease or age took away his sight. By 1715 he was withdrawing from public life and so his son came more and more to the fore, and in that year it came time for him to retire as MP and all of a sudden there were lots of Munros on Dingwall's council where previously Baynes and Mackenzies and Dingwalls had been the main names. Gosh, and in that very year Robert the Younger was elected MP, what a surprise. Nearly forty years ago W. Ferguson wrote an article on 18th century electioneering and the

comparative rottenness of burghs in Scotland and England. He discovered letters discussing a compact between the main Dingwall laird Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch and Foulis younger, wherein for a Consideration the council vote could be assured to be cast correctly, and though this agreement stood for a long time it would appear that not everyone was absolutely convinced.

1722 was due to contain the next parliamentary election, so it became again important for Munro to have at least three of the five councils on his side. Tain was in his pocket and I am ignorant about the other burghs. But Dingwall had some people on the council who just didn't seem to like Munros and could not be counted upon to vote properly. Robert was a man of action: he, like his brother, led Independent Companies of the menfolk of his Highland tenants and in a few years he would become a leading figure when they were formed into the Black Watch before heading off to the European wars. His brother George Munro, of Culcairn, was Dingwall's Provost, and he becomes more of a human being for me if I imagine him walking with a limp caused by the bullet that tore through the muscle of his leg at the battle of Glencairn in 1719, the famous fight that also starred Rob Roy. Another aspect of all this which ought to be brought back to mind is that while we may attract tourists on the verge of the 21st Century by insisting that we are part of the Romantic Highlands, in those days we were far too cleanliving, English-speaking and sophisticated to admit to any such thing. The Highlanders were barbarous and uncouth wild Irish-speaking beings who came down from their hills to buy goods and to sell their cattle, Dingwallians weren't that sort of people one bit. (But just ask me to talk about the street dungheaps and cholera!)

Yes, Robert was an action man. So he moved into action with a couple of hundred of his 'wild Highlanders', so described by the townsfolk at the time, and kidnapped Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch (son to the fellow who had agreed things with Foulis and heir to most of the land surrounding Dingwall), Alexander Bayne of Knockbayne and the treasurer John Dingwall. The soldiers moved into the town and entered the little private close off the main street where stood the barn and house of John Tuach, Town Clerk. There were people sleeping in both buildings, Tuach's servants as well as visitors to Dingwall. All was quiet in the barn except for the rustlings in the straw and the coughing of John Hastings who 'lay sick of an ague'. Then at two o'clock in the morning he and the others were dramatically woken when the kilted men smashed down the barn doors with sledgehammers and searched the place at speed, knocking anyone aside who didn't move fast enough, and put a guard on the ruined door while they went for the main house.

There they demolished the doors of Tuach's home with axes and hammers, ran in and disturbed the sleep of Lord Cromartie when John Munro of Killichuan (that's Mountrich now) ripped open the curtains of his four-poster bed but left him alone after a hurried conversation:

"What do you want?"

"I hope I haven't disturbed you."

"You couldn't disturb me much more than already."

"I think you've had enough sleep anyway!"

In response to an ill-timed remark one of the invaders slashed with his sword down on the head of one of Cromartie's servants who had the luck to survive when it stuck in the door lintel. And then Killichonan and his colleagues moved on to grab the three irritant councillors up out of their beds. The Munros marched them down the High Street in their underwear, up the hill by Tulloch Castle and Kinnaidie and on the several miles to Foulis Castle 'in their Single Cloaths & in a Dark rainy night without allowing them to Call for their own horse or allowing them any other for their use' along the road which in those days went immediately by the castle, not yet having been diverted by a subsequent Foulis. There he tied them to the gates and the locals made fun of them, until it became light enough put them down to Foulis point where the ginal would one day be built for a later generation, and boarded them on a boat for Wick. A storm came up (this was early October) and the boat had no deck so the nervous sailors came ashore in the darkness at Dunskeath below the North Sutor on the way out of the Cromarty Firth. Their captors thought they should go to Tain's Chief Magistrate at Balnagown but according to Tulloch "on their Road thither they were attacked by Some Country women by whom the party & they were dispersed" and the councillors seized their chance to escape and make their way home. Whyever would these wild women have attacked them? Who can tell now? With no horses, very tired from having had no rest since their rude awakening at two in the morning, I wonder at the stamina of these three men, aged respectively 36, 40 and 50 years old, who coped with the traumatic run to Foulis, the stormy sail to Dunskeath and the nearly thirty miles of a walk back to Dingwall, all in rough weather and on two dark nights and not much lighter day between. They managed to arrive at about 10am on Wednesday 3rd. These were not weak men.

And they were just in time for the elections.

Foulis Younger, 'the Colonel', of course quickly received word of their arrival and now became really ratty. He had also by now to cope with many of the townsmen's gathering as it was late morning on Election Day. On his side he would have been aware that he had reinforcements coming: Simon Fraser who despite the 1715 outlawing of his title was still 'commonly called Lord Lovat', John Forbes of Culloden with his young advocate brother Duncan who would become very famous a quarter of a century later, and other merchants and landowners from Inverness and Nairn, with fifty horse and the two hundred soldiers¹. As it happens, by an amazing coincidence only a fortnight before the Nairn council elections had been 'influenced' in a very similar way when a horde of hairy wild soldiers descended upon the town and swaggered about armed to the teeth, so here were the Forbes et al presumably

¹ John Forbes of Culloden, elected Provost of Inverness just a week before on September 26th 1721, his younger brother Duncan Forbes one day to become Lord President, John Cuthbert, *jr* of Castlehill, Alexander MacIntosh of Tormit, John Hossack, elected Dean of Guild of Inverness Sept 26th, Town Clerk Alexander Baillie, Inverness merchants James Cuthbert, Thomas Robertson and Lachlan Bain McIntosh, vintner John Stewart, doctor George Cuthbert, Simon, Lord Lovat, Alexander Fraser *vr* of Rillick, Alexander Fraser of Pophachie, James Fraser of Castleleathers, Alexander Fraser of Culduthel, William Fraser of Balloan. Italicised names involved in Nairn fight too.

helping out a mate and repaying a debt. (A little while after similar scenes would be acted out yet again at the Fortrose elections.)

A white-hat was present in the shape of Colin Graham of Drynie who was the Deputy Lieutenant of the county. He had been suspicious since before he got there. When riding down the gentle slopes of the Black Isle towards the ford through the Conon (now Riverford in the new town of Conon Bridge) he had seen Lovat with a hundred of his own troops a mile or so ahead of him marching to Dingwall and more troops in the distance.

The Council was in conference in their tollbooth in the middle of the muddy High Street. The officers stood at the top of the steps with their blunt halberds crossed in front of the doorway and watched nervously as the companies of soldiers came in from both the west and east ends of the High Street and formed up on each side of the entrance to the Council House. Suddenly Foulis' brother George of Culcairn ran forward, dashed up the steps and pistol-whipped them out of the way, one of the officers falling over the edge with his wig falling off and blood pouring from a head wound. He charged in with, to quote the victims, 'a cocked pistol in his hand and another in his breast', and shouted at them to let them know that this meeting was hereby adjourned and another would shortly be convened. Using the local Messenger, the official who served legal notices, and giving the feeble (and probably inaccurate) excuse that the town had left unpaid its 'missive dues' of the few shillings a year owed to the Convention of Royal Burghs, he and his men then re-arrested the three councillors. In vain did they protest that the dues were always paid by the commissioner (Robert Munro!) who went to the CRB meetings, in vain did they protest that even if true *all* of the councillors should be liable including Foulis and Culcairn, and in vain did they offer to pay the money now. When they were shoved out through the door they were greeted by the shouts of the onlookers: "Drag down the dogs! Drown them in the ditch!" Tulloch fell over the steps and was only saved from a broken neck by the thick press of people. Drynie yelled to let them go by virtue of his authority as Deputy Lieutenant of Ross but was shouted down and warned off by the sudden swinging around towards him of a lot of pistols and swordpoints. "Take your Commission to the Ardmeanach and exercise your authority there!" shouted Sergeant George Ross from Teanord, suggesting that the birds in the empty boggy centre of the Black Isle might pay more attention to it. They took the councillors down the road to Barbara Bain's alehouse/wineshop where the Colonel was staying and from there the Munros made sure of the job this time by marching them all the way to Tain and sticking them in jail on their arrival at about 8pm. This might be a good point at which to remind ourselves that George Munro of Culcairn at the time had been elected our Provost and was thus Chief Magistrate and pinnacle of Dingwall's system of justice.

On Friday the 5th Colin Mackenzie of Kincairn went to Tain and found the threesome stuck in a room in the tollbooth. They tried to get him to find Tain's baillie John McCulloch to let them out, even if they had to pay the fictional missive dues which had got them put there, and by the time they got back the twenty five miles to Dingwall they found that Foulis, Culcairn and a whole raft of other Munros had had their own elections, which hardly surprisingly, they had

won. Occasionally over the decades covered by these manuscript books the internal elections were won by a unanimous vote, but it is interesting to note that the word 'unanimously' was used far more frequently than usual around this point² and it smacks to me of extra justification, the fellows did protest too much methought. Robert was returned back into Parliament and stayed there another 20 years until the 1741 election, to which we will turn in a moment.

The minute books show that the even tenor of municipal life then returned, do they not? No they do not. Little hints abound that the deposed councillors did not shut up and go back to planting and harvesting, shooting the pigeons, building outhouses and catching salmon at the year down on the Conon, or the Stavaig as they were still calling the river's estuary then. At the first meeting of the newly-elected council only six people were present, five of them Munros, so I smell a boycott. One subject on the agenda was John Tuach the Town Clerk, who may have handed over the minute book, but had done so under great protest and refused to join in the game, so he was turned off by the others and yet another Munro was appointed clerk in his place. Then, six weeks later, the new clerk complained that the previous one had delayed in handing over the TOWN charter chest and register and seal. 'Town' in capitals to emphasise how little right the nasty man had had for the go-slow, so the Munros of Culcairn and Killichoan went to fetch them too and got short shrift again. So they gave up and paid to have a new seal made. And a few months later Baillie Donald Dingwall of the ancien regime (one day to be provost himself) locked the upstairs out of the tollbooth, which was his own building, and he wouldn't let them use it, so there. And meanwhile whenever the Convention of Royal Burghs was sitting or the Northern Burghs met to elect an MP, Dingwall's two opposing councils each sent a representative, even if the diehards were not accepted when Robert Munro was able to demonstrate that his council had met and elected themselves on the correct day.

This arguing went on for several years until the hatchets were buried at last in 1725, 'considering the division that happened in this burgh by double elections' suggests that they had managed to keep up the parallel councils for the entire period. They combined the two councils into one large meeting and had the usual annual elections to produce a new unitary council. Not long ago we did something similar in the Highlands, but thankfully without the same preliminaries.

How were the Munros able to get away with this sort of action? Well, there was a distinct split between the voters and the rest of the inhabitants, in that the voters were the landowning heritors who had the rest of the inhabitants as servants or tenants and there were only a few dozen burghesses, the businessmen of the burgh, so how much did the mass of the farming and serving inhabitants know or care about the shenanigans? Then again, the authors of said

² From 1707 to 1729, 21 full years, the word was used 94 times, averaging a little over four times a year, usually in the election meeting. During 1721 the word appeared 13 times, three times that average.

shenanigans did not completely escape consequences, for the victims brought a court action in Inverness against Robert Munro and he was fined £200. He appealed and it eventually reached the House of Lords in 1724, but this only led to his being forced to pay a 'complimentary' 100 guineas 'for the behoof of the Town' and presumably also led to the reconciliation of the following year. Nothing moved quickly in those days of slow communications, and that is another reason for the silliness of the excuse for the original distraining of the kidnapped councillors as no-one would mind a few years of unpaid back dues.

Robert Munro of Foulis remained a man of action, and despite the interruption of the formation of the Black Watch and battles for his king in France and the Low Countries, he still felt it important to stay on as MP for the Northern Burghs. He seemed to have no problem in 1727 when his re-election was called for, an extra Munro (of Newmore) joined Culcairn and Foulis on the council for a few months, and again in 1735 when the extra Munro was of Killichoan. Anyway, in neither year did the Dingwall meetings include comment on the re-election of Foulis.

But then came the lead-in to the 1741 elections. In 1739 Munros of Culcairn and Killichoan were knocked off the Council in the usual manner, but this act against his relatives upset Sir Robert, 'which since the Year 1716 he had Declared to be a *Familie Burrow*.' They were not re-instated in 1740, and Dingwall compounded its folly by deciding on the Mackenzie Earl of Cromartie as commissioner to the meeting in Dornoch which would choose its MP. Now Foulis found it necessary to repeat the formula which had been successful two decades before, but this time it didn't work. He stationed companies of his soldiers on the entrance roads to Dingwall posing as road repairers, but their guns, swords and sheer numbers gave them away. One of the bailies, William Fraser, pinched the keys to the council house and had a 'body of armed men' lodged at his own house. This attempt at influencing the vote merely ensured that the only Munro who remained on the council was Fowlis himself. This time he wasn't interested in half measures, so when his men smashed in the door they kidnapped the entire sitting council of ten men for transport out of both the town and his hair. The element he overlooked was the womenfolk who gathered in the street screaming at him to let their men go. According to the councillors later, his reaction was to order his men to shoot, in both directions along the High Street so they must have been surrounded. In the fire-fight several people were injured and poor Annabel Bayne, the wife of merchant Alexander Mackenzie, died soon after from the wounds of at least two balls that had torn through her. The councillors' emotional letter to other burgh councils may perhaps have slightly overstated the matter when describing that nothing but the shrieks and cries of women 'in the *Agonies of Death were to be heard while the Streets were running blood*.' I say it didn't work, although it nearly did, and later on a technical point Foulis got the formal parliamentary election of his winning opponent quashed, but then he chose not to go further when his own leader Robert Walpole fell from grace as the King's Prime Minister.

The brothers Fowlis and Culcairn (and another brother Doctor Duncan) were not fated to remain much longer in this world. In 1745 Robert and Duncan fell at Falkirk and George died

The Changing Journey to Work in the Twentieth Century

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Daily mobility, including the journey to work, is a taken-for-granted aspect of most people's lives. However, the fact that such mobility is commonplace does not mean that we have a good understanding of either how it has changed over time or what factors influence individual decisions about the journey to work. Indeed, because mundane events such as travel between home and workplace rarely leave written records it is an aspect of mobility which has been neglected by historians. As most family historians know to their cost, information on residential mobility is hard enough to discern. Data on daily travel is almost impossible to determine for periods beyond the scope of present memories. However, because the journey to work is an everyday experience there are many myths and popular assumptions about the ways in which it has changed in the twentieth century. There is need to test these assumptions against more rigorous evidence, and to understand the nature and process of change in daily mobility to work in the twentieth century. Furthermore, because the journey to work is fundamentally embedded in many other aspects of economy, culture and society - including such factors as changing transport technology, employment practices, residential preferences, household structures and environmental considerations - it can be suggested that the journey to work is in effect a mirror reflecting some of the most significant aspects of change in twentieth-century economy and society.

Many family historians will be aware of the research we have recently completed on life time residential histories.¹ Data provided by family historians first alerted us to the possibility of studying aspects of daily mobility in more detail, and the methodology used to examine the journey to work has been derived directly from our previous research on migration. Evidence collected in the migration project suggested that, for most people, the journey to work changed relatively little before the twentieth century. This, together with the need to utilise mainly oral evidence, meant that the current project was focused on changes in the journey to work in the twentieth century. Family historians have been asked to provide information on people who entered the workforce at any time from 1890 onwards, and respondents have been sent a detailed data entry form requesting information on residential histories, employment histories, the mode and nature of the journey to work, and relevant personal details. We have so far received over 1400 completed forms, but are keen to collect further information.² In addition to the very detailed data collected via the forms, we are also conducting a series of in-depth interviews with 50 selected respondents. These interviews are being used to examine in detail the reasons why people chose particular modes of travel to work, and explore the experiences of commuters at different time periods.

The limited research previously completed on the journey to work in the twentieth century, together with common sense observations and analysis of contemporary census data, suggest that for most people travel to work distances have increased markedly since the 1890s, that there are variations in the journey to work by gender, socio-economic group, life-cycle stage and location, and that car use has increased dramatically during the second half of the twentieth century.³ The project focuses on three questions arising from this context. First, what were the key changes in distance, direction and mode of journey to work over the period from 1890 to the present, and do they substantiate commonplace assumptions; second, have the factors which were important in influencing people's decisions about the distance between their home and workplace, and about types of transport used, changed over time, and third,

the following year when he was assassinated in error for someone else. But 1746 was not a safe year for travelling in the Highlands.

Democracy ain't what it used to be, which is just as well because even though it is less colourful now, the colour then was the red of blood.

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References:

- Volume I (1707-47) of the Dingwall Council minute books in the Dingwall Museum
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H.F.H.S. LIBRARY

This is a chance to remind members that we have our own library located in the upstairs landing in the reference section of the main library in Inverness. A microfiche reader and a microfilm reader, for the exclusive use of members, are to be found on a table at the end of the landing. At time to time, the contents of this library have been mentioned in one of our previous Journals. This seems an opportune chance to bring to the attention of members some of the items which are currently available to them.

We have over the years purchased, or had donated to us, a number of books covering various aspects of family history. We also have copies of our own publications, Journals from the other Scottish family history societies and several editions of the annual Genealogical Research Directory. This latter publication is a world-wide index including, in addition to the normal alphabetical index by surname, special interest entries like '*Master Mariners of South Shields 1800-1899*' or '*Descendants of the crew of H.M.S. Swallow 1700-1800*'.

As mentioned previously, we have the 1881 census (both index and full transcription of each entry) on microfiche for the Highland Counties plus Perthshire, Lanarkshire and Midlothian. We have recently purchased the complete index to the 1891 census for the whole of Scotland. This is also on microfiche and is indexed alphabetically by county. For each person it gives their age, the enumeration district and page number they appear on. This index will be particularly helpful where you think that the family you are interested in has moved out of the area covered by the Society, or even to a different county within the Highlands. It will save you having to read through reels of film and then not find the family you were looking for.

how have decisions about journey to work distances and modes of travel varied with gender, life-cycle stage, socio-economic group and location amongst other factors? Investigation of these questions is at an early stage (one year into a three year project), and only preliminary results can be reported here. However, analysis of the first 400 responses received already highlights some significant issues. For the purposes of this paper analysis is focused particularly on change over time and variations by gender.

As expected, journey to work distances appear to have increased dramatically during the twentieth century with a mean journey to work distance of 5.5 km for the period 1890-1919 compared to 15.4 km for the 1980s and '90s. However, rates of increase were not the same in all time periods, and there were significant differences in the experiences of men and women. Whereas for both men and women, the greatest increases in journey to work distances occurred in the first half of the twentieth century, and men had a longer journey to work than women in all time periods, male journeys to work continued to increase in each time period whilst female journeys to work remained stable from the 1920s to the 1970s. Thus in the period 1920-1939 mean journey to work distances for men were 10.4 km and for women 8.4 km, but by the period 1960-79 male journeys to work distances had increased to 17.6 km whilst female distances were almost unchanged at 8.8 km. Only in the 1980s and '90s have female journey to work distances increased significantly, narrowing slightly the gender differential. This strongly suggests that the factors which encouraged men to lengthen their travel to work distances for much of the twentieth century have not influenced women until relatively recently.

This is confirmed if changes in the main mode of transport are examined. Overall, as anticipated, there has been a massive decline in bus use and walking, and an increase in use of the private car. Thus in the period 1890 to 1910 one third of journeys were on foot, 24.6% were by train (including underground), and 35.5% were by bus or tram (with a negligible proportion by car or motorcycle). By the 1980s and '90s walking comprised only 6.7% of journeys, buses 10.3%, train use was almost unchanged at 25.6% and cars accounted for 46.5% of all commuting journeys, with car use increasing most rapidly in the 1960s. In the 1890s and 1900s gender differences in the main mode of transport used were relatively small, though men were most likely to commute by train and women by bus or tram. However, from the 1920s there was increasing divergence with car use before the 1960s confined almost entirely to men, and with women much more likely than men to use buses and trams to work or to walk. However, by the 1980s gender differentials had diminished with travel to work for both men and women dominated by car use.

Examination of the reasons why people used a particular mode of transport for their commuting journey sheds further light on the gender differences. Overall, as might be expected, the proportion who said that they had no choice over their mode of transport declined from the 1890s, as did the proportion who said cost was the most significant factor. Personal preference, speed of transport and the fact that employers gave assistance with transport (especially a company car) became increasingly important. The main gender differential which emerges is that women were consistently more concerned than men about the speed of their journey to work - they needed to minimise the time spent commuting. In the period 1890 to 1939 they were also more likely to be concerned about cost, but only in the 1980s and '90s were they more likely than men to say that lack of choice was their main reason for choosing a particular mode of transport. What emerges consistently from the data is the impact of well-known employment and household constraints on female journey to work

distances and travel modes. Women, who often worked part time for low wages and had to juggle domestic and employment duties, required a short journey to work which was cheap, took a minimum amount of time, but which often had to be undertaken on foot or by bus. Although in the 1890s and 1900s differences between male and female journey to work patterns were relatively small, these diverged rapidly until the 1980s when women appear to have begun to adopt what were previously male-dominated commuting patterns.

This analysis of gender differences in changes in the journey to work over a century demonstrates clearly the way in which decisions about the location of home and workplace, and the mode of transport used to commute, cannot be divorced from wider forces of social, economic and cultural change operating in society. Inevitably, at such an early stage of the project, analysis is tentative and somewhat superficial. There is much more to be revealed from a full analysis of the data. However, one factor that is immediately apparent both from the forms returned so far and from the small number of interviews completed, is the way in which decisions about changing home or workplace to reduce a journey to work were affected by uncertainty in other aspects of peoples' lives. This is illustrated clearly by the experience of one respondent who, due to both job uncertainty and other possible changes in her life, continued to undertake what she described as a 'terrible journey' of one and a half hours across London rather than move nearer her workplace in the late 1960s and early '70s.

'Well I liked the flat really which I suppose is mainly it, and also I was beginning to think I'd had enough of social work and everything by then and I didn't know whether I was, it was all in the melting pot, and my mother was very ill which was one of the things, and I didn't quite know what was going to happen, if I was going to be called back home to help out or whatever, and then in the middle of it all I met D and so that was all a possibility, and so I just went on for three years.'

Decisions about the journey to work are clearly far from simple, and whilst the research will, inevitably, be confirming some previous assumptions it is also highlighting aspects of the relationship between home and workplace which have been previously unconsidered.

Notes:

¹ For a summary of the results of this research see C.G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, 'Migration and mobility in Britain from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries' Local Population Studies, 57 (1996) 50-71.

² Anyone wishing to participate in the project should contact Dr. Jean Turnbull, Department of Geography, Lancaster University, Lancaster, LA1 4YB (Tel: 01524-593730). We would be grateful if all completed forms are returned by March 1998 at the latest.

³ For previous research on the journey to work in twentieth-century Britain see R. Lawton, 'The journey to work in England and Wales: forty years of change' Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 54 (1963) 61-69; R. Lawton, 'The journey to work in Britain: some trends and problems' Regional Studies, 2 (1968) 27-40; A. Warnes, 'Estimates of journey to work distances from census statistics' Regional Studies, 6 (1972) 315-26; A. Gillespie, 'Population and employment decentralization and the journey to work' in J. Goddard and A. Champion (eds) The urban and regional transformation of Britain (Methuen, 1983)

160-86, M. Coombes, D Atkins and C.Wymer, 'Workplace and travel to work patterns' in D. Atkins, A. Champion, M. Coombes, D. Dorling and R. Woodward (eds) Urban trends in England: latest evidence from the 1991 census (HMSO, 1996) 123-144.

PROGRAMME OF TALKS FOR 1997-98

Our programme starts on 23rd September 1997 with **Graeme Mackenzie** who is to give an illustrated talk on *Clan Genealogy*. Graeme was brought up in South Ayrshire and went to Cambridge. He is archivist-genealogist to Clan Macmillan. His Highland connections were grandparents from Glenurquhart and Laidhay, in Caithness. Graeme is currently writing a history of the early Macmillans.

Craig Omand, *A Beginner in Family History*, gives a talk on that subject on 28th October. He is a teacher of History at Invergordon Academy and comes from Halkirk, Caithness having joined the Society last year. Craig has many Orcadian connections and this will feature in his illustrated talk.

On 25th November, **David Alston** talks on *Early Fishing Communities of Easter Ross and the Black Isle*. David is a well-known Highland historian whom the Society has met before. He is the Curator of Cromarty Courthouse, hence his 'Ross' topic. David is currently engaged on a PhD at Aberdeen University.

Donald Paterson gives an illustrated lecture about *St. Kilda* on 16th December. He is Aberdeen University's Continuing Education Organiser for the Northlands. He comes from Denny, near Stirling and is a botany graduate and keen antiquarian.

Archive Night re-appears on the programme on 23rd January and gives members an opportunity to bring along any personal heirlooms which could generate interest and discussion among attenders.

Iain Sutherland speaks on *The Heritage of the Sinclairs* on 24th February. A native 'Wicker' he is founder-chairman of the 'Wick Society' which runs the Heritage Centre there. Iain is involved in many projects to conserve Caithness' history and has written extensively on the Fishing Industry.

Iain Rose talks on **Crimes and Society** on 24th March. Iain is a History teacher at Lochaber High School and is heavily involved in publishing work for the school curriculum. He makes a welcome return visit to the Society.

John Wood will be *Digging Deep into Highland History* in his illustrated talk on 28th April. John is one of the team of Highland Council archaeologists and delivers courses on archaeology for Aberdeen University.

N.B. This latter date will also incorporate the Annual General Meeting of the Society. As a consequence, it commences at 7.00pm, half an hour earlier than normal.

FOUR FINLAYSONS WHO WENT FAR FROM THURSO FISHER FAMILIES by Angela Finlayson

In the last years of the Eighteenth Century, career prospects may not have looked bright for John Finlayson and his younger brother William, nor for Donald Finlayson and his younger brother George, all schoolboys in Thurso. Both pairs of brothers were born into fisher families. The parents of John and William were Donald Finlayson and Isabel Guthrie. Those of Donald and George were another Donald Finlayson and Anne Innes.

The two fathers may have been cousins, named Donald after a common grandfather. He might even have been the Donald Finlayson, senior, the fisher who is recorded in the Old Statistical Account as testifying in 1792 to the 2,560 salmon caught in one famous haul fifty years previously, while the other witnesses, a baillie and a shoemaker, signed the document. Donald's mark was recorded, indicating that he could not write. However, there were numerous Finlaysons and MacFhionnlaighs in Thurso then, many entered in the records as fishers and many sharing the same forenames, so we cannot be sure of any kin relationships.

Nevertheless, although the pair of firstborn boys, John and Donald, were baptised in 1783 and 1788 respectively, the younger pair, William and George, were born within three months of each other in 1790. So, in the closely knit Fisher-Biggins, the boys could hardly fail to be schoolmates and playmates. Moreover, among tributes that have been paid to all four in later life, there was always emphasis on their intelligence, their sound schooling and the love of learning in the families from which they came.

John and William were early disadvantaged by the sudden death, said to be of 'brain fever', of their father, aged 29, only four months after William was born, leaving Isabel to bring up the two boys and three-year old Christian. A relative, quoted by Calder, speaking of their "pinching poverty", described Isabel as "a woman of discreet judgement and of careful and industrious habits, wanting something better for her sons than the dangerous and unprofitable calling that had been pursued by her husband".

Under Mr Munro, the schoolmaster, John did well and, at fifteen, was apprenticed for four years to Mr Donald Robeson, a writer in Thurso, where he obtained professional and business knowledge. He was an avid reader and, although books were scarce in Thurso, he was encouraged by a friendly baker, whose brother was connected with Mackay's circulating library in Edinburgh, enabling John to share in the boxes of books that came north. Music was another interest. Calder describes happy evening scenes in Thurso Bay, with John playing the flute to young friends who rowed him in a small boat. Perhaps younger Finlaysons were among the rowers.

After completing his apprenticeship, John became factor to Sir Benjamin Dunbar at Ackergill in 1802. Then, in August 1804, presumably sponsored by favourable references from Caithness sources, he obtained a clerkship in the office of Mr Glen, Writer to the Signet, in Edinburgh. He remained there only six weeks, during which time, in a remarkable twist of fate, he showed himself to be not only studious but quick-thinking, practical and romantic. Invited to dine with Mr Glen, the party included his employer's sister, whose dress by accident caught fire. John seizing the tablecloth, put out the flames, awakening, says Calder, "gratitude, followed by a more tender feeling between them". Then, "to prevent any possible opposition from relatives", they eloped to London where they married in September 1804.

