Personal naming patterns in Scotland, 1700 – 1800:

a comparative study of the parishes of Beith, Dingwall, Earlston, and Govan

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Contents

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Database Access

A password-protected version of the database application used in this research project can be found at: `http://www.alicecrook.co.uk/silver`

Access can be gained by entering an email address on the site; a temporary password will then be sent to that email address. The password is valid for a period of seven days; for further access, a new password will need to be requested.

This version of the application is intended for the purpose of allowing the reader to view the baptismal records which were collected for this research.

Introduction

The aim of this project is to investigate naming patterns in Scotland during the Early Modern period. As Corkery (2000: 73) notes, “examination of naming patterns provides a useful means whereby social, cultural and religious currents can be investigated for periods and places for which it is impossible to conduct conventional sociological studies”. Transmission of names from one generation to the next has been extensively studied on the Continent, where distinctive patrilineal and matrilineal naming patterns have been identified. Wilson (1998: 226) suggests: “The situation was similar in Britain, though it has been less studied”. Recent research in England tends to confirm the existence of such patterns (Smith-Bannister 1997; Redmonds 2004).

It has been claimed in a variety of sources, including guides for genealogical study in Scotland and several online resources, that a specific naming pattern was historically used in Scotland, and that it was in especially widespread use throughout the Early Modern period (e.g. Durie 2009; Sinclair 1990; James 2009). It is claimed that the pattern was used regardless of such factors as geographical location and social class, and was used by the majority of people. The pattern is described as follows: “the eldest son named after the paternal grandfather; the second son named after the maternal grandfather; the third son named after the father; the eldest daughter named after the maternal grandmother; the second daughter named after the paternal grandmother; the third daughter named after the mother” (Cory 1990: 68). Although some variations on the pattern have also been suggested, the sources agree that the naming pattern was in widespread use. However, given that little or no evidence is presented by any of these sources, it is possible that, with research into the field, the theory that Scotland had a traditional personal naming pattern may be refuted.

The project involves the comprehensive analysis of baptismal records from the Old Parish Registers of four Scottish parishes, for the period 1700-1800. The Old Parish Registers have been chosen as a primary source as "[t]he entries in a parish register, made for an entire population of a community year after year, produce a total record from which [...] it is possible to reconstruct very elaborate genealogical configurations that incorporate large stretches of historical time" (Plakans 1984: 152). The parishes are Govan (Glasgow), Beith (North Ayrshire), Earlston (Berwickshire), and Dingwall (Ross & Cromarty), and have been selected to represent a range of geographical, social, and linguistic variables. The records will be collated into an electronic database and organised into familial units; they will then be collectively analysed to gain an understanding of the Early Modern Scottish name-stock, and the familial groups will be analysed for the usage of the 'traditional' Scottish naming pattern.

This study first and foremost aims to either provide evidence for or negate the claim that a traditional personal naming pattern was in widespread use in early modern Scotland. If the pattern is found to be in use, it is hoped that it will be possible to more fully understand its range of use and implementation in society. For example, it may be the case that the pattern is in more regular use in more rural and remote parishes, which have been largely isolated from other influences on naming, than in an urban setting, where other factors may have been more easily introduced.

Other aspects of naming will also be studied, in order to establish whether they had any influence on the potential usage of a sequential naming pattern. These aspects include:

- size of name-stock
- prevalence of patrilineal and matrilineal naming
- prevalence of naming after godparents

Overall, the project will provide much-needed evidence supporting or negating the theory of a traditional naming pattern, and statistical analysis of the names used in eighteenth-century Scotland. Its results will be valuable for not only the field of anthroponymy but also sociology (Coster 2002: 167) and genealogy (Steel 1962: 38), and will form the basis for more extensive research into the influences on Scottish naming.

Chapter 1 - Research Context

1.1 Overview of naming studies

1.1.1 Value of studying transmission

> An individual's given name is among the most important components of his or her identity. Consequently, one can learn much about a particular society by its naming patterns: this collective body of information can shed light on underlying trends, norms and values. Most important to the historian is the capacity large numbers of names have for indicating social, cultural and even political change.
>
> (Morris 2005: 43)

As Morris states, knowledge of a society's naming patterns is immensely valuable for sociological and historical studies. With every baptism, a name has been given to a child for a specific reason: for example, to commemorate a relative, or because the name-giver particularly liked the name. When a group of baptismal entries is analysed, the researcher is therefore also investigating a group of naming-decisions; consequently, the study of names and naming patterns can reveal details about culture and fashion which may not otherwise have been discovered (Winchester 2011: 31).

This type of study is particularly useful when conducting sociological research on communities of the past, as it is impossible to carry out a typical sociological investigation when the participants are all deceased (Corkery 2000: 73). The study of naming patterns offers sufficient information to subsequently examine the cultural and spiritual habits of a community (Coster 2002: 167), and results are unaffected by the fact that no members of that community are living. Moody writes that "without knowing [how their minds worked,] we cannot truly know

our ancestors as living people" (1988: 137). By studying the decisions made by a group of people, we can begin to understand their motivations and, subsequently, begin to know them 'as living people.'

It is thought that, in Scotland, there existed a traditional naming pattern in which the eldest children were named for specific relatives (e.g. Bigwood 2006; Hamilton-Edwards 1983; James 2009); if this were found to be true, it would suggest that Scottish people not only believed the honouring of ancestors to be important, but also believed it was necessary to follow tradition and name children in the specified order. James writes that "[t]he Scots adopted a traditional, almost ritual, attitude to the naming of children" (2009: 175), and, if true, this could have implications for other aspects of Scottish society. Indeed, Hamilton-Edwards has already concluded that the naming pattern is a symbol of a conventional society, writing that "Scotland, being a country appreciative of its traditions, had a highly developed system of naming children" (1983: 71), and James has claimed that, if a couple did not follow the naming pattern, they would greatly upset their relatives and could even face disinheritance (2009: 176).

However, little research has been carried out into Scottish naming patterns, and the studies which exist are predominantly qualitative (e.g. Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 76). It is thus unknown what proportion of Scottish families followed this naming pattern and, therefore, whether the presence of this naming pattern may be indicative of general views in Scottish society or be merely suggestive of the concerns of a small percentage of the population.

1.1.2 Relevant studies

Although there is a dearth of research into transmission in Early Modern Scotland, a small number of studies have been made into English naming in the same period. For example, Smith-Bannister has shown that the majority of families practised patrilineal and matrilineal naming, with the eldest children usually taking the parents' names (1997: 65), but has shown

that there were considerable differences in the rate of parent-child name-sharing when comparing parishes of northern and southern England (1997: 42). Corkery has demonstrated that, in many areas, the Church had great influence over the choice of the name, even restricting names which were considered inappropriate (2000: 57).

Other studies have focussed on such features as first name distribution (Winchester 2011), and it is anticipated that Scottish name-stock research will yield equally valuable results. Winchester, for example, discovered that there was "a cultural boundary dividing north-east from south-west Cumbria [… with the boundary] reflected in some aspects of forename distributions in the early modern centuries" (2011: 46). The discovery of such boundaries would be immensely useful for studies of Early Modern society, both historical and sociological.

The quantity of studies into English naming may outnumber those into Scottish naming, but such research is even more widespread in continental Europe and, in comparison, "little work has been done in Britain" (Wilson 1998: x). Onomastic studies seem to be especially prevalent in France and Italy, with research into both the name-stock and patterns of transmission. For example, it has been discovered that, in most of France, the eldest son was named for the paternal grandfather and the second for the maternal grandmother; the eldest daughter was named for the maternal grandmother and the second named for the paternal grandmother (Wilson 1998: 221). Significantly, although the general naming patterns of France are remarked upon, studies of naming have been conducted in numerous locations; this has ensured that considerable regional differences have been discovered. For example, Wilson has noted that, in Normandy, the father chose the names of the elder children and the mother chose those of the younger children; in the Pays de Sault, the paternal grandfather chose the children's names (1998: 223). It has been discovered that these French naming traditions are related to matters of inheritance: in the Pays de Sault, the grandfather chose the children's names and

named one after himself, thus selecting his own heir; in the Pays de Caux, the father named his children, and the son he named after himself would be his heir (Wilson 1998: 223). However, in the Bigouden, the eldest son would be named for the father, but was expected to leave home and seek his own fortune; instead, the youngest or second-youngest would be the father's heir, while not being named for him (Wilson 1998: 223). The knowledge of these regional differences indicates that there have been numerous detailed studies into the naming practices, and their implications, of different areas of France.

Similar studies have been undertaken in Italy; for example, it has been established that, throughout Italy, it was traditional to name a child for a relative who had recently died, to 'replace' the deceased person (Wilson 1998: 224). This replacement could greatly affect the child's adult life: Wilson describes a case where a man had been baptised with the name of his murdered uncle, and consequently devoted himself to avenging his uncle's death (1998: 225).

Research into different regions of Italy has also been conducted: although the father's and mother's sides are honoured equally in most parts of Italy, the Corsican naming system favours the father's family, with names from the mother's family being used only if there were no more available names from the father's side (Wilson 1998: 225). The results of the Italian and French studies suggest that it is important to research the naming patterns of different areas of a country, rather than assume that one area's naming patterns are representative of the country as a whole.

By establishing the naming systems of multiple regions of a country, we can better understand how individual naming traditions influence each other and may even be merged. Coster writes (2002: 170):

> as M. Hertzfield has pointed out for modern Greece, it is conceptually dangerous to assume that there is a single naming system at work in a society,

rather, the choices made may reflect the conflict between two, or more, rival systems or principles of behaviour which together create a naming process.

The English naming studies conducted by Smith-Bannister (1997) and the research into French and Italian naming (Wilson 1998) are similar in that both scholars deemed it important to analyse the naming systems of multiple regions in the countries on which they were focussing. With such a technique, they highlight that, for those countries, there is not "a single naming system at work in a society". It is therefore likely that, for Scotland, there will also be multiple naming systems.

1.2 A 'traditional' Scottish naming pattern?

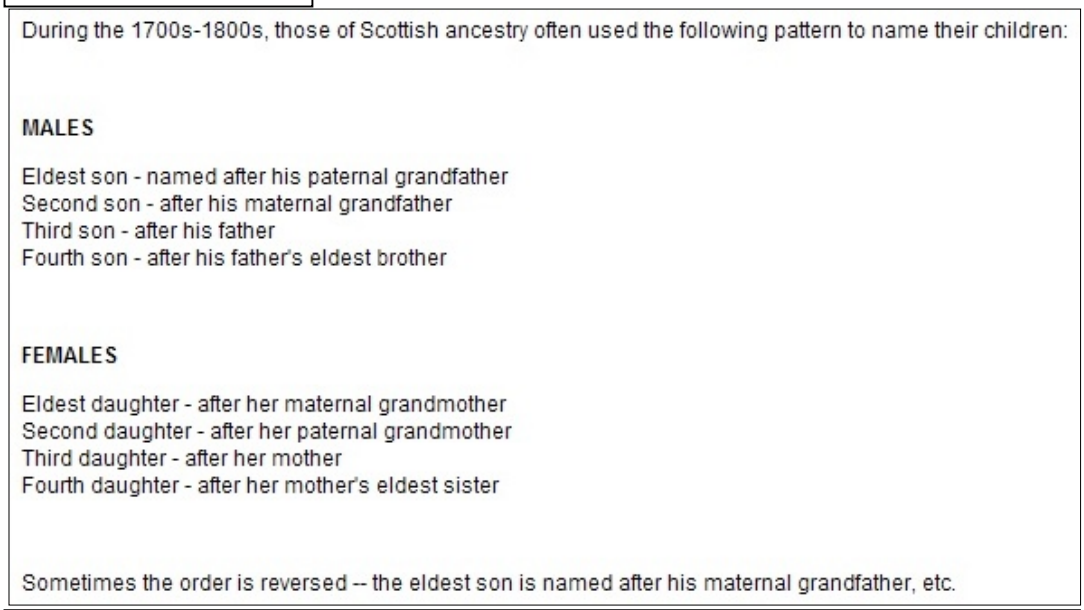
The final point of the preceding section, that it is "conceptually dangerous to assume that there is a single naming system at work in a society" (Coster 2002: 170), is especially significant when considered alongside the main research question of this study: 'was there a traditional Scottish naming pattern?'. The theory that such a pattern existed is upheld by a number of scholars (e.g. Cory 1990; Durie 2009; Bigwood 2006; Hamilton-Edwards 1983; James 2009) and resources such as ScotlandsPeople (see Figure 1), as well as amateur genealogists whose work can be consulted online (see Figures 2-5 on pages 13-15). However, none of these scholars present substantial evidence to support the theory; indeed, most provide no evidence at all.

Figure 1

http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?561 (accessed 20/10/2011)

The sources claim that there was a traditional naming pattern in widespread use in Early Modern Scotland, and most agree that the pattern was as follows: "the eldest son named after the paternal grandfather; the second son named after the maternal grandfather; the third son named after the father; the eldest daughter named after the maternal grandmother; the second daughter named after the paternal grandmother; the third daughter named after the mother" (Cory 1990: 68). The pattern for younger children was less well-established (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 71), but it is generally believed that they would be named after the parents' siblings (Sinclair 1990: 7). One of the online sources (see Figure 5) extends the pattern to include a fourth and fifth child of each sex: the fourth daughter is named for the eldest maternal aunt or maternal great-grandmother; the fifth daughter is named for the eldest paternal aunt or paternal great-grandmother; the fourth son is named for the eldest paternal uncle or the paternal great-grandfather; and the fifth son is named for the eldest maternal uncle or the maternal great-grandfather.

Figure 2


During the 1700s-1800s, those of Scottish ancestry often used the following pattern to name their children:

MALES

Eldest son - named after his paternal grandfather
Second son - after his maternal grandfather
Third son - after his father
Fourth son - after his father's eldest brother

FEMALES

Eldest daughter - after her maternal grandmother
Second daughter - after her paternal grandmother
Third daughter - after her mother
Fourth daughter - after her mother's eldest sister

Sometimes the order is reversed -- the eldest son is named after his maternal grandfather, etc.

http://www.arrick.com/family/scottishnaming.html (accessed 02/11/2011)

Figure 3

For a while in Scottish history there was such a thing as naming patterns. Having said that it's not written in concrete but if you get stuck researching a family it's a good way to move things along a bit :)

1st daughter after maternal grandmother
2nd. daughter after paternal grandmother
3rd daughter after mother
4th daughter after mother's oldest sister or maternal great grandmother.

1st son after paternal grandfather
2nd son after maternal grandfather
3rd son after father
4th son after father's oldest sister or paternal great grandfather

http://ourscottishheritage.blogspot.com/2009/03/scottish-naming-patterns.html (accessed 02/11/2011)

Figure 4

The Scottish Naming System was used all over the British Isles and brought from there to America.

The 1st son named after the father's father.

The 2nd son named after the mother's father.

The 3rd son named after the father or uncle.

The 1st daughter named after the mother's mother.

The 2nd daughter named after the father's mother.

The 3rd daughter named after the mother or an aunt.

Subsequent children named after other relatives.

http://www.vaughan-vaughn.org/miscscot-names.htm (accessed 02/11/2011)

Figure 5

Daughters

1. Firstborn daughter - named after her maternal grandmother (her mother's mother)
    - Variation - named after her paternal grandmother (her father's mother)
2. Secondborn daughter - named after her paternal grandmother (her father's mother)
    - Variation - named after her maternal grandmother (her mother's mother)
3. Thirdborn daughter - named after her mother
4. Fourthborn daughter - named after her mother's oldest sister
    - Variation - named after her maternal great grandmother (her mother's maternal grandmother)
5. Fifthborn daughter - named after her father's oldest sister
    - Variation - named after her paternal great grandmother (her father's maternal grandmother)

Sons

1. Firstborn son - named after his paternal grandfather (his father's father)
    - Variation - named after his maternal grandfather (his mother's father)
2. Secondborn son - named after his maternal grandfather (his mother's father)
    - Variation - named after his paternal grandfather (his father's father)
3. Thirdborn son - named after his father
4. Fourthborn son - named after his father's oldest brother
    - Variation - named after his paternal great grandfather (his father's paternal grandfather)
5. Fifthborn son - named after his mother's oldest brother
    - Variation - named after his maternal great grandfather)his mother's paternal grandfather)

http://myweb.wyoming.com/~msaban/SCTname.htm (accessed 02/11/2011)

Some sources list a number of variations which they believe to have also been in regular use. For example, Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 71) defines three clear variations on the usual pattern (reference markers (e.g. V1) are my own and have been added for purposes of clarity):

Usual pattern – males: paternal grandfather; maternal grandfather; father

females: maternal grandmother; paternal grandmother; mother

V1 – males: maternal grandfather; paternal grandfather

females: paternal grandmother; maternal grandmother

V2 – males: grandfather; father

females: grandmother; mother

V3 – males: as usual pattern

females: maternal grandmother; paternal grandmother; great-grandmother; mother

The existence of the V1 variation, where the first son is named after the maternal rather than the paternal grandfather, is also mentioned by Bigwood (2006: 60). Both Bigwood and Hamilton-Edwards describe these patterns as variations of the predominant, traditional pattern. However, Lawson presents a variant pattern as the usual pattern and states that, in northwest Scotland, the first and second child of each sex is named for the paternal and maternal grandparent (with precedence for the maternal line when naming females), and thereafter the children are named for aunts and uncles rather than for the parents (1979: 3). He also states that, in Lowland Scotland, the first son is named for the father (1979: 3). Lawson's statements on Scottish naming are significant as:

- by stating that a variation is the usual pattern, his theory contrasts with those of scholars such as Hamilton-Edwards and Bigwood. This conflict highlights that there is a lack of research into this area.
- they show that there are meaningful regional distinctions, with varying patterns of naming in different areas.

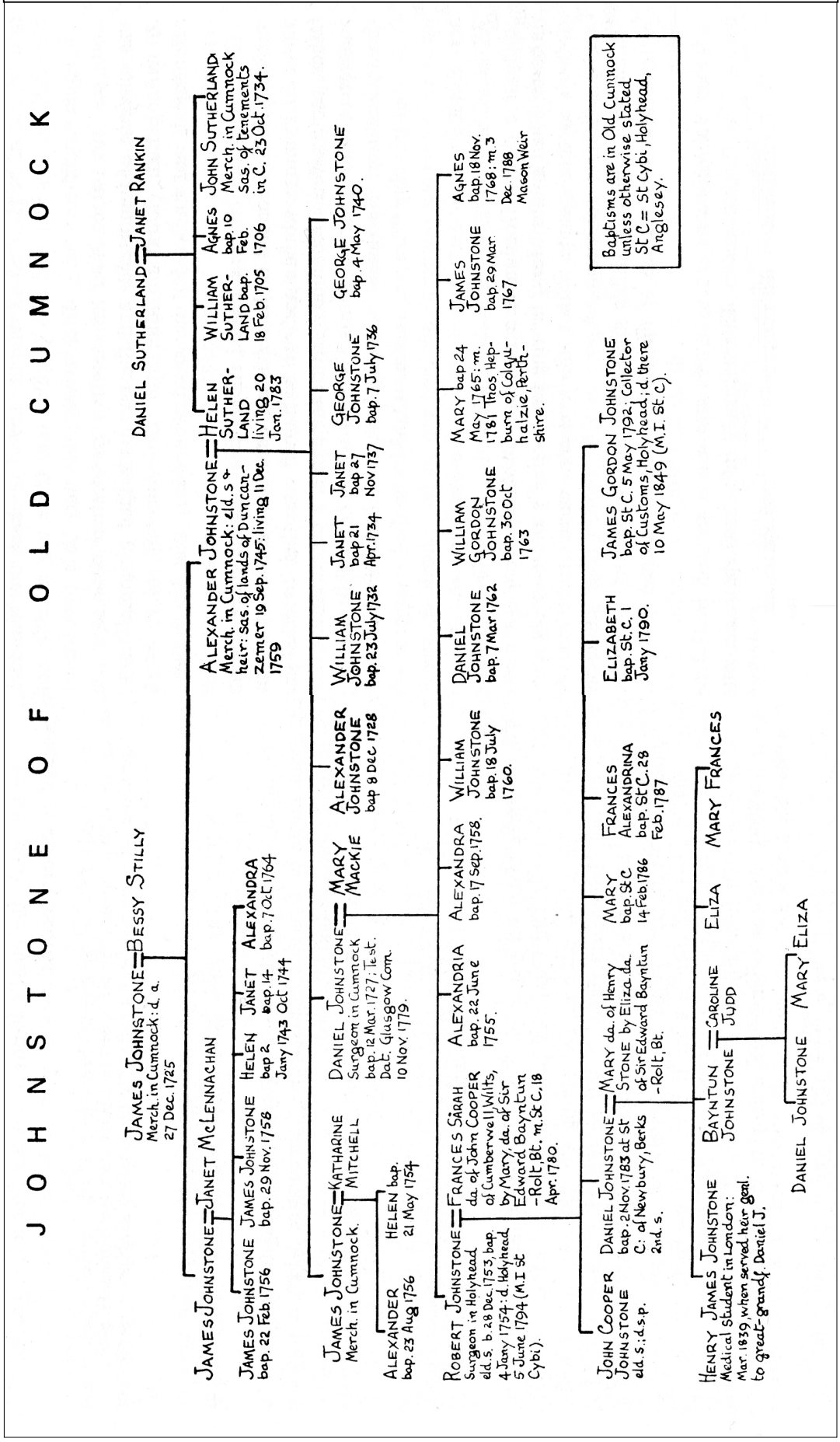
Hamilton-Edwards also notes that the usage of the traditional pattern or a variant can be geographically-dependent; he refers to the naming of the Isle of Bute, where the males are named according to the usual pattern, but the eldest daughter is named for the paternal grandmother and the second for the maternal grandmother (1983: 71). However, the evidence for this variation was gained through another researcher, and is not presented in Hamilton-Edwards's work: Hamilton-Edwards writes that the variation was mentioned to him by Mr. J.F. Mitchell, who "noticed the [...] deviation [...] [and] gave me a number of examples" (1983: 71). The significant point here is that the subsequent theory that naming in Bute was noticeably different to that in other areas is based on "a number of examples", rather than any meaningful statistical analysis. It is doubtful that these examples, which are not given, represent a large proportion of the contemporary population of Bute; it is also possible that, as Mitchell had wanted to specifically highlight the variation on the usual pattern, there had been examples where no pattern had been found or the normal pattern had been followed, but these had not been sent to Hamilton-Edwards.

In all of the sources studied, a lack of evidence was the most prominent fault. For example, Cory states that "[t]here is a well-known story of a family where all the sons were named John through following the naming pattern, because the two grandfathers as well as the father were named John – and the mother had a brother named John too" (1990: 69). However, she provides no details of this family other than the first names of the males, and does not reference the records where these members may be found. It is certainly true that more than

one child could be given the same name, as Black also refers to this practice, stating that the eldest two sons of the fourth Duke of Montrose were both named James (1927: 50). However, Cory has provided no source references or other evidence of this "well-known" family, and thus it is difficult to accept her claim that the sons were not only named identically, but that it was due to the father diligently following the Scottish naming pattern.

Only one source, the material written by Hamilton-Edwards, provided any examples of where the pattern could be observed. He presents information on two families; those family trees are given in Figures 6 and 7. The first problem with Hamilton-Edward's evidence is that there is only a small amount of data. If the 'traditional' pattern is observed in the two families, it cannot be taken to indicate that a large proportion of Scottish families used the same pattern. Secondly, the evidence he provides only shows that some of the family chose to name their children according to the pattern; many mother/father couples did not follow the pattern. In Figure 6, Johnstone of Old Cumnock, there are 9 groups which contain a father, mother, and children. For two of these, where the parents are James Johnstone/Bessy Stilly and Daniel Sutherland/Janet Rankin, the grandparents' names are not given. A further three groups may be discounted as members lived in Wales and England, and thus may not have chosen to follow a Scottish naming pattern. Of the remaining four groups, one (James Johnstone/Janet McLennachan) named the first son for the paternal grandfather, but afterwards did not follow the pattern. Another (James Johnstone/Katharine Mitchell) also named the first (and only) son for the paternal grandfather, and it is unclear whether the daughter was appropriately named as the mother's parents are not given. Daniel Johnstone and Mary Mackie do not appear to have followed the pattern, and thus, of the nine family groups in this family tree, only the family of Alexander Johnstone and Helen Sutherland follows the prescribed pattern.

Figure 6 (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 74-75)



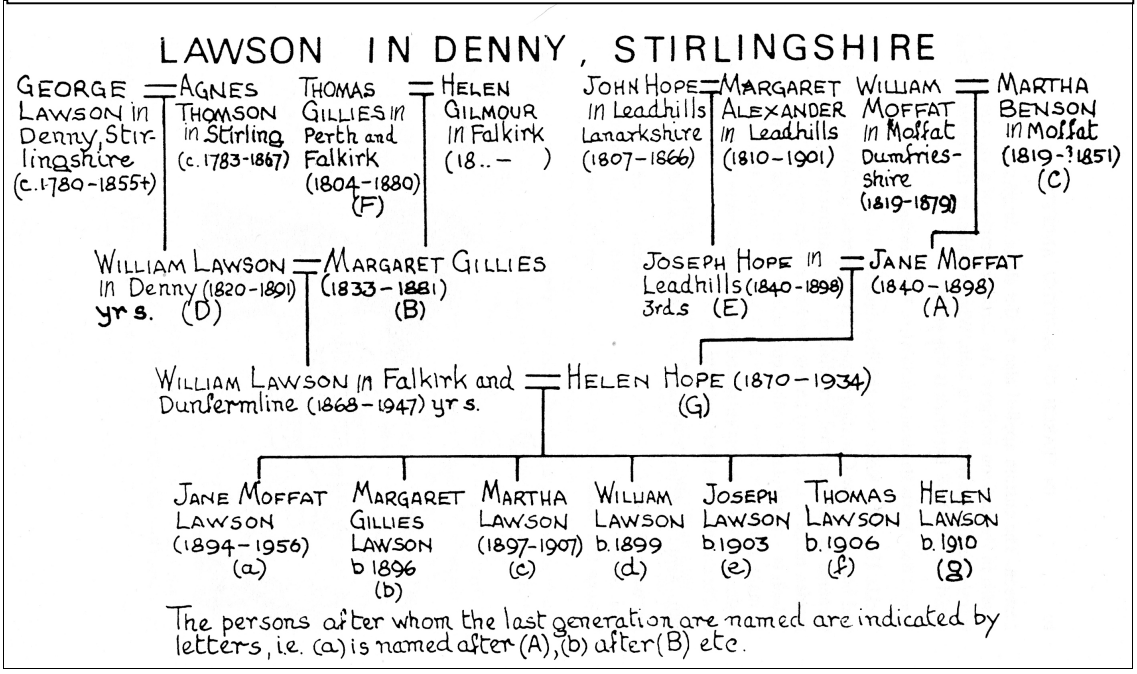
Hamilton-Edwards attempts to persuade the reader that Daniel Johnstone and Mary Mackie also followed the naming pattern, writing that (1983: 76):

- "The eldest son should have been called Alexander and it is possible that there was an elder son of this name who died young."
- "Mary Mackie's parentage is not known but it would seem likely that her father was called Robert."
- "[William] should normally have been called Daniel after the father, but possibly there was another Daniel who died young."

As assumptions have been made about missing data, I would argue that Hamilton-Edward's conclusions are invalid for this particular family group. Overall, the Johnstone family tree seems a poor choice for evidence of the traditional naming pattern, given that only one of the nine groups clearly displays the prescribed pattern.

Hamilton-Edwards also provides the family tree of Lawson in Denny, Stirlingshire (Figure 7), describing it as "more perfect in its name pattern" (1983: 77). However, although the children of William Lawson and Helen Hope are named strictly according to a naming pattern, it is not the usual naming pattern which is represented; the children are named in accordance with the third variation listed above (from Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 71), as the third daughter is named for the great-grandmother and the fourth for the mother. It therefore also appears a poor choice for evidence of the traditional naming pattern, although it is clear evidence of a variation on this pattern.

Figure 7 (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 79)



Overall, the limited evidence provided by Hamilton-Edwards shows that the naming pattern and a variation were used by Scottish families, but it does not indicate which proportion used such patterns. Nevertheless, he states that it was usual practice to follow this naming pattern (1983: 71), and this is a conclusion also drawn by researchers including James (2009: 176), Sinclair (1990: 7), and Bigwood (2006: 60), despite a severe lack of statistical evidence. The belief that the pattern was used by the majority of families in Scotland has led to some sources providing potentially misleading guidance for genealogical study. The ScotlandsPeople website, for example, acknowledges that not all families used the pattern, but advises that "it can still be helpful in determining the correct entry when confronting the relative lack of information in the OPRs" (http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?561). One of the sources written by an amateur genealogist (see Figure 3: http://ourscottishheritage.blogspot.com/2009/03/scottish-naming-patterns.html) also recommends that the pattern be applied to genealogical research, stating that "if you get stuck researching a family it's a good way to move things along a bit". However this advice is unlikely to be reliable for genealogical research: as seen in the family trees provided by Hamilton-Edwards (Figures 6 and 7), the pattern was not always used, and to assume it was followed in a

particular family tree would often result in erroneous conclusions. An example of such a conclusion can be seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8

My great-grandparents appear to have obeyed the Scottish convention in child naming.

The name of the first son is unknown, but possibly Walter; the second boy was named Joseph, the first girl Janet and the second girl Euphemia. This makes my paternal great-grandfather's mother a Euphemia. Unfortunately I can't find the name of the first boy. He seems to have died early as he doesn't appear on the census forms.

This is where the confusion starts: on my great-grandfather's death certificate his parents are recorded as Walter and Isabella BLAIR (it could be a

http://www.familyhistorymonthly.com/qanda-detail/44 (accessed 02/11/2011)

Here, the writer has assumed that the naming pattern exists in his own ancestry and therefore believes that the first son's name is probably Walter, although no evidence of this can be found in the records. He then becomes confused because the records state that the mother's name is Isabella, but the pattern dictates it should be Euphemia; he has wrongly assumed the pattern was used by his ancestors, and consequently has made a mistake when compiling his family tree.

Overall, it is apparent that, although the naming pattern may be in use in some areas, statistical analysis is required to establish the proportion of Scottish families who were following it.

1.3 Other influences on naming

Aside from the potential usage of a specific naming pattern, it is probable that other influences on naming will be apparent in the data.

Substitution, the practice of naming a child for a deceased elder same-sex sibling, is likely to have occurred in the parishes. Smith-Bannister (1997: 72) and Stone (1990: 257) each found evidence of the practice being used in their studies of Early Modern English naming, and Sinclair (1990: 7) and Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 72) have both stated that substitution was also found in Scotland. As little research into this tradition has been conducted for Scottish records, it is unknown what proportion of families will potentially exhibit the practice. Hey has estimated that a quarter of British children died before the age of 10 (2002: 120); although this statement refers to British children rather than being Scotland-specific, Hey does not mention any regional differences in infant mortality rates and it is thus likely to be representative of Scotland. If accurate, this mortality rate would suggest that there will be a wide range of families which can be examined for the potential practising of substitution. However, burial registers were poorly kept in Early Modern Scotland (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 56) and it therefore may be difficult to ascertain which children in each family had died young. Nevertheless, it is expected that some examples of substitution may be found in the parish records chosen for this study.

If children have been given godparents, it is likely that some godparent-child name-sharing will be observed. Redmonds (2004: 27) and Coster (2002: 171) have both claimed that, in England, the godparent(s) chose the child's name, rather than the parents; if this is also the case in Scotland, it is probable that a relatively high proportion of children will share a name with one of their godparents. Hamilton-Edwards has suggested that, although the parents chose names according to the traditional naming pattern, godparents were chosen because they had the same first name as the relative who was to share a name with the child (1983: 54). If this were

found to be true, it could be expected that a high proportion of godparent-child name-sharing would be found and the naming pattern would not be disrupted by pressure to name a child for his godparent rather than the appropriate relative.

It is expected that some children will share a name with local landowners, ministers, and other influential people in the community. A local landowner would occasionally become a godparent to a child of his tenants, often with the child subsequently taking the landowner's name (Steel 1962: 39). Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 73), Steel (1962: 39), and Cory (1990: 69) all state that, in Scotland, children were often baptised with the minister's name, and, if the child was the first baptised by a particular minister, it was traditional for the child to be given his name. This name-sharing occurred even if the child was female, with Cory citing a baptismal entry from the Dumfries register (1990: 69):

> OPR Dumfries Co. Dumfries (821/3) Births and Baptisms 1806 Scot, lawful daughter to Alexander Grier, Shoemaker, born Aug 1. Bapt. Aug 2. N.B. The parents at first intended the child's name to have been Jenny but afterwards agreed to the present name because she was the first baptised by the Revd. Alexander Scot D.D. [...] and this appropriation of a name is an honour generally shown ministers.

In this example, the child has been baptised with the minister's surname. Hamilton-Edwards, Steel, and Cory did not specify that the child would take the surname, and thus it can also be assumed that some children would potentially have taken the minister's first name.

In the case of naming for the minister, it was stated that name-sharing was more likely if the child was the first baptised by that particular minister. The situation was similar for doctors, with Hamilton-Edwards writing that a child would occasionally take the doctor's name if it was his first attended birth (1983: 73).

It is possible that a high proportion of children will share a name with influential townsfolk, including ministers and landowners, as Moody states that British society had previously been family-focussed, but during the seventeenth century, other aspects of community life had become more important (1988: 98). Hey (2002: 121) and Coster support this, and Coster suggests that this affected the naming system: "extension [was] more important than intensification" (2002: 10). This implies that children are more likely to share a name with godparents, ministers, and similar important members of society than with their parents or grandparents.

Overall, the research already conducted into Scottish society suggests that many children will be named for godparents and influential townsfolk, including the ministers who baptised them and the doctors who delivered them. This expectation contradicts the results of studies into English naming, which have generally shown precedence for naming for direct relatives, including parents and grandparents (Smith-Bannister 1997: 65). If name-sharing with people outwith the family is more popular than name-sharing with relatives, it suggests that the traditional naming system was not in fact in widespread use, as the pattern specifies that children are named for family members. This contradiction supports the importance of this study, as it emphasises that research into Scottish naming is lacking and the results of this project will be especially valuable.

Chapter 2 - Methodology

2.1 The records

The names analysed in this study have been gathered from the Old Parish Registers (hereafter referred to as OPRs) of the five parishes. (The phrase 'Old Parish Registers' is interchangeable with 'Old Parish Records', 'Old Parochial Records', and 'Old Parochial Registers'.) Specifically, the baptismal records contained within the OPRs have been collected, and, where necessary and possible, cross-referenced with marital and burial records.

The OPRs are an invaluable source of Early Modern Scottish personal names, as, in the mid-16th century, the Church of Scotland ordered its representatives to keep accurate records of a parish's residents, with the earliest registered baptism being recorded in 1553 (http://www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/research/history-of-oprs.html: accessed 28/03/2012). This requirement led to the creation of around 900 sets of OPRs, each representing a Scottish parish (Durie 2009: 51). Of course, this does not signify that we have 900 complete sets of data, containing uninterrupted accounts of all baptisms, marriages, and burials within a parish for the period 1553-1855 (when civil registration was introduced in Scotland). Being handwritten on paper, many pages of records have been badly damaged and become illegible, and many others have been lost or destroyed (http://www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/research/list-of-oprs.html: accessed 28/03/2012). Even in parishes where copies have remained in good condition, some clerks did not adhere to the strict record-keeping required by the Church; no registers were updated for several decades in some areas, and "in many parishes no records of deaths or burials exist before the civil registration began [...] [W]here there are surviving burial registers these often cover years spasmodically" (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 56). Several families also opted out of recording their baptisms, marriages, and burials, as many had looser ties with the Church by the end of the

eighteenth century (Durie 2009: 51). Still more were dissuaded from registration by the introduction of a fee in the later years of the century: a 3 penny charge was in place for the period 1783-1794 (Durie 2009: 51).

Where records are available, they often differ widely in content. The parish records for Beith frequently give details of the street the family lived on and the occupation of the father, but yet do not begin to consistently record the mother's first or maiden name until the mid-1750s. The parish records for Govan only rarely omit the names of mothers, but information about location or occupation of the parents is irregular. As Durie notes, there is no set format to record-keeping (2009: 51), and this can hinder the researcher, as preconceived notions of a parish's records are often inaccurate.

It must also be accepted that some baptisms, although carried out, may not have been written down. The clerks, being human, were prone to making mistakes. The sole record in the Govan group *Corbet [Robt1]* was recorded several weeks after the baptism was performed, with the clerk noting that it "was forgot to be placed" in the records. Similarly, the relevant parties occasionally did not give the details of the baptism to the clerk. The first record of *Murdoch [Wm1]* (Govan) was written a few weeks after the event and was accompanied by a note saying that the "reason of its not being recorded in dew order is that it did not come sooner to the knowledge of the clerk". Although these particular baptisms were then inserted into the parish records, the fact that they had been temporarily forgotten suggests that there may be some baptisms which were also overlooked but not later recorded.

Those records which do exist do not represent an accurate cross-section of Scotland's population, as, being kept by the Church of Scotland, they do not seek to document the baptisms of other religious groups. Although the majority of Scots after 1560 were members of the Presbyterian church (Durie 2009: 51; Holton & Winch 1998: 74), a sizable proportion of the population followed Catholic, Episcopalian, and Jewish teachings, to name but a few.

Nevertheless, the registers can be said to represent an accurate cross-section of Scotland's main religious group, and they therefore provide an excellent starting point for studies of Scottish naming. Holton and Winch support this view, saying that "[i]t is always best to consult the OPRs first, [...] since many nonconformists will be registered there, plus the fact that they are much more easily accessible and searchable." (1998: 64) Indeed, the children of some nonconformists were registered in the OPRs; an example can be seen in the Govan group *Purdon [Wm2]*, where the father is variously described as "unbaptized and not within the visible church", "not a member", and an "infidel". Nevertheless, despite William Purdon not being a member of the Church, his five children are all baptised and registered in the OPRs.

Therefore, it must be accepted that there are severe issues and limitations with the OPRs: not only do they not seek to represent the entirety of the Scottish population, but many of the records have been damaged or destroyed, and many entries were in fact never inserted. These problems cannot be truly overcome; it cannot be known, for example, whether the baptism of a second son has been accidentally missed from the records. The collection and analysis can only be made of those records which are available. However, I have kept the OPRs' limitations in mind and made accommodations as necessary; for example, the research concerns only baptismal records of which no pages have been lost or destroyed. A small number of entries have been rendered nearly illegible by water-damage and similar, but time has been spent to decipher these as accurately as possible; these records are accompanied by a question mark in the database, to illustrate that there may be errors in the transcription. Through methods such as these, I believe my collection and analysis of the baptismal records of the OPRs is as accurate and valid as possible.

It is important to stress the significance of using the OPRs for this type of research; despite the numerous problems which arise in consultation, they remain one of the largest sources of eighteenth-century Scottish personal names, and, if a naming pattern does exist and was

widely used by the Scottish population, it should be visible in the records of the OPRs. This is supported by the fact that, of the parties claiming that a traditional Scottish naming pattern was in use, most recommend the OPRs as an excellent source and have used it in their own research (e.g. Durie 2009: 51; Cory 1990: 31; Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 73). To support or challenge their claim, a study of the same main source should be the foundation.

2.2 Data collection and analysis

2.2.1 Selecting the records

The project involves the analysis of sets of parish records for the period 1700-1800. The study focuses on the naming of children within family groups; it is essential that the sets of children belonging to each parental pairing are as complete as possible, in order that any patterns of naming are not affected by missing children. Therefore, when selecting records for the study, I referred to a list of Scottish parish records on the ScotlandsPeople website (http://www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/research/list-of-oprs.html), which offered information on which years of records were available for each parish. I selected only parishes which had a complete set of baptismal records for the period 1700-1800, using the ScotlandsPeople list as my source. My criterion was for complete baptismal records, rather than complete sets of baptismal, marital, and burial records: it is beneficial to have complete sets of marital and burial records, but this is not vital to the research, and, indeed, very few parishes have burial records lasting for any substantial period. To have specified that only parishes for which there were complete baptismal, marital, and burial records could be analysed in this project would have severely restricted my choice.

It was a requirement that the parishes represent a number of variables, in order to analyse any difference in results, and therefore careful consideration was given to which parishes were selected from those which had complete baptismal records. Parishes were chosen from four separate counties, spread throughout Scotland: Ross & Cromarty, Lanarkshire, North Ayrshire,

and Berwickshire (see Figure 9). Due to variation in geographical location, the parishes also represent linguistic variables; three parishes are predominantly in English, with infrequent Latin terms, while the Dingwall records contain signs of Gaelic influence.

The parishes also represent social variables: Dingwall, Beith, and Earlston are rural settlements, while Govan represents an urban area. The size of the parishes also differs, with over 12000 records being collected in Govan, while the Dingwall parish register contributed fewer than 2000 entries to the database. It was decided to choose parishes of varying size in order to establish which allows for easier grouping, to help with the choosing of parishes for later research. It is anticipated that it may prove easier to group Dingwall records, due to the smaller number of baptisms. However, it may also prove easier to group Govan records, as smaller rural parishes tend to represent fewer families and thus there will not be much variation in surnames.

In 1771, the village of Gorbals, which had previously been part of the Govan parish, became a separate parish (Old Statistical Account: http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan/14/281/). This division means that some families would have had pre-1771 children registered in the Govan records and later children registered in the newly-created Gorbals records. One method of managing this would have been to collect and organise the Gorbals records as well as those of the other parishes; however, it was decided not to pursue this option. One reason for this decision was that those families whose baptismal records may have been separated by the emergence of a new parish are still eligible to be examined for the presence of naming patterns: the pre-1771 records, concerning the elder children, have been stored in the database and any naming pattern should be visible in their names. Additionally, the inclusion of more data may have inversely affected the results of the Govan parish. Of the four parishes for which data was collected, Govan was the largest, with its records representing 51.1% of the entries stored in the database. Algeo, writing in 2010, argued that

larger amounts of data were not always beneficial: "the bigger the mass, the bigger the mess. Ironically, the more particulars one has, the harder it is to find a general principle lurking among them" (2010: 91). It was therefore decided that it would be more beneficial to the study if the Gorbals records were not collected, as the validity of the Govan records would not be negatively affected and they may in fact be more easily analysed.

Of the baptismal records contained within the parish registers, not all were entered into the database. The study concerns only the naming of children, and the registers occasionally contained details of persons baptised when older, and without determined parents. One example can be found in the Earlston parish, with the baptism, on 20th October 1768, of "John Handy servant to Dr. Walter Gowdie a native of Madras baptized aged ninteen years" (736/00 0010 0144). As John is not the son of Walter Gowdie, and his parents are unknown, his data cannot be used in analysis of a pattern in naming. His data also cannot be used in analysis of the name-stock, as it is unknown whether the name John was given to him by his parents in Madras, or whether it was given in Scotland, replacing an earlier name. Even if the name John was given to the servant on his arrival in Earlston, it is doubtful that Walter Gowdie would have named him according to any pattern of naming, as to do so would imply that he was considered to be one of his own offspring.

2.2.2 The database

The records used in this study were entered into an electronic database, stored on a portable computer, which had been specifically commissioned for this project.

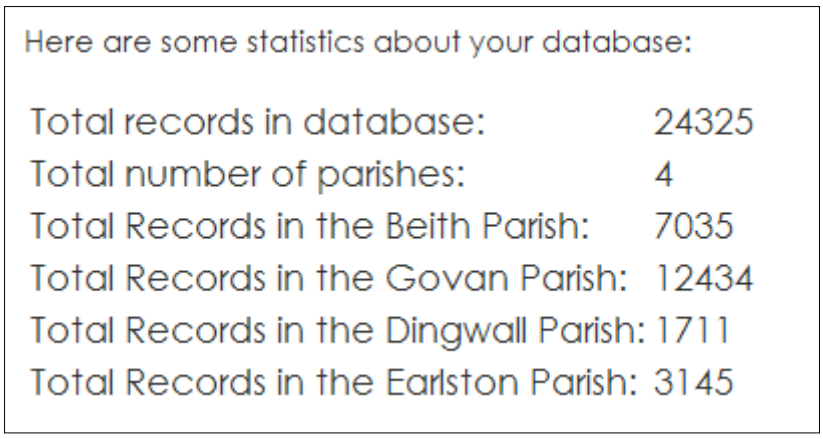
The database was designed and built by Scott McGready, a Glasgow-based programmer. It was created to run locally on a portable machine so that it could be taken to research facilities such as the Mitchell Library, where the Govan records were collected. Being able to run locally ensured that limited internet access would not impact the usability of the system.

The local database was backed-up in two ways:

- The files were copied, encrypted, and stored on a portable hard drive.
- An online version of the application was created, and the local version was synchronised with the online version whenever a safe internet connection was available.

It was important to ensure the data were securely stored both locally and online: my portable computer, the application, and the local database itself were all password-protected, each having a different username and password combination. The online version was also password-protected.

Figure 9



The application is comprised of a graphical front end and a back-end MySQL-driven database, which allows data to be examined using carefully crafted SQL queries (see 2.2.5). It has six main pages: Home, Records, Groups, Parishes, Reports, and Settings. The Home page offers information on all data stored within the database: for example, number of records overall, number of records in each parish, and number of parishes (see Figure 9). Data can be entered into the database using a form accessed on the Records page. All records from the currently

selected parish are visible on the Records page, and there is a Search function to quickly find relevant records. Familial groups can also be created on the Records page, and these finished groups can be viewed and edited on the Groups page. The Parishes page lists the parishes currently represented in the database, and allows other parishes to be created. The Reports page contains specially-crafted functions to run the most-used SQL queries, and, on the Settings page, the information displayed on the Records page can also be filtered for ease of use.

At any one time, only the records of one parish can be viewed in the database. This ensures that, when viewing and analysing the records, no records can be wrongly assumed to belong to the wrong parish and allows for clarity for the user. The default parish can be changed via a function on the Settings page.

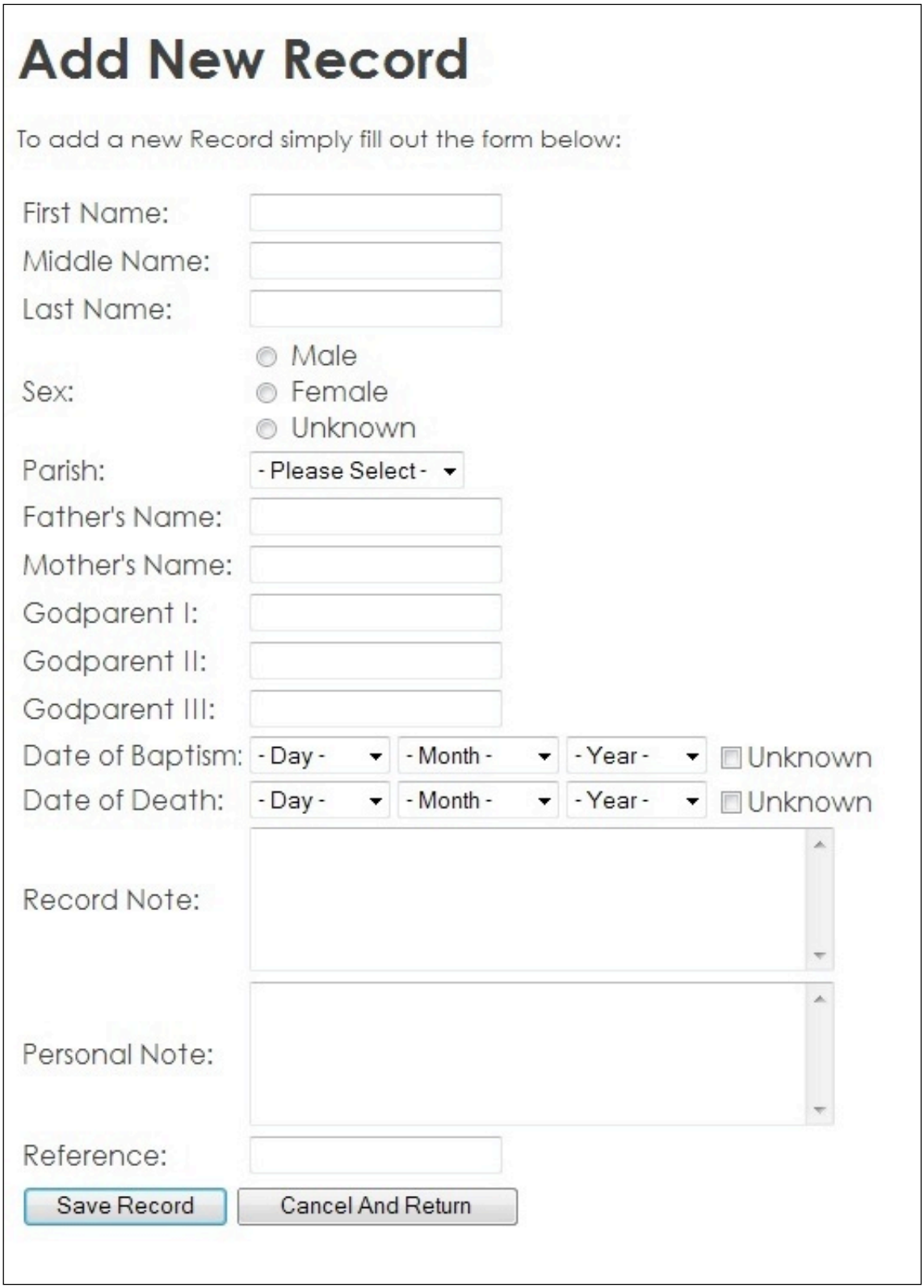
The data from only one parish can be viewed at any time; however, when running SQL queries or reports, the user can either define which parish in particular should be analysed or draw results from all parishes simultaneously.

2.2.3 Collection

The parish records were viewed in one of two ways, with Beith and Govan records seen on microfiche and Dingwall and Earlston records downloaded as digital images from the ScotlandsPeople website. With both methods, a copy or image of the original record was shown, rather than a transcription. With the digital images, it was possible to manipulate the image so that illegibility due to, for example, water damage was kept to a minimum.

These records were then individually entered into the database, using an input page specially designed after consultation with the database-developer. This input page can be seen in Figure 10. It was built before the study began, but was updated as necessary throughout the course of the data-collection.

Figure 10


Add New Record
To add a new Record simply fill out the form below:
First Name:
Middle Name:
Last Name:
Sex:
Male
Female
Unknown
Parish:
- Please Select -
Father's Name:
Mother's Name:
Godparent I:
Godparent II:
Godparent III:
Date of Baptism:
- Day -
- Month -
- Year -
Unknown
Date of Death:
- Day -
- Month -
- Year -
Unknown
Record Note:
Personal Note:
Reference:
Save Record
Cancel And Return

The fields are as following (if necessary, clarification as to use is also provided):

- First name
    - The baptismal name given to the child
- Middle name
    - The first middle name was not encountered until 1791 in Beith (James Aitken Gardner: 581/00 0020 0474), and the field was added in response to this. By the culmination of the collection of all parish records, the records of 69 children with middle names had been collected.
- Last name
    - Usually, the surname was not given immediately after the child's first name but was given with a parent's name (e.g. 'John child to William Smith' rather than 'John Smith child to William'). The mother's maiden name was often given, but the surname of the child was assumed to be that of the father; the mother's maiden name was entered alongside her first name in the 'Mother's name' field. Rarely, the father's name was not noted and a space was left; in these cases, the surname field was left blank. If the child was recorded as illegitimate and no space was left for the father's name, the mother's maiden name was entered into the surname field, as it was suspected that the father would remain anonymous and the child would carry its mother's name.
- Sex
- Parish
- Father's name
- Mother's name
- Godparent I
    - Three fields were allocated for the names of godparents. For future studies into Scottish naming, it would be more useful to have fields for 'witnesses' as

this term was found in the Govan parish and was more usually used (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 52), although the term 'sponsor' was used in the Beith parish records.

- Godparent II
- Godparent III
- Date of baptism
    - This field does not refer to date of birth as the date given in the parish records usually refers to the baptismal date. Occasionally a birth-date was given alongside the record, which suggested that baptism had been delayed (although if the child in question was of an influential or wealthy resident, the birth-date was usually also given, often with a weekday noted and in a larger script). In those cases where baptism was delayed by a short time, the birth date was noted in the 'Record note' field. In those cases where baptism was delayed by several months or years, the birth date was entered into the 'Date of baptism' field and this fact noted in the 'Record note' field. This was done so that the results of SQL queries would not be affected by children being misplaced in the birth-order of families.
- Date of death
    - For studies into the practice of substitution, it is important to know the date of death of the child. Unfortunately, burial records for most parishes are incomplete or non-existent. A child's death was occasionally noted in its baptismal record; for example, Donald Gray (062/00 0010 0134) died at the age of 2 and the note 'this Dond is dead' was added to his baptismal record, with the month and year of the death.

- Record note
    - Any additional information given in the parish record was entered in this field. It is true to the original spelling, and contains information on such features as parents' occupation, location within the town, legitimacy of birth, witnesses at the baptism, and any other material which the clerk thought relevant. This information has been used to help with the grouping of records into familial units.
- Personal note
    - This field allows for the recording of the data-collector's thoughts alongside the relevant entry. It is most frequently used for reminders that the record is particularly interesting or requires further investigation. Any notes input into this field are not included in SQL queries and have no effect on the data.
- Reference number
    - This field was added on the advice of staff at the National Records of Scotland. Referencing had previously been done according to roll number, but it was suggested that the specific page number also be noted. As the records for Beith and Govan and for Dingwall and Earlston were collected in two different fashions, the referencing system is also different for each. Beith and Govan records, being collected from microfilm, are referenced with the roll number and the frame number: e.g. 646/2 FR402. Dingwall and Earlston records were collected from the ScotlandsPeople website and are referred to by the GROS reference number: e.g. 062/00 0010 0055.

Once all relevant information has been entered into the field on the input page, the data can be saved by pressing the button at the foot of the page. From the point of saving, the record-information appears on the Records page of the database. The Save function on the input page

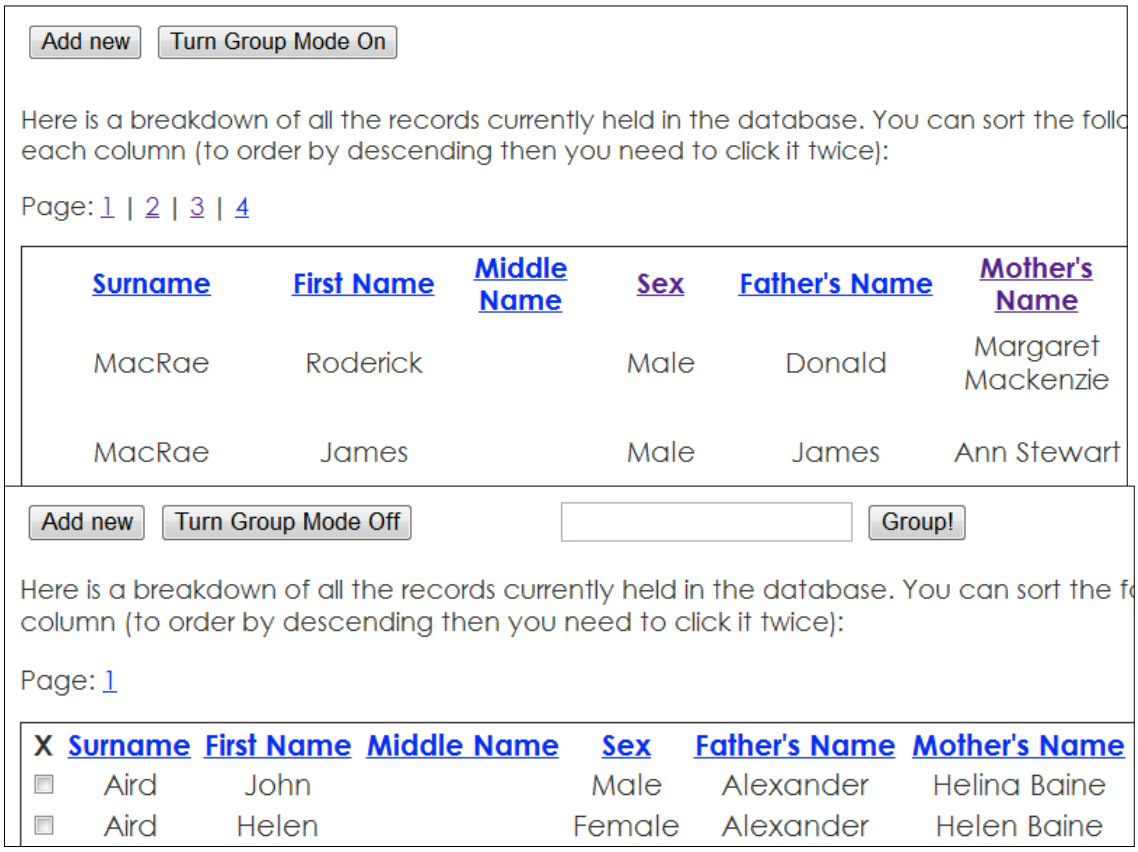
is disabled after one click, so that unwanted duplication of data due to accidental double-clicking is avoided.

2.2.4 Grouping

Once entered into the database, the records could be used in calculation of the name-stock, as this type of analysis is dependent only on there being a large collection of first names. However, to analyse the records' representation of the afore-mentioned 'traditional' naming pattern, the records must be grouped together into familial units.

On the Records page of the database, a function was created which, when pressed, would turn on the Grouping Mode. The display before and after pressing this button is shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11



To group records, the checkboxes beside the relevant entries had to be selected and the group-name entered in the box at the top of the page. On clicking 'Group', this set of records would appear on the Groups page under the given name. The records would also be hidden from the Records page when the page was in Grouping Mode, to allow the user to see which records remained to be grouped. If a record was missed and the group had already been created, the entry's box should be checked and then the relevant group-name entered into the 'Group' field. Groups could be disbanded, or individual records removed, via functions on the Groups page.

When investigating which baptismal records were likely to belong to the same familial unit, a number of variables were examined. The most important variable was considered to be that of surname as, although there may be occasional inconsistency in spelling (see 2.3.4), it was inherited by the male children and was therefore relatively easy to trace. Plakans supports this view; when describing the processes behind a study of historical kinship, he advises (1984: 152):

> linking of names in parish registers, first into familial units and then, through the use of ascending and descending connections into patrilines, using the principle of surnames as the basis of patrilineage organization [...] a mechanism for organizing a vast body of microfacts.

Surname was therefore taken to be the first variable which should match, if a set of records were to be grouped together.

It was also important that the names of parents and the period of baptism should be similarly represented throughout the set of potentially linked records. The mother's name was not always given, or her maiden name had not been recorded, but if other information given about the records matched then the lack of mother's name was considered to have been a clerical

error or due to the clerk being given limited information. For example, in Figure 12 (Earlston: *Sinclair [Dun1]*), the mother's name is missing for the first three records. However, the surname, father's name, and occupation remain consistent, and it seems plausible that the baptismal dates could represent those of brothers and sisters.

Figure 12

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note	Personal Note
Sinclair	Jenet		female	Duncan		1780-04-26	gardiner in Mellerstain	
Sinclair	John		male	Duncan		1782-08-10	gardiner in Mellerstain	
Sinclair	Rachel		female	Duncan		1785-10-30	gardiner in Mellerstain	
Sinclair	George		male	Duncan	Christian Tait	1787-11-25	gardiner in Mellerstain	

In the family seen in Figure 13, the surname, father's name, and mother's name seem to correspond for each record (Dingwall: *McLennan [Alex2]*). Additionally, the children were all baptised in an acceptable time-range: before the birth of each child, there had been adequate time for rest after the birth of the preceding child and to fulfil the gestation period for the next; the time-lapse was also not so great that it would be unusual for the parents to still be reproducing or for there not to have been a child between those recorded.

Figure 13

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note	Personal Note
McLenan	Donald		male	Alexander	Lillias Morison	1777-10-06	plasterer, Dingwall	
Maclennan	Ann		female	Alexander	Lilias Morison	1781-10-28	plasterer in Dingwall	
McLennan	George	Alexander	male	Alexander	Lilias Morison	1784-09-02	plaisterer, Dingwall	
McLennan	Roderic		male	Alexander	Lilias Morison	1786-08-27	plaisterer, Dingwall	
McLennan	Anne		female	Alexander	Lilias Morison	1788-12-27	plaisterer, Dingwall	
McLennan	Alexander		male	Alexander	Lily Morison	1792-05-10	plaisterer, Dingwall	
McLennan	George		male	Alexander	Lily Morison	1797-07-14	plaisterer, Dingwall	

Should there still be doubt over the relationship of the set of records, it is also useful to consult the remaining record information, documented in the 'Record note' field. Here, such

information as occupation and location of the parents could be ascertained, as can be seen in Figure 13, where the occupation is given as 'plasterer' and the location 'Dingwall'.

If two fathers with the same name but different occupations are listed, it is not conclusive that they are two separate people. A smith, for example, was otherwise referred to as a wright, and tenants and 'portioners' could have a second job-role or move between roles. A schoolmaster or minister, on the other hand, seemed less prone to changing occupation, or the wording of that occupation.

Where the combination of surname, father's name, mother's name, baptismal period, occupation, and location still left doubt as to the true relationship of records, or if some of those features had not been written down or known by the clerk, then additional information was sometimes provided. Earlston, being a small rural community, had a small stock of surnames; this, with the relatively small 18th-century name-stock, caused there to be multiple people with the same first and second name. Due to this, a number of those people gained nicknames, and the clerks recorded these when they felt it necessary.

For example, the fathers in the groups *Purves [And1]* and *Purves [And2]*, both of Earlston (see Figure 14), had the same first and second name, the mother's name was not given, and the baptismal dates were overlapping. To differentiate, the clerk noted that the man represented in *Purves [And1]* was known as 'litle Andrew' and the man in *Purves [And2]* was known as 'Lang Andrew'.

Figure 14

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note	Personal Note
Purves	Margaret		female	Andrew		1701-09-21	alias litle Andrew	
Purves	Isabel		female	Andrew		1703-03-07	lithe Andrew Purves	

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism	Record Note	Personal Note
Purves	James		male	Andrew		1701-11-09	alias Lang Andrew Earlefs?	
Purves	John		male	Andrew		1704-05-23	Lang Andrew in Earlston theforsd Thomas Purves sponsor for the Christian education of the child	

Although no examples were found in the other three parishes, this situation was not unique to Earlston; Wilson (1998: 280) mentions the work of Joseph Robertson, who wrote in 1842 that, in Buckie, he had found 25 George Cowies: George Cowie Doodle, George Cowie Carrot, George Cowie Neep, and so on.

For Earlston, at least, this practice can aid in the accurate grouping of familial records, and, for future studies, it is hoped that similar procedure of recording an entry may be found in other smaller rural parishes. As Durie says (2009: 52):

> The single major hazard of consulting OPRS is over-enthusiastic identification. A small town or isolated parish may have a number of individuals with the same name and of a similar age – cousins, for instance, all christened with the grandfather's first name – who married others with common or locally predominant names.

If nicknames are to be found in the registers of other parishes, there would be less danger of wrongly grouping familial units together.

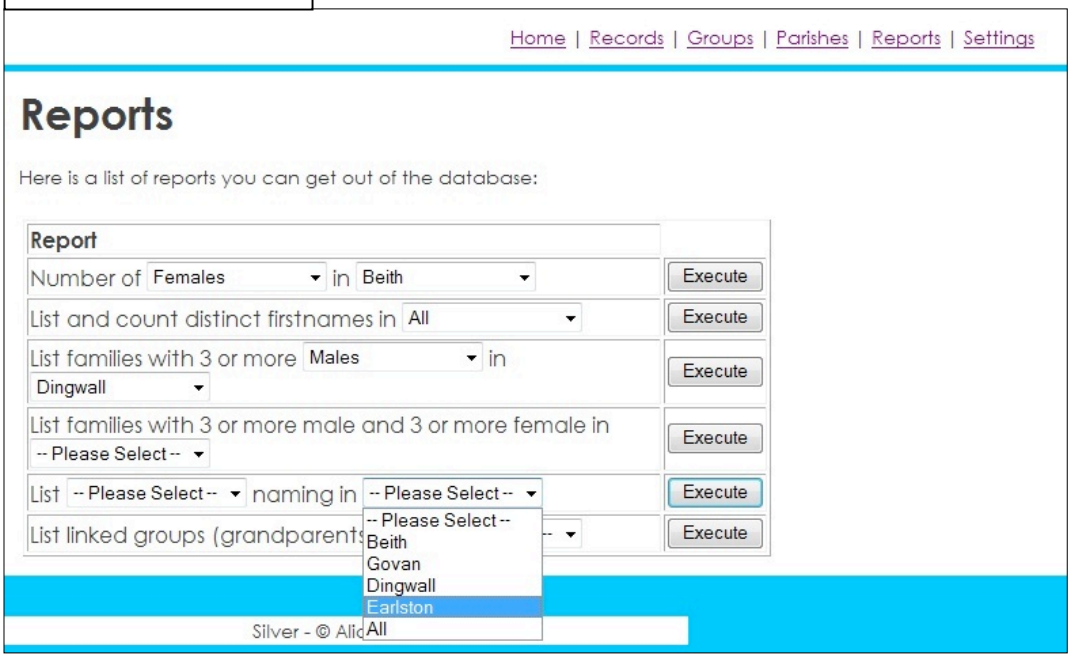
When grouping the records, certain characters were used to indicate that there was doubt over the validity of a set of records being grouped together. In any cases where there was doubt, a forward slash </> or a question mark <?> were inserted into the group name. When composing the SQL queries, it was possible to state that any groups containing one of those symbols should not be included in the analysis. The results would therefore not be compromised by the grouping of any records which did not belong together.

2.2.5 Extracting information

To extract information from the database, SQL queries were run. This was done in two ways:

- Through specially-created, pre-written static queries, run by selecting variables and executing the function. These could be accessed on the Reports page (see Figure 15).
- Through accessing the data on the local server and directly inputting SQL queries

Figure 15



The first of these options is more efficient and safer as the SQL is pre-written and validated, and only requires the selecting of the relevant variables before results can be generated. These set queries were therefore created for that information which was required for basic analysis.

If more unusual sets of data were required, then the SQL queries were manually written and run through the SQL execution section of phpMyAdmin, a database administration tool. These queries were composed after consultation with the database-developer; it is intended that, for future research, these queries will also be made available on the Reports page.

2.3 Problems encountered

2.3.1 Missing records

ScotlandsPeople (www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/pdf/list-of-oprs-726to757.pdf) lists Earlston (736) as having complete baptismal records for the period 1694-1819, which led to its being chosen for inclusion in the study. However, on collecting the data, it was discovered that 18 months of entries were missing, with page 736/00 0010 0081 containing a note that "Baptisms from Augd 9th 1724 untill Apr. 10th 1726 are lost". Approximately three years are unrecorded in the early 1730s, and the same problem was discovered with the Dingwall records, only on a more severe scale: the period 1721-1742, some 21 years in total, went unrecorded except for three entries in 1739. Dingwall (62) was likewise declared on the ScotlandsPeople website (www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/pdf/list-of-oprs-57to119.pdf) to have had a complete set of records.

This issue is disappointing, but could not have been foreseen, as ScotlandsPeople is correct in saying that the set of registers for the parishes are complete. The situation does not seem to have been that the records were lost, but that the session clerks did not record any baptisms for those periods. Without examining the full set of records for each parish before selecting it, there is no way to ascertain whether periods have gone unrecorded. By using the ScotlandsPeople website to learn whether pages have been lost, however, we can at least prevent research from being carried out where it is definitively known that records are incomplete.

The entries collected from these two parishes are still eligible to be analysed for their role in the name-stock, and the entries can be grouped into familial units. However, as it is unknown how many children's baptisms went unrecorded during those periods, and to which parents, it is difficult to study the patterns of naming of those families who were procreating during and after the periods in question. To combat this, those familial units containing children baptised

during the five-year period directly after the records restart will not be analysed for any presence of a naming pattern: there is a high possibility that older children had been born in the years when records were not being kept, and thus any analysis of their naming would be invalid. However, the families procreating directly before the unrecorded period will be analysed as, even if the baptisms of later children were unrecorded, it is the names of the eldest children which must be known to keep the analysis valid. Any families who begin having children five years after the unrecorded period has ended will also undergo analysis, as most children are born within two or three years of each other; to have had more than five years clear before having children would suggest that no children were born before that five year spell either, and thus during the unrecorded period.

Overall, this issue is disappointing as it means that large chunks of data are either missing or invalidated. Having occurred in two of four parishes, it is also likely that a similar problem will be encountered in future studies. However, by analysing only those familial units where records date from before the gap or from a minimum of five years afterwards, the overall analysis of the parishes is secure.

2.3.2 Clerical errors

The database consists of over 24,000 baptismal records, with each being recorded by a clerk. Due to the likelihood of human error, we can expect a number of these entries to have been wrongly noted and this must be taken into account especially when grouping records together into familial units.

For example, in the Govan group *Muir [Robt?4]*, the mother is consistently recorded as *Mary Stewart*, the dates seem probable for a series of siblings, and the surname remains constant. However, in one record, the father's name is written as *John*, whereas for all others it is given as *Robert*. It is debatable whether it is wiser to keep these within a single group or create a separate group for the *John* record. To do the latter would ensure that each group was,

without doubt, of a single father. However, to ignore the possibility of a clerical error seems naïve, and to separate such records would mean that some groups would be incomplete and lead to misleading results when undergoing analysis.

Therefore, when grouping records, I have considered each case of a possible clerical error carefully and separately. In the example given above, where *Robert* may have accidentally been written as *John*, I have grouped them together under the name of *Robert*. This choice seemed appropriate as the mother's name does not change, with both first and maiden name consistently given. Although *Mary Stewart* is itself not an uncommon name for mothers, appearing alongside 9 fathers' names overall, it seems unlikely that two men, both with the surname Muir, were producing children with a Mary Stewart at the same time. It is also easy to see how a mistake may have been made: the record where the father is noted as John is for the baptism of a son named John. It is highly possible that, after writing the child's name, the clerk accidentally wrote the same name when listing the father's name.

Nevertheless, despite careful consideration of each case where a mistake seems likely, it is important to preserve the validity of results by not making assumptions. Therefore, although I have amalgamated the records discussed above into a single group, I have indicated that the group is not secure by the insertion of a question mark into the group name: *Muir [Robt?4]*. This means that, during analysis, I can run SQL queries which exclude any group containing a question mark in the name and know that the results do not include those groups in which the records are perhaps not related. This would seem the optimal approach: if, instead, the records were separated into two groups and analysed separately, the analysis would provide misleading results. With the collation of such records, this problem is avoided and the group instead highlighted as a set of records which are possibly, but not definitively, related.

2.3.3 Familial extensions

Generally, a group in the database will consist of details of the core family only, comprising a mother, a father, and all known children to that particular pair. However, in some instances there is cause to include children who are not of the core family and do not share both parents.

In the Govan group *Muir [Arch2]*, Archibald Muir and Margaret Dick have 5 children, with baptismal dates spanning the period 1711-1725. A sixth child was also added to the group: a son was born in 1730 to Archibald Muir and Isabel Anderson, with the clerk noting that the child is "natural, the said Archibald being a married person". It is probable that the records refer to the same Archibald Muir, as there are no other men with this name fathering children around this period. Although the child has a different set of maternal grandparents, its sex and birth-position indicate that, if the naming pattern were followed, the child would have been named from the patrilineal line. It is therefore pertinent to include this child in a group of Archibald Muir's legitimate children, as his name would potentially provide further evidence of the naming pattern.

Adam McConochie (seen in the Govan group *McConochie [Ad1]*) had a son with Margaret Inch in 1726. As baptisms are generally recorded a few days after birth and the clerk wrote that the mother was deceased, Margaret appears to have died in childbirth. Adam McConochie then has seven children with Jean Brash, in the period 1728-1739. *Adam McConochie* is a rare name in the parish, which suggests that the Adam McConochie in the first record is the same man of the following seven records. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the baptismal dates of Margaret Inch's son and Jean Brash's first child are close; the father has had time to remarry and conceive a child, but the lapse in time is not so significant that we would expect the father to be too old to reproduce.

In cases such as these, it cannot be concluded without doubt that the father of the core children and the father of the other children are one and the same. The circumstances suggest that the man has fathered children with more than one woman, but it is difficult to prove; it may be due simply to coincidence, or perhaps a clerical error. Therefore, when dealing with such records, I have grouped all potential children of the same father together into a single group. In the two cases detailed above, it was reasoned that there was sufficient evidence to believe that there was only one father for each group, and they therefore were fully analysed for the presence of a naming pattern. When analysing the group, I have taken the possible influence of the second mother into account. In other cases, where the evidence was weaker, the group-name has had a forward slash </> inserted to exclude it from the SQL queries and the group has not been analysed for the presence of a naming pattern, although all records were included in the name-stock analysis.

2.3.4 Missing information

Unfortunately, the parish clerks often did not note all relevant information when recording baptisms. In Beith, for instance, mothers' maiden names were given only sporadically until 1755. This of course led to great difficulty when grouping records together, especially as many surnames and fathers' names were extremely common. To avoid wrongly grouping records together into familial units, mass groups were created. These contain those records which were related in certain aspects (such as surname, father's name, and period of birth) but could not be presumed to be of the same core family.

For example, the Beith group *Clark [Wm4/5]* consists of 18 children, all born to a William Clark between 1714 and 1747. Occasionally mothers' names are given, but for those records where the mother's name is not noted, we cannot distinguish whether it is a child of Margaret Smith, Mary Campbell, Margaret Thomson, Agnes Love, Mary Dobie, or a mother not mentioned. Although many of the records also noted that the William Clark lived in Shitterflat, a feature

which could help differentiate between fathers of individual children, three different mothers' names are also given alongside the Shitterflat records. Therefore, these records were collated into a mass group, as they could not be further separated.

In the Govan parish records, the mothers' names were given throughout the period studied. This led to the creation of far fewer mass groups, with around 1% of all Govan groups being mass groups compared to 10% of Beith groups. These mass groups in Govan arose from the occasional omission of a mother's name; while the mothers' names were usually given, even one missing name could affect the grouping process. For instance, in the Govan group *Craig [Jas2/3/4/5/6]*, 26 children were born to a James Craig and one of several mothers: Anna Govan, Katherine King, Katherine Speir, Elizabeth Purdon, or Mary Stevenson. These families were reproducing during the same period, with many of the baptisms having only a few months between them. The mother's name was omitted from two of these 26 records, and, the baptisms being so close, it was impossible to know which set of parents each child had been born to. Therefore, although it is certain that, for example, James Craig and Katherine King had at least 11 children, it could not be stated that they did or did not have one or two more children. As these two children may potentially have been the offspring of any of the five *James Craig* families, the decision was made to amalgamate all relevant records into one mass group, to avoid separating children from their siblings and allocating them to parents which may not have been theirs.

The records in mass groups were analysed for their presence in the name-stock, but were not analysed for the existence of a naming pattern. The names of mass groups contain a forward slash – e.g. *Clark [Wm1/2]* – so that SQL queries (ignoring group-names containing a forward slash and thereby not analysing mass groups) may be easily constructed.

2.3.5 Inconsistent spelling

This research draws upon records produced in the eighteenth century, a time when the spellings of names had not been largely standardised. Coupled with the fact that the project spans a significant period of time and thus sees work produced by a large number of clerks, it would be expected that we would see a great deal of variety in spelling. In many cases, the variation is slight: the Govan group *Cumming [Sam1]* sees the baptism of "Samuel lawful son to Samul." Although it is surprising that the clerk should use alternative spellings in the same entry, it seems likely that *Samul* is a variant spelling (or perhaps a simple misspelling) of *Samuel*.

The spelling of other names is less straightforward. When gathering data, I had presumed that *McIndoe* and *McEldoe* were separate surnames. However, when cross-referencing entries during the organisation of the collected data, I discovered that many families saw occurrences of both spellings: for example, Govan groups *McEldoe [Wm1]* (spellings: *McEldoe*; *McIndoe*; *McLedoe*) and *McEldoe [Robt1]* (spellings: *McEldoe*; *McLdoe*; *McIndoe*; *McLedoe*; *McIindo*). The greatest variation was seen in the surname *Zuill*, which was probably in fact *3uill*. Spellings such as *Guil*, *Yooll*, and *Euill* were found, as well as *Zuill*. As records for grouping were organised alphabetically by surname, without careful searching and cross-referencing these groupings could not have been made.

Group-names had to be chosen in order to make the database-system easy to use, and, in choosing the correct head-name for each group, a number of features were considered. *McEldoe* was favoured over *McIndoe* above, as a greater number of entries were registered under variants such as *McEldoe*, *Mceldoe*, and *McLdoe* than under *McIndoe* and similar. However, for a small number of families in which no *McEldoe* spelling was seen, the *McIndoe* name was given as their group name in order to avoid erroneous categorisation. *Zuill*, being the most popular variant, was also chosen as the head-name for the groups.

Where variants were equally frequent, the most recent form was chosen as the head-word. For example, *Petticrew*/*Petticrue* was a fairly common surname in the first half of the eighteenth-century. However, by 1750, this had evolved to become *Pettigrew*. The groups were therefore named *Pettigrew*, it being the most recent form of the name.

Overall, although inconsistency in spelling, especially of surnames, did cause some complications, these were overcome through careful cross-referencing of baptismal entries and logically choosing a head-name under which to classify them. Although a slightly standardised version of the surname was chosen for the majority of group-names, the surnames within the records themselves were not altered and they thus preserve the original spelling used by the clerk.

2.3.6 Variants

One difficulty which arose especially when organising names for analysis of the name-stock was that of variants. It had been expected that spelling would be inconsistent, and, indeed, as the spelling of *Elizabeth* as a baptismal name shows, this was indeed the case. Overall, there were 781 occurrences of *Elizabeth*, 195 uses of *Elisabeth*, and 5 appearances of other spellings (including *Elisabith* and *Elizabath*). These spellings were not restricted to certain periods of use, such as might be expected if a variant were used only by one clerk, but were used throughout the 18th century, suggesting that the clerks themselves were alternating between spellings. Where a name seems to be a variant spelling of another, the two versions have been combined for purposes of name-stock analysis. For example, the 781 uses of *Elizabeth*, 195 uses of *Elisabeth*, and five of other spellings have been combined to give a total of 981 *Elizabeth*s in the overall name-stock.

As well as inconsistency in spelling, some diminutive forms are represented. The families represented in the Beith groups *Cameron [Dan1]* and *Fulton [Wm4]* both contain a mother named *Elizabeth* who is alternatively referred to as *Betty*. The fact that each is known by both

names suggests that it is acceptable for both the given name *Elizabeth* and the diminutive form *Betty* to represent the mother in the parish record. Thus, it is possible that of the children baptised *Bessy* (4), *Bessie* (32), *Betty* (48) and *Bettie* (10), all are also named *Elizabeth*. However, as it has been stated that the child has been named in the diminutive form, it is that form which is represented in the name-stock. For example, in the name-stock, it is stated that there are 981 cases of *Elizabeth*, 36 cases of *Bessy/Bessie*, and 58 cases of *Betty/Bettie*. It cannot be known whether those children baptised under the name of *Bessy/Bessie* or *Betty/Bettie* were otherwise named *Elizabeth*; however, if the diminutive form had not been the true name of those children, there would have been 1075 children named *Elizabeth*, rather than the 981 instances stated in the analysis of the name-stock.

Other examples of diminutive use in the database include *Nancy*, which may have been for *Anne* (Hey 2002: 39) or *Agnes* (Bigwood 2006: 25), and *Jonett*, possibly for *Joan* (Redmonds 2004: 16). *Jonett* is an especially interesting example of a diminutive name: no occurrences were found where the spelling matched that recorded by Redmonds, but *Jonet* (Figure 16) appeared several times in the Govan parish. *Joanet* also appeared (Figure 17), its spelling reminiscent of the name Joan itself.

Figure 16

Cunningham	Jonet	Female	Hew	Elizabeth Leeper?	22-11-1702
Craig	Jonet	Female	John	Margaret Hill	03-01-1703
Campbell	Jonet	Female	John	Elizabeth Campbell	01-10-1702
Miller	Jonet	Female	John	Jonet Murdoch	25-10-1702
Purdon	Jonet	Female	Andrew	Jonet Lockhart	01-11-1702
Kylle	Jonet	Female	John	Margaret Glen	17-01-1703
Cudbertson	Jonet	Female	James	-------- Walsk	16-02-1703
Croy	Jonet	Female	Matthew	-------- Hamilton	18-02-1703

Figure 17

Morrison	Joanet	Female	Allan	Jean Miller	15-12-1706
Mouzie	Joanet	Female	Walter	Joanet Hill	21-10-1714
Niclason	Joanet	Female	Andrew	Joanet Langlands	17-10-1714
Orchna	Joanet	Female	William	Jean Glen	30-06-1706
Petticrue	Joanet	Female	John	Agnes Braidwood	24-04-1709
Reid	Joanet	Female	Andrew	Joanet Riddel	25-10-1706
Reid	Joanet	Female	Archibald	Isabel Deans	25-02-1707
Renwick	Joanet	Female	Andrew	Jean Neilson	06-02-1715
Schiells	Joanet	Female	William	Isabel Barr	04-02-1714
Shields	Joanet	Female	Andrew	Elizabeth Boggle	17-06-1707
Shields	Joanet	Female	James	Agnes Park	14-08-1707
Struthers	Joanet	Female	John	Isabel Findlay	30-10-1715
Urie	Joanet	Female	Thomas	Mary Anderson	09-05-1714

Should these be variant spellings of *Jonett*, then these occurrences could be considered to be diminutive forms of *Joan*. However, if the mothers' names are examined (see Figure 18), it seems likely that both *Jonet* and *Joanet* are instead variant spellings of *Janet*.

Figure 18

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism
Ardbuckle	Joanet		female	John	Joanet Willand	1707-08-10
Ardbuckle	Andrew		male	John	Janet Freiland	1709-08-07
Arnbuckle	James		male	John	Janet Freiland	1711-12-01
Arnbuckle	John		male	John	Joanet Freeland	1714-07-07
Arnbuckle	John		male	John	Janet Freiland	1718-01-23
Arbuckle			female	John		1721-06-01

To complicate matters further, many names appeared to be interchangeable during this period. Hey writes (2002: 39): "Some female names [...] were used interchangeably in the early parish registers [such as] Isobel and Elizabeth, Ann and Agnes, Hester and Esther, Marion and Mary Ann, Joan and Jane, etc." and Cory states that "*Jean*, *Jane*, *Jessie* or *Janet* tend to be

interchangeable" (1990: 70). Should these names have been interchangeable in the Govan parish, where both *Jonet* and *Joanet* can be found, then it is possible that *Jonet* and *Joanet* were in fact diminutive forms of *Joan*: *Joan* could be represented by *Jane* (Hey 2002: 39), and, in turn, *Jane* could be represented by *Janet* (Cory 1990: 70). This matter requires further study before a conclusion can be made; therefore, in this research project, *Jonet*, *Joanet*, *Joan*, and *Janet* are all treated as separate names when undergoing name-stock analysis. However, familial groups where the mother's name clearly alternates will be treated with caution. In the example in Figure 18, the Govan group *Arbuckle [John1]*, the mother's name is given as both *Joanet* and *Janet*. Although the mother is more frequently known as *Janet*, the daughter has been baptized *Joanet*, and this particular case will be regarded as an instance of matrilineal naming. This decision is supported by the fact that the mother's name is written as *Joanet* at the time of the child's baptism. However, although her name is probably also *Janet*, as her mother's appears to be, the child will contribute the name *Joanet* to the name-stock analysis, rather than *Janet*.

Similar steps will be taken when analysing other names which are known to be interchangeable. Bigwood (2006: 25-6) lists several sets of names which she regards as having been interchangeable; the ones which have also been found in my corpus are listed below:

- Agnes, Nancy
- Christian, Christina, Christine, Kirsty
- Donald, Daniel
- Elizabeth, Elisabeth, Betty, Beatrice, Beatrix, Isabella
- Helen, Ellen, Nellie
- Isabella, Isabel, Bella
- Jean, Jane, Jeanie, Janet, Jessie, Jenny
- John, Ian, Iaian, Eun, Eoin

- Margaret, Maggie, Peggy
- Patrick, Peter

Some of these, such as *Maggie* and *Peggy*, are recognisable as diminutives, and would be treated as *Bessy/Bessie* and *Betty/Bettie* (see above). James recognises that, alongside diminutives and variations in form, there can also be variation "in contractions. A Marion or Alison may be called Mary or Ann and pass on the name to the next generation in this new form" (2009: 176). Other suggested sets of interchangeable names include *Grace/Grizel* (Cory 1990: 70) and *Elspeth/Isobel/Elizabeth* (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 54), and further evidence has been provided for such names as *Donald* and *Daniel* being interchangeable (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 73).

Most of the examples given above have been found in the parish records. When examining the baptismal names alone, it is impossible to ascertain whether a child has been expressly named, for example, *Peter*, or whether the name was intended to be treated as interchangeable and the child would also have been recognised as *Patrick*. A clearer picture can be gained by examining the names of the parents, as, with those, their name is usually provided with each child baptised. Thus, it can be seen in Figure 19 that *Peter* and *Patrick* seem to have been interchangeable for the father of the Govan group *Gilmour [PetPat1].*

Figure 19

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism
Gilmour	Mary		female	Patrick		1761-07-21
Gilmour	John		male	Patrick	Mary Gibson	1764-09-20
Gilmour	Mary		female	Peter	Mary Gibson	1767-06-07
Gilmour	Daniel		male	Patrick	Mary Gibson	1769-09-26
Gilmour	Margaret		female	Peter	Mary Gibson	1772-08-23

Similarly, the father in the Govan group *McTaggart [DavDonDan1]* seems to have been known as *David*, *Donald*, and *Daniel* (Figure 20).

Figure 20

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism
McTaggat	Donald		male	David	Katherine McCulloch	1749-10-19
McLagget	Mary		female	Daniel	Katherine McCulloch	1752-08-01
McTagget	Hugh		male	Donald	Katherine McCulloch	1755-06-01
McTaget	Daniel		male	Daniel	Catherine McCulloch	1758-01-10
McTagat	Archibald		male	Donald	Catherine McCulloch	1761-06-07

However, in Figure 21, Govan groups *Williamson [Pat2]* and *McGregor [Dan1]*, it can be seen that some fathers known as *Patrick* and *Daniel* respectively were not otherwise known as *Peter* and *Donald* or *David*. Both of these latter groups are large, with Daniel, for example, having eleven children, and thus it is unlikely that the lack of alternative fathers' names is simply due to no reasonable opportunity to represent variants.

Figure 21

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism
Williamson	Isabel		female	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1713-02-08
Williamson	William		male	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1715-05-19
Williamson	John		male	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1717-07-14
Williamson	Janet		female	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1719-10-22
Williamson	Robert		male	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1721-11-06
Williamson	Patrick		male	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1726-02-03
Williamson	Jean		female	Patrick	Isabel Reid	1726-02-03

Surname	First Name	Middle Name	Sex	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Baptism
McGregor	George		male	Daniel	Mary Corruth	1771-08-15
McGregor	Ann		female	Daniel	Mary Corruth	1773-01-31
McGregor	John		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1775-02-12
McGregor	John		male	Daniel	Mary Caruth	1777-03-18
McGregor	Janet		female	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1779-04-23
McGregor	Robert		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1781-03-18
McGregor	David		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1783-05-28
McGregor	James		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1785-04-24
McGregor	Mary		female	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1787-05-13
McGregor	James		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1789-11-08
McGregor	Daniel		male	Daniel	Mary Carruth	1792-12-02

It therefore seems that, although *Patrick/Peter* and *Donald/Daniel* were considered to be interchangeable names, they were not always treated as such, or at least this treatment was not consistently represented in the parish register. Consequently, it would be unwise to assume that all children baptised with a potentially interchangeable name were also known by its other forms.

Therefore, when categorising children baptised with a name such as *Patrick* or *Daniel* and analysing them within the name-stock, the child is taken to represent only the name with which they have been baptised, and not its potential other forms. It is understood that names may have been treated as being interchangeable, but the evidence of, for example, Figure 21 suggests that this treatment was not universal. It cannot be determined whether or not a particular child's name was considered to be replaceable with another when analysing only the version recorded in its baptismal record. When analysing the name-stock, however, it will be acknowledged that the final total of instances of, for example, *Peter*, would have been different if the figure could have been combined with the total number of occurrences of *Patrick*.

Chapter 3 - The Parishes

3.1 Beith (North Ayrshire)

3.1.1 Overview of naming

3.1.1.1 Summary of records and groups

The Beith baptismal records contained details of 7035 children (3561 males, 3473 females, and one unknown). 5562 records were grouped into 1803 distinct familial units; there was doubt over the relations of the remaining 1473 children, and they were therefore collated into mass groups. This meant that 20.9% of the collected Beith records were not analysed in relation to other sets of records. The 1803 familial units did not universally have both male and female children; 1390 families contained at least one male child and 1319 families contained at least one female child.

3.1.1.2 Name-stock

It was important that a study of the name-stock be carried out, as, with a small name-stock, the chance of coincidental name-sharing is higher (as opposed to name-sharing caused by the presence of a particular naming pattern). After disregarding those records where names were illegible or likely misspellings (for example, *Jeant*, which was probably meant to be either *Jean* or *Janet*), I had a name-stock for the parish of 114 distinct names (50 male and 64 female). (Due to the removal of certain name-forms from the data for the calculation of the name-stock, these results account for 98.42% of the records (6924 of 7035).)

Of these 114 names, I then noted those which had only one recorded use. 17/50 (34%) of male names and 31/64 (48.44%) of female names were used once, giving a regular name-stock of 33 male names and 33 female names. Thus, although the overall female name-stock is 28% larger

than the male, there are many more unique female names and the regular name-stocks are equal for each sex.

To observe the popularity of the names used more than once, I then drew up a table containing the top ten names for each sex and calculated the percentages of children baptised with these names over the period studied.

BEITH				**(6404/6924) : (3292/3532)(3112/3392)**		
MALE				**FEMALE**		
Name	**Count**	**%**		**Name**	**Count**	**%**
John	872	24.68		Margaret	659	19.43
William	635	17.97		Jean	560	16.51
Robert	606	17.15		Janet	488	14.39
James	463	13.1		Mary	395	11.65
Hugh	182	5.15		Elizabeth	288	8.49
Thomas	161	4.56		Agnes	249	7.34
Andrew	133	3.76		Ann	152	4.48
David	123	3.48		Marion	136	4.01
Alexander	81	2.29		Martha	98	2.89
Matthew	36	1.02		Isabel	87	2.56
	3292	93.16			3112	91.75

As can be seen in the above table, despite there being 33 male and 33 female names used more than once, the vast majority (93.16% male and 91.75% female) have a name among the ten most popular in the parish. It is also striking that 72.9% of males were baptised with one of the top four names (compared to 61.98% of females). Therefore, despite the actual name-stock of the parish being 114 names, over 90% of the 6921 records analysed for this section actually have one of 20 names. This is likely to cause problems when assessing the likelihood of a naming pattern being in use, as names may not be picked expressly to follow the pattern; instead they may be picked simply because there are very few well-known names to choose from.

This small name-stock was also one of the reasons that many records could not be definitively linked together in the grouping stage of the data-organisation. With the parish's rural location and the reasonably small geographical area, there were a number of especially prominent families; it was difficult to decipher which 'John Shedden', for example, was referred to in a single record when there were 101 other records which mentioned a person with the same name.

3.1.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

Patrilineal and matrilineal naming, naming a child for the parent, tends to be a common feature of the Early Modern naming traditions in places such as England. In an earlier study of an English parish, Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire, I discovered that an average of 61% of families with a male child had a case of potential patrilineal naming, and an average of 46.2% of families with a female child had a case of potential matrilineal naming (Crook: in press). After analysing birth order, it appeared that this was deliberate rather than coincidental. My conclusions supported similar studies by Smith-Bannister (1997: 65). Therefore it could be expected that, were the pattern not in use, the level of potential patrilineal and matrilineal naming would be fairly high. With an average of 2.56 sons and 2.63 daughters per family with children of those sexes, many families would not have had the third child which would traditionally share the parent's name. Therefore, if the pattern were followed, it could be expected that the potential patrilineal and matrilineal naming would be fairly low.

Overall, of the 1390 familial units which contained a son, 688 contained a son who shared a name with his father: 49.5%. Of the 1319 groups which contained a daughter, 349 did not have a record of the mother's name. Of the 970 groups with a daughter and note of the mother's name, 388 contained a daughter who shared her mother's name: 40%. These totals are substantially lower than the totals of the English parish research, especially where father-son name-sharing is concerned. This may simply be a geographical difference, as Smith-Bannister

noted that parental naming did differ between areas of England. However, it is also possible that the lower percentage is due to the presence of a naming pattern, with the grandfathers' names taking precedence over the fathers'. 49.5% is still a substantial proportion however; if the alleged traditional naming pattern is found in the parish, it may be that the small name-stock (and thus probable cases of name-sharing between grandfathers and father) has led to sons sharing a name with their father, but actually being named for their grandfather.

3.1.1.4 Godparental influence

Of the 7035 entries, only 32 (0.45%) contained note of a godparent (referred to as a 'sponsor' in this parish). These 32 entries consisted of 11 males and 21 females, and one male and three females also had a recorded second godparent.

Of the males, ten of 11 could have conceivably shared a name with a godparent, as the godparent of the eleventh was of the opposite sex. Three (30%) do share a name with a godparent; one of these shares a name with the only listed godparent, another shares with the second listed godparent, and the third has a name common to both his godfather and father.

Of the females, five of 21 could have shared a name with a godparent, with the other 16 having a male godparent. Two (40%) do share a name with a godparent. One of these shares her godmother with an older sister: i.e. of two children who could have shared a name with a godparent, the second shared rather than the first.

Altogether, these results indicate that godparents probably did not have much influence in the naming process in this parish at the time of the study. Only five children appear to share a name with a godparent, and one of these may be a coincidence due to the father having the same name. Also, although more godparents may have been in existence in the parish at this time, the fact that only 0.45% of all records studied contain information about them cannot be ignored, and suggests that godparents did not play an especially prominent role in this society.

Therefore, if a traditional naming pattern were generally in use, it is likely that potential pressure to name children for godparents would not be disruptive to this pattern.

3.1.2 Possible presence of naming pattern

3.1.2.1 Ancestral links

As has already been mentioned, the small name-stock and the number of very common surnames have made it especially difficult to link familial units to ancestors and descendants with a good degree of accuracy. I linked 24 familial units to at least one ancestral branch (either paternal or maternal).

Of those 24 linked groups, 15 did not adhere to the pattern at all and two followed it only partly. Another two cases could have been following the pattern, but could also have been instances of patrilineal naming. The remaining five followed the pattern, but did not have the opportunity to follow it past one child of each sex. Therefore, there were no definite instances of a family following the naming pattern for a considerable number of children, although there were instances of families in which the pattern was clearly not used.

These latter families are a more useful indicator of whether the pattern was generally used in the parish, as name-sharing between grandparents and parents may also have been coincidental rather than a deliberate attempt to follow the pattern.

This approach is useful as it can theoretically provide evidence of families which clearly follow the naming pattern. However, to gain this evidence, the familial units must be suitable for grouping together; unfortunately this parish contained too many ambiguous records for a good proportion of the parish's population to be represented in this way.

3.1.2.2 Patrilineal or matrilineal naming in larger families

Due to the difficulty of accurately linking relations together outwith their immediate family, it is often impossible to see whether the naming pattern is in use. However, through another method of analysis, it is possible to see cases in which the pattern is clearly not in use. The most widespread perception of the 'traditional' Scottish naming pattern is "the eldest son named after the paternal grandfather; the second son named after the maternal grandfather; the third son named after the father", with a similar pattern for the female children (Cory 1990: 68; supported by Durie 2009: 52). One difficulty caused by a small name-stock is the reasonably high likelihood that the grandparents and parent have the same name; if the first child, for example, also has that name, it cannot be deduced whether it is a case of patrilineal/matrilineal naming and not within the pattern, or whether the child is named for the grandparent and therefore within the pattern. However, whether the grandparents and parent are identically named or not, one of the first three unique names of same-sex children in a familial unit must necessarily be the same as the parent's if the pattern is followed. It is important to specify 'first three unique names' rather than 'first three names' as, if a child named for a grandparent had died, it is possible that the next child would also be named for the grandparent, thereby delaying but perhaps not ignoring further use of the pattern. In such a case, the fourth son may share a name with the father, but it is the third unique name of the family and thus within the naming pattern.

A list was made of all families containing at least three sons or three daughters. This list was then analysed for the appearance of the parents' names among the unique names of their children. The results are given in the table below.

	Count	%			Count	%
Father's name appears	239	77.35		Mother's name appears	158	62.2
Father's name does not appear in first 3	70	22.65		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	96	37.8
	309				254	

In total, 309 families had a minimum of three uniquely named sons and 254 had a minimum of three uniquely named daughters. In the father/son analysis, 22.65% of the families did not have the father's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children. With more than three children, the father's name was sometimes used for a later child, or not at all. With either case, it is significant that the father's name did not appear until later in the birth order, as it indicates a clear deviation from the assumed pattern.

Similarly, 37.8% of the families with more than three unique female names did not see mother/daughter name-sharing in the first three unique names.

3.1.2.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming in larger families

94 familial units contained both three uniquely named sons and uniquely named daughters. In these groups, if the pattern were followed, both the father and mother's name should appear within the first three children of each sex. In total, 54 of those 94 groups saw the appearance of both the father and mother's name within the first three males and first three females respectively: 57.45%. A further 36.17% saw the occurrence of either patrilineal or matrilineal naming, while the remaining 6.38% contained no name-sharing with a parent.

It is significant that 36.17% contained evidence of patrilineal or matrilineal naming, but not both: despite exhibiting some name-sharing, those groups could not have been following the pattern. The results of this analysis can be projected onto the results of section 3.1.2.2, to estimate how many of those groups were also not following the pattern.

Six of the 94 groups analysed for both patrilineal and matrilineal naming saw occurrences of neither, and are thus excluded. Therefore, of the 88 remaining groups, 61.36% contained examples of children sharing a name with both the father and the mother, and 38.63% saw examples of either patrilineal or matrilineal naming: these 38.63% could not have been following the naming pattern. The groups represented in 3.1.2.3 were also represented in 3.1.2.2; to avoid double-analysis of those groups, the results for the earlier section have been recalculated:

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	162	75.35		Mother's name appears	93	58.13
Father's name does not appear in first 3	53	24.65		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	67	41.88
	215				160	

It can therefore be predicted that, of the 75.35% and 58.13% of larger families containing patrilineal or matrilineal naming respectively, 38.63% of each would not have been following a naming pattern.

- For the groups in section 3.1.2.2 which contained three uniquely named sons, it can be estimated that 46.24% may potentially have been following a naming pattern, with 53.76% not following a pattern. This figure of 53.76% is comprised of 29.11% experiencing patrilineal naming but not following a naming pattern, and 24.65% not practising patrilineal naming.
- For the groups which contained three uniquely named daughters, it can be expected that 35.67% may potentially have been following a naming pattern. An estimated 64.33% were therefore not following a pattern, with 22.45% experiencing mother-daughter name-sharing but not using a naming pattern, and 41.88% not practising matrilineal naming.

If the average of the above calculations is taken, it can be estimated that 59.05% were not following a naming pattern, and that 40.95% may potentially have been following a naming pattern. These are highly significant results, as they suggest that a considerable proportion of the families in Beith were not following the naming pattern popularly believed to have been a widespread Scottish phenomenon.

This analysis accounts for a small proportion of the families in Beith as many did not have enough children for this type of analysis: under a third of all distinct families were analysed in sections 3.1.2.2 and 3.1.2.3. Therefore, the percentages above do not represent all of the parish's familial units, only those with more than three uniquely named same-sex children. It is more difficult to assess the presence of a specific pattern in smaller families, but it must be remembered that the alleged Scottish naming pattern specifies the naming of a large number of children. Therefore, it is wise to devote sufficient attention to those larger families who could follow the pattern further than the smaller families.

3.2 Govan (Glasgow)

3.2.1 Overview of naming

3.2.1.1 Summary of records and groups

The Govan baptismal records contained details of 12434 children (6301 males, 6084 females, and 49 unknown). 4453 distinct familial units were grouped together, and consisted of 12049 records. This meant that 385 children (3.1% of the total) were collated into mass groups and were not analysed in relation to other groups, but were analysed for their presence in the name-stock. Of the 4453 familial units, 3167 families contained at least one male child and 3102 families contained at least one female child.

3.2.1.2 Name-stock

Due to the names in some records being missing or illegible, 98.08% of Govan baptismal records were analysed for their presence in the name-stock (12195 of 12434). The total name-stock of the parish was 208 names, comprised of 111 male names and 97 female names.

The top ten names for each sex are shown in the table below.

GOVAN				**(10455/12195) : (5378/6224)(5077/5971)**		
MALE				**FEMALE**		
Name	**Count**	**%**		**Name**	**Count**	**%**
John	1513	24.31		Margaret	970	16.25
James	1065	17.11		Janet	912	15.27
William	871	13.99		Agnes	658	11.02
Robert	630	10.12		Elizabeth	586	9.81
Thomas	270	4.34		Mary	585	9.8
Alexander	249	4		Jean	537	8.99
Andrew	231	3.71		Isobel	326	5.46
Archibald	207	3.33		Katherine	197	3.3
George	184	2.96		Christian	164	2.75
David	158	2.54		Marion	142	2.38
	5378	86.41			5077	85.03

43/111 (38.74%) of male names and 39/97 (40.21%) of female names were used only once, giving a regular name-stock of 126 names, 68 male and 58 female. However, despite the regular name-stock being substantially larger than those of other parishes (Beith's regular name-stock contained 66 names), a significant proportion of the male and female populations were represented by one of the top ten names. As can be seen above, although the Govan name-stock is almost double the size of that of Beith, over 85% of the population was represented by one of 20 names (compared to over 90% in Beith).

The overall percentages represented by the top ten male and female names are very close (86.41% and 85.03%) but the female names are more evenly distributed: seven names each account for more than 5% of the female population, while only four names account for the same proportion of the male population. Similarly, 52.35% of the female population are represented by one of the top four names, while the corresponding figure for males is 65.53%.

3.2.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

As stated in 3.2.1.1, 3167 families contained at least one male child and 3102 families contained at least one female child. Of those with a male child, 1465 families had a son who shared a name with his father; of those with a female child, 1167 families had a daughter who shared a name with her mother. The rate of patrilineal naming (54.04%) is slightly higher than that exhibited in Beith (49.5%), and the difference in rates of matrilineal naming (40.51%) is marginal (Beith: 40%). This suggests that these rates of parent-child name-sharing are usual for Early Modern western Scotland.

3.2.1.4 Godparental influence

Of the 12434 records in Govan, 103 (0.83%) referred to a godparent, generally known as a 'witness' in this parish. 67 of these records were of female children and, as all godparents in Govan were male, name-sharing was not possible; therefore, these records have been

excluded from the analysis. The remaining 36 records represent 0.57% of the 6301 male children in the parish. This low percentage suggests that godparents were not considered important in the parish.

Two further records were excluded from analysis: in one, the father and godfather shared a name, so it was unknown whether the name-sharing was a result of paternal or godparental influence; in the other, the child and his twin shared a godparent and the twin had taken the godparent's name. The other child understandably did not also take the godparent's name, but, as an effort had been made to name one child after the godparent, the child who did not share the name was excluded from the analysis.

The remaining 34 records were analysed for godparent-child name-sharing, and the results are given in the table below.

	Count	**%**
Godparent and child share name	6	17.65
Godparent and child do not share name	28	82.35
	34	

Overall, 82.35% of male children with a godparent did not share a name with him. As a very small proportion of the records indicated any godparent had been assigned, and a small percentage of those records shared a name with the godfather, it is unlikely that godparents had any major influence over the naming of the child. This theory is further supported by the fact that any name-sharing between godparent and child may have been coincidental due to the relatively small name-stock and the godparent's name matching that of a grandfather, for example. Therefore, godparental influence cannot be said to have potentially caused interruption of the naming pattern, if it was in widespread use in the parish.

3.2.2 Possible presence of naming pattern

3.2.2.1 Ancestral links

17 groups were linked to at least one ancestral branch. This figure was lower than anticipated, but is due to the fact that the Govan records represent the largest set of data and it is more difficult to locate relatives of one group amongst a larger number of groups, especially when some surnames were very common.

Of those 17 groups, nine (52.94%) did not adhere to a naming pattern, and eight (47.06%) followed it to some extent. Three of those eight had only one child of the relevant sex (a male if the paternal grandfather's name was known; a female if the maternal grandmother was known), but that child was named according to the pattern. One group contained a child of each sex, and each child was named according to the pattern. The remaining groups had more than one child of the relevant sex, but, as not all the grandparents' names were known, it could not be known whether all the children were appropriately named. The first child of each group, however, was named according to the pattern.

No examples of the pattern being followed for at least three male and three female children could be found. Of those families where ancestral links could be created, the majority did not follow the pattern, and, although the remaining groups followed the pattern to some extent, none of these groups were particularly large and the names of all grandparents were unknown. It cannot be said, therefore, that the Govan parish records provided any evidence of the pattern being definitively used by any family, but that they did provide proof of families not following the naming pattern.

3.2.2.2 Patrilineal or matrilineal naming in larger families

Although limited progress could be made through the analysis of ancestral relationships, it was possible to establish which proportion of families was definitively not following the specified

naming pattern. As stated in 3.1.2.2, if the naming pattern is being followed, one of the first three unique names of same-sex children in a familial unit must be the same as the parent's.

A list was made of all families containing at least three sons or three daughters. This list was then analysed for the appearance of the parents' names among the unique names of their children. The results are given in the table below.

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	504	76.71		Mother's name appears	417	69.04
Father's name does not appear in first 3	153	23.29		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	187	30.96
	657				604	

In total, 657 families had at least three uniquely named sons and 604 had at least three uniquely named daughters. 23.29% of families with at least three sons did not have the father's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children; 30.96% of families with at least three daughters did not have the mother's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children. Of those families where the parent's name did not appear within the first three unique names, the parent's name was sometimes used for a later child; these families therefore exhibit patrilineal or matrilineal naming, but are not following the naming pattern. Similarly, if the parent's name did not appear at all, the family could not have been following the naming pattern.

3.2.2.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming in larger families

231 families contained both three uniquely named sons and daughters and, if the pattern were being followed, the names of both parents should appear within the first three children of each sex. In total, 144 of 231 groups fulfilled this criterion: 62.34%. 33.3% of these groups exhibited name-sharing with one of the parents, and the remaining 4.33% contained no name-sharing.

It is significant that 33.3% contained an example of name-sharing with one parent but not both: they could not have been following the pattern, despite exhibiting patrilineal or matrilineal naming. The results of this analysis can be projected onto the results of section 3.2.2.2, to estimate how many of those groups were also not following the pattern.

10 of the 231 groups analysed for both patrilineal and matrilineal naming saw occurrences of neither, and are thus excluded. Of the 221 remaining groups, 65.16% contained examples of children sharing a name with both the father and the mother, and 34.84% saw examples of either patrilineal or matrilineal naming: this latter group could not have been following the naming pattern. The groups represented in 3.2.2.3 were also represented in 3.2.2.2; to avoid double-analysis of those groups, the results for the earlier section have been recalculated:

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	313	73.47		Mother's name appears	243	65.15
Father's name does not appear in first 3	113	26.53		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	130	34.85
	426				373	

It can be anticipated that, of the 73.47% and 65.15% of larger families who exhibited patrilineal and matrilineal naming respectively, 34.84% would not have been following a naming pattern.

- For the groups which contained three uniquely named sons, it can be estimated that 47.87% may have been following a naming pattern, with 52.13% not following a naming pattern. This latter figure is comprised of 25.6% exhibiting patrilineal naming but not following a naming pattern, and 26.53% not practising patrilineal naming.
- For the groups which contained three uniquely named daughters, it can be estimated that 42.45% may have been following a naming pattern, with 57.55% not following a

naming pattern. The latter figure is comprised of 22.7% practising matrilineal naming but not following a pattern, and 34.85% not practising matrilineal naming.

If the average of the above calculations is taken, it can be estimated that 54.84% were not following a naming pattern, and that 45.16% may potentially have been following a naming pattern.

3.3 Earlston (Berwickshire)

3.3.1 Overview of naming

3.3.1.1 Summary of records and groups

The Earlston baptismal records consisted of 3145 children (1638 males, 1499 females, and eight unknown). 2323 children were collated into 838 distinct familial units, and 822 records (26.14%) formed mass groups and were analysed only for their presence in the name-stock. The high exclusion rate is due to the fact that very few mothers' names were provided and it was therefore difficult to group records together. Of the 838 familial units, 634 families contained at least one male child and 577 families contained at least one female child.

3.3.1.2 Name-stock

As some records were discounted due to names being missing or illegible, 99.24% of the records were analysed for their presence in the name-stock (3121 of 3145). These 3121 records consisted of 1491 females and 1630 males.

The top ten names for each sex are represented in the table below.

EARLSTON				**(2620/3121) : (1479/1630)(1141/1491)**		
MALE				**FEMALE**		
Name	**Count**	**%**		**Name**	**Count**	**%**
John	341	20.92		Margaret	271	18.18
James	256	15.71		Isabel	200	13.41
George	187	11.47		Jenet	197	13.21
William	185	11.35		Agnes	113	7.58
Thomas	171	10.49		Jean	83	5.57
Robert	142	8.71		Mary	78	5.23
Alexander	92	5.64		Elizabeth	60	4.02
Andrew	59	3.62		Helen	56	3.76
Adam	24	1.47		Janet	43	2.88
David	22	1.35		Betty	40	2.68
	1479	90.73			1141	76.52

There were 42 male names and 60 female names used in the Earlston records, giving a total name-stock of 102 names. 13/42 (30.95%) of male names and 26/60 (43.3%) of female names were used only once, giving a regular name-stock of 63 names (29 male and 34 female).

Although the overall female name-stock is larger than the male, a greater proportion of the female stock was used only once, and the regular name-stocks are almost equal. However, as can be seen in the above table, a much larger percentage of the male population were represented by the most frequently used names:

- top ten names: 90.73% for males; 76.52% for females
    - to represent 90.73% of the female population, the top twenty names would have to be included.
- top five names: 69.94% for males; 57.95% for females

This difference indicates that there was much more variation in girls' names in Earlston and, similarly, that the naming of boys was more limited.

There were a greater number of variant spellings in Earlston than in the previous two parishes, and many of these have been merged into one form for name-stock analysis (see Section 2.3.6 for a discussion of the treatment of variants). *Isabel* in the table also represents *Isabell* and *Isobel*; *Jenet* and *Jennet* have been merged as the spelling difference is simply a doubling of the middle vowel. *Janet* has not been merged due to the doubts raised in Section 2.3.6 (Variants) about whether *Janet* and similar were versions of the same name, or different names entirely. If *Janet* had been merged with *Jenet*, *Marion* (39 occurrences) would have been in tenth position. If *Betty*, being a diminutive of *Elizabeth*, had also been merged, the names in tenth position would have been *Alison* and *Barbara* (each with 27 occurrences).

3.3.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

As stated in 3.3.1.1, 634 families contained at least one male child and 577 families contained at least one female child. However, many parental names were missing in the Earlston parish records and some groups were therefore excluded from this analysis.

In total, 628 groups were analysed for patrilineal naming and 39 were analysed for matrilineal naming. Of those with a male child, 234 families had a son who shared a name with his father; of those with a female child, 19 families had a daughter who shared a name with her mother. The rate of matrilineal naming (48.72%) is higher than the rate of patrilineal naming (37.26%), which contrasts with the evidence of Govan and Beith. However, this discrepancy may be due to the fact that the matrilineal data is based on a far smaller number of familial units.

3.3.1.4 Godparental influence

In Earlston, godparents were referred to as both 'sponsors' and 'witnesses'. It seems likely that the variation in usage was dependent on the clerk as the periods of usage are distinct and do not overlap. Therefore, the records referring to both sponsors and witnesses have been merged for this analysis.

In total, 24 of the 3145 records included information on a sponsor or witness: 0.76%. This low percentage indicates that godparents were probably not influential in the parish. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the majority of those children had only one godparent, and it seems that they were usually provided when a child's father was not expected to be present for much of the child's upbringing. For example, in the entry for Agnes Wallace, born in 1785, the clerk has written: "the mother became sponsor for the Christian education of the child the father being working at a distance" (736/00 0010 0161). This suggests that godparents were only assigned if the father was rarely or not available, and therefore they did not have an especially prominent position in the parish.

Eight of the 24 records referred to female children, but these have been excluded from the analysis as the godparents were either male, and thus could not have been sharing a name with the child, or the first name was not given. The remaining 16 records refer to male children, and represent 0.98% of the male population. Three of these records have been excluded from the analysis as the godparent was either female and name-sharing could not have occurred, or the godfather's name matched that of the father and name-sharing was potentially patrilineal rather than godparental.

The other 13 records were analysed for godparent-child name-sharing, and the results are displayed in the table below.

	Count	**%**
Godparent and child share name	3	23.08
Godparent and child do not share name	10	76.92
	13	

As can be seen in the table, the majority of children with a recorded godparent did not share a name with him. For the 23.08% of cases where name-sharing did occur, it cannot be established whether the name-sharing was deliberate or accidental. However, it seems that godparents were not important in the Earlston society, as few children had them. When this is combined with the fact that less than a quarter of those with godparents shared a name with them, it seems unlikely that godparental naming would take precedence over a naming pattern, should one be being followed in the parish. Therefore, it is likely that godparental influence would not have disrupted any usage of the pattern.

3.3.2 Possible presence of naming pattern

3.3.2.1 Ancestral links

The Earlston records were especially difficult to group together due to the lack of mother's names and, as a result, few families were able to be linked with ancestral groups. Through a combination of examining extra information added by the clerk and searching for more unusual names, six groups were linked with ancestors, but none were linked with both paternal and maternal ancestors.

Of those six groups, three groups did not follow the pattern at all. Two groups did follow the pattern but only had one child of the relevant sex; it was therefore impossible to see whether the paternal grandfather's name was coincidentally used for the first son, or whether the pattern would have been continued with later children.

The remaining group had three sons: the second son shared the maternal grandfather's name and the third shared his father's name, but the paternal grandfather's name was unfortunately not discovered.

In the Earlston records, therefore, no definite examples of the naming pattern could be found. Two groups did follow the pattern, but had only one child where it could be observed. One group may have been following the pattern, but proof of the paternal grandfather's name could not be found. The remaining three groups did not follow the pattern. It can be stated that 50% of the groups in Earlston which could be linked with ancestral groups did not follow the naming pattern, and the naming practices of the other 50% cannot be further defined. However, these percentages cannot be said to be significant as they represent only 6 groups of the parish's 838 and therefore could be considerably affected by any additional data.

3.3.2.2 Patrilineal or matrilineal naming in larger families

As with the Govan and Beith records, it was possible to ascertain how many larger families was not following the specified naming pattern. As stated in 3.1.2.2, if the naming pattern is being followed, one of the first three unique names of same-sex children in a familial unit must be the same as the parent's.

A list was made of all families containing at least three sons or three daughters. This list was then analysed for the appearance of the parents' names among the unique names of their children. The results are given in the table below.

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	87	59.59		Mother's name appears	9	64.29
Father's name does not appear in first 3	59	40.41		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	5	35.71
	146				14	

As shown in the table, 146 families had at least three uniquely named sons and 14 had at least three uniquely named daughters; this latter figure is low due to 112 groups being excluded for lack of a mother's name. 40.41% of families with at least three sons did not have the father's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children; 35.71% of families with at least three daughters did not have the mother's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children.

3.3.2.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming in larger families

In those families with both three uniquely named son and daughters, the names of both parents should appear within the first three children of each sex if the pattern is being followed. In Earlston, 51 families contained both three uniquely named sons and daughters. 22 groups were excluded as they exhibited patrilineal naming but the mother's name was

unknown; it was thus impossible to know whether they could be or were not following the pattern. Of the remaining 29 groups, two groups did not see an occurrence of parental naming, and seven saw the usage of either patrilineal or matrilineal naming: this latter group could not have been following the naming pattern, despite the occurrence of some parental naming. 17 groups did not have one of the first three sons named for the father, but the mother's name was unknown; it therefore cannot be known whether they experienced no parental naming or matrilineal naming only. In either case, the family could not have been following the naming pattern. The remaining three groups (10.34%) exhibited patrilineal and matrilineal naming within the first three children of each sex, and may potentially have been following a naming pattern.

To estimate how many groups of section 3.3.2.2 were probably not following a naming pattern, the percentage of families with parental naming but not following a pattern must be projected onto the results of 3.3.2.2. When calculating this percentage, the two groups of the current section which experienced no parental naming must be excluded. As it cannot be known for 17 groups whether they were practising matrilineal naming or did not experience any parental naming, they have also been excluded from this stage of analysis. Therefore, these calculations are based on ten groups: three (30%) which exhibited parental naming and may have been following a pattern, and 7 (70%) which exhibited parental naming but could not have been following a pattern. These figures mean that, of those groups in 3.3.2.2 which exhibited parental naming, 70% were probably not following a naming pattern.

As the groups represented in 3.3.2.3 were also represented in 3.3.2.2, the results for the earlier section have been recalculated to avoid problems of double-analysis:

	Count	%			Count	%
Father's name appears	81	69.23		Mother's name appears	2	100
Father's name does not appear in first 3	36	30.77		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	0	0
	117				2	

There are only two groups with at least three daughters which are suitable for the next stage of analysis; with such a small set of data, it is likely that misleading results would be gained. Therefore, analysis was only conducted on those groups with at least three sons. Of the 69.23% of larger families where the father's name appeared within the names of the first three sons, it can be estimated that 70% were probably not following a naming pattern.

- For the groups which contained three uniquely named sons, it can be estimated that 20.77% may have been following a naming pattern, with 79.23% not following a naming pattern. This latter figure is comprised of 48.46% exhibiting patrilineal naming but not following a naming pattern, and 30.77% not practising patrilineal naming.

The proportion of larger families in Earlston which were probably not following a naming pattern is much higher than in Beith and Govan; in Beith, the percentage of larger families which were probably not following a pattern was calculated to be 59.05%, and in Govan it was estimated to be 54.84%. This may indicate that there were alternative naming practices in Berwickshire than seen in the west coast areas of Glasgow and North Ayrshire; however, as fewer samples were used in the analysis for Earlston, the differing percentages may also be due to a smaller number of families causing a skew in the data.

3.4 Dingwall (Ross & Cromarty)

3.4.1 Overview of naming

3.4.1.1 Summary of records and groups

The Dingwall records contained information on the baptisms of 1711 children (902 males, 804 females, and 5 unknown). 640 distinct familial units were grouped together, and consisted of 4395 records. This meant that 316 children (18.47% of the total) were collated into mass groups and were analysed only for their presence in the name-stock. Of the 640 familial units, 446 families contained at least one male child and 402 families contained at least one female child.

3.4.1.2 Name-stock

Due to the exclusion of records where names were missing or illegible, 99.12% of the records were analysed for their presence in the name-stock (1696 of 1711). These 1696 records consisted of 802 females and 894 males.

The top ten names for the male and female populations are given in the table below.

DINGWALL				**(1410/1696) : (702/894)(708/802)**		
MALE				**FEMALE**		
Name	**Count**	**%**		**Name**	**Count**	**%**
John	169	18.9		Margaret	118	14.71
Alexander	135	15.1		Anne	116	14.46
Donald	127	14.21		Isabel	92	11.47
William	78	8.72		Janet	90	11.22
Kenneth	47	5.26		Mary	79	9.85
George	41	4.59		Katherine	67	8.35
Roderick	29	3.24		Christian	52	6.48
James	28	3.13		Elizabeth	47	5.86
Duncan	25	2.8		Jean	24	2.99
Colin	23	2.57		Helen	23	2.87
	702	78.52			708	88.26

The total name-stock of the parish was calculated to be 105 names (55 male and 50 female). 17/55 (30.91%) of male names and 17/50 (34%) of female names were used only once, giving a regular name-stock of 71 names (38 male and 33 female).

As in Govan, the Dingwall male name-stock is larger than the female name-stock. However, Dingwall is the only parish of the four where the top ten male names represent a smaller percentage (78.52%) than the top ten female names (88.26%). Nevertheless, as in the other parishes, the top four male names represent a larger percentage than the top four female names: 56.93% compared to 51.96%.

The top ten female names are very similar to those of the other three parishes, with none appearing only in Dingwall's top ten. However, the top ten male names differ considerably, with five names not appearing in the top ten names of the other parishes. *Robert*, which features prominently in the other parishes, does not appear, and *Alexander* is ranked unusually highly (2nd most popular; 15.1%): in the lists of the other parishes, its highest percentage was 5.64% (Earlston). These inconsistencies suggest that the naming practices in Dingwall were subject to different influences, and this may be reflected in any patterns found in the naming of the parish.

3.4.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

As stated in 3.4.1.1, there were 446 families with at least one son and 402 with at least one daughter. Some parental names were missing and groups were therefore excluded; however, this problem was not as severe as had been seen in the Earlston parish.

In total, 86 of 444 familial units contained a son who shared a name with his father: 19.28%. 87 of 350 groups contained a daughter who shared a name with her mother: 24.86%. As in Earlston, the rate of matrilineal naming is higher than the rate of patrilineal naming. For Earlston, it had been suggested that the discrepancy may have been due to the matrilineal rate

being based on a much smaller amount of data. However, as fewer groups were excluded due to lack of a mother's name, this does not appear to be the case for the Dingwall data.

3.4.1.4 Godparental influence

Of the 1711 entries, 282 (16.48%) contained information on at least one godparent (referred to as a 'witness' in this set of baptismal records). These 282 records represented 154 male children and 128 female children, and all but three records referred to the child having two godparents. Of the other three records, one child had one godparent and the other two had three godparents each.

All of the godparents were males in the Dingwall parish, and thus there was no evidence of name-sharing between godparents and female children. The analysis therefore refers only to male children.

There were 902 male children in the parish; there were therefore documented godparents for 17.07% of the male population. Eight of the records with godparents dated to the period 1742-1744 and the remainder dated to the period 1700-1721. There were no baptisms recorded for the period 1721-1742, as discussed in section 2.3.1, but godparents could potentially have been recorded from 1742 onwards. It is significant that the recording of godparents did not continue throughout the eighteenth-century, as it suggests that their role was becoming less prominent.

Of the 154 records which contained a godparent, 13 were discounted from analysis as it was unknown whether the child and one of his godparents were sharing a name: in five instances, the child's name matched with his father as well as a godfather, and therefore could have been cases of patrilineal naming; in eight instances, the godfather's first name was missing and it was therefore unclear whether the child was sharing a name with him.

The remaining 141 records were analysed for godparent-child name-sharing, and the results are displayed in the table below.

	Count	**%**
Godparent and child share name	32	22.7
Godparent and child do not share name	109	77.3
	141	

As can be seen in the table, the majority of children with recorded godparents did not share a name with either of them. For the 22.7% of cases where name-sharing did occur, it cannot be established whether the name-sharing was deliberate or accidental. However, as female children were given male godparents and therefore could not share a name, it is possible that it was also not considered important for the male children to share a name with a godparent. Also, as godparents were unrecorded in the parish records after 1744, it is possible that they did not play a important role in the Dingwall society and name-sharing between godparent and child was thought unnecessary. Therefore, it is likely that there would be little or no pressure to name children for godparents, thus disrupting any usage of the pattern.

3.4.2 Possible presence of naming pattern

3.4.2.1 Ancestral links

In Dingwall, three groups were linked to at least one ancestral branch. It was difficult to create ancestral chains in this parish due to baptismal records being missing for the period 1721-1742; this long gap meant that the baptisms of grandparents of most children born in the second half of the century had not been recorded.

Of those three groups, two did not follow the pattern at all. The third group followed the pattern to one child, but it was unknown whether the name of the other child fell within the pattern. Therefore, in Dingwall, no examples of a family clearly adhering to the naming pattern

could be found: the majority of the groups for which an ancestral branch could be established did not follow the naming pattern, and the remaining group followed the pattern to some extent. For this group, it was unknown whether the son had been deliberately named for the paternal grandfather or whether it was coincidental: the child was named *John*, the most common male name of the parish. Similarly, if the son had been named for the grandfather, it could not be known whether this was a conscious attempt to follow a naming pattern or whether the parents had merely wanted to commemorate one relative.

The Dingwall baptismal records, therefore, contained no definitive evidence of a family following the naming pattern, although examples of families not following the pattern were found.

3.4.2.2 Patrilineal or matrilineal naming in larger families

As for the other parishes, analysis was conducted to establish what proportion of larger families was not following the specified naming pattern. As stated in 3.1.2.2, if the naming pattern is being followed, one of the first three unique names of same-sex children in a familial unit must be the same as the parent's.

A list was made of all families containing at least three sons or three daughters. This list was then analysed for the appearance of the parents' names among the unique names of their children. The results are given in the table on the following page.

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	28	43.75		Mother's name appears	27	52.94
Father's name does not appear in first 3	36	56.25		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	24	47.06
	64				51	

As displayed above, 64 families had at least three uniquely named sons and 51 had at least three uniquely named daughters. 56.25% of families with at least three sons did not have the father's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children; 47.06% of families with at least three daughters did not have the mother's name appearing in the first three unique names of the children. Neither of these two groups of data could have been following the naming pattern.

3.4.2.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming in larger families

In those families with both three uniquely named son and daughters, the names of both parents should appear within the first three children of each sex if the pattern is being followed. Dingwall was the smallest of the four parishes with 1711 records – the next smallest parish was Earlston with 3145 records – and there were therefore far fewer groups which contained both three uniquely named sons and daughters. 17 familial units were suitable for analysis; four of these (23.53%) exhibited patrilineal and matrilineal naming within the first three children of each sex, and therefore may potentially have been following the naming pattern. Eight groups saw the usage of either patrilineal or matrilineal naming (47.06%), and five (29.41%) did not contain any parental naming. These latter groups (totalling 76.47%) could not have been following the naming pattern.

To estimate how many groups of section 3.4.2.2 were probably not following a naming pattern, the percentage of families with parental naming but not following a pattern must be projected onto the results of 3.4.2.2. When calculating this percentage, the five groups of the current section which experienced no parental naming have been excluded. Of the remaining 12 groups, four (33.33%) may have been following the naming pattern and eight (66.67%) exhibited some parental naming but could not have been following the pattern. This means that, of those groups in 3.4.2.2 which contained parental naming, 66.67% were probably not following a naming pattern.

As the groups represented in 3.4.2.3 were also represented in 3.4.2.2, the results for the earlier section have been recalculated:

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	20	42.55		Mother's name appears	19	55.88
Father's name does not appear in first 3	27	57.45		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	15	44.12
	47				34	

Of the 42.55% and 55.88% of larger families which did have the parent's name appearing within the first three names of same-sex children, it can be estimated that 66.67% would not have been following a naming pattern.

- For the groups which contained three uniquely named sons, it can be estimated that 14.18% may have been following the naming pattern, with 85.82% not following the pattern. This latter figure is comprised of 28.37% exhibiting patrilineal naming but not following a naming pattern, and 57.45% not practising patrilineal naming.
- For the groups which contained three uniquely named daughters, it can be estimated that 18.62% may have been following the naming pattern, with 81.38% not following the pattern. This latter figure is comprised of 37.26% exhibiting matrilineal naming but not following the pattern, and 44.12% not practising matrilineal naming.

As in Earlston, the proportion of larger families in Dingwall which were probably not following a naming pattern is much higher than in Beith and Govan. As mentioned in 3.3.2.3, this may indicate that there were alternative naming practices in these areas than seen in Glasgow and North Ayrshire; however, as fewer samples were used in the analysis for Dingwall and Earlston, the differing percentages may also be due to a smaller number of families causing the data to be skewed.

Chapter 4 - Discussion

4.1 Overview of naming

4.1.1 Summary of records and groups

The database contained 24325 records in total, referring to the baptisms of 12402 males, 11860 females, and 63 of unknown sex. 7734 distinct familial units were grouped together, consisting of 21297 records. This meant that 3028 children (12.45% of the total) were collated into mass groups. The records in these mass groups were analysed only for their presence in the name-stock, and not for the use of any naming pattern. Of the 7734 families, 5123 contained at least one male child and 4931 contained at least one female child.

4.1.2 Name-stock

401 records were not analysed for their presence in the name-stock due to the first name being missing or illegible. 23935 records were used in the name-stock analysis, meaning that 98.4% of all collected records are represented in the results. These 23935 records consisted of 12280 males and 11655 females.

The name-stock consisted of 303 distinct names: 156 male and 147 female. Of these, 124 (65 male and 59 female) had a unique usage, and a further 98 names (49 male and 49 female) had fewer than ten occurrences. This means that the 'regular' name-stock, those names used ten times or more, consists of 81 names (42 male and 39 female).

In total, 23450 of 23935 children have been given one of these 81 names. This means that 97.97% of the records are represented by 26.73% of the overall name-stock, and, conversely, 73.27% of the name-stock is being used by only 2.03% of the population.

The top twenty names for both males and females are given in the table below, with percentages indicating which proportion of the population had been baptised with them.

ALL PARISHES (22496/23931) : (11536/12280)(10960/11655)						
MALE				**FEMALE**		
Name	**Count**	**%**		**Name**	**Count**	**%**
John	2895	23.57		Margaret	2018	17.31
James	1812	14.76		Janet	1533	13.15
William	1769	14.41		Jean	1204	10.33
Robert	1381	11.25		Mary	1137	9.76
Thomas	612	4.98		Agnes	1024	8.79
Alexander	557	4.54		Elizabeth	981	8.42
George	443	3.61		Isabel	705	6.05
Andrew	428	3.49		Ann	393	3.37
David	309	2.52		Marion	320	2.75
Hugh	275	2.24		Katherine	311	2.67
	10481	85.37			9626	82.6
Archibald	222	1.81		Christian	246	2.11
Matthew	142	1.16		Helen	219	1.88
Donald	134	1.09		Jenet	197	1.69
Daniel	86	0.7		Anna	149	1.28
Patrick	81	0.66		Martha	142	1.22
Walter	80	0.65		Barbara	121	1.04
Peter	76	0.62		Grizell	99	0.85
Allan	66	0.54		Betty	58	0.5
Francis	60	0.49		Sarah	54	0.46
= Adam	54	0.44		Jane	49	0.42
= Charles	54	0.44				
	11536	93.97			10960	94.05

The top twenty names are given, rather than the top ten, as each parish had names in its own top ten lists which did not feature in the overall top ten; giving the top twenty names allows the overall popularity of those other names to be seen. For example, Matthew is ranked 10th in Beith but does not feature in the top ten of any other parish. However, overall it is ranked 12th, and as the Beith records account for only 36 of its 142 overall occurrences, the name has clearly been in high usage in at least one of the other parishes. When this is checked against the full name-stocks of the other parishes, it can be seen that Matthew was in fact the 11th most common male name in Govan (see Appendix D), with 106 usages.

Giving the top twenty names also allows the inclusion of those names which were consistently popular. For example, Daniel is ranked 14th overall, but did not feature among the top ten names in any of the four parishes. However, it was used in three of the four parishes, with 25 occurrences in Beith, 57 in Govan, and 4 in Dingwall. Therefore, by displaying the overall top twenty names, it is possible to see those names which regularly featured in the baptismal records, but were not in such widespread use as to appear in a parish's top ten names.

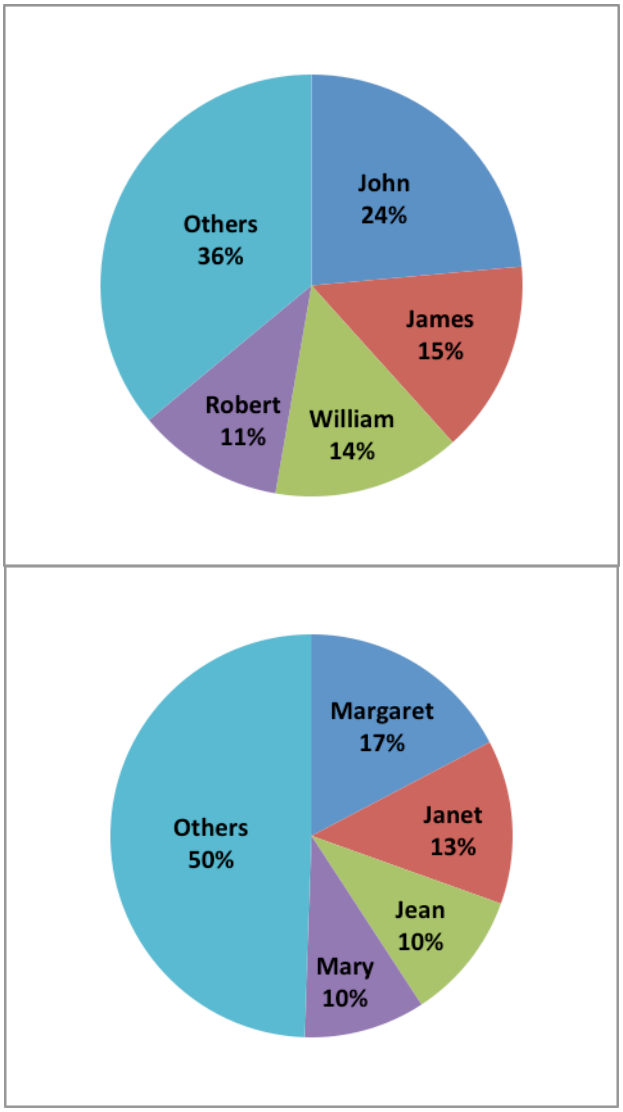
It is important to remember that these figures represent the names contained in the database, rather than equally representing the parishes. The data obtained from the Govan and Beith records outnumber the Earlston and Dingwall records 19119 to 4816, and thus any prominent names in those parishes are more likely to feature in the overall top names. For example, Hugh is ranked 10th overall, with 275 uses. 182 of these occurrences were from the Beith records; if the Beith records had been excluded from this table, Hugh would have been ranked 14th. This means that the smallest parish, Dingwall, is not well represented in this table, as evidenced by the fact that five of its own top ten do not feature in the overall top ten, and four of those do not feature in the top twenty.

To equally represent the parishes, the average percentage for each name was calculated. The results are given in the table on page 92, beside the top ten from the above table for easier comparison.

MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE	
Name	**%**		**Name**	**%**		**Name**	**%**		**Name**	**%**
John	22.2		Margaret	17.14		John	23.57		Margaret	17.31
William	13.01		Janet	10.94		James	14.76		Janet	13.15
James	12.26		Mary	9.13		William	14.41		Jean	10.33
Robert	9.02		Jean	8.51		Robert	11.25		Mary	9.76
Alexander	6.76		Isabel	8.23		Thomas	4.98		Agnes	8.79
Thomas	5.13		Elizabeth	7.04		Alexander	4.54		Elizabeth	8.42
George	4.98		Agnes	6.61		George	3.61		Isabel	6.05
Donald	3.58		Ann	5.47		Andrew	3.49		Ann	3.37
Andrew	2.91		Katherine	3.5		David	2.52		Marion	2.75
David	2.01		Christian	2.71		Hugh	2.24		Katherine	2.67
	81.86			79.28			85.37			82.6

This type of analysis is useful for large studies of naming, as it removes the problems created by differing size of parish. However, although this research involves the examination of over 24,000 names, only four parishes were looked at. This small number of parishes means that any analysis conducted in this way would produce skewed results: for example, Donald is ranked 8th if the average of its percentages in each parish is taken. However, its average percentage, and therefore its position in the table, has been significantly increased by its 14.21% usage in the Dingwall parish: dividing this figure by four (for four parishes) accounts for 3.55 of the 3.58 given in the table above. If more parishes had been used in the study, the results would have been more representative: “if our sample is small, we can be far less certain that the sample mean will be close to the population mean” (Pryce 2005: 2-20). Therefore, for this analysis, it was decided to analyse the full selection of names, rather than equally represent the parishes.

The table shows that, although there were 303 names in the overall name-stock and 81 names used ten times or more, over 80% of children were represented by one of twenty names, and over 93% were represented by one of forty names. The majority were represented by one of eight names, as shown in the charts below.



These charts illustrate that, although the name-stock was large, there was little variation in the names which were usually selected. There was more variation in the female names, which supports research by Corkery (2000: 68). This lack of variation could indicate that there would be a high rate of coincidental name-sharing between parent and grandparent, which would affect usage of the naming pattern; if a grandfather and father shared a name, the third son would not take the father's name as it had already been given to an elder brother, to represent the grandfather. However, this was taken into account when conducting the individual parish analysis and results showed that many were not following the naming pattern, with none of the first three children sharing the parent's name. Therefore, the lack of

variation may have, in reality, affected usage of the pattern, but has not affected the statistical analysis of that usage.

4.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

As mentioned in 3.1.1.3, patrilineal and matrilineal naming were common features of Early Modern naming traditions in England (Smith-Bannister 1997: 65) and in continental Europe (Wilson 1998: 225). Therefore, if the pattern were not in widespread use, it could be expected that the rates of patrilineal and matrilineal naming in Scotland would also be fairly high. The pattern dictates that the third child of each sex be named for the parent, and, with an average of 2.13 sons and 2.1 daughters per family with children of those sexes, many families would not have had the third child which would have taken the parent's name. Therefore, if the pattern were in use, the rates of patrilineal and matrilineal naming could be expected to be fairly low.

The rates of parent-child name-sharing which were calculated in Chapter 3 are given in the table below.

Parish	**Father and son share a name (%)**	**Mother and daughter share a name (%)**
Beith	49.5	40
Govan	54.04	40.51
Earlston	37.26	48.72
Dingwall	19.28	24.86

At this point, it would be prudent to define what is meant by 'fairly high' and 'fairly low'. In a study of the 17th-century names of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire, it was determined that 61% of families with a male child had a case of potential patrilineal naming, and 46.2% of families with a female child had a case of potential matrilineal naming (Crook: in press).

However, similar research by Smith-Bannister showed that rates of parent-child name-sharing were lower in the parishes of northern England (1997: 61).

With this latter point in mind, I would suggest that the rates of parent-child name-sharing in Beith and Govan match those which could be expected if the naming pattern were not in use and children were being named for their parents. This view is supported by the fact that the rates of father-son name-sharing are consistently higher than the rates of mother-daughter name-sharing. If the pattern were in use, the rates of name-sharing between father and son and between mother and daughter should be similar as, for both sexes, it is the third child that should share the parent's name. The difference in rates of name-sharing also matches the results gained by Smith-Bannister, who determined that, in England, a son was more likely to share a name with the father than the daughter share a name with the mother (1997: 76). The fact that this is replicated in some of the Scottish parishes suggests that the same influences may be present, and, therefore, also suggests that the families in Beith and Govan are choosing to honour the name of the parent rather than follow a prescribed naming pattern.

It is also significant that the rates of name-sharing in each parish are very similar, with only 0.51% difference in mother-daughter name-sharing: it suggests that these rates of name-sharing are typical for this region of Scotland.

The rates of parent-child name-sharing in Dingwall, however, are generally lower than those found in Beith and Govan; for example, the rate of father-son name-sharing in Dingwall is less than 20%, while the corresponding figure for Govan is greater than 50%. If the pattern was being followed, the rate of father-son naming should be lower as, with an average of 2.13 sons per family with male children, many families would not have had the third son which, according to the pattern, would have taken his father's name. The difference in rates of father-son name-sharing in Dingwall and Govan cannot be due to there being fewer sons per family in Dingwall; in fact, Dingwall had an average of 2.02 sons per family while Govan had 1.99 sons

per family. Overall, the rate of father-son name-sharing may indicate that, should the pattern be in use, it is in more widespread use in Dingwall.

The rate of father-son name-sharing in Earlston is 37.26%: almost double the rate found in Dingwall, but significantly lower than those found in Beith and Govan. This may suggest that, if the pattern is found to be in use, it was more frequently practised in Earlston than in Beith and Govan, but less so than in Dingwall.

The rate of mother-daughter name-sharing in Earlston is the highest of the four parishes, and is almost double that seen in Dingwall. This may indicate that it was considered more important to name a daughter for the mother; it is unlikely that a small female name-stock caused more coincidental name-sharing as, in this parish, the female name-stock was larger than the male name-stock. However, it is possible that the rate of mother-daughter name-sharing is not representative of the parish's families as only 19 families were suitable for this analysis. If it were the case that the Earlston families with daughters are misrepresented by these figures, it is possible that the rate of father-son name-sharing would be higher than that for mother-daughter name-sharing, as it is in Beith and Govan. Without analysis into the naming patterns of neighbouring parishes, it is impossible to know whether the mother-daughter name-sharing rate accurately represents naming in the region or whether the small number of examples has caused the results to be skewed.

In Dingwall, as in Earlston, the rate of father-son name-sharing is lower than those of mother-daughter name-sharing, which contradicts the evidence of Beith and Govan. The higher rates of mother-daughter name-sharing are unlikely to be due to a small name-stock as the female name-stock contains at least 50 names. A reason for the difference in rates of name-sharing could not be ascertained from the OPRs; it is hoped that, with further research into these areas, an explanation can be discovered. Although these results are contrasting to those from the Beith and Govan analysis, this is not an indication that the naming pattern is more likely to

be in use in Dingwall and Earlston. As noted above, if the pattern were in use, the rates of patrilineal and matrilineal naming should be similar as, for both sexes, it is the third child that should share the parent's name.

However, if the naming pattern is in use, it is likely that it will occur more frequently in Dingwall and Earlston as the rates of parent-child name-sharing are lower.

4.2 Usage of the naming pattern

4.2.1 Ancestral links

If the naming pattern is being used, the first two children of each sex should be named for their grandparents; it was therefore intended that familial units would be linked to ancestors before being analysed for usage of the naming pattern. Due to factors such as missing records, incomplete records, and a small stock of surnames, this was difficult to achieve. In total, 50 groups from the four parishes were linked with at least one ancestral branch. These groups were not equally or proportionately distributed throughout the parishes: the second-largest parish accounted for the largest set of linked groups (24), and only three groups in the smallest parish were linked to at least one ancestral branch.

	Number of groups	**Potentially followed the pattern/ followed to some extent (%)**	**Did not follow the pattern (%)**
Beith	24	29.17	70.83
Govan	17	47.06	52.94
Earlston	6	50	50
Dingwall	3	33.33	66.67
Overall	50	38	62

Of those 50 groups, 31 (62%) did not follow the pattern. The 19 (38%) which may have followed the pattern included:

- 12 groups which followed the pattern but had only one child or one of each sex

- two groups which may have been following the pattern or may have been examples of patrilineal naming, due to the paternal grandfather and father sharing a name
- five groups for which the name of one grandparent could not be established but which otherwise followed the pattern.

None of these groups contained clear examples of the pattern being used. In those cases where a family had only one child and that child was named according to the naming pattern, it cannot be known whether the grandparent-child name-sharing was deliberate or coincidental; even if the name-sharing had been deliberate, it cannot be known whether the parents intended to follow a particular naming pattern or whether they merely wanted to honour that particular grandparent. Overall, it cannot be stated that any evidence of the pattern was found in this research.

However, it can be stated that, even if all 21 groups outlined above had been following the naming pattern, 62% of groups which were linked with an ancestral branch did not follow the naming pattern. As the families represented above were chosen for analysis only because they could be successfully linked to other groups, they can be said to represent a random sample and, therefore, are likely to be representative of other families in the parishes. It is thus probable that the majority of families in these parishes will not be following the naming pattern.

4.2.2 Parental naming in larger families

The results of 4.2.1 suggest that the majority of families in the four parishes do not follow the naming pattern, but rely on the analysis of only 50 groups. Through the analysis of parental naming in all larger families, it is possible to ascertain how many of those groups are not following the naming pattern.

As previously stated, the most widespread perception of the naming pattern is “the eldest son named after the paternal grandfather; the second son named after the maternal grandfather;

the third son named after the father", with a similar pattern for the female children (Cory 1990: 68). It is possible that this pattern could vary slightly if one of the children died; for example, if the second son had died, the third son may share the maternal grandfather's name, and the fourth son would subsequently be named for the father. However, if the pattern is being followed, one of the first three unique male names must match the father's name and one of the first three unique female names must share the mother's name.

This analysis was conducted for all four parishes (see sections 3.1.2.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.3.2.2, and 3.4.2.2). The data from those sections have been combined and the subsequent results are given in the table below.

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	858	72.96		Mother's name appears	611	68.42
Father's name does not appear in first 3	318	27.04		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	282	31.58
	1176				893	

These figures prove that, overall, a minimum of 27.04% of families with at least three uniquely-named sons and 31.58% of families with at least three uniquely-named daughters cannot have been following the pattern. Of the 858 and 611 families which exhibited parent-child name-sharing, it is possible that many were not following the naming pattern and had simply chosen to name a child for a parent.

By analysing the rates of parental naming in those families with both three uniquely-named sons and three uniquely-named daughters, it is possible to estimate how many families which exhibited parental naming may not have been following the naming pattern. For example, if a family with three uniquely-named children of each sex had named a son for the father but had not named a daughter for the mother, that family could not have been following the naming

pattern; that family however would have been one of the 858 families in the table above who had practised father-son name-sharing.

The families which contained three uniquely-named sons and daughters are represented in the table below. As stated in 3.3.2.3, there were 17 families in Earlston for which there was no record of a mother's name, and it was therefore unknown whether they were practising mother-daughter name-sharing or were not naming any of their eldest children for a parent. These groups are therefore given in a separate row in the table.

	Count	**%**
Father and mother's name appear	205	55.26
One parent's name appears	126	33.96
One/no parent's name appears	17	4.58
No parent's name appear	23	6.2
	371	

As can be seen above, in 55.26% of larger families, both the father and mother's name appear within the first three unique names; these groups may therefore have been following the naming pattern. Although at least 33.96% were practising parental naming for either sons or daughters, they could not have been using the naming pattern; this has implications for those groups earlier listed as practising father-son name-sharing or mother-daughter name-sharing.

Of the 371 groups analysed in the table above, 23 saw no parental naming so must be excluded. The 17 Earlston groups must also be excluded from this calculation as it is unknown whether they experienced some parental naming or none at all. Therefore, of the remaining 331 groups, 61.93% contained examples of both father-son name-sharing and mother-daughter name-sharing, and 38.07% contained examples of parental naming for either sons or daughters. This latter group could not have been following the naming pattern, and this percentage can be projected onto the earlier set of groups, to estimate how many of those groups were also not following the pattern.

The groups represented in the most recent stage of analysis were also represented in the previous stage; to avoid double-analysis of those groups, the earlier set of results has been recalculated:

	Count	**%**			**Count**	**%**
Father's name appears	576	71.55		Mother's name appears	357	62.74
Father's name does not appear in first 3	229	28.45		Mother's name does not appear in first 3	212	37.26
	805				569	

It can therefore be predicted that, of the 71.55% and 62.74% of larger families containing patrilineal or matrilineal naming respectively, 38.07% of each would not have been following a naming pattern.

- For the groups which contained three uniquely named sons, it can be estimated that 44.31% may potentially have been following a naming pattern, with 55.69% not following a pattern. This figure of 55.69% is comprised of 27.24% experiencing patrilineal naming but not following a naming pattern, and 28.45% not practising patrilineal naming.
- For the groups which contained three uniquely named daughters, it can be expected that 38.85% may potentially have been following a naming pattern. An estimated 61.15% were therefore not following a pattern, with 23.89% experiencing mother-daughter name-sharing but not using a naming pattern, and 37.26% not practising matrilineal naming.

If the average of the above calculations is taken, it can be estimated that 58.42% of larger families were not following the naming pattern, and that 41.58% may potentially have been following the naming pattern. These are highly significant results, as it suggests that a

considerable proportion of families were not following the naming pattern popularly believed to have been a widespread Scottish phenomenon.

It is even more significant when realised that this set of figures prove that a minimum percentage of these families were not using the pattern, rather than proving that a minimum percentage were. The number of families who may still have used the pattern is likely to be significantly lower than the 41.58% mentioned above: it is possible that the use of the parent's name for one of the eldest children was not a deliberate attempt to follow the naming pattern, but instead due to the relatively small name-stock and the subsequent lack of choice. Otherwise it may be a decision made in order to preserve the parent's name but not necessarily to follow the naming pattern. If the families were choosing to follow a patrilineal and matrilineal naming system, this would explain why the figures for the mother/daughter name-sharing is lower than the father/son name-sharing: previous research into Early Modern English parishes has consistently shown higher rates of patrilineal naming than matrilineal (Crook: in press; Smith-Bannister 1997: 58).

4.3 Other influences on naming

After analysing the baptismal records of the parishes, the results suggest that the majority of families did not follow the naming pattern and no examples of the pattern clearly being followed were found. However, given the wide range of material written on the pattern in question, it is certain that the naming pattern was used by some Scottish families; Figure 6, Johnstone of Old Cumnock, shows the pattern being used (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 74-5). The significant detail about these results is that, even if the naming pattern was used, it cannot be described as having been in widespread use: a feature mentioned by James (2009: 175), Bigwood (2006: 60), and Sinclair (1990: 7), among others.

Although this specific pattern does not seem to have been in widespread use, at least in the parishes examined, that is not to say that naming for kin did not take place, only that it did not occur in the precise order specified in the naming pattern. It is also likely that children were occasionally named for influential members of the society, with Hamilton-Edwards noting that some were named for patrons, ministers, and doctors (1983: 73).

4.3.1 Naming for parents

As has been stated previously, many families practised patrilineal and matrilineal naming but yet were not following the naming pattern. Of the 331 families with three sons and three daughters which exhibited parental naming, 38.07% were conclusively not following the naming pattern. Although some of the examples of parental naming may possibly have been coincidental, this is doubtful as the name-stock was relatively large; therefore, the majority of these families are likely to have been consciously naming the child for the parent, while not following the naming pattern. When the overall rates of parental naming are examined, it seems that, in parishes such as Govan, honouring the parents' names was considered particularly important. In general, it was less popular to name a daughter for her mother, with an average of 40.02% of families exhibiting patrilineal naming and 38.52% exhibiting

matrilineal naming. This may be related to the process of inheritance, as the intended heir often took the father's name (Coster 2002: 180). However, when the parishes are examined separately, Earlston and Dingwall experience higher rates of matrilineal naming. At present, it is unknown what this difference is due to, as it contradicts the evidence of Beith, Govan, and scholars such as Corkery (2000: 68). It is hoped that, with research into other parishes of those areas, the reason for these conflicting rates can be discovered.

Parish	**Father and son share a name (%)**	**Mother and daughter share a name (%)**
Beith	49.5	40
Govan	54.04	40.51
Earlston	37.26	48.72
Dingwall	19.28	24.86

Despite being unable to establish why the rates of parent-child name-sharing are contrasting, it is still clear that a significant proportion of families in all parishes exhibited patrilineal or matrilineal naming. Therefore, it can be stated that, in the parishes studied, it was considered important to name a child for its parent.

4.3.2 Naming for grandparents

In those families for which ancestral links could be created, the names of grandparents were often used for children, although not in the order specified by the naming pattern. For example, Moses Park had three sons, two of whom could be later traced: Thomas (646/2 FR339) and John (646/2 FR351). Thomas named his first son Thomas (646/2 FR384), and his second son was named Moses (646/2 FR393), presumably after the grandfather. John had one son, who was also named Moses (646/2 FR395). Both of these fathers named their sons after the paternal grandfather (and also had a daughter who shared a name with the paternal

grandmother), but neither was following the naming pattern: Thomas's first son should have been named Moses, rather than the second, and the names of John's daughters showed that he was not following the naming pattern.

Similarly, Neil Tosh and Mary Story had a son, James (646/1 FR133) who later had six children with Agnes Lawson. James's first son was named James (646/1 FR209) and the third named Neil (646/2 FR340), presumably after the grandfather. The eldest daughter was named Agnes (646/1 FR204), and therefore shared her mother's name, but the second daughter was named Mary (646/2 FR324), therefore sharing her paternal grandmother's name. Unfortunately, the parents of Agnes Lawson could not be ascertained so it was unknown whether the remaining children shared a name with them. In this example, it seems probable that James Tosh honoured his parents by giving their names to his own children; however, he was not following the specified naming pattern as the eldest children were named after himself and his wife.

4.3.3 Naming for parents' siblings

In other families, it seems likely that children were being named for aunts and uncles: Walter Angus, for example, son of Walter Angus (646/1 FR73), had three sons, none of whom were named for the paternal grandfather, and, although the paternal grandmother's name was used, it did not appear until the arrival of the seventh daughter (646/1 FR205). As the grandmother's name was Janet, the second most popular name, it is also possible that the name-sharing was coincidental. However, Walter had three siblings and the names of all three are represented in those given to his children: Jean (aunt: 646/1 FR78; daughter: 646/1 FR202), Elizabeth (aunt: 646/1 FR85; daughter: 646/1 FR162), and John (uncle: 646/1 FR91; son: 646/1 FR158). Here it appears that the names of the father's siblings are being given to the children; the mother's siblings are unfortunately not known.

4.3.4 Substitution

The rate of substitution, the practice of naming a child after a previously deceased same-sex sibling, was unfortunately difficult to assess. In many parishes, there were either no burial records or they did not cover a substantial period (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 56). The Govan OPRs, for example, did not contain any eighteenth-century burial records (http://www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/pdf/list-of-oprs-621to660.pdf), and the Beith burial records were only available for the period 1783-1787 (http://www.scotlandspeoplehub.gov.uk/pdf/list-of-oprs-576to620.pdf). Although there were burial records for both Dingwall and Earlston, these also covered a short period of time and were not suitable for comprehensive analysis. In many of the records which were available, it was discovered that the entries lacked information, often with no indication of the name, age, or sex of the child.

Although the rate of substitution was difficult to calculate, it is certainly the case that substitution did occur in eighteenth-century Scotland. This practice has been remarked upon by Sinclair (1990: 7) and Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 72), and examples have also been found in the parishes studied. Although the burial registers did not contain substantial information, some clerks would occasionally update a child's baptismal record if that child had later died. In the Dingwall records, for example, it was indicated in the baptismal entry for Donald, second son of Hector Gray and Helen Kemp, that he died in February 1789, aged two (062/00 0010 0134). On February 25th 1789, and thus shortly after the death of his brother, Hector Gray and Helen Kemp's third son was baptised Donald (062/00 0010 0143). Similarly, the second son of John Burgess and Helen MacDonald, Colin, died aged four in April 1796 (062/00 0010 0150). Their third son was then baptised Colin (062/00 0010 0161).

It is apparent from these examples that substitution did occur in these parishes, but the usage of this practice could not be further investigated due to limited evidence. Substitution may

have impacted the usage of a naming pattern, as the sequence would potentially be interrupted by the duplication of a name. When analysing the records in Chapter 3, only those families with three or more children with unique names were examined; this ensured that, if the naming pattern was being followed in families where substitution had interrupted the sequence, the family was not wrongly regarded as definitively not following the pattern.

4.3.5 Naming for godparents

Naming for godparents was discussed in sections 3.1.1.4, 3.2.1.4, 3.3.1.4, and 3.4.1.4, with the conclusion that it was unlikely that godparental influence would have disrupted usage of the naming pattern. This conclusion was based on the limited number of records which referenced godparents and the small proportion of those which contained godparent-child name-sharing. However, although naming for godparents was not so widespread as to frequently interrupt usage of the naming pattern, it is true that some children were named for their godparents.

In total, 441 records contained note of a godparent. These 441 entries referred to 217 males and 224 females; 174 (169 male and five female) of these were suitable for analysis. 267 records were discounted: in most cases, the godparent and child could not share a name due to being opposite sexes; in others, the godparent and parent shared a name and it could not be known whether name-sharing was parental or godparental.

Of the remaining 174 records, 46 contained an example of godparent-child name-sharing: 26.45%. Although records where the godparent and parent shared a name were discounted, it is possible that name-sharing may be coincidental due to the godparent sharing a name with another relative. However, as the proportion of godparent-child name-sharing is reasonably high, it is likely that some children were deliberately named for their godparent. This can be tested by the examination of godparents with uncommon first names. For example, the son of Matthew Smith and Isabel Rankin had a sponsor named Zacharias Steill, and the child was also named Zacharias (646/1 FR113). In this parish, the name Zacharias was uncommon, being

given to only eight children, and it did not feature in the names of the child's close relatives. It is therefore likely that the child was named for his godfather.

As discussed in Section 1.3, Hamilton-Edwards has suggested that godparents were chosen because they had the same first name as the relative who was to share a name with the child, according to the specific naming pattern (1983: 54). If this were true, it could be expected that almost 100% of children with a same-sex godparent would share a name with them. However, the rate of name-sharing was found to be 26.45%; this suggests that, if Hamilton-Edward's theory is at all correct, it was practised by, at best, a quarter of families where the child had a same-sex godparent.

4.3.6 Surnames as first names

In all of the parishes, there was evidence of children being given surnames as first names. Overall, 45 names were probably transferred uses of surnames, with examples being *Eglinton*, *Hunter*, *Mckinlay*, *Thomson*, and *Somerville*. 18 females were given one of 15 names, and 55 males were given one of 35 names. There were overlaps in the male and female name-stock, with five names – including *Hamilton*, *Maxwell*, and *Smeilie* – being used for both males and females.

In Beith, four male children were given the first name *Ralston* (see Appendix C); Ralston was the surname of the local laird (581/2 FR334), and the family had owned the estate for the majority of the period studied, Gavin Ralston having sold it in 1771 (http://www.ralstongenealogy.com/sctln.htm). It was thus a well-known name, belonging to a powerful family, and it is possible that its usage as a first name in the Beith community was either due to affection and respect for the family (Redmonds 2004: 126) or one of the family had agreed to be sponsor to the child, with the name then being transferred (Steel 1962: 39).

Similarly, in the Govan parish, three male children and one female child were given the name *Maxwell* (see Appendix D). According to the Old Statistical Account, Sir John Maxwell owned the Pollock estate (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan) and it seems plausible that the children were baptised Maxwell in reference to him and his family.

Some children were baptised with the surnames of relatives, rather than the surnames of influential residents of the parish. For example, the daughter of John McIndoe and Janet Somervail was baptised with her mother's maiden name, being named Somervail McIndoe (646/2 FR378). Somervail, later spelled *Somerville*, named her own daughter Somerville (646/2 FR413) in an instance of matrilineal naming, and her sister Janet (646/2 FR352) also named her daughter Somerville (646/2 FR412). It cannot be known whether Janet's daughter was named Somerville for her aunt, her cousin, or her maternal grandmother's maiden name.

There are some cases where it is unknown whether the name was intended to be a transferred surname, or whether it was given as a first name in its own right. *Rose* was an uncommon name, with no occurrences in Govan or Earlston, four occurrences in Beith, and one occurrence in Dingwall. In Dingwall, Rose Munro, daughter of George Munro and Barbara MacIntosh, was baptised in 1785 (062/00 0010 0133). The name had not previously been represented in the names of the mothers in the baptismal records, so, although possible, it is unlikely that the child had been given the name in honour of an existing adult Rose. However, Rose had been the surname of 16 baptised children, and had also been the surname of two of the town's ministers, Adam Rose and Daniel Rose. It is unknown whether Rose was baptised by either of these ministers. She was baptised in 1785; Adam Rose had been minister during an earlier period, having had his own children in the period 1745-1756 (first recorded child: 062/00 0010 0080; last recorded child: 062/00 0010 0096), and Daniel Rose was the minister in session when the Old Statistical Accounts were compiled during the 1790s (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ross%20and%20Cromarty/Dingwall/3/1). The surname was also

used by other members of the parish, including John Rose, who had a daughter Christian in 1781 (062/00 0010 0121), and Captain Charles Rose, who had two children in the late 1790s (062/00 0010 0163; 062/00 0010 0170). It seems likely that the child was baptised Rose due to the presence of the name in the surname-stock of the parish; it had been the surname of prominent members of the community, and she was potentially baptised by a minister holding that name.

Overall, with 73 of 23935 children being given a surname as a first name, the practice was not in widespread use. However, it was in consistent use, with those 73 children representing all four parishes and being baptised throughout the period studied.

4.3.7 Naming for influential townsfolk

A significant proportion of the children in the previous section were baptised with the surname of a prominent member of society; this section concerns those children who were baptised with the first name of influential townsfolk.

It was decided to analyse only the names of the parishes' ministers, as they were frequently referred to in the baptismal records and it was therefore possible to compile a list of their names and the dates they held the position; the occupations of others in the community are mentioned less regularly.

It has been stated by scholars including Steel (1962: 39), Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 73), and Cory (1990: 69) that the first child baptised by a minister in a Scottish parish was traditionally named after him. No record notes were found which indicated a child being the first baptised by any particular minister. However, the minister was an important member of the community and, as suggested by the analysis of the name Rose in section 4.3.5 and supported by Bigwood (2006: 60), children were named after them even if they were not the first to be baptised by them. It is therefore possible that the minister's first name would be in more frequent usage during and directly after his time in the position.

It was decided that, if a minister's name had been one of the top five male names for that particular parish, the names would not be analysed. Being in widespread use, it is more likely that there were other prominent members of society who had the same name and may have influenced its popularity. For example, Beith's schoolmaster in 1762 was John Allison (581/2 FR395); if the name John had become more popular in the 1760s, it would be unknown whether the change was attributable to the schoolmaster or to the minister, John Witherspoon, or indeed to someone else entirely. It was decided, therefore, to concentrate the analysis on those ministers who had less common names.

The names of ministers were found in the Old Statistical Accounts and notes made alongside baptismal entries in the records.

Known ministers for Beith are:

- Robert Cameron: in 1719 (581/2 FR282)
- David Ewing: in 1730 (581/2 FR316)
- William Leechman: 1736-1744 (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Beith)
- John Witherspoon: 1744-1758 (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Beith)
- David McClellan: from 1758 (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Beith)
- William Thomson: in 1794 (581/2 FR497)

The first names of Robert Cameron, William Leechman, John Witherspoon, and William Thomson all appear in the top five names for Beith; no analysis was therefore conducted for these ministers. The name *David* was used consistently throughout the eighteenth century in

Govan, and it therefore does not seem that David Ewing or David McClellan influenced its popularity.

Known ministers for Govan are:

- Charles Coolls: in 1732 (646/1 FR140)
- William Wilson: in 1740 (646/1 FR162)
- William Thom: in 1755 (646/1 FR210)
- James Fisher: in 1761 (646/2 FR337)
- John Pollock: 1790s (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan)

The first names of William Wilson, William Thom, James Fisher, and John Pollock appear in the top five male names for Govan; therefore, no analysis was conducted. The name *Charles* was used throughout the eighteenth century in Govan, with similar levels of use in each decade. There were no discernible differences in its usage and it therefore does not appear to be the case that children were being named for Charles Coolls.

Known ministers for Earlston are:

- George Johnston: in 1702 (736/00 0010 0027)
- John Goudy: minimum period 1707-1718 (736/00 0010 0039; 736/00 0010 0066)
- John Gowdie: minimum period 1739-1777 (736/00 0010 0094; 736/00 0010 0154)
- Laurence Johnston: minimum period 1779 - 1790s (736/00 0010 0156; http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/1791-99/Berwick/Earlston)

The first names of George Johnston, John Goudy, and John Gowdie feature in the top five male names of Earlston, and no analysis was therefore conducted for these ministers. No children in the Earlston parish were named Laurence.

Known ministers for Dingwall are:

- John Bayn – in 1720 (062/00 0010 0072)
- Adam Rose – minimum period 1745-1756 (062/00 0010 0080; 062/00 0010 0096)
- Daniel Rose – 1790s (http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ross%20and%20Cromarty/Dingwall)

The first name of John Bayn was the most popular name in Dingwall, and it was therefore not analysed for changes in popularity.

The name *Adam* was not used in the parish until after the appointment of Adam Rose as minister. However, it did not become popular – aside from an instance of patrilineal naming by the minister himself, only one child was baptised Adam (062/00 0010 0096), with this baptism dating to the period in which Adam Rose was minister.

Four children were named Daniel. One of the entries concerned the baptism of the minister himself, in 1755 (062/00 0010 0093). The other three date from the period 1788-1800 (062/00 0010 0141; 062/00 0010 0164; 062/00 0010 0172). After representing only one child in the period 1700-1787, the name accounted for 1.08% of all male baptisms in the period 1788-1800. According to the data collected from the baptismal records, there were no fathers or godfathers named Daniel in this parish; it therefore seems likely that these three children were named for the minister, or the parents learned of the name due to its being borne by the minister.

Although, in most parishes, the name of the minister did not seem to become more popular during his time in the position, this was not the case in Dingwall: both *Adam* and *Daniel* were first used once the ministers Adam Rose and Daniel Rose respectively were each fulfilling the role (if the baptism of Daniel Rose himself is excluded). As neither name had been previously used, it is possible that these names came into use because the minister had increased awareness of the name, rather than the children being specifically named to honour him. This

would explain why, in Govan, there was no increase in the usage of *Charles*, after Charles Coolls: the name had been regularly used prior to his taking up the position, and parents were therefore already aware of it. There were no usages of *Laurence*, after Laurence Johnstone, in Earlston; although this contrasts with *Adam* and *Daniel* in that there seems to have been no heightened awareness of the name, the lack of usage does highlight that children were not being named after the minister.

4.3.8 Conclusion

Although the majority of children were not named according to a specific pattern, there were discernible influences on naming in the parishes studied. It was rare to find a family where at least one child did not share a name with a relative, whether within the immediate or extended family. Name-sharing occurred most often between child and parent or grandparent, but name-sharing with aunts, uncles, and deceased elder siblings was also found. In the few records where a godparent's name was given and name-sharing could occur, more than a quarter of children did share a name with the godparent. It was also discovered that some children were named for influential members of society, with a significant number being baptised with the surname of a local landowner or similar; this may indicate tenancy and perhaps also sponsorship of the child (Steel 1962: 39), but this could not be determined from the baptismal records. Overall, despite some children being named for godparents, landowners, and potentially ministers, the data suggest that it was more important to name for relatives, particularly parents and grandparents. Thus, although the specific naming pattern was not in widespread use, it is apparent that many children were named after family members; they were simply not named for them in the order dictated by the pattern.

4.4 Implications

As previously stated, many scholars have claimed that a specific naming pattern was in widespread use in Early Modern Scotland (e.g. Cory 1990; James 2009; Hamilton-Edwards

1983); this theory has been refuted by the evidence of this research project. This suggests that more research is required into Scottish naming, to establish if other naming patterns were instead in use and to evaluate all potential influences on naming. Such research into naming has proved valuable in countries such as France and Italy (Wilson 1998), and would be equally worthwhile in Scotland.

The fact that some of the established rules on Scottish record-keeping are not being followed in the studied parishes serves to indicate that a large proportion of Scottish records have in fact not been examined, and further supports the importance of this type of study. For example, Steel writes that, in Scotland, *Elizabeth* was usually written *Elisabeth* as the 'z' grapheme was used to represent the sound found in 'Menzies' and 'Culzean' (1970: 45). However, in Govan, there were 150 occurrences of *Elisabeth* and 433 of *Elizabeth* and, in Earlston, there were 13 occurrences of *Elisabeth* and 46 of *Elizabeth*. Of the four parishes, only Dingwall saw more occurrences of *Elisabeth* (32) than *Elizabeth* (14). This suggests that previously established theories on Scottish naming would benefit from being re-examined, and supports the earlier statement that many Scottish records have not yet been analysed.

This research has highlighted a need for comparative studies of English and Scottish naming. Steel has claimed that "[t]he Scots are much more family conscious than the English" (1970: vii), which suggests that there is a higher rate of name-sharing between children and family members in Scotland than in England. However, although analysis of patrilineal and matrilineal naming showed that two of the parishes exhibited rates of parental naming close to those seen in England (Crook: in press), the remaining parishes had markedly different rates of parental naming. These contrasting rates indicate that there were regional naming systems, as opposed to a national naming system; comparative studies of English and Scottish naming would establish which Scottish regions shared common naming traditions with English areas. Such research would be beneficial to sociological studies as well as to naming studies, as the

results would show which English and Scottish regions had also potentially shared cultural traditions, for example.

The results of this research project also have implications for other areas of study, such as genealogy. As Moody says, "genealogy has never enjoyed very high scientific credentials" (1988: 82), and it is hoped that methodologies for genealogical research may be enhanced by the incorporation of statistical analysis, such as that employed in this study.

Many resources concerning genealogical research have discussed the naming pattern, suggesting that the majority of Scottish families followed it (e.g. James 2009: 176; Sinclair 1990: 7), and advise that people looking to investigate their family tree assume the pattern was used by their own ancestors. For example, the Scotland's People website acknowledges that the pattern was not used by all families, but suggests that those struggling with finding the correct record adhere to it: "it can still be helpful in determining the correct entry when confronting the relative lack of information in the OPRs." (http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?561) Such advice has potentially caused people to wrongly assume that the pattern exists in their own ancestry, thus strengthening belief in a naming system for which quantitative analysis had not been conducted and causing the theory to be circular in nature. This research, although concerning only four parishes, can be said to represent a cross-section of Scotland, due to those parishes being carefully selected to represent linguistic, geographical, and social variables. The results therefore suggest that the majority of families in Early Modern Scotland were not using the naming pattern; consequently, for future sets of guidelines on Scottish genealogical research, the writer should avoid advising that the pattern will be found.

These results also have implications for future sociological studies. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 71) and James (2009: 176) have both suggested that the usage of a specific naming pattern is representative of a conventional society, where it is important to

follow tradition. As the majority of Scottish families do not seem to have followed the naming pattern, their conclusion should be re-examined.

Conclusion

This study has established that the majority of Scottish families in the Early Modern period are unlikely to have used the naming pattern which has been stated to have been in widespread use (e.g. James 2009; Hamilton-Edwards 1983; Bigwood 2006). This conclusion is based on the results of various types of analysis:

- No definite examples of the pattern being used were found in the four parishes studied, after the study of 50 families for which ancestral links could be determined.
- It was proven that 44.74% of families with both three sons and three daughters were not following the naming pattern; this analysis involved the examination of 371 families.
- It was proven that 28.45% of families with three sons and 37.26% of families with three daughters were not following the pattern. After considering the results from another stage of analysis, it was estimated that 58.42% of larger families were not using the naming pattern. This analysis involved the examination of 1374 families.

As no examples of the pattern being used could be found, and it was estimated that almost 60% of larger families were not following the pattern, it can be concluded that the naming pattern commonly believed to have been in widespread use was in fact not used by the majority of the population. Although 58.42% of larger families were not following the pattern, it cannot be assumed that the remaining 41.58% of families were following the naming pattern. Some families may have practised patrilineal and/or matrilineal naming, but with the intention to honour the child's parent and not to follow a specific naming pattern.

In this study, attention was also paid to other aspects of naming to ascertain whether they would be indicative of or disrupt the naming pattern, should it be in use.

- Godparents were not thought to have been influential in the naming process, with less than one percent of the population having a recorded godparent in three of the parishes. In the fourth parish, Dingwall, 16.48% had a recorded godparent. The rate of godparent-child name-sharing ranged from 15.63% to 23.08%, but, in many of those cases, the child may have been named for the parent or grandparent rather than the godparent. For each of the four parishes, it was concluded that it was not considered important to give the godparent's name to the child, and, therefore, naming for a godparent was unlikely to have disrupted any usage of the naming pattern.
- It was argued that the rates of parent-child name-sharing found in the Beith and Govan parishes suggested that the naming pattern was not being widely followed; the rates of name-sharing were high and were similar to those found in English parishes (Crook: in press). The rates of name-sharing in Earlston and Dingwall suggested that, if the pattern were in use, it would be in more regular use in those parishes than in Beith and Govan. However, the analysis of larger families in Earlston and Dingwall indicated that the naming pattern was also unlikely to have been in widespread use.
- The size and distribution of the name-stock was analysed as, with a smaller name-stock and less variation, coincidental name-sharing is more likely. The name-stocks for all parishes were not particularly small, but lack of variation was a common feature. This would indicate that, in cases where the naming pattern may have been used, name-sharing may have been coincidental rather than deliberate. If name-sharing has been coincidental, the proportion of families which may have been following the naming pattern would be lower than estimated.

After analysis of potential influences on naming, it was concluded that many children were in fact being named for direct family; they were simply not being named for them in the order specified by the naming pattern. Some children were named for godparents and influential

members of the community, but it was more common to find children sharing names with parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles.

Overall, the majority of families analysed in this study were unlikely to have been following a traditional Scottish naming pattern. As the parishes were selected to represent a cross-section of Scotland, it could be claimed that the majority of Scottish families, as opposed to the majority of those families represented in this research, did not follow a traditional naming pattern. However, this study concerned only four parishes and certain areas of Scotland have therefore not been represented; the naming pattern may be in more widespread usage in those areas. Bigwood has suggested that the pattern was particularly prominent in the West Highland area (2006: 60), and Bramwell has stated the pattern is occasionally still used in the Western Isles (2007: 51). This study has attempted to determine the usage of a traditional naming pattern in a selection of Scottish parishes, but further quantitative research is required to establish its usage in other areas for which statistical analysis has not yet been conducted.

Appendix A: Male Names in All Parishes

- 12280 records

	Name	No. of total occurrences	Overall popularity (%)
1	John	2895	23.57
2	James	1812	14.76
3	William	1769	14.41
4	Robert	1381	11.25
5	Thomas	612	4.98
6	Alexander	557	4.54
7	George	443	3.61
8	Andrew	428	3.49
9	David	309	2.52
10	Hugh	275	2.24
11	Archibald	222	1.81
12	Matthew	142	1.16
13	Donald	134	1.09
14	Daniel	86	0.7
15	Patrick	81	0.66
16	Walter	80	0.65
17	Peter	76	0.62
18	Allan	66	0.54
19	Francis	60	0.49
20 =	Adam	54	0.44
20 =	Charles	54	0.44
22	Henry	52	0.42
23	Duncan	49	0.4
24	Kenneth	47	0.38
25	Colin	41	0.33
26	Gavin	35	0.29
27	Joseph	31	0.25
28	Roderick	29	0.24
29 =	Neil	23	0.19
29 =	Samuel	23	0.19
31	Murdoch	20	0.16
32 =	Ninian	19	0.15
32 =	Rory	19	0.15
34	Richard	18	0.15
35 =	Murdo	15	0.12
35 =	Stephen	15	0.12
37	Hector	14	0.11
38	Gabriel	12	0.1
39 =	Malcolm	11	0.09
39 =	Michael	11	0.09
39 =	Ranald	11	0.09

42	Edward	10	0.08
43	Arthur	9	0.07
44	Zacharias	8	0.07
45 =	Ebenezer	7	0.06
45 =	Nicol	7	0.06
45 =	Philip	7	0.06
45 =	Simon	7	0.06
49	Mungo	6	0.05
50 =	Dougall	5	0.04
50 =	Humphrey	5	0.04
50 =	Moses	5	0.04
50 =	Ronald	5	0.04
54 =	Angus	4	0.03
54 =	Baily	4	0.03
54 =	Dougald	4	0.03
54 =	Finlay	4	0.03
54 =	Mark	4	0.03
54 =	Ralston	4	0.03
59 =	Abraham	3	0.02
59 =	Basil	3	0.02
59 =	Benjamin	3	0.02
59 =	Bernard	3	0.02
59 =	Christopher	3	0.02
59 =	Douglas	3	0.02
59 =	Gilbert	3	0.02
59 =	Giles	3	0.02
59 =	Harry	3	0.02
59 =	Isaac	3	0.02
59 =	Maxwell	3	0.02
59 =	Montgomery	3	0.02
59 =	Paul	3	0.02
59 =	Sanders	3	0.02
59 =	Smelie	3	0.02
75 =	Barnet	2	0.02
75 =	Bartholomew	2	0.02
75 =	Bowman	2	0.02
75 =	Bryce	2	0.02
75 =	Claud	2	0.02
75 =	Cornelius	2	0.02
75 =	Ezekiel	2	0.02
75 =	Harvie	2	0.02
75 =	Johnston	2	0.02
75 =	Lancelot	2	0.02
75 =	Laurence	2	0.02
75 =	Muir	2	0.02
75 =	Quantine	2	0.02
75 =	Ritchie	2	0.02
75 =	Rowan	2	0.02
75 =	Sutherland	2	0.02
75 =	Wilson	2	0.02

92 =	Aidh	1	0.01
92 =	Aliser	1	0.01
92 =	Allay	1	0.01
92 =	Anthony	1	0.01
92 =	Ay	1	0.01
92 =	Barklay	1	0.01
92 =	Barny	1	0.01
92 =	Belleward	1	0.01
92 =	Bowie	1	0.01
92 =	Boyd	1	0.01
92 =	Breadie	1	0.01
92 =	Cesar	1	0.01
92 =	Christo	1	0.01
92 =	Clem	1	0.01
92 =	Connel	1	0.01
92 =	Cumming	1	0.01
92 =	Dewar	1	0.01
92 =	Dick	1	0.01
92 =	Eglinton	1	0.01
92 =	Elijah	1	0.01
92 =	Emilius	1	0.01
92 =	Evans	1	0.01
92 =	Ferquard	1	0.01
92 =	Forbus	1	0.01
92 =	Fulton	1	0.01
92 =	Gamahel	1	0.01
92 =	Gamalie	1	0.01
92 =	Gibson	1	0.01
92 =	Gilandrigh	1	0.01
92 =	Gillie	1	0.01
92 =	Govan	1	0.01
92 =	Gualter	1	0.01
92 =	Hamilton	1	0.01
92 =	Hendry	1	0.01
92 =	Jamieson	1	0.01
92 =	Jeremy	1	0.01
92 =	Jiminia	1	0.01
92 =	Jonah	1	0.01
92 =	Jonas	1	0.01
92 =	Josiah	1	0.01
92 =	Keith	1	0.01
92 =	Lachlan	1	0.01
92 =	Lauchlan	1	0.01
92 =	Linis	1	0.01
92 =	Ludavick	1	0.01
92 =	Marcus	1	0.01
92 =	Marmaduke	1	0.01
92 =	Martin	1	0.01
92 =	Nathaniel	1	0.01
92 =	Nicholas	1	0.01

92 =	Norris	1	0.01
92 =	Orr	1	0.01
92 =	Peterny	1	0.01
92 =	Pollock	1	0.01
92 =	Reuben	1	0.01
92 =	Robertson	1	0.01
92 =	Solomon	1	0.01
92 =	Stewart	1	0.01
92 =	Stonely	1	0.01
92 =	Strother	1	0.01
92 =	Struan	1	0.01
92 =	Thomson	1	0.01
92 =	Vernor	1	0.01
92 =	Walker	1	0.01
92 =	Zorobabel	1	0.01

Appendix B: Female Names in All Parishes

- 11655 records

	Name	No. of total occurrences	Overall popularity (%)
1	Margaret	2018	17.31
2	Janet	1533	13.15
3	Jean	1204	10.33
4	Mary	1137	9.76
5	Agnes	1024	8.79
6	Elizabeth	981	8.42
7	Isabel	705	6.05
8	Ann	393	3.37
9	Marion	320	2.75
10	Katherine	311	2.67
11	Christian	246	2.11
12	Helen	219	1.88
13	Jenet	197	1.69
14	Anna	149	1.28
15	Martha	142	1.22
16	Barbara	121	1.04
17	Grizell	99	0.85
18	Betty	58	0.5
19	Sarah	54	0.46
20	Jane	49	0.42
21	Susanna	45	0.39
22 =	Elspeth	37	0.32
22 =	Lillias	37	0.32
24	Bessie	36	0.31
25	Annabel	34	0.29
26	Jonet	29	0.25
27	Joanet	28	0.24
28 =	Alison	27	0.23
28 =	Rachel	27	0.23
30	Nanse	23	0.2
31	Rebecca	20	0.17
32	Bethia	17	0.15
33	Hannah	16	0.14
34	Annabella	15	0.13
35 =	Euphan	14	0.12
35 =	Susan	14	0.12
37 =	Joan	10	0.09
37 =	Lillie	10	0.09
37 =	Sophia	10	0.09
40	Nelly	9	0.08
41 =	Robina	8	0.07

41 =	Ursula	8	0.07
43 =	Beatrix	7	0.06
43 =	Christy	7	0.06
43 =	Eupham	7	0.06
43 =	Florence	7	0.06
43 =	Isabella	7	0.06
43 =	Magdalene	7	0.06
49	Abigail	6	0.05
50 =	Dorothea	5	0.04
50 =	Elison	5	0.04
50 =	Henrietta	5	0.04
50 =	Marjory	5	0.04
50 =	Prudence	5	0.04
50 =	Rose	5	0.04
56 =	Alexandrina	4	0.03
56 =	Eleonora	4	0.03
56 =	Fanny	4	0.03
56 =	Joanna	4	0.03
56 =	May	4	0.03
61 =	Amelia	3	0.03
61 =	Christen	3	0.03
61 =	Dorothy	3	0.03
61 =	Euphemia	3	0.03
61 =	Flory	3	0.03
61 =	Frances	3	0.03
61 =	Jacobina	3	0.03
61 =	Lydia	3	0.03
61 =	Penelope	3	0.03
61 =	Somerville	3	0.03
70 =	Agatha	2	0.02
70 =	Anny	2	0.02
70 =	Charlotte	2	0.02
70 =	Clementina	2	0.02
70 =	Curstie	2	0.02
70 =	Dinah	2	0.02
70 =	Euphine	2	0.02
70 =	Geills	2	0.02
70 =	Grace	2	0.02
70 =	Greadach	2	0.02
70 =	Jackie	2	0.02
70 =	Julia	2	0.02
70 =	Justina	2	0.02
70 =	Ruth	2	0.02
70 =	Smeilie	2	0.02
70 =	Violet	2	0.02
70 =	Wilhelmina	2	0.02
88 =	Alice	1	0.01
88 =	Annas	1	0.01
88 =	Arabina	1	0.01
88 =	Augusta	1	0.01

88 =	Baillie	1	0.01
88 =	Ban	1	0.01
88 =	Barabil	1	0.01
88 =	Basilea	1	0.01
88 =	Bernarda	1	0.01
88 =	Bethie	1	0.01
88 =	Braidie	1	0.01
88 =	Bridget	1	0.01
88 =	Christiana	1	0.01
88 =	Cicily	1	0.01
88 =	Cycil	1	0.01
88 =	Doboch	1	0.01
88 =	Eilspie	1	0.01
88 =	Eleonor	1	0.01
88 =	Elispa	1	0.01
88 =	Elispat	1	0.01
88 =	Eliza	1	0.01
88 =	Euphia	1	0.01
88 =	Euphie	1	0.01
88 =	Flora	1	0.01
88 =	Francisess	1	0.01
88 =	Francissa	1	0.01
88 =	Gey	1	0.01
88 =	Gordon	1	0.01
88 =	Haig	1	0.01
88 =	Hallian	1	0.01
88 =	Hamilton	1	0.01
88 =	Helender	1	0.01
88 =	Hillias	1	0.01
88 =	Hilson	1	0.01
88 =	Hunter	1	0.01
88 =	Jarvie	1	0.01
88 =	Jeanet	1	0.01
88 =	Jemima	1	0.01
88 =	Jinie	1	0.01
88 =	John	1	0.01
88 =	July	1	0.01
88 =	Mainy	1	0.01
88 =	Manjerry	1	0.01
88 =	Maxwel	1	0.01
88 =	Mckinlay	1	0.01
88 =	McVey	1	0.01
88 =	Millisint	1	0.01
88 =	Mone	1	0.01
88 =	Nanie	1	0.01
88 =	Oslay	1	0.01
88 =	Patricia	1	0.01
88 =	Primrose	1	0.01
88 =	Roberta	1	0.01
88 =	Rosanna	1	0.01

88 =	Rosina	1	0.01
88 =	Sibby	1	0.01
88 =	Sissy	1	0.01
88 =	Taminey	1	0.01
88 =	Wylie	1	0.01

Appendix C: All Names in the Beith Parish

- 6924 records (3532 males; 3392 females)

	Name	Sex	No. of uses	Usage per male/female population (%)	Overall usage (%)
1	John	M	872	24.68	12.59
2	Margaret	F	659	19.43	9.52
3	William	M	635	17.97	9.17
4	Robert	M	606	17.15	8.75
5	Jean	F	560	16.51	8.09
6	Janet	F	488	14.39	7.05
7	James	M	463	13.1	6.69
8	Mary	F	395	11.65	5.7
9	Elizabeth	F	288	8.49	4.16
10	Agnes	F	249	7.34	3.6
11	Hugh	M	182	5.15	2.63
12	Thomas	M	161	4.56	2.33
13	Ann	F	152	4.48	2.2
14	Marion	F	136	4.01	1.96
15	Andrew	M	133	3.76	1.92
16	David	M	123	3.48	1.78
17	Martha	F	98	2.89	1.42
18	Isabel	F	87	2.56	1.26
19	Alexander	M	81	2.29	1.17
20	Barbara	F	65	1.92	0.94
21	Matthew	M	36	1.02	0.52
22	George	M	31	0.88	0.45
23 =	Helen	F	29	0.85	0.42
23 =	Patrick	M	29	0.82	0.42
25 =	Daniel	M	25	0.71	0.36
25 =	Gavin	M	25	0.71	0.36
27	Katherine	F	22	0.65	0.32
28	Francis	M	18	0.51	0.26
29 =	Jane	F	16	0.47	0.23
29 =	Samuel	M	16	0.45	0.23
31	Allan	M	14	0.4	0.2
32	Annabella	F	13	0.38	0.19
33	Sarah	F	12	0.35	0.17
34 =	Christian	F	11	0.32	0.16
34 =	Susanna	F	11	0.32	0.16
36 =	Rebecca	F	10	0.29	0.14
36 =	Henry	M	10	0.28	0.14
38 =	Susan	F	9	0.27	0.13
38 =	Archibald	M	9	0.25	0.13
40	Ursula	F	8	0.24	0.12
41	Grizell	F	7	0.21	0.1

42	Annabel	F	6	0.18	0.09
43 =	Prudence	F	5	0.15	0.07
43 =	Joseph	M	5	0.14	0.07
43 =	Neil	M	5	0.14	0.07
43 =	Peter	M	5	0.14	0.07
47 =	Isabella	F	4	0.12	0.06
47 =	Rose	F	4	0.12	0.06
47 =	Adam	M	4	0.11	0.06
47 =	Humphrey	M	4	0. 11	0.06
47 =	Ralston	M	4	0.11	0.06
52 =	Beatrix	F	3	0.09	0.04
52 =	Euphan	F	3	0.09	0.04
52 =	Magdalene	F	3	0.09	0.04
52 =	Charles	M	3	0.08	0.04
52 =	Montgomery	M	3	0.08	0.04
52 =	Walter	M	3	0.08	0.04
58 =	Agatha	F	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Jackie	F	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Marjory	F	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Rachel	F	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Duncan	M	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Johnston	M	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Nicol	M	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Philip	M	2	0.06	0.03
58 =	Wilson	M	2	0.06	0.03
67 =	Alice	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Anna	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Bessy	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Bethia	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Betty	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Bridget	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Christiana	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Clementina	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Dina	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Dorothy	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Elispa	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Elspeth	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Fanny	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Florence	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Francissa	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Grace	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Hallian	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Hannah	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Jemima	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Joanna	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Julia	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Lillias	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Lily	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Lydia	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	May	F	1	0.03	0.01

67 =	McVey	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Mone	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Nelly	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Penelope	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Robina	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Sibby	F	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Arthur	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Bryce	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Clem	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Cumming	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Dougald	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Douglas	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Edward	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Fulton	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Gibson	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Hamilton	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Josiah	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Keith	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Malcolm	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Nathaniel	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Nicholas	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Ninian	M	1	0.03	0.01
67 =	Thomson	M	1	0.03	0.01

Appendix D: All Names in the Govan Parish

- 12195 records (6224 males; 5971 females)

	Name	Sex	No. of uses	Usage per male/female population (%)	Overall usage (%)
1	John	M	1513	24.31	12.41
2	James	M	1064	17.11	8.72
3	Margaret	F	970	16.25	7.95
4	Janet	F	912	15.27	7.48
5	William	M	871	13.99	7.14
6	Agnes	F	658	11.02	5.4
7	Robert	M	630	10.12	5.17
8	Elizabeth	F	586	9.81	4.81
9	Mary	F	585	9.8	4.8
10	Jean	F	537	8.99	4.4
11	Isobel	F	326	5.46	2.67
12	Thomas	M	270	4.34	2.21
13	Alexander	M	249	4	2.04
14	Andrew	M	231	3.71	1.89
15	Archibald	M	207	3.33	1.7
16	Katherine	F	197	3.3	1.62
17	George	M	184	2.96	1.51
18	Christian	F	164	2.75	1.34
19	David	M	158	2.54	1.3
20	Marion	F	143	2.4	1.17
21	Anna	F	137	2.29	1.12
22	Helen	F	111	1.86	0.91
23	Ann	F	108	1.81	0.89
24	Matthew	M	106	1.7	0.87
25	Hugh	M	78	1.25	0.64
26	Peter	M	63	1.01	0.52
27 =	Grizell	F	61	1.02	0.5
27 =	Walter	M	61	0.98	0.5
29	Daniel	M	57	0.92	0.47
30	Allan	M	51	0.82	0.42
31	Martha	F	39	0.65	0.32
32	Lillias	F	33	0.55	0.27
33	Jane	F	32	0.54	0.26
34	Charles	M	32	0.51	0.26
35	Sarah	F	31	0.52	0.25
36	Patrick	M	31	0.5	0.25
37 =	Jonet	F	29	0.49	0.24
37 =	Susanna	F	29	0.49	0.24
39	Joanet	F	28	0.47	0.23
40	Annabel	F	25	0.42	0.21
41	Adam	M	24	0.39	0.2

42	Henry	M	24	0.39	0.2
43	Duncan	M	22	0.35	0.18
44	Joseph	M	19	0.31	0.16
45 =	Colin	M	18	0.29	0.15
45 =	Francis	M	18	0.29	0.15
47	Barbara	F	17	0.28	0.14
48 =	Bethia	F	16	0.27	0.13
48 =	Ninian	M	16	0.26	0.13
50 =	Betty	F	15	0.25	0.12
50 =	Stephen	M	15	0.24	0.12
52	Richard	M	13	0.21	0.11
53 =	Bessie	F	12	0.2	0.1
53 =	Gabriel	M	12	0.19	0.1
53 =	Neil	M	12	0.19	0.1
56	Elspeth	F	10	0.17	0.08
57 =	Joan	F	9	0.15	0.07
57 =	Rebecca	F	9	0.15	0.07
57 =	Gavin	M	9	0.14	0.07
60 =	Euphan	F	8	0.13	0.07
60 =	Rachel	F	8	0.13	0.07
60 =	Zacharias	M	8	0.13	0.07
63 =	Lillie	F	7	0.12	0.06
63 =	Donald	M	7	0.11	0.06
65 =	Florence	F	6	0.1	0.05
65 =	Rabina	F	6	0.1	0.05
65 =	Arthur	M	6	0.1	0.05
65 =	Ebenezer	M	6	0.1	0.05
65 =	Malcolm	M	6	0.1	0.05
65 =	Michael	M	6	0.1	0.05
71 =	Dorothea	F	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Elison	F	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Hanna	F	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Dougall	M	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Moses	M	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Samuel	M	5	0.08	0.04
71 =	Simon	M	5	0.08	0.04
78 =	Abigail	F	4	0.07	0.03
78 =	Susan	F	4	0.07	0.03
80 =	Amelia	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Christen	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Eleonora	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Euphemia	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Frances	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Joanna	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Somerville	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Sophia	F	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Abraham	M	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Basil	M	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Christopher	M	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Dougald	M	3	0.05	0.02

80 =	Gilbert	M	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Maxwell	M	3	0.05	0.02
80 =	Smelie	M	3	0.05	0.02
93 =	Beatrix	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Charlotte	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Eupham	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Fanny	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Geills	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Henrietta	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Lydia	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Magdalene	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Marjorie	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Penelope	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Smeilie	F	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Barnet	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Bartholomew	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Benjamin	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Bernard	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Bowman	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Claud	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Cornelius	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Douglas	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Edward	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Ezekiel	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Harvie	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Hector	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Isaac	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Laurence	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Muir	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Murdoch	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Paul	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Quantine	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Ritchie	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Rowan	M	2	0.03	0.02
93 =	Sutherland	M	2	0.03	0.02
125 =	Annabella	F	1	0.02	0.02
125 =	Annas	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Arabina	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Baillie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Ban	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Basilea	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Bethie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Braidie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Cicily	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Clementina	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Cycil	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Dinah	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Dorothy	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Eliza	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Flora	F	1	0.02	0.01

125 =	Flory	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Francisess	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Gey	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Gordon	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Helender	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Hillias	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Isobella	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jarvie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jeanet	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jinie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	John	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	July	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Manjerry	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Maxwel	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Mckinlay	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Nans	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Oslay	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Primrose	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Rosanna	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Rosina	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Ruth	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Taminey	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Wylie	F	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Allay	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Angus	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Barklay	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Belleward	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Bowie	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Boyd	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Breadie	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Bryce	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Cesar	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Connel	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Dewar	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Dick	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Eglinton	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Elijah	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Evans	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Finlay	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Forbus	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Govan	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Gualter	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Hendry	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Humphrey	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jamieson	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jonah	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Jonas	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Lachlan	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Lauchlan	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Linis	M	1	0.02	0.01

125 =	Ludavick	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Marcus	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Marmaduke	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Martin	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Norris	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Orr	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Peterny	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Philip	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Pollock	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Reuben	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Robertson	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Solomon	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Stewart	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Stonely	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Struan	M	1	0.02	0.01
125 =	Walker	M	1	0.02	0.01

Appendix E: All Names in the Earlston Parish

- 3121 records (1630 males; 1491 females)

	Name	Sex	No. of uses	Usage per male/female population (%)	Overall usage (%)
1	John	M	341	20.92	10.93
2	Margaret	F	271	18.18	8.68
3	James	M	256	15.71	8.2
4	Isabel	F	200	13.41	6.41
5	Jenet	F	197	13.21	6.31
6	George	M	187	11.47	5.99
7	William	M	185	11.35	5.93
8	Thomas	M	171	10.49	5.48
9	Robert	M	142	8.71	4.55
10	Agnes	F	113	7.58	3.62
11	Alexander	M	92	5.64	2.95
12	Jean	F	83	5.57	2.63
13	Mary	F	78	5.23	2.5
14	Elizabeth	F	60	4.02	1.92
15	Andrew	M	59	3.62	1.89
16	Helen	F	56	3.76	1.79
17	Janet	F	43	2.88	1.38
18	Betty	F	40	2.68	1.28
19	Marion	F	39	2.62	1.25
20 =	Alison	F	27	1.81	0.87
20 =	Barbara	F	27	1.81	0.87
22	Grizel	F	26	1.74	0.83
23	Catherine	F	25	1.68	0.8
24	Adam	M	24	1.47	0.79
25	Bessie	F	23	1.54	0.74
26 =	Nanse	F	22	1.48	0.7
26 =	David	M	22	1.35	0.7
28	Elspeth	F	21	1.41	0.67
29	Christian	F	19	1.27	0.61
30 =	Ann	F	17	1.14	0.54
30 =	Charles	M	17	1.04	0.54
30 =	Francis	M	17	1.04	0.54
33	Patrick	M	16	0.98	0.51
34 =	Rachel	F	15	1.01	0.48
34 =	Henry	M	15	0.92	0.48
36	Walter	M	14	0.86	0.45
37	Hannah	F	10	0.67	0.32
38	Sarah	F	9	0.6	0.29
39 =	Anna	F	7	0.47	0.22
39 =	Nelly	F	7	0.47	0.22
39 =	Sophia	F	7	0.47	0.22

39 =	Edward	M	7	0.43	0.22
43	Mungo	M	6	0.37	0.19
44 =	Eupham	F	5	0.34	0.16
44 =	Archibald	M	5	0.31	0.16
44 =	Joseph	M	5	0.31	0.16
44 =	Nicol	M	5	0.31	0.16
44 =	Richard	M	5	0.31	0.16
49 =	Susanna	F	4	0.27	0.13
49 =	Baily	M	4	0.25	0.13
49 =	Mark	M	4	0.25	0.13
49 =	Michael	M	4	0.25	0.13
49 =	Philip	M	4	0.25	0.13
54 =	Euphan	F	3	0.2	0.1
54 =	Martha	F	3	0.2	0.1
54 =	Peter	M	3	0.18	0.1
54 =	Sanders	M	3	0.18	0.1
58 =	Abigail	F	2	0.13	0.06
58 =	Euphine	F	2	0.13	0.06
58 =	Isabella	F	2	0.13	0.06
58 =	Violet	F	2	0.13	0.06
58 =	Lancelot	M	2	0.12	0.06
58 =	Ninian	M	2	0.12	0.06
64 =	Beatrix	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Christy	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Dorothy	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Eleonor	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Eleonora	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Grace	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Haig	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Hamilton	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Henrietta	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Hilson	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Hunter	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Jane	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Joan	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Julia	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Lilly	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Magdalene	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Mainy	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Marjory	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Millisint	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Nanie	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Patricia	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Roberta	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Robina	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Ruth	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Sissy	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Susan	F	1	0.07	0.03
64 =	Anthony	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Arthur	M	1	0.06	0.03

64 =	Christo	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Ebenezer	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Gavin	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Harry	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Hugh	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Isaac	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Jeremy	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Jiminia	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Strother	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Vernor	M	1	0.06	0.03
64 =	Zorobabel	M	1	0.06	0.03

Appendix F: All Names in the Dingwall Parish

- 1696 records (894 males; 802 females)

	Name	Sex	No. of uses	Usage per male/female population (%)	Overall usage (%)
1	John	M	169	18.9	9.96
2	Alexander	M	135	15.1	7.96
3	Donald	M	127	14.21	7.49
4	Margaret	F	118	14.71	6.96
5	Anne	F	116	14.46	6.84
6	Isabel	F	92	11.47	5.42
7	Janet	F	90	11.22	5.31
8	Mary	F	79	9.85	4.66
9	William	M	78	8.72	4.6
10	Katherine	F	67	8.35	3.95
11	Christian	F	52	6.48	3.07
12 =	Elisabeth	F	47	5.86	2.77
12 =	Kenneth	M	47	5.26	2.77
14	George	M	41	4.59	2.42
15	Roderick	M	29	3.24	1.71
16	James	M	28	3.13	1.65
17	Duncan	M	25	2.8	1.47
18	Jean	F	24	2.99	1.42
19 =	Helen	F	23	2.87	1.36
19 =	Colin	M	23	2.57	1.36
21	Rory	M	19	2.12	1.12
22	Murdoch	M	18	2.01	1.06
23	Murdo	M	15	1.68	0.88
24	Hugh	M	14	1.57	0.83
25 =	Barbara	F	12	1.5	0.71
25 =	Hector	M	12	1.34	0.71
27	Ranald	M	11	1.23	0.65
28	Thomas	M	10	1.12	0.89
29	Francis	M	7	0.78	0.41
30 =	Christy	F	6	0.75	0.35
30 =	David	M	6	0.67	0.35
30 =	Neil	M	6	0.67	0.35
33 =	Elspet	F	5	0.62	0.29
33 =	Grizzel	F	5	0.62	0.29
33 =	Andrew	M	5	0.56	0.29
33 =	Patrick	M	5	0.56	0.29
33 =	Peter	M	5	0.56	0.29
33 =	Ronald	M	5	0.56	0.29
39 =	Agnes	F	4	0.5	0.24
39 =	Alexandrina	F	4	0.5	0.24
39 =	Anna	F	4	0.5	0.24

39 =	Daniel	M	4	0.45	0.24
39 =	Malcolm	M	4	0.45	0.24
44 =	Annabel	F	3	0.37	0.18
44 =	Jacobina	F	3	0.37	0.18
44 =	Lilias	F	3	0.37	0.18
44 =	May	F	3	0.37	0.18
44 =	Angus	M	3	0.34	0.18
44 =	Finlay	M	3	0.34	0.18
44 =	Giles	M	3	0.34	0.18
44 =	Henry	M	3	0.34	0.18
44 =	Robert	M	3	0.34	0.18
53 =	Anny	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Betty	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Curstie	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Flory	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Greadach	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Henrietta	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Justina	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Marrion	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Martha	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Rachel	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Sarah	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Wilhelmina	F	2	0.25	0.12
53 =	Adam	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Charles	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Harry	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Joseph	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Samuel	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Simon	M	2	0.22	0.12
53 =	Walter	M	2	0.22	0.12
72 =	Annabella	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Augusta	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Barabil	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Beatrix	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Bernarda	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Doboch	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Eilspie	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Elispat	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Euphia	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Euphie	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Fanny	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Lillie	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Magdalene	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Nelly	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Rebecca	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Rose	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Susanna	F	1	0.12	0.06
72 =	Aidh	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Aliser	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Allan	M	1	0.11	0.06

72 =	Archibald	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Arthur	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Ay	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Barny	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Benjamine	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Bernard	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Emilius	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Ferquard	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Gamahel	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Gamalie	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Gilandrigh	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Gillie	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Michael	M	1	0.11	0.06
72 =	Paull	M	1	0.11	0.06

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