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Personal naming practices in early modern Scotland

a comparative study of eleven parishes, 1680-1839

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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Abstract

This thesis investigates name giving in early modern Scotland through the collection and analysis of a corpus of 63,460 baptismal records from the Old Parish Registers of eleven parishes between 1680 and 1839. Some use is also made of marital and burial records. Parishes were chosen to represent a range of geographical, linguistic, and social variables, and comprise Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Durness, Govan, Holm, Kilmallie, Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tiree, and Tongland.

While large collections of first names from both mediaeval and modern Scotland have recently been made available, a dataset of early modern names has not previously been produced. The lack of such data and subsequent lack of analysis are particularly important to redress due to both the political and social upheaval in Scotland during this time, and the development of naming systems in contemporary Europe. This thesis therefore contributes both a dataset of early modern names and preliminary analysis of these names, allowing Scotland to be situated within the wider European context.

The principal methodology is quantitative. By this means, the study establishes and compares the name-stock in the different parishes. It also investigates sources of names, such as first names derived from surnames, and female names derived from male names, and highlights regional and other patterns.

Naming motivations are investigated through close analysis of name-sharing. Records for 16,426 families are used to establish the incidence of name-sharing with parents, maternal and paternal grandparents, deceased elder siblings, other relatives, and non-relatives such as godparents, landowners, and ministers. Birth order and unusual names are used to investigate the likelihood of name-sharing being deliberate. Rates of name-sharing are also used to demonstrate the varying incidence of conformity to the so-called Scottish ‘traditional’ naming pattern (naming after relatives in fixed sequence). For all naming practices, regional differences between these geographically disparate communities are examined, with particular focus on the Highland/Lowland divide.

Although the thesis focuses primarily on first names, middle names are also examined, in terms of the name-stock, the influences behind naming, and the upward trend of this emerging practice throughout the period studied. The research establishes the primacy of mothers’ maiden names in this position, and also investigates the incidence of other types of commemorative middle names.

In addition to quantitative analysis, complementary qualitative analysis of 12 case studies is presented. Each case study comprises one extended familial group, making it possible to explore in greater detail how various naming practices were used within individual families.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Abstract | 2 |
| Table of Contents | 4 |
| List of Tables | 10 |
| List of Figures | 14 |
| Acknowledgements | 15 |
| Chapter 1 – Introduction | 17 |
| Chapter 2 – Research Context | 20 |
| 2.1 Historical context | 20 |
| 2.2 Value of studying transmission | 24 |
| 2.2.1 Understanding Scottish society..... | 25 |
| 2.2.2 Naming as a genealogical guide..... | 26 |
| 2.3 Personal naming | 27 |
| 2.3.1 Previous research..... | 27 |
| 2.3.1.1 Studies of Scottish naming..... | 27 |
| 2.3.1.2 Studies of naming outside Scotland..... | 28 |
| 2.3.2 Personal naming in Scotland..... | 30 |
| 2.3.2.1 A ‘traditional’ Scottish naming pattern?..... | 30 |
| 2.3.2.2 Other naming patterns in Scotland..... | 34 |
| 2.3.3 Personal naming in the UK..... | 35 |
| 2.3.4 Personal naming in Europe..... | 37 |
| 2.3.5 Other influences on naming..... | 39 |
| 2.3.5.1 Local influences on naming..... | 39 |
| 2.3.5.2 External influences on naming..... | 42 |
| 2.3.5.3 Regional differences..... | 44 |
| Chapter 3 – Methodology | 46 |
| 3.1 Primary sources | 46 |
| 3.1.1 Old Parish Registers (OPRs)..... | 46 |
| 3.2 Parish selection | 48 |
| 3.3 Data collection | 57 |
| 3.3.1 Data entry..... | 57 |
| 3.3.1.1 Transcription policy..... | 57 |
| 3.3.1.2 The database..... | 60 |
| 3.3.1.3 Baptismal data..... | 63 |
| 3.3.1.4 Burial data..... | 67 |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| | 5 |
| 3.3.1.5 | Marital data 67 |
| 3.3.2 | Data-organisation: grouping 68 |
| 3.3.3 | Data-extraction: SQL queries 73 |
| 3.3.4 | Data-analysis: policy on spelling of names 74 |
| 3.4 | Methodological issues 75 |
| 3.4.1 | Mobility 75 |
| 3.4.2 | Records outwith the study period 76 |
| 3.4.3 | Clerical errors 77 |
| 3.4.4 | Familial extensions 78 |
| 3.4.5 | Missing information 79 |
| 3.4.6 | Inconsistent spelling 80 |
| Chapter 4 – | Name-stock of Early Modern Scotland 82 |
| 4.1 | Overview 82 |
| 4.1.1 | Size of name-stock 82 |
| 4.1.1.1 | Size of name-stock, parish-specific 86 |
| 4.1.2 | Name-stock content 88 |
| 4.1.2.1 | Male names 89 |
| 4.1.2.2 | Female names 93 |
| 4.1.2.3 | Children of unknown sex 95 |
| 4.1.2.4 | Overlapping names 96 |
| 4.1.3 | Name-stock breakdown by parish 98 |
| 4.1.3.1 | Male name-stocks 98 |
| 4.1.3.2 | Female name-stocks 109 |
| 4.2 | Problematic issues 120 |
| 4.2.1 | Children of unknown sex 120 |
| 4.2.2 | Variants (spellings) 121 |
| 4.2.3 | Variants (compounds) 123 |
| 4.2.4 | Variants (diminutives) 123 |
| 4.2.5 | Multiple names given 124 |
| 4.2.6 | Interchangeable names 125 |
| 4.2.7 | Gaelic names obscured by spelling 127 |
| 4.3 | Discussion 131 |
| 4.3.1 | Female names derived from male names 131 |
| 4.3.1.1 | Overview 131 |
| 4.3.1.1.1 | -ina names 133 |
| 4.3.1.1.1.1 | English -ina equivalents of Gaelic names 137 |
| 4.3.1.1.2 | Other female names from male names 138 |
| 4.3.1.2 | Discussion 142 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--|------------|
| 4.3.1.2.1 | Geographical distribution | 142 |
| 4.3.1.2.2 | Varying origin of names | 143 |
| 4.3.2 | Transferred surnames | 144 |
| 4.3.2.1 | Overview..... | 144 |
| 4.3.2.1.1 | Definition | 144 |
| 4.3.2.1.2 | Number of transferred surnames | 144 |
| 4.3.2.1.3 | Names used..... | 148 |
| 4.3.2.1.3.1 | Regional variation..... | 148 |
| 4.3.2.1.3.2 | Prototypicality - surnames..... | 149 |
| 4.3.2.1.3.3 | Associated sex..... | 150 |
| 4.3.2.2 | Issues to be considered..... | 151 |
| 4.3.2.2.1 | Regional variation and otherwise complex cases..... | 151 |
| 4.3.2.2.2 | Prototypicality - first names..... | 152 |
| 4.3.2.2.3 | Transferred surnames and motivation | 152 |
| 4.3.3 | Middle names..... | 153 |
| 4.3.3.1 | Overview..... | 153 |
| 4.3.3.1.1 | Number of children | 153 |
| 4.3.3.1.2 | Regional analysis..... | 154 |
| 4.3.3.1.3 | Date analysis | 155 |
| 4.3.3.1.4 | Stock of middle names..... | 156 |
| 4.3.3.2 | Problematic issues | 158 |
| 4.3.3.2.1 | Duplicated surnames..... | 159 |
| 4.3.3.2.2 | Double first names | 159 |
| 4.3.3.2.3 | Hyphenated names..... | 160 |
| Chapter 5 – | Naming patterns | 163 |
| 5.1 | The traditional Scottish naming pattern | 164 |
| 5.1.1 | Approach..... | 164 |
| 5.1.2 | Overall rates of usage | 165 |
| 5.1.3 | Breakdown by parish | 169 |
| 5.2 | Patrilineal and matrilineal naming | 175 |
| 5.2.1 | Overview..... | 175 |
| 5.2.1.1 | Patrilineal naming..... | 175 |
| 5.2.1.2 | Matrilineal naming..... | 177 |
| 5.2.1.3 | Patrilineal and matrilineal naming..... | 179 |
| 5.2.1.4 | Father-daughter and mother-son name-sharing..... | 182 |
| 5.2.1.4.1 | Female names derived from male names..... | 182 |
| 5.2.1.4.2 | Potentially unisex names..... | 184 |
| 5.2.1.4.3 | Overall father-daughter and mother-son name-sharing..... | 187 |
| 5.3 | Substitution | 188 |
| 5.4 | Naming for other relatives | 193 |

| | | |
|--------------------|---|------------|
| 5.5 | Naming for godparents | 194 |
| 5.5.1 | Specific examples of name-sharing | 200 |
| 5.6 | Naming for local individuals of importance | 201 |
| 5.6.1 | Overview | 201 |
| 5.6.2 | Naming for ministers | 204 |
| 5.6.2.1 | First child baptised by a minister | 204 |
| 5.6.2.2 | Parish by parish analysis | 206 |
| 5.6.2.2.1 | Auchtermuchty | 206 |
| 5.6.2.2.2 | Dundonald | 208 |
| 5.6.2.2.3 | Durness | 209 |
| 5.6.2.2.4 | Govan | 209 |
| 5.6.2.2.5 | Holm | 210 |
| 5.6.2.2.6 | Kilmallie | 211 |
| 5.6.2.2.7 | Kilrenny | 212 |
| 5.6.2.2.8 | Longside | 213 |
| 5.6.2.2.9 | Saltoun | 213 |
| 5.6.2.2.10 | Tiree | 215 |
| 5.6.2.2.11 | Tongland | 216 |
| 5.6.2.3 | Discussion | 217 |
| 5.6.2.3.1 | Types of names transferred | 217 |
| 5.7 | Transferred surnames | 218 |
| 5.7.1 | Overview | 218 |
| 5.7.2 | Breakdown by source | 218 |
| 5.7.2.1 | Mother's maiden name | 218 |
| 5.7.2.2 | Influential non-relatives | 222 |
| 5.7.3 | Discussion | 225 |
| 5.8 | Middle names | 226 |
| 5.8.1 | Overview | 226 |
| 5.8.2 | Breakdown by honoured person | 226 |
| 5.8.2.1 | Relatives | 226 |
| 5.8.2.1.1 | Mother | 226 |
| 5.8.2.1.2 | Father | 229 |
| 5.8.2.1.3 | Other relatives | 231 |
| 5.8.3 | Influential non-relatives | 231 |
| 5.8.4 | Discussion | 232 |
| 5.8.4.1 | Research questions: commemorative middle names | 232 |
| 5.8.4.2 | Names within names | 234 |
| Chapter 6 – | Case Studies | 236 |
| 6.1 | Overview | 236 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------|
| 6.1.1 | Methodology..... | 237 |
| 6.2 | Presentation of case studies | 239 |
| 6.2.1 | Fowler/Anderson family | 239 |
| 6.2.2 | Anderson/Millar family..... | 244 |
| 6.2.3 | Barr/Napier family..... | 246 |
| 6.2.4 | Papillon/Jamison family..... | 249 |
| 6.2.5 | Gardiner/Sutherland family..... | 251 |
| 6.2.6 | Barrowman/Walls family | 254 |
| 6.2.7 | Way/Dickson family | 255 |
| 6.2.8 | Alston/Findlay family | 255 |
| 6.2.9 | Alston/Brown family..... | 260 |
| 6.2.10 | Anderson/Fowler family..... | 265 |
| 6.2.11 | Cairns/Bell family..... | 266 |
| 6.2.12 | Pollock/Grey/Dickson family..... | 267 |
| 6.3 | Case studies and general naming practices | 270 |
| 6.3.1 | Patrilineal and matrilineal naming..... | 270 |
| 6.3.2 | Traditional naming pattern | 271 |
| 6.3.3 | Naming for other relatives..... | 273 |
| 6.3.3.1 | Grandparents..... | 273 |
| 6.3.3.2 | Aunts and uncles..... | 274 |
| 6.3.4 | Middle names..... | 275 |
| 6.3.5 | Substitution | 276 |
| Chapter 7 – | Discussion | 278 |
| 7.1 | The commemorative nature of naming..... | 278 |
| 7.2 | The importance of family..... | 280 |
| 7.3 | Death and naming..... | 282 |
| 7.4 | Regional divides..... | 284 |
| 7.5 | Implications for genealogical research..... | 287 |
| Chapter 8 – | Conclusion | 289 |
| 8.1 | Future research topics | 290 |
| Appendices | 293 | |
| | Appendix I: Male name-stock..... | 293 |
| | Appendix II: Female name-stock | 301 |
| | Appendix III: Unknown name-stock..... | 310 |
| | Appendix IV: All names and year of first occurrence | 312 |
| | Appendix V: Children with alternative names | 327 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Appendix VI: Middle names..... | 329 |
| Bibliography..... | 348 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| TABLE 3-1: SELECTED PARISHES | 52 |
| TABLE 3-2: SELECTED PARISHES, WITH SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES..... | 53 |
| TABLE 3-3: TRANSCRIPTION CODES USED DURING DATA ENTRY | 59 |
| TABLE 3-4: RECORDED SPELLINGS OF <i>CATHARENE</i> IN GOVAN..... | 74 |
| TABLE 3-5: PRIMARY SPELLING OF <i>CATHARENE</i> IN EACH PARISH | 75 |
| TABLE 4-1: SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL PARISH NAME-STOCKS..... | 86 |
| TABLE 4-2: BREAKDOWN OF PARISH NAME-STOCKS: MALE, FEMALE, AND UNKNOWN..... | 88 |
| TABLE 4-3: THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED MALE NAMES | 89 |
| TABLE 4-4: FIGURES AND RANKINGS FOR MALE NAMES, RECALCULATED TO REPRESENT ALL PARISHES EQUALLY..... | 91 |
| TABLE 4-5: THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED FEMALE NAMES..... | 93 |
| TABLE 4-6: FIGURES AND RANKINGS FOR FEMALE NAMES, RECALCULATED TO REPRESENT ALL PARISHES EQUALLY..... | 94 |
| TABLE 4-7: NAMES GIVEN TO CHILDREN OF UNKNOWN SEX, WITH MORE THAN TWO OCCURRENCES..... | 95 |
| TABLE 4-8: NAMES GIVEN TO BOTH MALES AND FEMALES..... | 96 |
| TABLE 4-9: TOP 20 MALE NAMES IN AUCHTERMUCHTY, DUNDONALD, DURNESS, GOVAN, HOLM, AND KILMALLIE..... | 99 |
| TABLE 4-10: TOP 20 MALE NAMES IN KILRENNY, LONGSIDE, SALTOUN, TIREE, AND TONGLAND..... | 101 |
| TABLE 4-11: NAMES WHICH APPEAR IN THE TOP 20 OF A SINGLE PARISH, BUT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE OVERALL TOP 20..... | 103 |
| TABLE 4-12: NAMES WHICH APPEAR IN THE TOP 20 OF MORE THAN ONE PARISH, BUT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE OVERALL TOP 20 | 104 |
| TABLE 4-13: AVERAGE TOP 20 MALE NAMES IN HIGHLAND, LOWLAND, AND ORKNEY PARISHES..... | 107 |
| TABLE 4-14: TOP 20 FEMALE NAMES IN AUCHTERMUCHTY, DUNDONALD, DURNESS, GOVAN, HOLM, AND KILMALLIE..... | 110 |
| TABLE 4-15: TOP 20 FEMALE NAMES IN KILRENNY, LONGSIDE, SALTOUN, TIREE, AND TONGLAND..... | 112 |
| TABLE 4-16: NAMES WHICH APPEAR IN THE TOP 20 OF A SINGLE PARISH, BUT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE OVERALL TOP 20..... | 114 |
| TABLE 4-17: NAMES WHICH APPEAR IN THE TOP 20 OF MORE THAN ONE PARISH, BUT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE OVERALL TOP 20 | 115 |
| TABLE 4-18: AVERAGE TOP 20 FEMALE NAMES IN HIGHLAND, LOWLAND, AND ORKNEY PARISHES..... | 117 |
| TABLE 4-19: FEMALE NAMES ENDING <i>-INA</i> | 134 |
| TABLE 4-20: FEMALE NAMES FORMED FROM SUFFIXED MALE NAMES | 139 |
| TABLE 4-21: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POTENTIAL TRANSFERRED SURNAMES AND AFFECTED CHILDREN | 147 |
| TABLE 4-22: TOP TEN MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURRING SURNAMES..... | 149 |
| TABLE 4-23: USES OF THE NAME <i>DOUGLAS</i> , PARISH-SPECIFIC | 150 |
| TABLE 4-24: OCCURRENCES OF THE NAME <i>ALLAN</i> , PARISH-SPECIFIC..... | 151 |
| TABLE 4-25: CHILDREN WITH ONE OR MORE MIDDLE NAME..... | 154 |
| TABLE 4-26: EARLIEST RECORDED MIDDLE NAME IN EACH PARISH..... | 156 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TABLE 4-27: TOP TEN MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURRING MIDDLE NAMES..... | 158 |
| TABLE 5-1: NUMBER OF FAMILIAL UNITS SUITABLE FOR ANALYSIS | 163 |
| TABLE 5-2: FATHER-SON NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS..... | 165 |
| TABLE 5-3: MOTHER-DAUGHTER NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS..... | 166 |
| TABLE 5-4: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS AND THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS..... | 166 |
| TABLE 5-5: FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS AND THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS, AND WHERE AT LEAST ONE PARENT SHARES A NAME WITH A CHILD | 167 |
| TABLE 5-6: FATHER-SON NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS, RECALCULATED TO REMOVE DATA FROM TABLE 5-5 | 167 |
| TABLE 5-7: MOTHER-DAUGHTER NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS, RECALCULATED TO REMOVE DATA FROM TABLE 5-5..... | 167 |
| TABLE 5-8: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS OR DAUGHTERS..... | 168 |
| TABLE 5-9: FATHER-SON NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS; PARISH- SPECIFIC | 169 |
| TABLE 5-10: PROPORTION OF FAMILIES FOLLOWING OR NOT FOLLOWING THE NAMING PATTERN, BASED ON FATHER-SON NAME-SHARING; PARISH-SPECIFIC..... | 170 |
| TABLE 5-11: MOTHER-DAUGHTER NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS; PARISH-SPECIFIC | 171 |
| TABLE 5-12: PROPORTION OF FAMILIES FOLLOWING OR NOT FOLLOWING THE NAMING PATTERN, BASED ON MOTHER-DAUGHTER NAME-SHARING; PARISH-SPECIFIC | 171 |
| TABLE 5-13: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS AND THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS; PARISH-SPECIFIC; NUMBER OF FAMILIES | 172 |
| TABLE 5-14: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED SONS AND THREE OR MORE UNIQUELY-NAMED DAUGHTERS; PARISH-SPECIFIC; PROPORTION OF FAMILIES | 173 |
| TABLE 5-15: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN LARGER FAMILIES..... | 174 |
| TABLE 5-16: RATES OF PATRILINEAL NAMING; PARISH-SPECIFIC | 176 |
| TABLE 5-17: PATRILINEAL NAMING: BIRTH POSITION OF RELEVANT SON..... | 177 |
| TABLE 5-18: RATES OF MATRILINEAL NAMING; PARISH-SPECIFIC | 178 |
| TABLE 5-19: MATRILINEAL NAMING: BIRTH POSITION OF RELEVANT DAUGHTER | 179 |
| TABLE 5-20: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN FAMILIES WITH AT LEAST ONE CHILD OF EACH SEX | 180 |
| TABLE 5-21: POTENTIAL CASES OF DAUGHTER'S NAME BEING DERIVED FROM FATHER'S NAME | 183 |
| TABLE 5-22: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING WHERE CHILD HAS A NON-TYPICAL NAME FOR THAT SEX | 186 |
| TABLE 5-23: POTENTIAL RATES OF SUBSTITUTION | 189 |
| TABLE 5-24: NUMBER OF POTENTIAL SUBSTITUTIONS PER FAMILIAL UNIT; PARISH-SPECIFIC | 190 |
| TABLE 5-25: NUMBER OF POTENTIAL SUBSTITUTIONS ACCORDING TO SEX; PARISH-SPECIFIC..... | 191 |
| TABLE 5-26: POTENTIAL SUBSTITUTIONS IN GOVAN, DECADE-BY-DECADE | 192 |
| TABLE 5-27: NAME-SHARING BETWEEN GODPARENT AND CHILD..... | 196 |
| TABLE 5-28: TERMS USED TO REFER TO GODPARENTS | 198 |
| TABLE 5-29: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING, WHERE CHILD IS FIRST BAPTISED | 204 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TABLE 5-30: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN AUCHTERMUCHTY | 208 |
| TABLE 5-31: USAGE OF <i>THOMAS</i> IN DUNDONALD..... | 209 |
| TABLE 5-32: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN DUNDONALD | 209 |
| TABLE 5-33: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN GOVAN | 210 |
| TABLE 5-34: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN HOLM | 211 |
| TABLE 5-35: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN KILMALLIE | 212 |
| TABLE 5-36: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN KILRENNY | 213 |
| TABLE 5-37: USAGE OF <i>ANDREW</i> IN SALTOUN | 215 |
| TABLE 5-38: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN SALTOUN..... | 215 |
| TABLE 5-39: USAGE OF <i>THOMAS</i> IN TONGLAND | 216 |
| TABLE 5-40: MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN TONGLAND..... | 217 |
| TABLE 5-41: OVERALL MINISTER-CHILD NAME-SHARING | 217 |
| TABLE 5-42: MOTHER’S MAIDEN NAME AS TRANSFERRED SURNAME..... | 219 |
| TABLE 5-43: USAGE OF BOTH MOTHER’S FIRST NAME AND MOTHER’S MAIDEN NAME..... | 221 |
| TABLE 6-1: CHILDREN OF JAMES FOWLER AND ANDREA ANDERSON | 239 |
| TABLE 6-2: CHILDREN OF JAMES ANDERSON AND MARGARET MILLAR | 239 |
| TABLE 6-3: CHILDREN OF JOHN ANDERSON AND MARGARET WOOD | 240 |
| TABLE 6-4: CHILDREN OF JAMES MILLAR AND MARGARET SCOTT | 240 |
| TABLE 6-5: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF JAMES FOWLER AND ANDREA ANDERSON..... | 241 |
| TABLE 6-6: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF JAMES ANDERSON AND MARGARET MILLAR | 244 |
| TABLE 6-7: CHILDREN OF MATTHEW BARR AND HELEN NAPIER..... | 246 |
| TABLE 6-8: CHILDREN OF JOHN NAPIER AND MARION LEES..... | 246 |
| TABLE 6-9: CHILDREN OF ANDREW LEES AND HELEN STEWART | 246 |
| TABLE 6-10: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF MATHEW BARR AND HELEN NAPIER | 247 |
| TABLE 6-11: CHILDREN OF CHARLES PAPILLON AND ELISABETH JAMISON | 249 |
| TABLE 6-12: CHILDREN OF JAMES JAMISON AND ALEXIS SNODGRASS | 249 |
| TABLE 6-13: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF CHARLES PAPILLON AND ELISABETH JAMISON | 250 |
| TABLE 6-14: CHILDREN OF ALEXANDER GARDINER AND ANN SUTHERLAND..... | 251 |
| TABLE 6-15: CHILDREN OF JOHN BARROWMAN AND MARGARET WALLS | 254 |
| TABLE 6-16: CHILDREN OF WILLIAM WAY AND KATHARINE DICKSON..... | 255 |
| TABLE 6-17: CHILDREN OF JOHN THOMAS ALSTON AND ANNABELLA FINDLAY | 256 |
| TABLE 6-18: CHILDREN OF JOHN ALSTON AND PATRICK CRAIGIE..... | 256 |
| TABLE 6-19: CHILDREN OF ROBERT FINDLAY AND DOROTHY DUNLOP..... | 256 |
| TABLE 6-20: CHILDREN OF ROBERT DUNLOP AND JANET BUCHANAN..... | 257 |
| TABLE 6-21: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF JOHN THOMAS ALSTON AND ANNABELLA FINDLAY | 257 |
| TABLE 6-22: CHILDREN OF GEORGE ALSTON AND RACHEL BROWN..... | 260 |
| TABLE 6-23: CHILDREN OF JAMES BROUN AND ISOBELL ALSTON | 260 |
| TABLE 6-24: CHILDREN OF GEORGE ALSTON AND ISOBEL GIBSON | 261 |
| TABLE 6-25: CHILDREN OF JOHN ALSTON AND ISOBELL HAMILTON | 261 |
| TABLE 6-26: CHILDREN OF GEORGE ALSTON AND RACHEL BROWN..... | 262 |
| TABLE 6-27: CHILDREN OF PHILIP ANDERSON AND ELSPITH FOWLER..... | 265 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TABLE 6-28: CHILDREN OF DAVID CAIRNS AND MARJORY BELL | 266 |
| TABLE 6-29: CHILDREN OF JOHN POLLOCK AND AGNES GREY, AND JOHN POLLOCK AND MARGARET DICKSON | 267 |
| TABLE 6-30: POTENTIAL NAMESAKES OF THE CHILDREN OF JOHN POLLOCK | 268 |
| TABLE 6-31: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES..... | 270 |
| TABLE 6-32: USAGE OF THE TRADITIONAL NAMING PATTERN IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES..... | 271 |
| TABLE 6-33: USAGE OF VARIANTS TO THE TRADITIONAL NAMING PATTERN IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES..... | 272 |
| TABLE 6-34: GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD NAME-SHARING IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES..... | 273 |
| TABLE 6-35: AUNT/UNCLE-NIECE/NEPHEW NAME-SHARING IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES | 274 |
| TABLE 6-36: CHILDREN WITH MIDDLE NAMES IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES | 276 |
| TABLE 6-37: SUBSTITUTION IN CASE STUDY FAMILIES | 277 |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| FIGURE 3-1: MAP OF PRELIMINARY SET OF PARISHES | 50 |
| FIGURE 3-2: SCREENSHOT OF PARISH SELECTION SPREADSHEET | 51 |
| FIGURE 3-3: MAP OF SELECTED PARISHES | 56 |
| FIGURE 3-4: HOME PAGE OF THE DATABASE APPLICATION | 61 |
| FIGURE 3-5: GROUP DISPLAY IN THE DATABASE APPLICATION | 61 |
| FIGURE 3-6: REPORTS PAGE IN THE DATABASE APPLICATION | 62 |
| FIGURE 3-7: DATA ENTRY FORM IN THE DATABASE APPLICATION | 65 |
| FIGURE 3-8: DISPLAY ON DATABASE APPLICATION BEFORE AND AFTER ENTERING GROUPING MODE..... | 69 |
| FIGURE 3-9: SIBBALD FAMILY | 70 |
| FIGURE 3-10: MACCULLOCH FAMILY | 71 |
| FIGURE 3-11: NICKNAMES RECORDED FOR TWO MEN NAMED ANDREW PURVES | 71 |
| FIGURE 3-12: PRE-WRITTEN SQL QUERIES ON THE REPORTS PAGE OF THE DATABASE APPLICATION | 73 |
| FIGURE 4-1: FREQUENCY OF NAME-USAGE..... | 83 |
| FIGURE 4-2: FREQUENCY OF USE OF 239 MALE NAMES..... | 84 |
| FIGURE 4-3: FREQUENCY OF USE OF 267 FEMALE NAMES..... | 84 |
| FIGURE 4-4: DISTRIBUTION OF MALE NAMES, INCLUDING TOP 5..... | 85 |
| FIGURE 4-5: DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE NAMES, INCLUDING TOP 5..... | 85 |
| FIGURE 4-6: SPELLINGS OF <i>ELIZABETH</i> | 122 |
| FIGURE 4-7: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE NAMES DERIVED FROM MALE NAMES..... | 143 |
| FIGURE 4-8: PROPORTION OF CHILDREN WITH ONE OR MULTIPLE MIDDLE NAMES | 155 |
| FIGURE 5-1: PARENT-CHILD NAME-SHARING FROM TABLE 5-20: NAME-SHARING FOR BOTH PARENTS..... | 181 |
| FIGURE 5-2: RATE OF POTENTIAL SUBSTITUTION IN GOVAN, 1700-1839 | 193 |
| FIGURE 6-1: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF JAMES FOWLER AND ANDREA ANDERSON | 243 |
| FIGURE 6-2: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF JAMES ANDERSON AND MARGARET MILLAR..... | 245 |
| FIGURE 6-3: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF MATTHEW BARR AND HELEN NAPIER | 248 |
| FIGURE 6-4: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF CHARLES PAPILLON AND ELISABETH JAMISON..... | 251 |
| FIGURE 6-5: CHILDREN AND POTENTIAL ANCESTORS OF ALEXANDER GARDINER AND ANN SUTHERLAND.... | 253 |
| FIGURE 6-6: CHILDREN OF JOHN BARROWMAN AND MARGARET WALLS..... | 254 |
| FIGURE 6-7: CHILD AND ANCESTORS OF WILLIAM WAY AND KATHARINE DICKSON..... | 255 |
| FIGURE 6-8: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF JOHN THOMAS ALSTON AND ANNABELLA FINDLAY..... | 259 |
| FIGURE 6-9: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF GEORGE ALSTON AND RACHEL BROWN | 264 |
| FIGURE 6-10: CHILDREN OF PHILIP ANDERSON AND ELSPITH FOWLER..... | 265 |
| FIGURE 6-11: CHILDREN AND ANCESTORS OF DAVID CAIRNS AND MARJORY BELL | 267 |
| FIGURE 6-12: CHILDREN OF JOHN POLLOCK AND AGNES GREY, AND JOHN POLLOCK AND MARGARET DICKSON | 269 |

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Research into personal names in Scotland has tended to lag behind other areas of Europe, and indeed other parts of the UK.

(Hough 2012: 71)

In the last few years, significant progress has been made regarding research into mediaeval and present-day Scottish personal naming. This is partly because of the growing availability of primary sources, in the form of large collections of first names for both periods. The People of Medieval Scotland 1093-1314 project (hereafter PoMS), completed in 2012, culminated in an online database of around 20,000 people mentioned in charters, including all recorded personal names. Regarding the modern period, the National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS) annually releases data on first names given to children, with information dating back to 1974. All names given to Scottish children during a single year are listed alongside the number of bearers, divided by sex and organised by frequency of usage (e.g. NRS 2015a). Limited information on middle names, or ‘second forenames’, is also provided, with the twenty most popular middle names for each sex being given (e.g. NRS 2015b). The collection and publication of such resources has since enabled and inspired studies into naming in these periods (e.g. Hammond 2013; Ó Maolalaigh 2014; NRS 2015b).

However, while progress is being made with regard to mediaeval and modern naming in Scotland, the early modern period has been largely ignored. This is understandable given the difficulties involved in accessing the primary source material contained in the Old Parish Registers (hereafter OPRs), but is of particular concern since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been shown to be a formative period in the development of naming systems in other British and European countries (e.g. Smith-Bannister 1997; Wilson 1998: 183-241; Leibring 2016: 205-10). This thesis attempts to redress this gap through a quantitative, empirical study of the Scottish OPRs from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, with a focus on the following research questions:

- What was the name-stock of early modern Scotland?
- Are there any regional differences in the name-stock or in the following of naming practices, and how can these differences be explained?
- Which naming practices were in use in early modern Scotland, and which proportion of families and/or children were affected?

- Were children mostly named for family, or for other people in the community?

These questions are answered through comprehensive analysis of the baptismal records for eleven parishes. These parishes have been chosen to represent a range of geographical, linguistic, and social variables, and comprise Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Durness, Govan, Holm, Kilmallie, Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tiree, and Tongland.

This thesis consists of two main parts: a study of the name-stock, and a study of the naming practices. These two topics are complementary: knowledge of the size of the name-stock and variation of the names used allows for the understanding of the potential issues surrounding naming practices, such as whether name-sharing is likely to be coincidental or deliberate. The categorisation of names highlights certain groups of names, such as transferred surnames or female names formed from male names, which are likely to be influenced by certain naming practices. In turn, knowledge of naming practices can reveal the origin of uncommon names in the name-stock, and help us distinguish whether a name has indeed been formed from another. An understanding of naming practices can allow complicated groups of names, like transferred surnames, to be dissected and analysed: although the motivation behind one instance of name-giving may be to bestow a transferred surname, a second instance may not.

The thesis contains eight chapters, the current section being the first. Chapter 2 covers the existing theories surrounding Scottish naming, and places the topic within its historical context. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used for the collection and organisation of data, describes the database used, and discusses the procedure adopted for grouping individual records into familial units. Chapter 4 analyses the name-stock, both of the entire dataset and of each parish, and discusses both its size and content. It also analyses certain categories of names which were found, such as transferred surnames, and presents information on middle names. Chapter 5 contains investigations of various naming practices, including parent-child name-sharing, naming for ministers, and an examination of the so-called 'traditional' Scottish naming pattern (naming after relatives in fixed sequence). The quantitative approach adopted for much of this thesis is laid aside for Chapter 6, which instead adopts a qualitative method and presents the analysis of twelve case studies. This approach allows for the investigation of grandparent-grandchild and aunt/uncle-niece/nephew naming, which is otherwise difficult to analyse. Chapter 7 discusses various points raised throughout this thesis, including: the commemorative nature of naming; the role of death in naming; the implications of this study for genealogical research; and regional differences. Chapter 8 brings together the broader

implications of the findings and outlines potential future projects stemming from this research.

Chapter 2 – Research Context

2.1 Historical context

Few periods contain as much interest and significance for the historian of Scotland as the eighteenth century. This was the time when the Union was forged with England and its longer-term political and economic effects started to become apparent. In the later decades of the century there were the first signs of the major industrial and agrarian changes which were soon to transform the way of life of the Scottish people. It was a time too of remarkable intellectual and cultural vitality which has come to be known as the Scottish Enlightenment, a period when Scots philosophers, historians and scientists were at the very cutting edge of European thought.

(Devine 1999: 1)

This research project focuses on Scottish naming from 1680 to 1839 and thus encompasses all of the eighteenth century as well as a sizeable proportion of the late-seventeenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Scotland at this time was a country experiencing immense upheaval, with, for example, the Acts of Union in 1707, the ongoing efforts of Jacobite supporters to return the ‘rightful’ king to the throne, and the Highland Clearances all taking place. Apart from these large-scale events, there was also a general move towards industrialisation and a number of changes introduced into agriculture, which had a major effect on many of the Scottish people (Devine 1999: 1; Steven 2002: 175). All of these factors led to Scotland being a very unsettled country during the eighteenth century.

In 1680, at the very beginning of the date range being studied, the Scottish people were at the end of the long period in which the Reformation and the Covenanter Wars had been taking place. In the mid-1630s, the British king, Charles I, had announced his intention to put in place a number of measures which would transform the practices of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland into practices much closer to those of the Anglican Church of England (Magnusson 2001: 422). With the creation in 1638 of the National Covenant, a document denouncing the proposed changes, and Charles I’s subsequent militarisation (Smout 1998: 62), the Presbyterian/Anglican divide was fully established and warfare soon followed, with, for example, the Battle of Philiphaugh taking place in 1645, the execution of Charles I in 1649, and Rullion Green in 1666 (Smout 1998: 64-5, 195). It was not until 1690 that the issues were resolved, with Smout remarking that the “bitter history [of the

Reformation] [...] had an effect on Scottish life of the most profound kind” (1998: 66). With the date range of this research project beginning in 1680, ten years before the constitution of 1690, Scotland was therefore still recovering from the political and ecclesiastical upheaval of the previous decades.

Scotland and England had shared a monarch since the Union of the Crowns in 1603. At the start of the eighteenth century, the Acts of Union took place, uniting Scotland and England under one government as well as one queen. The Union of 1707 was unpopular in Scotland for some time (Devine 1999: 1), and the dislike of the Union and the lack of benefits from it for Scotland helped to cause a rise in support for the Jacobite movement, in both the Highlands and the Lowlands (Magnusson 2001: 579). The Jacobite movement, culminating in the major rebellions of 1715 and 1745-6, was highly divisive in Scotland, with many Lowland areas, such as Glasgow and Ayrshire (Magnusson 2001: 597), being mostly anti-Jacobite, and significant Jacobite support coming from areas such as Inverness and Aberdeen (Magnusson 2001: 563). Although there were exceptions – with one of the Highland clans, the Campbells of Argyll, notably fighting on the Hanoverian side (Smout 1998: 207) – the divide can generally be described as Lowland/Highland, with one of the aims of the Hanoverian side being to ‘civilise’ the Highlanders (Smout 1998: 207). After the Battle of Culloden in 1746, the victorious Hanoverian soldiers were ordered to track down remaining Jacobite soldiers in the area and punish them accordingly (Smout 1998: 208); over the course of several days, the Highland men were murdered, the women raped, and their houses destroyed (Magnusson 2011: 623). The Lowlanders’ attitude towards the Highlanders at this time is summarised by Magnusson:

All the lurking Lowland fear and hatred of the culture of Gaeldom, which had been growing for centuries, was now coming to the surface. The Gaels, with their dislike and ‘alien’ language and dress and social customs, were subhuman – they were vermin – they deserved no better than extermination. Nowadays it would be called genocide.

(Magnusson 2001: 623)

Only a few years after these events, the Highland Clearances (1750-1850), where thousands of Highland residents were evicted in order to free up land for the more profitable sheep, began (Magnusson 2001: 654). Of those Highlanders who stayed in the area, many were “living in hovels, with the prospect of starvation never far away” (Steven 2002: 25). Many chose instead to emigrate, despite the dangers of doing so:

Despite the known disenchantment of some who had left their native land, despite the known rigours of the voyage, with the appalling conditions on board the emigrant ships, the people still left in droves.

(Steven 2002: 184)

The desperate situation of many of the Highlanders is clear from Steven's summary. The conditions did not quickly improve, with the Clearances continuing until the mid-nineteenth century. By the time of the *Old Statistical Account* (1791-99; hereafter *OSA*), forty years after the Clearances began, it is apparent that many Highland communities had accepted the justification and outcome of the quashing of the Jacobite rebellions, with the author of the North Uist *OSA* writing that the rebellion had had "the happy consequence of civilising the Highlanders, and making them good and loyal subjects" (North Uist *OSA*: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/North%20Uist/13/310/>). However, despite the cheerful summary of the rebellion's outcome, the living situation in the Highlands was still far from ideal. Later in the North Uist *OSA*, the writer discussed the residents' poor living conditions, and raised the issue of the government's apparent apathy towards the Highland people:

The Highlands have a claim upon the attention of Government, being inhabited by as loyal subjects as can be found in his Majesty's dominions, and having furnished, frequently, numbers of brave fellows, who have signalized themselves in all the corners of the world, fighting for their King and country. It is a matter of surprise, that the Highlands have so long been neglected by Government

(North Uist *OSA*: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/North%20Uist/13/319/>)

The situation was similar in Tiree, with the author writing that the island had no resident doctors and the people were needlessly suffering due to lack of medical care. The writer here, as in North Uist, also pointed out that several of the island's inhabitants had gone to fight for their country in the American War of Independence and questioned whether this did not "merit attention in many respects?" (Tiree *OSA*: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Argyle/Tiree%20and%20Coll/10/405/>). In both of these parishes, it is clear that the residents felt bitter about their living situations, especially after their recent involvement in British warfare.

Only a decade after the *OSA* had been written, Sir Walter Scott started writing *Waverley*. Magnusson writes that:

from [Scott's] perspective – all the old division had been healed: Highlander and Lowlander, Jacobite and Hanoverian, Presbyterian and Anglican, Scotsman and Englishman had all been assimilated into a single, peaceful and civilised united kingdom

(Magnusson 2001: 634)

This statement succinctly explains many of the ongoing struggles apparent in eighteenth-century Scotland. It is true that, in Scottish culture at least, conflicting opinions on Jacobitism seem to have settled by this time, with “Jacobite song [coming] second only to love song in the popular canon” and the Jacobite movement being seen as romantic (Devine 1999: 4). However Steven writes that, in the early nineteenth century, “the [Highland] Clearances [were] still held in bitter memory” (2002: 158), and the writer of the North Uist *New Statistical Account* of 1834-45 (hereafter *NSA*) describes Gaelic as a “beautiful and expressive language”, with the small number of residents who chose to include some English or Scots in their speech having picked up a bad habit (North Uist *NSA*: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Inverness/North%20Uist/14/172/>). Combining this with the perceived apathy of the British government towards the people of the Highlands and Islands, and the people's resentment of this apathy, it does not appear that all these old divides, particularly that of ‘Highlander and Lowlander’ and ‘Scotsman and Englishman’ had indeed been repaired by the early nineteenth century.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Highland Clearances were still ongoing at this time, having begun in the mid-eighteenth century. The Clearances, which led to the displacement of thousands of Highlanders, continued until 1850 (Magnusson 2001: 654), ten years after the date range on which this study focuses. These evictions – these “barbarous severities” (Magnusson 2001: 654) – were taking place while Sir Walter Scott was writing his romantic tales of the Highlands, and serve to highlight the existing division between “fashionable ‘Highlandism’” (Magnusson 2001: 654) and reality.

Overall, the early modern period in Scotland appears to have been a time of numerous societal divisions, often with extreme consequences (with, for example, the Jacobite/Hanoverian divide ending in the slaughter of Highlanders). It was also a period of great upheaval, with the Scottish people being required to adjust to national, political change following the 1707 Union, potentially to fight with or against the new British government during the years of the Jacobite rebellions, and, in the Highlands, to cope with likely eviction and the threat of starvation. Taking all of this into account, it is little wonder

that Devine claimed “few periods contain as much interest and significance for the historian of Scotland as the eighteenth century” (1999:1).

2.2 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)

Each name given to a child represents a single naming decision, whether that decision is to adhere to a local or national custom, to honour a relative, or simply to choose a name which sounds appealing. If children are grouped into families, we can analyse several naming decisions made by the same individuals and begin to understand the precise intentions behind these choices. The baptism of one child might indicate that the name-givers wished to honour a certain relative, but the baptisms of a set of siblings can confirm that the name-givers intended to follow a specific naming pattern. An investigation of all names given to children in a specific community can disclose cultural trends which may not otherwise have been discovered (Winchester 2011: 31).

A knowledge of naming practices is therefore immensely important for sociological studies, as it can greatly enhance our understanding of a particular society. For example, Morris stated that an investigation of a large collection of names might reveal a shift in political opinion (2005: 43). This is especially significant for this study since, as discussed in 2.1, there was immense upheaval in Scotland during the early modern period. Conflicting opinions on the Jacobite movement, for example, may be evidenced by varying usage of such names as *James*, *Charles*, and *William*.

Given sociological research often relies upon living participants, a knowledge of naming patterns is particularly valuable for historical studies (Corkery 2000: 73). Moody states, “without knowing [how their minds worked,] we cannot truly know our ancestors as living people” (1988: 137). Through investigating historical naming decisions, we can begin to understand motivations and, subsequently, begin to “know our ancestors as living people”.

2.2.1 Understanding Scottish society

The analysis of Scottish naming patterns can greatly enhance our understanding of Scottish society. As Bramwell writes, “a personal name can give instant information about social background, culture, language and even religion, as well as identifying the bearer as a particular individual” (2011: 10). This is of particular value in Scotland, where the societies found in the Lowland and Highland areas were in stark contrast to each other: “highland society was based on kinship modified by feudalism, lowland society on feudalism tempered by kinship” (Smout, cited Moody 1988: 100). It is anticipated, therefore, that geographically-dependent, disparate naming systems may be found, or that, should a naming pattern be found to be used in Scotland regardless of location, the proportion of usage would be different between areas.

For example, Black has stated that clans were particularly prominent on the west coast, and that “within the clan you should have the closest and most intimate of relationships” (1927: 49). This would suggest that parishes on the west coast would potentially see a greater rate of relative-child name-sharing, due to heightened relationships with those relatives. Holton and Winch have said that it was common practice, particularly in the Highlands, for a person to take the surname of a local clan if they wanted to imply a connection (2003: 124). With several children being given the surname of a local laird as a first name (Crook 2012: 108), presumably to indicate tenancy and/or sponsorship, it is possible that parents would similarly give their child the surname of a local clan as a first name.

Should any link be found between kinship and naming, it is likely that a decline in name-sharing will be found during the course of the date range studied. Moody argues that the role of kinship in society dwindled during the early modern period (1988: 98), and this is supported by the evidence of the North Uist *Old Statistical Account*, which states that, after Culloden, the relationship between clan chieftains and their people had begun to break down (North Uist OSA: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/North%20Uist/13/310/>).

It is also likely that differences in the proportion of name-sharing will be found between rural and urban parishes: there tended to be more significance laid upon both kinship and the ownership of land in the rural parishes, and Coster argues that name-sharing was important in maintaining both of these features (2002: 180).

It is often stated that Scotland had a traditional naming pattern in which children were named for relatives in a specific order (e.g. Cory 2004; discussed in 2.3.2.1). James states that “[t]he Scots adopted a traditional, almost ritual, attitude to the naming of children”

(2009: 175), and, if true, this may provide insights into other aspects of early modern Scottish culture. The association between naming patterns and a conventional society has already been made by Hamilton-Edwards, who states (1983: 71): “Scotland, being a country appreciative of its traditions, had a highly developed system of naming children”. Recent research has cast doubt on this theory (Crook 2012). However, if, in the course of this study, the pattern (or similar patterns) are in fact found to be in use, 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.

2.2.2 Naming as a genealogical guide

The importance of first names in genealogy has been undervalued.

(Redmonds 2016: 279)

ScotlandsPeople, an online resource which allows researchers to access various documents, is primarily aimed at those people attempting genealogical studies. In its guide to the names found in the OPRs and similar documents (<http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?561>), ScotlandsPeople writes that the usage of naming patterns can be useful to the genealogist, as:

it can [...] be helpful in determining the correct entry when confronting the relative lack of information in the O[ld] P[arish] R[egister]’s

The ScotlandsPeople guide also mentions the significance of middle names, which could often be the name of a child’s relative.

Despite these statements on the ScotlandsPeople website, there is a distinct lack of research into Scottish naming patterns and into Scottish middle names. The ScotlandsPeople guide does state that the pattern was not used universally, but no indication of the rate of use is given. It is hoped that, upon the completion of this research, if any standard patterns of naming are found, proportions of use will be established for various areas of Scotland. As Steel remarks (1962: 38), “[t]he value of any naming system to the genealogist cannot be over-emphasised”. Although the proportions of use could not indicate whether or not a particular family had used the pattern, the knowledge of these proportions would allow genealogists to apply these patterns to their own studies with greater confidence, or, indeed, persuade them not to apply the pattern when conducting research, if their focus was on an area where pattern usage was found to be especially low. It is hoped that such an approach would begin to address the problem that “genealogy has never enjoyed very high scientific credentials” (Moody 1988: 82).

2.3 Personal naming

2.3.1 Previous research

2.3.1.1 *Studies of Scottish naming*

Before reviewing the information currently known about early modern personal naming practices in Scotland, it must first be noted that there are relatively few studies into Scottish anthroponymy in general. As noted in the introduction, “[r]esearch into personal names in Scotland has tended to lag behind other areas of Europe, and indeed other parts of the UK” (Hough 2012: 71). This is not to say, of course, that there are no studies into Scottish naming. Davies, for example, has explored the Old Testament names found in the name-stock of mediaeval Scotland (2012), and Edmonds has convincingly argued for a political influence on naming in twelfth-century southwest Scotland (2014). The Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names project combined anthroponymy with toponymy in an investigation of hagiotoponyms: place-names which contain saints’ names (<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>).

For the centuries after the mediaeval period, however, studies into personal naming are scarce. Macbain (1894-1896) and Mackay (1978) have both written on the personal names used in the Highlands, with Mackay focussing particularly on the name-stock of the county of Sutherland. Galley et al (2011) have discussed children who bear the same name as a living sibling in early modern Skye. Several genealogists have mentioned early modern Scottish naming practices in guidebooks on conducting genealogical research (e.g. Hamilton-Edwards 1983; Cory 2004; Bigwood 2006; Durie 2009), but such mentions tend to be based largely on anecdotal evidence so it is debatable as to what extent their statements on Scottish naming can be accepted. Indeed, in the course of the pilot study for this research, the theory that a specific pattern (the traditional Scottish naming pattern; see 2.3.2.1) was often used in the early modern period – as advocated by all genealogists mentioned above – was seriously challenged (Crook 2012: 118). However, Jackson has revealed that Scottish Quakers in the early modern period tended to follow this pattern (2012: 24). The results of these two studies (Crook 2012; Jackson 2012) together suggest that further research is needed both into this pattern and into the other influences on naming in early modern Scotland.

The lack of studies into early modern Scottish naming is further seen when considering research undertaken by Hough. She notes that, after comparison between the PoMS database and the most popular names in Scotland in 2010, eight of the female names which

were popular in the mediaeval period are still in common usage today (2012: 78). There is a seven-hundred-year gap between the end of the PoMS data coverage and the 2010 data: a valuable addition to this discussion would be similar analysis of the names of the early modern period, bridging this significant gap. Owing to the lack of large-scale collections of early modern names, such analysis has so far not been possible.

A lack of research into Scottish naming is also noticeable when looking at modern-day Scotland, although some significant progress has been made into this recently by Bramwell (2007; 2011; 2016). Bramwell's research has focused on the cultural effect on naming practices in various areas of Scotland, comparing indigenous and immigrant communities. Although these studies are significant works in their own right, Scottish anthroponymy would benefit from a wider range of studies, building on Bramwell's research and further enhancing our knowledge of naming practices in modern-day Scotland.

2.3.1.2 Studies of naming outside Scotland

With Scotland's geographical adjacency to England and with only a sea channel separating it from Ireland, and with the close political and historical relationship with these countries, it is highly likely that some of the naming practices found there may also be present in Scotland, or, at the very least, may have influenced Scottish naming. Therefore, it is important also to understand the naming practices so far known to have been significant in these other areas of the UK and Ireland.

Studies of naming are more numerous for England than they are for Scotland, though again the majority of research has been conducted for the mediaeval period (e.g. Niles 1982; Smart 1990; Parsons 2002; McClure 2003; Postles 2004). For the later period, Scott Smith-Bannister's major quantitative study of naming in several areas of England for the years 1537 to 1700 is immensely important. It provided evidence of not only naming patterns in England, but also the trends in usage across a considerable period, and revealed regional differences in the uses of various naming patterns (Smith-Bannister 1997). Smaller studies of the same period include Smith (1984), who argued that, in England, godparents had little influence on the name given to the child. More recently, Nair and Scherr (2012) have written on the denotative names given to women between 1540 and 1850, specifically, those in the 'virtue' group.

Finally, limited work has also been done on the similarities between Victorian naming and modern-day England, with Tucker's comparison of data between the 1881 Census and the 1998 Electoral Roll.¹

Regarding other areas of the UK, Hanks, Coates and McClure note that Ireland had a great bearing on the surnames of Britain, due to the "constant interchange of population between Britain and Ireland [from the twelfth century onwards]" (Hanks et al 2012: 47). It is therefore reasonable to assume that Ireland also influenced the first names used in Britain, and Irish naming processes should also be considered when examining Scottish naming. Important studies here include Breen's overview of the naming patterns found in Western Ireland (1982) and Mac Mathúna's study of the naming practices throughout Irish history, with particular reference to the Anglicisation of surname spellings (2006).

Although studies of naming in these other regions outnumber those into Scottish naming, such research is even more widespread in continental Europe and, in comparison, "little work has been done in Britain" (Wilson 1998: x). Findings for continental naming should be taken into account when considering Scottish naming, due to potential similarities between the naming systems: Leibring notes that "it could be argued that European given names traditionally are parts of the same naming system" (2016: 199). Relevant studies include Eggert's research into a German immigrant community in early modern Denmark (2011), and Dupâquier's analysis of the name-stock and the role of godparents in early modern France (1981). Lawson presents a discussion of naming systems in several European countries, as well as some areas outwith Europe (2016), and Wilson provides an overview of western European naming practices, with particular reference to France and Italy (1998). Significantly, although the general naming patterns of both France and Italy are remarked upon, studies of naming have been conducted in numerous locations in both countries, revealing considerable regional differences (Wilson 1998). The discovery of such differences highlights the importance of conducting research into various areas of a country, and affirms that naming patterns found in one area generally cannot be assumed to be representative of the country as a whole.

An understanding of the various naming practices at work in a country is important, as name-givers may be influenced by multiple systems. Coster remarks (2002: 170):

¹ Despite the modern Census covering all of the UK (and thus including Scotland), Tucker's research covers only England and Wales (Tucker 2004: 10).

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 analysis of naming systems in multiple regions is a common factor in studies of both British and European naming (e.g. Smith-Bannister 1997; Wilson 1998), and such works have subsequently highlighted that there is not “a single naming system at work in a society”. Therefore, when investigating personal naming in Scotland, it is important to analyse the naming practices of several regions, and also likely that multiple naming systems will be found.

2.3.2 Personal naming in Scotland

2.3.2.1 A ‘traditional’ Scottish naming pattern?

When examining Scottish naming in the early modern period, the phenomenon most often discussed is that of the traditional Scottish naming pattern. It has been claimed by a large number of scholars that a specific pattern was in widespread use in Scotland, especially during the early modern period. This pattern is usually stated to be 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 2004: 92)

The pattern as outlined by Cory is supported by researchers including Durie (2009: 42), Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 71), Holton and Winch (1998: 82), James (2009: 176), and Sinclair (1990: 7).

The scholars also agree that the pattern was frequently used; indeed, James wrote: “the happy couple who departed from a rigid set of priorities did so at their peril and with a great risk of family friction at the least and disinheritance at the most extreme” (2009: 176). However, James does concede that, despite a risk of friction and disinheritance, the pattern can still not be taken as a “fixed, no-exception formula. There were occasional regional variations” (2009: 176).

The variations referred to by James were outlined more clearly by scholars including Hamilton-Edwards, who defined three clear variations (1983: 71) (reference markers (e.g. V1) are my own (Crook 2012: 16)):

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| Usual pattern | - | males: paternal grandfather; maternal grandfather; father |
| | - | females: maternal grandmother; paternal grandmother; mother |
| • V1 | - | males: maternal grandfather; paternal grandfather; father |
| | - | females: paternal grandmother; maternal grandmother; mother |
| • V2 | - | males: maternal grandfather; father |
| | - | females: paternal grandmother; mother |
| • V3 | - | males: as usual pattern |
| | - | females: maternal grandmother; paternal grandmother; great-grandmother; mother |

Bigwood also mentions the V1 pattern (2006: 60), and both she and Hamilton-Edwards consider such patterns to be variations on the predominant, traditional pattern. However, in a discussion of naming in northwest Scotland, Lawson presents a variant pattern as the usual pattern, stating that, although the first two children of each sex are named according to the traditional pattern, subsequent children are named for aunts and uncles rather than for parents (1979: 3). He also states that the first son is named for the father rather than the paternal grandfather in the Lowlands (1979: 3). Conflicting theories are therefore provided by many scholars discussing this naming pattern, which highlights a lack of research into the usage of this pattern. Additionally, the statements of Lawson suggest that usage of the traditional pattern is likely to be geographically dependent, with variants being used in different regions: this emphasises the importance of conducting studies into multiple areas of Scotland.

As previously discussed (Crook 2012: 17), an overall lack of evidence was observed throughout the sources. Cory describes “a well-known story of a family where all the sons were named John through following the naming pattern” (2004: 92), yet gives no information as to where details of this family may be found.² It is therefore impossible to verify her claim that the sons were not only named identically, but that this was due to

² It is however true that more than one living child in the same family may bear the same name: Black has written on the fourth Duke of Montrose, who had two living sons named James (1927: 50), and Galley et al have discussed similar situations in a study of early modern Skye (2011).

conformity to the traditional naming pattern. Hamilton-Edwards discusses a variant pattern on the Isle of Bute (1983: 71), but provides no evidence for this and states he heard about this variation from another researcher who “noticed the [...] deviation [...] [and] gave me a number of examples” (1983: 71). As previously argued (Crook 2012: 17), Hamilton-Edwards’s statement that naming on Bute is noticeably different to that found elsewhere does not seem to be secure, being based upon anecdotal evidence rather than meaningful quantitative analysis.

Hamilton-Edwards is the only scholar who offers specific evidence of the pattern in use, providing two family trees (1983: 74-5, 79). However, as previously argued (Crook 2012: 18-21), neither family tree provides strong evidence of the traditional pattern. The first family tree contains nine groups, each consisting of a father, mother, and children. Five groups could not be analysed, due either to living outside Scotland (and thus being unable to provide convincing evidence of a ‘Scottish’ naming pattern) or to the grandparents being unknown. Of the remaining groups, one family followed the pattern, one did not follow the pattern, one partially followed the pattern, and one potentially followed the pattern. Therefore, of nine groups, only one family provided clear evidence of the pattern in use. Hamilton-Edwards argued that one further group followed the naming pattern, for example claiming that “[William] should normally have been called Daniel after the father, but possibly there was another Daniel who died young” (1983: 76). I reasoned, however, that Hamilton-Edwards’s conclusions regarding this group were invalid, due to assumptions being made about missing data (Crook 2012: 20). In the second family tree provided by Hamilton-Edwards, the children were named according to a variation on the naming pattern (V3). It was thus concluded that, though this family tree provided valuable evidence of a variation in use, it again did not provide strong evidence for the traditional naming pattern (Crook 2012: 20).

Despite a serious lack of quantitative evidence, Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 71), Bigwood (2006: 60), James (2009: 176), and Sinclair (1990: 7) all state the usual custom was to follow the naming pattern. As previously argued (Crook 2012: 21), the widespread acceptance of this belief has potentially resulted in misleading advice for genealogists. The ScotlandsPeople website acknowledges not all families followed the pattern, but nevertheless suggests that:

[the pattern] can still be helpful in determining the correct entry when confronting the relative lack of information in the O[ld] P[arish] R[egister]’s.

<http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?561>)

Similarly, Bigwood recommended the following approach to genealogical research: “if you can show that [the traditional pattern is used] in one side of the family (naming the eldest daughter and second son after the maternal grandparents, for example) then it is likely that this will also be true of the other side” (2006: 66). Steel provided anecdotal evidence that the pattern was followed in his own family, and stated that it had been “of great genealogical assistance” (1962: 38). Given the irregularities in actual usage of the pattern, as evidenced by the family trees provided by Hamilton-Edwards, such an approach is likely to result in incorrect conclusions and may have led to theories surrounding the pattern becoming circular in nature (Crook 2012: 112). Additionally, this approach supports Moody’s view, as stated in 2.2.2, that “genealogy has never enjoyed very high scientific credentials” (1988: 82).

Indeed, recent research into this pattern has revealed that, in fact, the ‘traditional’ naming pattern was used less often than has been suggested by these scholars. After analysis of four parishes, chosen to represent a range of geographical, linguistic, and social variables, it was discovered that, of 371 families with both three sons and three daughters, 44.74% were conclusively not following the naming pattern (Crook 2012: 100). After further analysis of a total of 1,374 families, it was estimated that 58.42% of larger families were not following the pattern (2012: 101). Close analysis of 50 families, chosen at random, resulted in no examples of the pattern being found (2012: 98). Additionally, it was reasoned that, of the percentage of families which may potentially have followed the pattern (41.58%), it could not be assumed that these had followed the pattern, as some families may have practiced name-sharing, but without the specific intention to follow the naming pattern (2012: 102). The research presented in Crook (2012) sought to present information on pattern usage across a cross-section of Scotland, but is supported by Galley et al’s research into nineteenth-century Skye, which noted that grandparents’ names were not necessarily given to children in the prescribed order (2011: 33). They concluded that “[n]aming practices on Skye were clearly not straightforward and did not follow any set pattern” (2011: 34).

Research into the usage of this pattern in the present day has recently been conducted by Bramwell. Her qualitative study, which examined modern-day naming practices in several

areas of Scotland, revealed that, of her informants in her first chosen community, the Western Isles and in her second, Buckie (Moray), several knew of the naming pattern and spoke of it as being a traditional system. Despite their knowledge of the system, however, the pattern was not always followed (Bramwell 2011: 109, 179). This would support the conclusions made in my own (2012) study of early modern Scottish naming, that the pattern so often described as ‘traditional’ was not in fact used by the majority of the population.

Indeed, the pattern itself as described by Bramwell’s informants does not fit with the traditional pattern as described by the genealogical guides (e.g. Durie 2009; Hamilton-Edwards 1983). Her first community, the Western Isles, was divided over whether the maternal or paternal grandmother should be honoured first when naming daughters (Bramwell 2011: 109), and her second, Buckie, stated that the first daughter would be named for the paternal grandmother (2011: 178). This supports the comment made by Hamilton-Edwards that variations on the usual pattern took precedence in some areas (1983: 71), though it also supports my own view that, overall, the theory of there being a general Scottish naming pattern is misleading, and further research is required into both this pattern and its variants (Crook 2012: 120).

2.3.2.2 Other naming patterns in Scotland

Although the usage of the traditional naming pattern has been challenged by earlier research (Crook 2012), it was found that the children in several families did share names with their relatives, just not in the order specified by the traditional pattern. Such relatives included aunts and uncles, though name-sharing with grandparents and parents was more often found (Crook 2012: 114). Similarly, in modern-day Scotland, Bramwell discovered that, although the ‘traditional’ pattern was seldom used, several of her older informants commented on the importance of naming for relatives, with Bramwell remarking that: “there was [...] considerable social pressure from the extended family to name the child after them” (2011: 237). This suggests that naming after relatives may have been a deep-rooted tradition in the early modern period (and potentially earlier), for the practice to have survived to the present day.

It is also likely, should other patterns be found to be in use, that there will be considerable regional variation. Samuel has noted in reference to Jewish naming systems that “[if a society] lacks our modern surname system it is not unusual for the choice of children’s names to be predetermined by custom so as to show from which families they descend” (1962: 44). In the Western Isles of Scotland, where over half the population has one of ten

surnames (Bramwell 2007: 36) and the surname system therefore cannot unequivocally provide the ancestral information, a complex byname system has evolved (Bramwell 2007: 56). Bramwell states that the area has tended to uphold tradition more regularly than on the British mainland (2007: 35), which might suggest that any naming practices found in mainland Scotland would be found more often or in a stronger form on the islands. Indeed, Bramwell's later work supports this theory, with her discovery that the practice of naming after relatives was weaker in modern-day Glasgow than in the Western Isles and Buckie, and her hypothesis that the practice of naming for relatives had declined earlier in Glasgow than in the other two areas (2011: 261). It is therefore expected that, should any patterns of naming be found, clear regional differences would exist. It is also expected that any differences will centre on the practice being less frequently found and/or in a diluted state in non-isolated areas of the mainland.

2.3.3 Personal naming in the UK

In England one can say that in so far as there has been any principle at all in nomenclature, the custom has been to name the eldest son after the father. Further than this we cannot go.

(Steel 1962: 37)

Since Steel's publication, significant progress in understanding English naming customs has been made. Smith-Bannister's work in particular has been extremely important in the identification of naming practices. For example, he has revealed that there were substantial differences in the proportion of parent-child name-sharing when comparing parishes in different areas of England, with a much higher rate of name-sharing in the south (1997: 42). As well as regional differences, there were differences in name-sharing between the sexes, with approximately 15% more males than females sharing a name with a parent in early modern Cambridgeshire (Crook 2011: 131). There was a steady growth in parent-child name-sharing over the course of the seventeenth century (Smith-Bannister 1997: 42-3; Crook 2011: 130), and the trend in men's name-sharing appeared consistently to be several years earlier than the women's (Smith-Bannister 1997: 58). This supports research by Clark, who found that, in Anglo-Norman England, "women's names were approximately a generation slower than men's to show the influence of the continental fashions brought by the invaders" (Clark 1979: 17). It is therefore likely that, in Scotland, there will be a delay between trends in the naming of male children and of female children.

Birth-order proved significant in previous research, with the largest proportion of name-sharing affecting the eldest child (Crook 2011: 131). Similar results had been found by Smith-Bannister, who argued that parent-child name-sharing was therefore a deliberate choice (1997: 65), rather than coincidental due to a restricted name-stock. Birth-order will therefore be taken into account when analysing the parent-child name-sharing found in early modern Scotland, as it may help to determine whether name-sharing is intentional.

In Ireland, Breen's study of the Western Irish naming practices is particularly relevant. He describes the usage of a traditional naming pattern, which is very similar to the pattern proposed to be traditionally Scottish, but with the daughters' names honouring the paternal grandmother first (1982: 703). Breen also states that, although the eldest two of each sex would be traditionally named for the grandparents, the naming of subsequent children was not specified, although relatives' names were usually used (Breen 1982: 703). This contrasts with the traditional Scottish system, where the third child of each sex would be named for the parent.

With regard to the Western Irish name-stock, Breen notes the prevalence of giving religious names, particularly saints' names (1982: 706). In English name-stock research, studies such as Nair and Scherr's are particularly useful: they have remarked upon the frequency of 'virtue names' (e.g. *Grace* and *Chastity*) being given to female children, and connected it to the "renewed emphasis [at the end of the eighteenth century] on women's proper role as domestic beings and moral guardians of the family – the 'angel in the house'" (Nair & Scherr 2012: 23). They do, however, conclude that local preferences (2012: 32) and patterns including mother-daughter name-sharing (2012:30) were likely to have had more influence on naming than a wish to give a daughter a 'virtue name' (2012: 32).

Finally, research has also recently been conducted into first name distribution in early modern England, with Winchester discovering "a cultural boundary dividing north-east from south-west Cumbria [... which was] reflected in some aspects of forename distributions" (2011: 46). This result is important for onomastic and sociological studies alike, confirming that, as discussed in 2.2, culture and personal names are intrinsically linked. It is possible that name-stock analysis for various regions in early modern Scotland may result in the discovery of similar cultural boundaries.

2.3.4 Personal naming in Europe

It is wise to synchronise research into Scottish naming with our knowledge of wider European naming practices, given the potential similarities between these areas (2.3.1.2). Lawson refers to the Greek custom of naming the first children of each sex after paternal grandparents and the second after maternal grandparents (2016: 177). An almost identical pattern was seen in both Portugal and France, though the maternal line takes precedence with female children (Lawson 2016: 185; Wilson 1998: 221), and Wilson notes that relatives from both maternal and paternal lines are honoured in most of Italy (1998: 225). These patterns are all reminiscent of the Scottish traditional naming pattern and its variants (2.3.1.1). In a discussion of European naming systems, Leibring notes more boys than girls are named for relatives in most countries (2016: 207), a tendency which was also seen in early modern England, as noted in 2.3.3, and in early modern Scotland, where rates of father-son name-sharing were consistently higher than rates of mother-daughter name-sharing (Crook 2012: 104). In addition, Leibring comments that it is common to name children after deceased elder siblings (2016: 207), a practice known as substitution and also found in Scotland (2.3.5.1). In Italy, if a relative died shortly before a child's baptism, it was usual to 'replace' the relative by giving the child their name (Wilson 1998: 224); given substitution is practiced in Scotland, it seems plausible that other deceased relatives will similarly be honoured in this way.

The Scandinavian countries began to name children after relatives approximately a century before Scotland (Steel 1962: 37), and England gained the custom of naming for relatives from the Normans (Steel 1962: 37). Some naming customs of the European countries therefore seem to have significantly influenced the naming practices in Britain and Ireland, or at the very least they seem to have adopted these practices at an earlier date. From Steel's comments, it is likely that the Scandinavian countries and France will have influenced Scottish naming more than other European areas. The influence of France is further strengthened by the fact that, throughout the period being studied, Scotland and France enjoyed a friendly relationship, despite the 'Auld Alliance' having officially ended in 1560 (Magnusson 2001: 337-8).

Fortunately for the purposes of this research, onomastic studies are particularly thorough for early modern France, with research into both the name-stock and patterns of transmission. Lawson discusses several factors which impacted the name-stock of early modern France, such as the post-revolution requirement to give a child either a saint's name or a name of historical importance, and the ban on usage of Old Testament names

and the surnames of non-relatives (2016: 174). As noted in 2.3.1.2, Wilson discusses both the general naming practices found in France, and a significant number of regional variations. For example, the identity of the name-giver was geographically dependent: in the Pays de Sault (Aude), the paternal grandfather was the name-giver (1998: 223); in Normandy, the father was name-giver for the elder children and the mother had this responsibility for the younger children (1998: 223-24). Such traditions appear to be related to matters of inheritance, with the grandfather in the Pays de Sault selecting an heir by naming a child after himself (Wilson 1998: 223). Similarly, in Normandy, the son named for his father would be the heir, though this was not the case in the Bigouden (Brittany): here, although the eldest son was customarily named after the father, a younger sibling would instead become the heir (Wilson 1998: 223).

When examining Scandinavian naming practices, Eggert's research into a German immigrant community in early modern Denmark is particularly relevant. Eggert demonstrated that, relatively soon after their settlement in 1760, the German community did not yet use Danish naming practices. However, over the course of the nineteenth century, as they began to identify more with Danish society, they gradually adopted Danish naming practices (2011: 72). This illustrates the point made in 2.2, that society and naming practices often seem to be linked. Eggert also discusses a practice which was occasionally used by the German immigrant families but was not a common Danish practice: naming multiple children in a family after the parents, so that many living children bore the same name (although second names were added, presumably for purposes of differentiation) (2011: 62). For instance, she gives the example of the parents Jacob and Anna; three of their seven children were daughters, and all were named *Anna* (*Anna Margaretha*, *Anna Catharina*, and *Anna Christina*) (Eggert 2011: 63).

The wide variation in naming practices in France, and the dissimilar naming patterns found in an immigrant community in Denmark, highlight the need to complete comprehensive studies of several areas of Scotland. A true picture of Scottish naming practices cannot be gained without research representing multiple variables of Scottish society. Even in a study as large as this, with eleven parishes being examined, it is possible that certain subtleties in naming will be missed. For example, in Italy, the system described as the Corsican naming system (Wilson 1998: 225) seems to be unique to Corsica. If this island had been missed out of studies on Italian naming, the pattern would not have been noticed. The present study has been designed to cover as many variables of Scottish society as possible, while still resulting in a manageable amount of data; however, it could not aim to represent all of

Scotland, merely a cross-section, and future research into Scottish naming will therefore be needed. As a starting point to understanding general Scottish naming practices, however, this study will begin to redress the large gap found in Scottish onomastic research.

2.3.5 Other influences on naming

2.3.5.1 Local influences on naming

Aside from specific naming patterns, other influences on naming have been identified in previous studies. Evidence of substitution, the practice of naming a child after a deceased elder sibling, has been found in both England (Smith-Bannister 1997: 72; Stone 1990: 257) and Scotland (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 72; Sinclair 1990: 7) during the early modern period. Limited research into this tradition has been carried out for Scotland, so the proportion of families who practiced it is currently unknown. Hey has estimated from burial registers that a quarter of children died before the age of 10 (2002: 120); this statement refers to British children, but it seems plausible that it accurately represents Scottish mortality rates as regional differences are not discussed. This mortality rate suggests that there will be considerable opportunities to observe the practicing of substitution in early modern Scotland. However, in the course of the pilot study for this research, it was discovered that burial registers, if kept at all, were inconsistently updated (supported by Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 56) and it was therefore often impossible to determine if children had died young. The practicing of substitution cannot be confirmed without these burial registers. As discussed by Galley et al, there has been an assumption that, if two children in a family share a name, the elder child must have died before the younger child's baptism, thus providing evidence of substitution (2011: 17). This assumption can be seen in Hamilton-Edwards's work, where he states (1983: 72):

You would not normally have two sons named the same. (When this is found it is an indication that the earlier son had died, as parents were usually anxious to perpetuate the family names.)

However, Galley et al have challenged this assumption, using nineteenth-century census data to demonstrate that a significant proportion of children in early modern Skye shared a name with a living sibling: 50.5% of the eligible children examined (2011: 30). They note that name-sharing between living siblings can be observed throughout northern Scotland, but that the practice is particularly prevalent on Skye and in the Outer Hebrides (2011: 22). It is currently unknown how frequently this practice was followed elsewhere in Scotland,

but must clearly be borne in mind when investigating substitution. Quantitative analysis of substitution is therefore difficult, requiring well-kept burial records to gain confirmation of the elder children's deaths. Qualitative evidence is easier to find, with some examples being discovered in previous research (Crook 2012: 106). Several of the parishes for this thesis were selected as they had a good range of burial registers, and it is therefore hoped that, not only will more specific examples of substitution be found, but the proportion of families following this practice may also be discovered.

Previous studies have also identified godparents as a source of children's names. It has been observed that, in England, godparents were responsible for choosing the child's name (Redmonds 2004: 27; Coster 2002: 171); if Scottish godparents had a similar role, it is likely that a reasonably high proportion of godparent-child name-sharing will be found. Although this might contradict the theory that children were named according to the traditional naming pattern, Hamilton-Edwards has suggested that godparents might be specifically chosen if they had the same first name as the relative who was to be honoured (1983: 54). It might therefore be the case that both a high rate of godparent-child name-sharing and a high rate of pattern adherence may be found. The pilot study for this research revealed that, of 174 records which were suitable for analysis, 26.45% contained an example of godparent-child name-sharing (Crook 2012: 107). Further research is now needed to determine whether this level of godparent-child name-sharing is typical for Scotland, and also whether 26.45% could be regarded as a high rate of name-sharing. It is expected that the results of this analysis will predominantly concern male children; women very rarely witnessed baptisms during the early modern period in Scotland, and therefore girls were unlikely to share a name with their (male) godparents (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 54).

Children in early modern Scotland were occasionally named after important local people, such as ministers and landowners. Several scholars refer to the practice of naming a child after the minister if the child was the first baptised by him (Cory 1990: 69; Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 73; Steel 1962: 39). This name-sharing seemed to occur even if the child was female, as evidenced by a baptismal entry from Dumfries (cited Cory 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.

This entry indicates that naming for ministers was widely considered to be traditional in the early modern period, and subsequently suggests several examples of minister-child name-sharing are likely to be found. In this example, the minister's surname has been given to the child. Hamilton-Edwards also provides an example of a female child being named after the minister, though here the child is given a female form of the minister's first name: *Hughina* for *Hugh* (1983: 73). These examples suggest that either the first name or the surname of the minister could be used, and the name could be adapted if the child being baptised was not male.

The pilot study for this project did not examine those children who were first baptised by the minister, but provided inconclusive evidence for name-sharing between children and ministers in general. In some areas, including Earlston (Berwickshire), there was no indication that the ministers' names were being more regularly used, and the name of one minister did not appear at all; in others, such as Dingwall (Ross & Cromarty), there were discernible increases in the usage of the ministers' names during and after their time in the role (Crook 2012: 112-3). This suggests that variables such as geographical location may have an effect on the rate of minister-child name-sharing, and it merits further investigation.

Although several scholars have discussed the practice of naming a child after a minister, fewer remark upon the practice of naming for the landowner or doctor, and we might thus expect to find a lower incidence of each of these practices. Steel has noted that a landowner would sometimes stand as godparent to children of his tenants, which generally resulted in the child being given his name (1962: 39). Hamilton-Edwards has commented upon naming for doctors, stating that children were occasionally named for the doctor if they were the first delivered by him (1983: 73). In the pilot study, this latter practice was difficult to examine, as the baptismal records rarely noted whether the child was the first delivered by the doctor. However, it is hoped that, with the larger number of parishes being studied in this project, some baptismal entries will be found where this information is given.

Although studies into English naming have shown a growth in parent-child name-sharing throughout the early modern period (2.3.3), other research suggests naming for people outwith the family may be more important. During the seventeenth century, there was a move in Britain from a family-focused society to one where the community was viewed as

more important (Moody 1988: 98; Hey 2002: 121). Coster suggests this societal shift has affected naming practices, saying “extension [was] more important than intensification” (2002: 10), which implies children are more likely to be named for important people outwith the family, such as godparents or ministers, than for relatives. If name-sharing with people outwith the family is more common than name-sharing with relatives, it may indicate that the traditional naming system discussed in 2.3.2.1 was not in fact in widespread use, given the pattern specifies that children are named for family members.

2.3.5.2 External influences on naming

“In any homogenous community, naming-behaviour will remain constant, except when disturbed by outside influence.”

(Clark 1979: 13)

With regard to other potential influences on naming, outside of the family and local community, there are several factors which should be investigated fully for Scottish naming.

For example, it is possible that the emergence of significant figures would have had an effect upon the name-stock. Steel has pointed out that the names of the monarchy tend to infiltrate the name-stock, with *James* and *Robert* becoming very popular in Scotland, and the usage of *Charles* greatly increasing after the era of the Stuarts (Steel 1962: 40). The potential influence of significant figures has also been supported by Holton & Winch (2003: 135), and, in the United States, the surnames of famous men (e.g. *Washington*, *Franklin*, *Byron*) began to be used as first names in the early modern period (Lawson 2016: 188).

The influence of events and changing sentiments rather than single figureheads should also be taken into account. Harvalík has argued that the growth of patriotism was reflected in the nineteenth-century Czech name-stock (2012: 61), and Leibring has linked the rise of nationalism with the revival of vernacular names in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe (2016: 208-9). In Scotland, preliminary research into the Earlstoun records has shown potential Jacobite influence on the name-stock, with the usage of the name *James* dropping considerably during the decades surrounding the Jacobite rebellions in 1715 and 1745-6 (Crook 2014). Further investigation is required into this, but it is possible that local opinion on Jacobitism is being reflected in the names given to children. If this is found to potentially be the case, it is likely that the usage of names associated with Jacobitism, such as *Charles* and *James*, will differ in those areas known to have been mostly pro-Jacobite

and those known to have been against the movement. Magnusson has written on the support for Jacobitism being especially strong in the Highlands, whereas “Glasgow [...] refused to accept Prince Charles and his council as the legitimate government of the country; [...] when the prince had demanded a contribution of £15,000, the city had paid a grudging £5,000 – and only after being threatened with military action” (Magnusson 2001: 606). With the Govan parish being one of those selected for this project, it is likely that, were naming being influenced by the Jacobite movement, the usage of names such as *James* would noticeably vary between that parish and the Highland parishes.

The hypothesis that the naming of children might reflect political opinion is supported by recent work by Edmonds, who has convincingly argued that the lords of Nithsdale and Galloway, who entered into a political alliance in the twelfth century, named their children after members of the allied lord’s family in order to cement their relationship (Edmonds 2014). This, coupled with my own thoughts on Jacobitism and those of Harvalík and Leibring on national identity, suggests that naming for political reasons was certainly possible, and should be taken into account when undertaking name-stock analysis.

In 2.1, the concept of early modern Scotland being a divided nation was introduced. The divide of ‘Scotsman and Englishman’ is particularly relevant when considering the national identity of the people of Scotland during this period. As Devine summarises:

debate still rages on the timing and extent of Scottish acceptance of ‘Britishness’ in the eighteenth century. [...] what emerged in the decades after c.1750 was a system of concurrent identities in which a continued sense of ‘Scottishness’ could coexist and interact with the growing influence of ‘Britishness’. What is more at issue, however, is the balance between the two identities and the extent to which the mass of the population as well as the elite had been affected.

(Devine 1999: 4)

A detailed comparative study of the name-stocks of various early modern communities might result in a contribution to this debate on the role of ‘Britishness’. As Parsons has argued for mediaeval England, “[n]ame giving is not genetically governed. But it is culturally conditioned” (2002: 43). Parsons, in a study examining the level of Norse influence on England, pointed out that, although some people who bore Norse names would have been considered to be Danes, most bearers of Norse names were not speakers of Old Norse and “would not have been thought any different from English-named relatives and neighbours” (2002: 43). The Norse names in Parsons’s study were therefore significant in that they symbolised a level of cultural influence on English naming. With

similar analysis of names considered to be traditionally English, the cultural influence of England on the people of Scotland could also be measured.

With regard to other aspects of the name-stock, it is likely that some more unusual names will be found near the end of the period studied: Steel suggests that the Romantic Movement in the early 1800s inspired the re-introduction of archaic names, giving the examples of *Edwin* and *Rollo* (1962: 40). If this were found to be the case in this study, it would indicate that children were not always necessarily named after relatives and influential people, whether local or national. Instead, the names might occasionally be taken from folklore; this is supported by Clancy, who found evidence of literary names, including *Antigone*, being used in mediaeval Scotland (2014).

It is also possible that religion would have had an influence on the names found in the Scottish name-stock. Caplan notes that, throughout early modern Western Europe, the use of biblical names was strongly encouraged, and sometimes required (2001: 55). In Poland, Christian names were frequently found from the fifteenth century (Lawson 2016: 184), and, in Germany, New Testament names were particularly common (Lawson 2016: 184). Old Testament names, such as *Benjamin* and *Joseph*, were often used in Protestant areas of Europe after the Reformation, but did not appear as frequently in Catholic or Orthodox areas (Leibring 2016: 206). With the Presbyterian/Anglican divide in early modern Scotland, as noted in 2.1, it is possible that certain religious names will be more frequently used in different areas. This research focuses on the names found in the baptismal records, that is, the records kept by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; it is possible that there will therefore be a distinct lack of the saints' names so often encountered in Catholic naming (Breen 1982: 706; Leibring 2016: 205). This hypothesis is supported by research on modern-day Scotland, with Bramwell noting that names, especially in the Glasgow area, could be subject to sectarianism-based pressure, with certain names being seen as indicative of religious beliefs (2011: 246). With the significant religious divide which existed in early modern Scotland, it is possible that similar sectarian ideals have been projected onto the name-stock, with names viewed as traditionally Anglican or Catholic being avoided.

2.3.5.3 Regional differences

Regional differences have been partly discussed in 2.3.1.2, but the discussion focused on the concept of regional differences in naming practices. It is very likely that regional differences will also be discovered in the name-stocks of the various parishes.

Studies to support this have already been made in both Scotland and England, though on a smaller scale than the intended outcome of this project. In England, for example, Steel has noted that the name *Marmaduke* has been mostly localised to Yorkshire (1962: 42), while Redmonds points out that, also in England, the name *Walter* has been ranked as variously as 4th and 65th in different counties (2004: 34).

In Scotland, Mackay's work into the name-stock of eleven Sutherland clans in the early modern period revealed that, even in a single county, there were differences in the name-stock dependent on clan and location. He also noted that he had found more variability in the name-stocks of the Western clans, compared to those in the North-East or Moray areas (Mackay 1978: 75). Taking Mackay's conclusions into account, and bearing in mind the extensive distances between the parishes chosen for this research, it is therefore to be expected that there will be considerable variation in the name-stocks analysed in the course of this study.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

The methodology developed for this project is based upon that devised for my MPhil (Crook 2012), which acted as a pilot study. The pilot study focused on the usage of a particular naming pattern in the parishes of Beith (Ayrshire), Govan (Lanarkshire), Earlston (Berwickshire), and Dingwall (Ross & Cromarty). As several methodological issues affected both the current and pilot studies, some of the approaches towards these issues were first devised and tested during the pilot study.

This methodology discusses the records used, the database application, and the process of preparing these records for analysis. Attention is also drawn to general issues affecting analysis of naming practices. Specific issues found during the course of name-stock analysis are discussed in 4.2.

3.1 Primary sources

3.1.1 Old Parish Registers (OPRs)

The names analysed in this thesis have been collected from the OPRs of the selected parishes. Specifically, the baptismal records within the OPRs have been collected. For the case studies discussed in Chapter 6, baptismal data have been supplemented with details from marital or burial records where possible.

The OPRs date from the mid-sixteenth century, with the earliest baptismal entry dating to 1553 (<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/old-parish-registers/list-of-old-parish-registers>), and came into being after the Church of Scotland requested its representatives begin recording the baptisms, marriages, and burials in each parish. There are 901 sets of OPRs, each representing a different parish, though very few OPRs are available for the full period 1553-1855, when civil registration was introduced (Durie 2009: 51). Many clerks did not keep strict records as requested by the Church, as highlighted by the discovery in the pilot study that Dingwall records were not updated for a period of 21 years in the mid-eighteenth century (Crook 2012: 44). Some clerks did not start keeping records at all until particularly late, with several sets of Highland records only being available from the late 1700s (3.2). Burial records were particularly poorly updated, with Hamilton-Edwards reporting that: “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” (1983: 56). Additionally, even if records were consistently updated by the

clerk, many pages have become damaged over time

(<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/old-parish-registers/list-of-old-parish-registers>). Water damage was found to be especially prevalent in some of the OPRs chosen for the pilot study; for this project, therefore, as discussed in 3.2, preliminary examinations of the materials were carried out before data collection began.

As Durie notes, there was no standard format to record-keeping (2009: 51), and thus, when records are available, the content often greatly differs between parishes. For example, in Dundonald, the clerks almost invariably noted the family's location within the parish (and on occasion the street name), but mothers' names were only sporadically given until 1754. The clerks in Govan consistently recorded mothers' names, but rarely provided details of the father's occupation or the location of the family's home. Format also often differed; for example, some clerks occasionally used hyphenation when recording names, and the intention behind this practice was not always clear. To counteract these irregularities, I have sought to be entirely consistent in both the grouping of families and the categorisation of names, so that subsequent analysis remains valid.

The OPRs were kept by the Presbyterian Church, and thus do not contain baptismal records for parishioners of other denominations. The majority of Scots after 1560 were Presbyterian (Durie 2009: 51; Holton & Winch 1998: 74), but a sizable proportion of the population also followed Episcopalian or Catholic teachings. Therefore, these records do not fully represent the early modern Scottish population. However, they do represent the main religious group in Scotland, and, given no large-scale collections of early modern Scottish names have previously been collected, provide an excellent basis for studies of Scottish naming in this period.

Although the OPRs are a Presbyterian source, the children of some nonconformists were nevertheless registered there (Holton & Winch 1998: 64). Examples from the pilot study include the five children of William Purdon in Govan, who the clerks variously described as "unbaptized and not within the visible church", "not a member", and an "infidel (646/1 FR0110, FR0120, FR0129). Conversely, the baptisms of some Presbyterian parishioners were not recorded. A threepenny fee for registration was charged during the period 1783-1794, and many parishioners subsequently neglected to register their baptisms, marriages, and burials (Durie 2009: 51). By the late-eighteenth century, many were also choosing not to register due to looser ties with the Church (Durie 2009: 51).

Finally, due to human error, it is likely that not all baptisms were recorded. Occasionally, baptismal details were not given to the clerk: the Govan record for Margaret Murdoch was inserted several weeks after the baptism had been performed, with the clerk noting the “reason of its not being recorded in dew order is that it did not come sooner to the knowledge of the clerk” (646/1 FR0166). The baptismal record for Robert Corbet, also in Govan, had a similar admission – it “was forgot to be placed” in the records (646/1 FR0113) – though it is unclear whether this was the fault of the clerk or of the parents. Although these baptisms were subsequently recorded in the registers, the fact that they had initially been overlooked suggests that other baptisms were not recorded at all.

Overall, there are numerous problems and limitations in using the OPRs, many of which cannot be entirely overcome. For example, it cannot be known whether the clerk or parent failed to record the baptism of a child in the registers, and the general lack of burial records means that analysis of substitution is rarely possible. However, such limitations have been thoroughly considered and accommodations made as necessary. For example, if mothers’ names were missing from the records, records were only grouped together if it was clear from the accompanying information that they referred to children of the same family (3.3.2). Preliminary examination of the registers ensured that parishes were only selected for analysis if the records had been consistently updated throughout the period and if no significant water damage was found (3.2). If entries were partially illegible, this has been marked in the database to indicate potential errors in transcription (3.3.1.1). Through these methods and others discussed in 3.4, I believe the treatment of these records, and, subsequently, the resultant analysis, is as accurate and valid as possible.

Despite the many issues which arise in consultation, the value of these records cannot be overstated. They remain one of the largest available sources of early modern Scottish names, enabling studies into a period that so far has been generally under-studied. With careful consideration of methodological issues and thorough evaluation of the resulting statistics, any conclusions should be valid and representative of the early modern Scottish Presbyterian population.

3.2 Parish selection

The ScotlandsPeople website contains a list of all OPRs and the date ranges for the baptismal, marital, and burial records for each. In total, there were 901 Scottish parishes for which some kind of record had been kept.

I consulted this list and created a spreadsheet of all parishes which fulfilled my criterion for date range: that is, the parish's baptismal records had to be consistent for the period 1680-1839. After completing this investigation, the spreadsheet contained 149 potential parishes.

To reduce this, I examined those counties where a large number of parishes fulfilled this criterion for baptismal records. I excluded those parishes for which there were very few or no surviving marital and burial records, as the consultation of those records is useful when compiling familial units.

To further reduce my list of parishes, I examined the (Old) *Statistical Account (OSA)* for each parish. The *OSA* contained reports on the nature of each parish, usually created by the minister, which included details of the local industry or agriculture, size of the parish, notable members of society, and often important features of local history. It was my intention to represent a cross-section of Scotland, and it was therefore important to ensure I had parishes of varying sizes and with different local industries. The *OSA* was useful for this, as it contained an overview of the occupations held by residents, and the population totals for the 1790s. Many parish reports also contained the population figure gained by Dr. Webster in his 1755 survey, and thus provided me with a rough idea of how large the parish had been during the latter half of the eighteenth century, in the middle of the date range being analysed.

Each parish's populations for 1755 and the 1790s were added to the spreadsheet, and the parishes were then organised by population size. This would later allow the selection of parishes representing a wide range of population sizes.

In some cases, the minister or local volunteer who had written the town's *OSA* reported that the OPRs for the parish had been irregularly updated or were illegible. In such cases, I discounted that parish from my list of potential parishes. Although it is common knowledge that the OPRs are often not entirely reliable, it seemed unwise to choose to study a parish where the minister had admitted the records were badly kept. I also reasoned that, as the condition of all records is likely to have deteriorated during the past 300 years, it would be unwise to select those records already considered to be illegible in the late eighteenth century, a comparatively brief time after production.

Using GoogleMaps, I then created an online map of all the parishes in my list. In some areas, such as the islands and the Fort William area, there were no parishes which fulfilled the date range criteria. Therefore, a decision was made to also collect the data from parishes which represented these geographical areas, even if the dates were incomplete. The most suitable parishes were also added onto this map, which is given in Figure 3-1.



Figure 3-1: Map of preliminary set of parishes

I arranged these parishes into a colour-coded spreadsheet: parishes were organised into groups based on their geographical location. A screenshot of this spreadsheet is shown in Figure 3-2. One parish, Kilmallie (which encompasses Fort William), was the only representative for its area and was thus automatically selected for collection. Other groups contained multiple parishes; I visited the Mitchell Library to examine the records and reduce the size of these groups. I had anticipated that some would be in poor condition and some entries may be illegible; these visits allowed me to identify the best quality sets of

records, the usage of which would ensure the largest possible number of entries were accurately collected.

| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | |
|----|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------|--------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Parish | County | OPR roll | Baptismal | Marital | Burial | OSA population - 1755 | OSA population - 1790s | Notes (OSA) |
| 2 | Bressay | Shetland | 1 1737-1854 | 1765-1854 | 1786-1849 | | | | |
| 3 | Lerwick | Shetland | 5 1728-1854 | 1706-1854 | 1751-1854 | | | | |
| 4 | Holm & Paplay | Orkney | 19 1654-1854 | 1654-1699 | 1765-1796 | | 1185 | | 702 young adults tend to leave |
| 5 | Shapinsay | Orkney | 28 1632-1855 | 1632-1854 | 1793-1854 | | 642 | | 730 sheep farmers |
| 6 | St. Andrews | Orkney | 25 1657-1854 | 1657-1854 | 1792-1843 | | 1650 | | 675 30 baptisms per year |
| 7 | Canisbay | Caithness | 35 1654-1862 | 1654-1854 | - | | 1481 | | 1950 farms |
| 8 | Olrig (Olrick) | Caithness | 39 1699-1854 | 1699-1854 | - | | 875 | | 1001 farms and fish |
| 9 | Durness | Sutherland | 48 1764-1855 | 1765-1854 | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | Kilmalie | Argyll | 520 1769-1854 | 1774-1854 | - | | | | |
| 15 | Braemar | Aberdeenshire | 183 1763-1854 | 1739-1854 | - | | | | |
| 16 | Crathie | Aberdeenshire | 183 1717-1854 | 1737-1854 | 1789-1794 | | | | |
| 17 | Ardclach | Nairn | 120 1652-1854 | 1643-1854 | - | | 1163 | | 1186 |
| 18 | Auldearn | Nairn | 121 1687-1854 | 1687-1855 | 1721-1854 | | 1951 (Webster); 1600 | | 1406 |
| 19 | Cromarty | Ross & Cromarty | 61 1675-1854 | 1679-1854 | 1827-1854 | | 2096 | | 2184 |
| 20 | Kilmorack | Inverness | 100 1674-1854 | 1674-1854 | 1674-1708 | | | | 2318 |
| 21 | Inveravon | Banff | 157 1630-1854 | 1630-1854 | 1636-1783; 1844-1854 | | 2464 | 2244 (850 Catholic) | |
| 22 | Dyke | Moray | 132 1635-1854 | 1634-1854 | 1635-1691; 1722-1799 | | | | 1529 |

Figure 3-2: Screenshot of parish selection spreadsheet

On this visit, I also checked that the baptismal records were complete for the period to be studied. The ScotlandsPeople website is a good starting point, but their list of parishes simply states whether all the pages are surviving; it does not state whether the records were updated properly. As part of my pilot study, I examined the parish of Dingwall in Ross and Cromarty. Unfortunately, a gap of 21 years in the baptismal records was unreported on the ScotlandsPeople website or in the *OSA* of the parish. Although I managed to successfully analyse the baptisms which had been noted, it would be more valuable to this study to examine parishes where such gaps did not exist.

The selection process resulted in eleven parishes being chosen for collection and analysis. These parishes are given in Table 3-1, alongside their geographical location, number of records collected, and the date from which I began to collect baptismal records. Parishes are shown in chronological order according to that date. As previously discussed, the *OSAs* were consulted to ascertain the population size and the occupancy of residents in each parish: these variables are given in Table 3-2. A map of the parishes is given in Figure 3-3.

A decision was taken not to include the village of Gorbals, which was part of Govan until becoming a separate parish in 1771 (*Old Statistical Account*: <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan/14/281/>). This division means some families would have had some children baptised in the pre-1771 Govan records and later children baptised in the new Gorbals records. The Gorbals records were not collected: it was reasoned that the naming pattern affected primarily the eldest children (as discussed in 2.3.2.1), and these eldest children would still be collected during data-collection of the

Govan parish. Any analysis of the Govan families would therefore still be valid even if, for some families, the younger children were not included. In addition, according to a search of the ScotlandsPeople website, the Gorbals records from 1771-1839 contained 24,496 baptismal entries (the Govan records contained 5,840 for the same period). Due to time constraints, it was not practical to add such a large amount of data to the project; additionally, results and discussion would likely be skewed towards the area.

Table 3-1: Selected parishes

| Parish | County | Number of records collected | Date of first collected baptismal record |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Dundonald | Ayrshire | 6,724 | January 1680 |
| Holm | Orkney | 3,716 | January 1680 |
| Longside | Aberdeenshire | 6,381 | January 1680 |
| Saltoun | East Lothian | 3,140 | January 1680 |
| Govan | Lanarkshire | 17,035 | September 1690 |
| Tongland | Kirkcudbrightshire | 1,894 | May 1693 |
| Auchtermuchty | Fife | 5,020 | September 1702 |
| Kilrenny | Fife | 4,831 | July 1712 |
| Durness | Sutherland | 2,371 | November 1764 |
| Kilmallie | Argyll | 5,159 | November 1772 |
| Tiree | Argyll | 7,189 | January 1775 |
| Total | | 63,460 | |

Table 3-2: Selected parishes, with social and linguistic variables

| Parish | 1755 population (according to Webster's survey) | Main occupancy of residents | Local language |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| Auchtermuchty ³ | 1,308 | Agriculture, weaving | Scots/English |
| Dundonald ⁴ | 983 | Agriculture | Scots/English |
| Durness ⁵ | 1,000 | Agriculture, fishing | Gaelic, though "the English makes considerable progress" by time of <i>OSA</i> |
| Govan ⁶ | 4,389 (incl. Gorbals) | Industry (e.g. paper-making, woodwork, bleaching of cloth and yarn), agriculture, fishing | Scots/English |
| Holm ⁷ | 1,185 | Agriculture, crafting, fishing | Scots/English |
| Kilmallie ⁸ | 3,093 | Agriculture, fishing | Gaelic, but majority can understand and speak English |

³ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Fife/Auchtermuchty/>

⁴ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Dundonald/>

⁵ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Sutherland/Durness/>

⁶ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan/>

⁷ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Orkney/Holme%20and%20Paplay/>

⁸ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Kilmalie/>

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|---|---|
| Kilrenny ⁹ | 1,348 | Fishing | Scots/English |
| Longside ¹⁰ | 1,979 | Agriculture, weaving | Scots/English, “Buchan dialect” |
| Saltoun ¹¹ | 761 | Agriculture, weaving in early/mid 1700s | Scots/English |
| Tiree ¹² | 1,509 | Agriculture, fishing | Gaelic, with a few also able to speak English |
| Tongland ¹³ | 537 | Agriculture, fishing | Scots/English |

⁹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Fife/Kilrenny/>

¹⁰ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Aberdeen/Longside/>

¹¹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Haddington/Salton/>

¹² <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Argyle/Tiree%20and%20Coll/>

¹³ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Kirkcudbright/Tongland/>

In Table 3-2, all information concerning population size and occupancy of residents comes from the relevant *OSA*. Population size in 1755 ranges from 537 (Tongland) to 4,389 (Govan). Ten parishes are rural in nature, with residents predominantly working in agriculture, and the eleventh, Govan, is largely industrial. Though the chosen parishes are nearly all rural, this reflects the situation in early modern Scotland, with Moody writing (1988: 107):

Before 1800 [...] Scotland was overwhelmingly rural in character; it has been reckoned that no more than ten or fifteen per cent of the population lived in towns.

In three of the chosen parishes, Gaelic is the dominant language, though the *OSA* writers note that some parishioners can also speak English. The writer of the Longside *OSA* remarks that the Buchan dialect is spoken, but otherwise none of the Lowland parishes' *OSAs* state the local language. Table 3-2 therefore notes 'Scots/English' for these areas since both languages were spoken during this period, though English was largely the language of the upper classes (Corbett et al 2003: 14).

The selected parishes thus represent several variables. Durness, Kilmallie, and Tiree are situated in the Highlands and have Gaelic as the primary language, while residents in the Lowland and Orkney parishes speak Scots and English. As Scotland was largely rural at this time, the chosen parishes are also predominantly rural, with only one being urban and industrial in nature. The 1755 population size was also assessed to ensure parishes of various sizes were included. Overall, these parishes display a range of geographical, social, and linguistic variables and have been carefully selected to be largely representative of early modern Scotland.



Figure 3-3: Map of selected parishes

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Data entry

The baptismal records used in this research were collected from the OPRs, and were viewed in one of two ways. The data for Dundonald, Govan, Kilmallie, Tiree, and Tongland were collected from microfilm images, which were consulted in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. These records were referenced according to the roll and frame of the film itself. Thus, a record from Kilmallie might have the reference 520/1 FR015.

- ‘520/1’ indicates the roll number of the microfilm. The records for Kilmallie were distributed throughout 520/1 and 520/2.
- ‘FR’ stands for Frame Reference, and indicates that this record has been collected from microfilm. ‘015’ indicates the frame on that particular roll.

Due to lack of availability of microfilms for the remaining parishes (Auchtermuchty, Durness, Holm, Kilrenny, Longside, and Saltoun), the data for these were collected from downloaded images from the ScotlandsPeople website. When viewing the records in this way, there was the added advantage of being able to digitally manipulate the images and partially combat the legibility issues caused by water damage.¹⁴ Records collected in this manner were referenced according to the ScotlandsPeople online system, with a reference number structured in the following way: 551/01 0020 0156 (this particular number referring to a Tiree record).

3.3.1.1 *Transcription policy*

A semi-diplomatic transcription was practised in this research. Contractions were not expanded unless the contraction was the child’s first name; to replicate the contraction of this would impede progress in the data analysis stage. Superscript letters were indicated by the use of angle brackets, and capitals were not regularised according to modern standards.

This research concerns the names given to children in early modern Scotland, and the most important element of the data collected in this research is therefore content. As such, it was

¹⁴ Despite this advantage, not all data-collection was carried out in this fashion because of the cost of accessing records by this means. While access to the microfilms is free, use of the ScotlandsPeople website involves a fee for each page downloaded.

considered unnecessary to accurately record lineation, the exact layout of the pages of records (for example, stating whether the pages were divided into columns), or the order of information given in the records (for example, whether the surname or the child's first name were written first). It was also decided that, given the large amount of data being collected, only the most important words of a baptismal record would be entered into the database. For example, one record from Tiree reads: 'Alexander Brown Cottar in Caolis, and Flora McDougall his wife, had a daughter Born the 19th May and Baptized the 16th June 1829, under the name Catharene' (551/01 0020 0156). The names and date would be entered into the appropriate field on the data input form. Information on occupation and location would be desirable, and would be entered into the 'Record Note' part of the input form as 'Cottar [...] Caolis'. It was considered unnecessary to retype the parents' names as these were entered into a separate part of the form, or words such as 'and' and 'in' which usually carried no significant meaning. Phrases such as 'his wife' were also considered unnecessary as they were not treated the same way by all clerks. For example, in Kilmallie, one clerk would usually write 'his spouse' to indicate legitimate children and then write 'illegitimate' for illegitimate children; other clerks chose instead to indicate illegitimacy by simply writing 'illegitimate' or 'natural', and indicating legitimacy by excluding those words. As words such as 'illegitimate' seemed to be a constant feature of the work of all clerks, and phrases such as 'his spouse' did not, it was thought to be potentially misleading if 'his spouse' was recorded. Any text omitted from the transcription would be replaced by the character combination: [...].

There were exceptions to this general transcription policy: if there were unusual information in the record, the entire record or large sections of it would occasionally be transcribed. For example, if the above baptismal entry had read 'had a son [...] under the name Catharene', a larger section of the record would have been recorded as it would be unexpected for a child named *Catharene* to be male. Otherwise, it is possible that the transcriber would later check the data entered and, if the relevant section of the record had not been noted, wrongly assume they should alter the entered 'male' to 'female'. The consistent use of this policy allowed for all unusual occurrences in the database of male children with female names (and vice versa) to be checked at a later date; any entries where the baptismal record had not been quoted as specifying 'son' or 'daughter' could then be assumed to be a transcriber error and corrected.

Table 3-3: Transcription codes used during data entry

| Transcription code | Meaning of transcription code |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| WD | water damage |
| SP | spelling note |
| <r> <m> <t> etc. | letter in brackets is superscript |
| [?] | issue with legibility |
| [-] | letter(s) cut off or illegible |
| [] | first name missing, surname given |
| [...] | text omitted by transcriber |

Several short codes were used in the transcription of the documents; these are given in Table 3-3. Codes such as ‘WD’ and ‘SP’ (‘water damage’ and ‘spelling note’ respectively) were placed into the ‘Personal Note’ field of the baptismal record input form, and were created purely to aid efficiency for the researcher. For example, ‘SP’ was inserted before any comments on spelling issues within the record. For the transcription of the record for Mary Wilson (Kilmallie: 520/1 FR003), ‘SP’ was inserted into the ‘Personal Note’ field as the surname given for Mary was ‘Wilson’ but the surname given for her father, Robert, was ‘Willson’. To highlight the spelling issue, the following was written in the ‘Personal Note’ field: ‘SP Wilson: Mary Dau: to Robert Willson’. Choosing simple abbreviations, such as ‘SP’ and ‘WD’, increased efficiency when searching the database for affected records.

Other codes were employed as text markers and to indicate layout. When superscript letters were used in the records, this was indicated in the transcription by placing the relevant letter in angle brackets. Therefore, ‘Alex^r’ (the abbreviated form of ‘Alexander’) would be written as ‘Alex<r>’ in the database. Other codes were used to ensure clarity. For example, the mother’s name was generally given in the database as ‘first name + maiden name’, and both of these would be entered into the ‘Mother’s Name’ field. Occasionally, a baptismal entry would have only the maiden name and a gap where the first name had been omitted. To avoid entering only the surname into the field, as this could lead to the researcher assuming the surname was in fact the first name, the character sequence [] would be inserted beforehand to signify that the first name was in fact missing entirely.

3.3.1.2 The database

The records used for this study were entered into an electronic database, which had been commissioned for the pilot study and was updated for this project. The database was designed and built by Scott McGready, a Glasgow-based IT consultant. It was specifically designed to run locally, thus requiring no internet access, on a portable machine so that it could be taken to the Mitchell Library, where microfilms were stored.

The database was backed-up in two ways:

- The files were copied, encrypted, and saved to a second computer.
- An online version of the application was created, which stored the data securely online. The local and online versions were synchronised after each visit to the Mitchell Library.

The data were securely stored, with both the local and online applications being protected by a password. The portable computer was also password-protected.

The application comprises a graphical front end and a back-end MySQL-driven database. Data could therefore be examined using SQL queries, which negated the possibility of human error when downloading specific files (3.3.3).

The application has seven pages: Home; Records; Groups; Parishes; Reports; Settings; Back-up/Restore. On the same bar, there is also a button to Log-out.

- The Home page displays general information on the data contained within the database, including the number of records, the number of parishes, and the number of records within each parish (see Figure 3-4).
- The Records page displays the records collected for the selected parish, automatically alphabetically organised by surname. There are several columns for variables, including surname, first name, middle name, sex, and father's name (for more information, see 3.3.1.3). The variables displayed at any one time can be selected on the Settings page. There is an inbuilt search function to allow the user to refine the records shown on the page. There is a button which leads to an 'Add New Record' form (3.3.1.3 for details of this form). There is also a button to turn Group Mode on. Group Mode is further explained in 3.3.2.

Hello!

Here are some statistics about your database:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Total records in database: | 75386 |
| Total number of MPhil records: | 28927 |
| Total number of PhD records: | 46458 |
| Total number of parishes: | 16 |
| Total records in the Beith parish: | 7035 |
| Total records in the Govan parish: | 17035 |
| Total records in the Dingwall parish: | 1712 |
| Total records in the Earlston parish: | 3145 |
| Total records in the Kilmallie parish: | 5159 |
| Total records in the Durness parish: | 2371 |

Figure 3-4: Home page of the database application

- The Groups page contains all familial units created for the currently selected parish. The headform of each unit is given as a link; when clicked, the page refreshes and the members of the chosen family are listed at the bottom of the page as they would appear on the Records page (i.e. with date of birth, mother's name, record notes, etc.; see Figure 3-5). Once a group has been chosen, there are also options to edit the group-name and to link the group to another (for further details, see 3.3.2).

| Surname | First Name | Middle Name | Sex | Father's Name | Mother's Name | Date of Baptism | Record Note | Options |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Thomson [unk1] Thomson [Wm1] Thorburn [John1] Urquhart [Alex1] Wallace [John1] Wilson [Alex1] Wilson [Arch1] Wilson [John1] Wilson [John2] Wilson [John3] Wilson [Pet1] Wilson [Robt1] Wilson [Tho1/2] Wood [Jas1] Wright [Wm1] Wyre [Tho1] Young [And1/2] Young [Chas1] Young [John1] Young [Malc1] | McPhail | Frances | Female | Paul | Mary Livingston | 1800-02-13 | Maryburgh | Ungroup Delete |
| | McPhail | John | Male | Paul | Mary Livingston | 1802-05-04 | Maryb | Ungroup Delete |
| | McPhail | Duncan | Male | Paul | M. Livingston | 1804-08-19 | Marybh | Ungroup Delete |
| | McPhail | Catharin | Female | Paul | Mary Livingston | 1807-09-27 | Maryb | Ungroup Delete |

Figure 3-5: Group display in the database application

- On the Parishes page, there is a list of all parishes already added to the database, with details for each parish of the total records collected and the project for which the records are used. There is also an option to add a new parish to the database.
- On the Reports page, there are options to run several pre-designed SQL queries (see Figure 3-6). These queries were chosen as they were frequently run (one, for example, gives the number of males/females in the selected parish), and using a pre-written query function instead of writing it separately for each usage dramatically increases efficiency and reduces the likelihood of human error. Excepting one query which simply counted the number of records (all records, or regarding a specific sex) in a particular parish, queries generated Excel spreadsheets containing the required data. These Excel spreadsheets could then be manipulated and filtered to gain results.

| Report | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Number of | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> -- Please Select -- <input type="checkbox"/> Males <input type="checkbox"/> Females <input type="checkbox"/> Unknowns <input type="checkbox"/> All | in <input type="text" value="Kilmallie"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List and co | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | firstnames in <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List families with 3 or more | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> naming in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List linked groups (grandparents) in | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| Groups with at least one | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| Distinct familial groups in | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |

Figure 3-6: Reports page in the database application

- The Settings page contains several customisable options for database-viewing and data-entering. Here, for example, a year range can be selected for use when entering data; although this could be left blank, selecting a year range increases efficiency on data entry. The columns displayed on the Records page (e.g. surname, father, date of birth) can be hidden from view; this allows simpler viewing of the data when required. The Settings page also contains a function to select a default parish. At any one time, only the records for one parish are displayed on the Records page. 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 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.

- The Back-up and Restore page has functions for backing-up the current database and for restoring an earlier version.
- The Log-out button was added partway through the pilot project. Originally the database was stored locally on a portable computer, but, during the course of the research, it became apparent it would be wiser to store it online for a more secure and regular back-up. Before transferring the database to an online location, a log-in/log-out function was added for extra security.

A version of the application had been tested in the pilot project; it was then updated as necessary before beginning the current investigation.

The first update was the addition of a middle name field. This was added partway through the pilot project, when middle names began to appear in the records. A second update was the addition of new SQL queries to the Reports page. For example, one original query generated a list of names in a particular parish, and number of occurrences. A new query was added which refined this list of names by date, so the name-stock for a parish could be viewed within a specific timespan. Queries generating the stock of surnames were also added; this option had not been needed in the previous study, but was required here for the analysis of transferred surnames.

3.3.1.3 *Baptismal data*

The baptismal records were the main source for this research. Generally, they provided information on the full name (first name, surname, and middle name if given) of the child, the name of the father, and the date of baptism. Other information was largely parish-dependent, with most clerks recording the mother's first and maiden name, the occupation of the father, and the family's location within the parish.

More information was usually given if the child was born to a particularly prominent family within the parish. For example, when Robert Lees was baptised in Govan in 1729, the clerk listed all the witnesses, including "Sir Robert Stewart of Tillicoustone" and "Hugh Stewart his brother the laird of Keir", as well as writing that the minister baptising the child was Charles Coatts (646/1 FR132).

Baptismal information was entered into a data input form, which can be seen in Figure 3-7.

The entry fields on this form are as follows:

- First name
 - 'First name' refers to the first name of the child.
- Middle name
 - Middle names were gradually emerging during the period in question; this field was added during the pilot study in response to middle names appearing in the late eighteenth century.
- Last name
 - Clerks had various approaches to how they entered records into the registers but, usually, the surname was given alongside the father's name rather than immediately after the child's name. The mother's maiden name was often also given, but it was assumed that the child had taken the father's name. The father's surname was thus entered into the 'Last Name' field, while the mother's was entered alongside her first name in the 'Mother's Name' field. On occasion, no surname was given for the father, and, in these cases, the 'Last Name' field was left blank. However, if the child was recorded as illegitimate, with no mention of the father, the mother's maiden name was entered into the 'Last Name' field as it was assumed the child would take her name.
- Sex
- Parish
- Father's name
- Mother's name
- Godparent I
- Godparent II
- Godparent III

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:

Father's Name:

Mother's Name:

Godparent I:

Godparent II:

Godparent III:

Date of Baptism: Unknown

Date of Death: Unknown

Record Note:

Personal Note:

Reference:

Figure 3-7: Data entry form in the database application

- Date of baptism
 - The registers usually refer to the baptismal date rather than the birth date. Occasionally, a birth date was provided alongside the baptismal date, but this was usually in instances where baptism had been delayed. Rarely, if the entry referred to a child born into an influential family, the birth date (sometimes including day and time) was provided regardless of the time between it and the baptismal date. If baptism was delayed by only a few days or weeks, the baptismal date was entered into the 'Date of Baptism' field and the birth date was noted in the 'Record Note' field. If baptism was delayed by several months or years, the birth date was entered into the 'Date of Baptism' field and the baptismal date noted in the 'Record Note' field. This was done so that, when grouping and analysing, children were not misplaced in the birth order of their family.
- Date of death
 - As discussed in 2.3.5.1, if analysing the practice of substitution, the burial records should be consulted to confirm the death of a child. Unfortunately, burial records for most parishes are non-existent or were poorly updated. To combat this, as noted in 3.2, the availability of burial registers was one of the criteria for a parish being selected, with the hope that a study of substitution will be possible.
- Record note
 - Important additional information given in the parish record was entered in this field. Clerks often noted such features as the father's occupation, legitimacy, witnesses at the baptism, and the location of the parents' residence within the parish. Occasionally, they also provided information on the source of the child's name. The original spelling has been preserved, and information entered into this field has been used to help with the grouping of records into familial units (discussed in 3.3.2).
- Personal note
 - This field allows the researcher to comment upon any unusual features of the baptismal entry, such as variant spelling. Recording remarks in this way enhances the overall efficiency of the database; particularly interesting

records can be quickly revisited through a combined usage of the search function and personal notes.

- Reference
 - the reference of the microfilm or image from which the data was gathered, as discussed in 3.3.1.

Once all information had been entered into the input page, the data was saved by pressing ‘Save Record’. This button was disabled after one click, to avoid duplication of data due to accidental double-clicking.

3.3.1.4 Burial data

Burial data is non-essential for the grouping of familial units, and the majority of the proposed naming analysis can be conducted without such information. However, burial data can be used to indicate whether the usage of any naming patterns was interrupted if a child died early or if a close relative (e.g. parent, grandparent, aunt or uncle) had died shortly before or at the time of the child’s birth, in order to name the new child for the deceased relative. The practice of substitution, specifically naming a child for a previously deceased same-sex elder sibling, can only be investigated with the burial data. Therefore, burial information, although not essential for many types of analysis, is valuable when understanding the figures within a family group and crucial if examining substitution and similar practices.

The burial records are renowned for being irregularly updated (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 56), and many parishes did not have burial registers at all during the early modern period. Therefore, as described in 3.2, some parishes were selected over others if they contained a reasonable number of burial records.

In 3.3.1.3, an overview of the input form for baptismal data was given. One of the headings on this form was ‘Date of Death’; baptismal records were entered into the database and later updated if relevant details were given in the parish’s burial register.

3.3.1.5 Marital data

Marital data was collected during the compilation of case studies for Chapter 6. The collection of such data enabled cross-referencing of the individuals concerned to confirm, as far as possible, all relevant records had been found. For example, the presumed first child of Andrea Anderson and James Fowler (discussed in 6.2.1) was Margaret, baptised in

November 1820. The parents' marriage was found to have taken place in February 1820. Assuming the couple did not procreate before marriage and considering the time since their wedding, Margaret is thus confirmed to be the first child of Andrea and James. If the couple had married in 1810, it would be highly possible that there were children born in the period 1810-1820 who, for reasons explored in 3.4.2, had not been entered into the baptismal records.

Unlike the burial records, marital details were not entered into the baptismal data entry form or stored alongside the baptismal information. This was primarily because marital details were used purely for case study analysis and were not required for general analysis of naming practices. Additionally, a baptism and a burial would refer to only one child, but a marriage of the child's parents could be applicable to several children. Instead, these details were entered into MS Word documents and consulted while case study analysis was ongoing.

3.3.2 Data-organisation: grouping

Once entered into the database, records could be used in the establishment and analysis of the name-stock, with these processes requiring only a substantial collection of names. However, to analyse naming practices, these records must first be grouped together into familial units each comprising father, mother, and all known children of that couple.

There is typically little functionality on the Records page of the database, which simply displays the records in a selected parish. However, Group Mode could be enabled by pressing the button seen in Figure 3-8. The display before and after entering Group Mode can also be seen in this Figure. To group records, the checkboxes beside the relevant records are selected and the chosen group-name then entered into the box at the top of the page. After clicking 'Group', the selected entries appear together on the Groups page under the given group-name. These records would then be hidden from the Records page while Group Mode was enabled, so that the user could see which records still remained to be grouped. If a record was accidentally missed and the group had already been created, it could be added to an existing group by simply selecting the checkbox and entering the relevant group-name. If required, groups could be disbanded or records removed from existing groups via functions on the Groups page.

Here is a breakdown of all the records currently held in the database. You can sort the following column (to order by descending then you need to click it twice):

Page: [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#)

| Surname | First Name | Middle Name | Sex | Father's Name | Mother's Name |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| MacRae | Roderick | | Male | Donald | Margaret Mackenzie |
| MacRae | James | | Male | James | Ann Stewart |

Here is a breakdown of all the records currently held in the database. You can sort the following column (to order by descending then you need to click it twice):

Page: [1](#)

| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Surname | First Name | Middle Name | Sex | Father's Name | Mother's Name |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Aird | John | | Male | Alexander | Helina Baine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Aird | Helen | | Female | Alexander | Helen Baine |

Figure 3-8: Display on database application before and after entering Grouping mode

When grouping records together, the first variable considered was that of surname. Although there were occasional inconsistencies in spelling (see 3.4.6), the same surname was generally given to all offspring of a couple and it was therefore relatively easy to trace. Surnames could also be used when researching the potential grandparents of a set of children, as males retained their surname when they themselves became fathers, and mothers' maiden names were frequently given in the records. This approach is supported by Plakans, who, when discussing the study of historical kinship, advises (1984: 152):

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

Therefore, when grouping records together, surname was considered to be the primary variable which should match.

It was also important that the parents' names, if given, and period of baptism should be the same for all records concerned. The mother's name was not always provided, but the accompanying information often provided sufficient evidence that a group of records belonged to the same familial unit. For example, the mother's name was not recorded in the Saltoun entry for William Sibbald (Figure 3-9). However, the other details given in that record – surname, father's name, father's occupation, and residence within the parish – are consistent with those given in the four other records. In addition, the baptismal date – 16th February 1723 – fits closely with the other dates represented, being 13 months after the baptism of Helen, and ten months before the baptism of Eupham.

| <u>Surname</u> | <u>First Name</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Father's Name</u> | <u>Mother's Name</u> | <u>Date of Baptism</u> | <u>Record Note</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Sibbald | Charles | Male | Charles | Christian Turner | 1717-10-13 | Gardner in Hermistoun |
| Sibbald | Patrick | Male | Charles | Christian Turner | 1720-02-14 | Gardner in Hermistoun |
| Sibbald | Helen | Female | Charles | Christian Turner | 1722-01-21 | Gardner in Hermistoun |
| Sibbald | William | Male | Charles | | 1723-02-16 | Gardner in Hermistoun |
| Sibbald | Eupham | Female | Charles | Christian Turner | 1723-12-29 | Gardner in Hermistoun |

Figure 3-9: Sibbald family

When considering baptismal dates, it seemed usual for a couple to have a child every two or three years. As seen above, this gap was sometimes smaller; however, the ten-month difference here allows for the fulfilment of the gestation period, and the assumption that these children are related thus remains valid. If the gap was substantially larger than three years, it was possible that a child had been born during this period but the baptism had not been recorded. For example, William Murdoch and Janet Kirkpatrick in Tongland had a child in 1740 and a second in 1749. It was considered likely that at least one other child had been born within this nine-year gap, and that the group was therefore not suitable for analysis of naming patterns. The process for the exclusion of such families is discussed below.

As can be seen in Figure 3-9 above, clerks also often provided additional information, such as details about the parents' residence within the parish, or information on the occupation of the father. Such information was useful when grouping families together, though, as the father's occupation and/or the residence of the family might change during this period, it could not always be relied upon. For example, in Figure 3-10, the entries share the same surname, father's name, and mother's name, and the children were baptised within the same general period: the 1780s and 1790s. However, the occupation of the father and residence of the family change, with the father first being a "Weaver in Uaibeg", then a

“Weaver and Tenent in Ballamhulich”, and finally “Weaver and Tenent in Ballamhulich and presently Soldier in Reay Tencibles”. In this instance, the progression in both occupation and location is clear to see; however, it should be borne in mind that similar progressions in other familial units are not necessarily so clear and thus, although extra information provided by the clerk is useful when grouping records together, it may not be as consistent as the surname and parents’ names.

| <u>Surname</u> | <u>First Name</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Father's Name</u> | <u>Mother's Name</u> | <u>Date of Baptism</u> | <u>Record Note</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---|
| MacCulloch | John | Male | John | Catharine Mackay | 1785-09-18 | Weaver in Uaibeg |
| MacCulloch | James | Male | John | Catharine Mackay | 1788-08-11 | Weaver in Uaibeg |
| MacCulloch | Angus | Male | John | Katharine Mackay | 1791-10-02 | Weaver and Tenent in Ballamhulich |
| MacCulloch | Christian | Female | John | Catharine Mackay | 1795-08-04 | Weaver and Tenent in Ballamhulich and presently Soldier in Reay Tencibles and Catharine Mackay alias NinrobmacEanmacuilam macneil |

Figure 3-10: MacCulloch family

It was discovered during the pilot study that a further type of information was sometimes provided. As a small rural community, Earlston (Berwickshire) had a relatively small stock of both first names and surnames, and there were consequently several people with the same name. Some parishioners gained nicknames which helped to differentiate between them, and the clerk occasionally recorded these. In Earlston, there were two men named Andrew Purves who were living and procreating during the same period (Figure 3-11). For purposes of differentiation, one was known as “litle Andrew” and the other was known as “Lang Andrew”.

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

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

Figure 3-11: Nicknames recorded for two men named Andrew Purves

The same practice was seen during this project. A Durness clerk wrote that one father, Alexander Fraser, was “commonly called Alister Beg i.e little Alexander” (048/00 0010 0029), and another (Donald Macleod alias Macnishbhain) was “commonly called little Donald Bain” (048/00 0010 0031). Examples were also found in Tongland, where the clerk

noted the father John Chartours was “commonly called Balanan John, but living in Dunlop” (881/1 FR0017) and “[living in] Dunlop (for distinction sake called Balanan John)” (881/1 FR0014). Although examples like these are uncommon, they can assist in the accurate grouping of baptismal entries, and as such help to avoid a significant methodological issue, outlined by Durie (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.

As the clerks primarily seem to record nicknames in order to differentiate between individuals with the same name, consideration of these nicknames during the grouping process helps to negate the problem described by Durie.

Once a set of records had been established as belonging to a single familial unit, a group-name was chosen. Examples of group-names include *Andrew [Robt4]*, *Murdoch [Wm3/]*, and *Strachan [John1]*. As the primary variable considered when creating groups was that of the surname, the surname was used as the first part of the group-name. An abbreviated version of the father’s name was then included. The mother’s name was not generally used since it was not always consistently provided in the records; however, if the children were illegitimate and no father’s name was given, her name would instead be used: e.g. *Cochrane [Anna1]*. A number would then be included, to differentiate between various *Robert Andrews*, for example, who had had children in that parish. Finally, certain characters – a forward slash `</>` or a question mark `<?>` – were used to indicate that there was some uncertainty over whether the records assigned to that group were suitable for naming pattern analysis; for example, *Murdoch [Wm3/]* refers to the group mentioned above, in which there was a significant delay between baptismal entries. When composing SQL queries to extract data from the database, it could be specified that records should not be extracted for analysis if their group-name contained one of these two symbols. Therefore, results would not be affected by the presence of any groups of which the members were not totally secure.

3.3.3 Data-extraction: SQL queries

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

- Through pre-written stored procedures, accessed on the Reports page (see Figure 3-12). These were run by selecting the required variables (e.g. females in Kilmallie) and executing the function.
- Through directly accessing the data on the local server and inputting custom SQL queries, composed with the assistance of the database developer.

Pre-written stored procedures represent the majority of queries run, as these were both safer and more efficient, requiring only the selection of the relevant variables. These stored procedures were designed to extract sets of data which were frequently consulted, such as ‘all families with at least one daughter in a particular parish’ and ‘all first names in a particular parish, with number of occurrences’.

If a custom report was required, the SQL query was manually written and directly executed against the local database, using phpMyAdmin, a database administration tool. After such queries had been executed, the output was verified through secondary manual checks. Where necessary, support with composition was provided by the database developer.

Where the required output was a single figure (e.g. number of records in a parish), this figure was simply displayed in a box on the Records page. Otherwise, and in the majority of cases, the execution of a query resulted in the creation of a CSV file, which was then opened and manipulated in Microsoft Excel.

| Report | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Number of | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> -- Please Select -- <input type="checkbox"/> Males <input type="checkbox"/> Females <input type="checkbox"/> Unknowns <input type="checkbox"/> All | in <input type="text" value="Kilmallie"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List and co | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | firstnames in <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List families with 3 or more | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | naming in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| List linked groups (grandparents) in | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| Groups with at least one | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | in <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |
| Distinct familial groups in | <input type="text" value="-- Please Select --"/> | <input type="button" value="Execute"/> |

Figure 3-12: Pre-written SQL queries on the Reports page of the database application

3.3.4 Data-analysis: policy on spelling of names

As might be expected considering the time period, clerks used a variety of spellings when recording names in the baptismal records. Spellings as given by the clerks have been preserved in the database. For name-stock analysis, variant spellings of the same name were grouped under a single headform; issues with this process are discussed in 4.2.2. Discussion of particular names throughout the text refers to these headforms, but discussion of specific people uses the spelling given in their baptismal record. For example, Janat Kirk was baptised in Longside in 1706 (881/1 FR0017), and her name falls under the headform *Janet*.

Some headforms do not correspond to the usual modern form; for example, *Catharene*, *Niel*, and *Willhelmina* (rather than *Catherine* or *Katherine*, *Neil*, and *Wilhelmina*) are all chosen headforms. This results from the process in which headforms were chosen. Variant spellings were noted for each parish; the spellings of *Catharene* in Govan are given in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4: Recorded spellings of *Catharene* in Govan

| Spelling | No. of occurrences |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Catharen | 4 |
| Catharine | 40 |
| Catherine | 78 |
| Cathrine | 5 |
| Katharine | 1 |
| Katherine | 121 |
| Kathren | 6 |
| Kathrine | 5 |
| Katrine | 1 |
| Total | 261 |

For each parish, the most frequent spelling was then adopted as its primary spelling. In Govan, the most frequent spelling was *Katherine* with 121 occurrences, so Govan's name-stock was reported to contain 261 children under the spelling *Katherine*. The primary spelling from each parish was then compared (Table 3-5), and the spelling with the largest total became the overall headform.

Table 3-5: Primary spelling of *Catharene* in each parish

| Parish | Primary spelling | No. of bearers |
|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | Katharine | 171 |
| Dundonald | Catherine | 61 |
| Durness | Catharine | 98 |
| Govan | Katherine | 261 |
| Holm | Katharine | 89 |
| Kilmallie | Catharine | 274 |
| Kilrenny | Katharine | 124 |
| Longside | Katharine | 61 |
| Saltoun | Katharine | 74 |
| Tiree | Catharene | 574 |
| Tongland | Catherine | 16 |
| Total | | 1,803 |

In this way, *Catharene* was chosen as the headform for all 1803 bearers, as it was the primary spelling for 574 bearers (*Katharine* represented 519, *Catherine* 351, *Katherine* 261, and *Catharine* 98).

3.4 Methodological issues

3.4.1 Mobility

In Govan, a female child named Somervail McIndoe was baptised in 1779 (646/2 FR378); her unusual first name had been her mother's maiden name. In Govan's baptismal records, she was last found as the mother of an illegitimate child in 1800. Here, her name was spelled Sommerville McIndoe and the child was fathered by James Purdon (646/2 FR413).

When collecting the data for Kilmallie, a record was found where the mother of a child born in 1810 was named as Summervill MacInduie, with the father being Andrew Young (520/1 FR183); another child was also baptised in 1812 (520/1 FR191), with the mother's name this time being spelled Somerville McIndoe. The dates of the birth of her illegitimate child and the births of these children in Kilmallie were close enough that it could be the same mother, and her name was unusual. I therefore consulted the marital records for both Govan and Kilmallie, and found that a Somervell MacIndoe had married Andrew Young in 1802 in Govan (644/01 0270 0330). It can therefore be hypothesised that Andrew and Somerville moved to Kilmallie, approximately 100 miles north of Govan, at some point

between 1802 and 1810. This range could be refined further if baptismal records for Govan were checked for this intermediary period, to see if children were born to the couple there.

This check was not carried out, as it was not deemed necessary to explore the ventures of one particular family. However, this discovery meant that certain precautions must be taken when analysing data. It highlighted the fact that, although many families might stay in the same place for their entire lives, it was highly possible for people to move between parishes. This could be problematic when records were being grouped together.

Somerville, for example, had had an illegitimate child before the marriage, had married Andrew elsewhere, and had potentially also had legitimate children before moving to Kilmallie; if analysing the Kilmallie baptismal records alone, these facts would not have been known and a true picture of the naming practices of this familial unit would not have been gained.

It must therefore be noted that mobility may have a slight impact upon percentages presented in Chapter 5, particularly those concerning parent-child name-sharing and birth order. Percentages given in Chapter 6 are not affected: marital records were sourced for the case study families discussed to ensure that, as far as possible, all children of a marriage had been recorded.

3.4.2 Records outwith the study period

This research project concerns the naming of children between 1680 and 1839, and the baptismal records for this period have been collected. However, many of the couples having children in the 1680s and 1690s may have had children before the year 1680, and thus their eldest children are not represented in the database. Without also collecting records for the years preceding 1680, it cannot be known how many children these couples had before that time. It would therefore be invalid to study the patterns of naming of those families who were procreating during the first few years for which records have been collected. To combat this, familial units were not analysed for conformity to a naming pattern if the eldest known child in that group had been baptised within a ten-year period of record collection beginning in the parish. When grouping records, a forward slash `</>` was entered into the name of these groups; as discussed in 3.3.2, data was only extracted from those groups where the group-name did not contain this symbol. For example, the first known son of William Booth, George, was baptised one year after record collection began in Longside (218/00 0010 0076); all children of William Booth were thus grouped

under the headform *Booth [Wm1/]* and were not included in analysis of naming patterns. By this means, any methodological issues caused by records preceding the study period were negated.

It is unnecessary to exclude those families who may have been procreating after 1839, when the period of study ends. Any naming patterns should be seen in the names of the eldest children rather than the youngest; therefore, even if a family is represented in the database by only their eldest children, the analysis is still valid.

The records not analysed for naming patterns were still included in the name-stock analysis, as, in the latter examination, names of parents and siblings are not taken into account. This means that the naming pattern analysis refers to the period 1690-1839, while the name-stock analysis refers to the period 1680-1839.

For those parishes where records did not begin until after 1680, the naming patterns were not analysed for those families having children within the ten years after the records began. For example, the Kilmallie records began in 1772, and therefore families procreating before 1782 were not analysed for any naming patterns. This treatment of the records ensures that the overall analysis of the parishes is secure.

3.4.3 Clerical errors

This study involves the collection of over 63,000 baptismal entries, recorded by a number of clerks. Given the likelihood of human error, several of these baptismal entries may have been inaccurately recorded. It is sometimes possible to see where an error has potentially occurred, and, in these cases, group-names can be used to indicate that there is some doubt as to the contents of that group.

For example, in Dundonald, Matthew Allan was listed as the father of eight children, who were baptised between 1788 and 1805. For seven of these, the mother was named as Agnes Porter, but, for the eldest, she was named as Elizabeth Porter. Matthew Allan was the only known father of that name in the parish, and thus, given the mothers' surnames are the same, it seems likely that *Elizabeth* was a clerical error and *Agnes* was the intended name. However, the additional information given in the records cannot be used to confirm this, with the clerk variously providing such details as "Dundonald", "late Servant to Fairlie", and "labourer in Oldrome". Given the subsequent uncertainty concerning the identity of Elizabeth Porter, these children cannot be analysed as a single familial unit as it is unclear

whether they share the same parents. Conversely, the single record referring to Elizabeth Porter cannot be grouped separately: this would both ignore the likelihood that a clerical error is present, and potentially result in misleading analysis of the remaining seven children. Therefore, in cases such as this, the relevant children have been grouped together in a single familial unit, but a question mark <?> has been inserted into the group-name to indicate that the group is not secure. The children of Matthew Allan, for example, have been grouped under *Allan [Matt 1/2?]*. As noted in 3.3.2, the inclusion of this symbol ensures that this group is not used for analysis of naming patterns.

The process described here ensures that, where potential clerical errors have been found, these errors do not affect the overall validity of the results presented throughout this study. However, as it is not always possible to spot such inaccuracies, the prospect of errors occurring must be borne in mind when considering such results.

3.4.4 Familial extensions

As discussed in 3.3.2, a familial unit generally contains details of a single family, comprising father, mother, and all known children born to that couple. However, on occasion, there is reason to include other children who do not share both parents.

For example, in one of the case studies discussed in Chapter 6, John Pollock remarried after the death of his first wife, with both marriages resulting in children (6.2.12). As the children all share a father, it is likely that, if his first set of children had been named according to a particular naming pattern, this practice would have continued with his younger children. Therefore, these records should be analysed together when investigating the family's usage of naming practices.

A similar situation applies to those children who are products of an adulterous relationship. In Durness, Duncan McLeod had four children with an unnamed wife before having a fifth child, Grizel, through an adulterous relationship with Chrion (presumably *Christian*) Blecket (218/00 0010 0326). As with the example of John Pollock, it seems plausible that Duncan McLeod may have chosen to apply any naming practices to both his legitimate and illegitimate children, and these children should thus be analysed as a single group.

When using such groups for the analysis of naming practices, it is of course important to bear in mind that, although these children have the same father, they do not have the same mother. However, grouping the children in this way does not affect analysis of such

practices as mother-daughter name-sharing. The data-output used for the examination of such rates has a column for the child's first name and an adjacent column for the mother's first name as given in the child's baptismal record. These columns were then directly compared to ascertain rates of name-sharing. Therefore, a child of John Pollock's first wife, Agnes, would not be incorrectly marked as sharing a name with his second wife, Margaret, for example.

Although all children of both John Pollock and Duncan McLeod were grouped together, this was not the case for all illegitimate children or children who were products of second marriages. Matthew Hay was the reported father of eight children in Dundonald between 1764 and 1773, and, in three of those records, it was noted that the child was illegitimate. However, neither *Matthew* nor *Hay* were especially uncommon names in the parish, and the additional information given by the clerk does not confirm that the same man fathered all eight children: the records of the legitimate children note the family live in Plewlands, but not all the records of the illegitimate children record the father's residence. Therefore, although it seems likely that one man is the father of all eight children, it cannot be known for certain. These children were therefore grouped together as one familial unit, but were excluded from naming pattern analysis through the insertion of `</>` into the group-name: *Hay [Matt1/2?]*.

An examination of those families where not all children shared the same parents would be a valuable topic of future research. In particular, it would be worthwhile to study those children who are illegitimate additions to an otherwise legitimate set of children, to determine whether naming practices are applied regardless of legitimacy. However, for the purposes of this study, children who are the product of a second marriage or of a relationship outside marriage have been grouped in such a way that any analysis of naming practices remains valid.

3.4.5 Missing information

On occasion, important information was not given in the records. Mothers' names were not consistently recorded in all parishes; for example, they appeared only sporadically in Dundonald until 1754. The clerk might not record the name of a child or a father: a 1711 record in Holm read "Margaret Allan daughter to" (019/00 0010 0130) and a 1776 entry in the same parish simply noted the surname *Cleat* alongside the date (019/00 0010 0159).

Sometimes the information had originally been recorded, but the page had been ripped or parts of the entry were illegible due to water damage.

The occasional lack of information led to difficulties when grouping children into familial units, especially as many surnames were extremely common. Sometimes it was still possible to ascertain which familial unit the record belonged to. For example, the father's name was not given in the baptismal record for James, son to Magdalene Neilson (Govan: 646/1 FR0179). Magdalene Neilson had several children with her husband Henry Corner around the same time; as the mother's name was unusual and James was noted as being legitimate, it can be presumed that James also belonged to this familial unit.

Usually, however, this process was not possible, particularly when mothers' names regularly went unrecorded. For example, in Dundonald, John Black was named as the father of six children baptised between 1728 and 1740. No mother's name was recorded, *Black* was the surname of at least 12 fathers in the parish and was thus not especially unusual, and the extra information given by the clerk varied: the family's location within the parish was recorded as Loachside four times, and Guilliland for the last two records. Although it is possible that the family moved during the period in question, it likewise cannot be assumed that all six children were born to the same John Black. In situations such as this, mass groups were created. These mass groups contain all records which share common features (for example, surname and period of birth) but could not be presumed to be part of the same core family. When creating mass groups, a forward slash was entered into the group-name – e.g *Black [John2/3?]* – so that affected groups could be ignored by the relevant SQL queries and subsequently excluded from analysis of naming patterns.

3.4.6 Inconsistent spelling

This study analyses primary material from the early modern period, when the spelling of names had not yet been entirely standardised. In addition, the project covers a significant period of time and a large number of clerks have therefore been responsible for producing the sources. When consulting this material, therefore, it is understandable that a variety of spellings would be encountered. This issue in relation to the name-stock is discussed in 4.2.2, but it also affects the grouping of familial units and the selection of group-names.

Group-names had to be carefully chosen to ensure the database was as easy to use as possible. For example, if one branch of a family were grouped under a headform *Mackintosh*, and a second branch were grouped under *McIntosh*, the groups would not be

adjacent in the alphabetically-ordered database; subsequently, one branch may be accidentally overlooked when attempting to ascertain potential grandparents, uncles, and aunts. Therefore, headforms were used in group-names to ensure all families with the same or similar surnames were easy to locate in the database.

Variation in spelling is often slight: in Kilmallie, Mary Wilson was the daughter of Robert Willson (520/1 FR0003), and her brother was named as Robert Willson, son of Robert Wilson (520/1 FR0030). Although it is perhaps surprising that the clerk uses two different spellings in each of these baptismal records, it is nevertheless clear that *Wilson* and *Willson* are variant spellings of the same name. *Wilson*, the variant which appeared more frequently, was used as the headform.

In other cases, spelling is less straightforward. In the pilot study, it was noted that the spellings *McEldoe* and *McIndoe* initially appeared to refer to two different names, each with several variant spellings. However, it transpired that both spellings were used for the same families: for example, the Govan group *McEldoe [Robt1]* contained occurrences of *McEldoe*, *McIndoe*, *McLdoe*, *McLedoe*, and *Mclindo*, while *McEldoe [Wm1]*, also in Govan, contained occurrences of *McEldoe*, *Mcindoe*, and *McLedoe*. Other names with multiple spellings include *Zuill* (e.g. *Euill*, *Guil*, *Yooll*, and *Youille*), which was probably originally *Zuill*, and *Meiklevenie* (e.g. *Macilveny*, *McKilveny*, *Meikleveinie*, and *Mickleviny*).

Choosing a headform for these groups is more complex. Generally, the variant which was most prevalent in the parish was selected as the headform. *McEldoe* was used over *McIndoe* as incidences of *McEldoe*, *McLdow*, *Mockledoe*, and *McLedoe*, for example, were more frequent than of *McIndoe* and *Mclindo*. Where variants were equally frequent, the form which occurred most recently was used as the headform. For example, in Kilmallie, there were two children with a surname written alternately *Jenkins* or *Jenkin*. *Jenkins* was used in 1785 (520/1 FR0066), and *Jenkin* was used in 1819 (520/1 FR0210). As *Jenkin* was the later spelling, it was chosen to be the headform.

Although there were numerous inconsistencies in spelling throughout the sources, the problems caused by this were negated through cross-referencing of baptismal records and careful selection of headforms. Although the group-names themselves contain slightly standardised forms of the recorded names, this is purely for ease of analysis, and the database entries themselves preserve the original spelling given in the OPRs.

Chapter 4 – Name-stock of Early Modern Scotland

4.1 Overview

This chapter examines the overall dataset compiled for the study, and discusses the size and content of both the full name-stock and the name-stocks of individual parishes.

Diachronic analysis, although necessary for a full understanding of an area's name-stock, could not be included in this study due to constraints upon both time and word-count. The figures presented here should therefore be treated with care as the study encompasses a lengthy period – 140 years – and names are unlikely to have maintained a consistent level of usage throughout this time. In addition, as discussed in 3.2, baptismal records were not available for all parishes throughout the entire period; figures presented in this chapter are thus skewed towards those parishes where baptismal records were available. Although diachronic analysis could not be carried out for this study, it is anticipated that future research using this dataset will incorporate such analysis and refine the figures presented here.

4.1.1 Size of name-stock

The baptisms of 63,460 children were collected, and 62,456 (98.42%) of these were suitable for inclusion in the name-stock analysis. The remainder were excluded from analysis due to illegibility or a name not being provided.

Of these 62,456 children, there were 30,106 females and 32,255 males. There were also 95 individuals of unknown sex.

The name-stock of the dataset amounted to 478 names, with 465 (97.28%) being attributable to either males or females. The remaining 13 names were given only to individuals of unknown sex, and consisted largely of transferred surnames (e.g. *Arnott*, *Smibert*, *Strachan*; see 4.3.2).

The name-stock is relatively large, but not all names were frequently used. Of 478 names, 186 (38.91%) were used only once, representing 0.3% of the population. Conversely, the top 20 names in use accounted for 76.36% of name-bearers, while the top 100 names accounted for 97.71%. The uneven distribution can be seen in Figure 4-1, which displays the number of name-bearers per name.

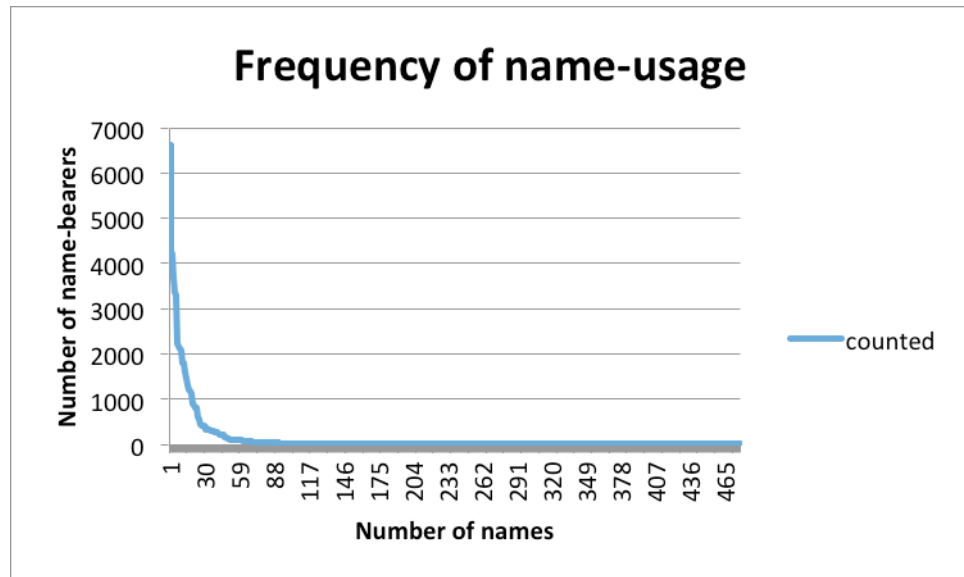


Figure 4-1: Frequency of name-usage

When these names are separated into male and female names, the distribution patterns remain similar. In total, 239 names were given to 32,355 males. Of these, 108 (48.18%) were used only once, representing 0.33% of the male population. The top 20 names in use accounted for 89.75%, while the top 100 accounted for 99.45%. 267 names were given to 30,106 females. Of these, 111 (41.57%) were used once, representing 0.37% of the female population. The top 20 names accounted for 91.23%, while the top 100 accounted for 99.13%.

Although a figure of 519 is reached if simply adding the male, female, and unknown name-stocks (239, 267, and 13 names for children of unknown sex), there are nevertheless 478 names in the overall name-stock. This apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that several names were borne by both male and female children.

Overall, there are only slight differences between the distributions of the male and female name-stocks, as can be seen in Figure 4-2 and Figure 4-3. There are more male names used between 100 and 1,000 times (22 male names against 14 female names), and more female names used between 2 and 99 times (132 female names against 101 male names).

Otherwise the distribution is very similar, especially when considering the names which are represented by 1,000-2,000 or more than 2,000 uses: 9 male names (3.77% of the male name-stock) and 10 female names (3.75% of the female name-stock) fall into these categories.

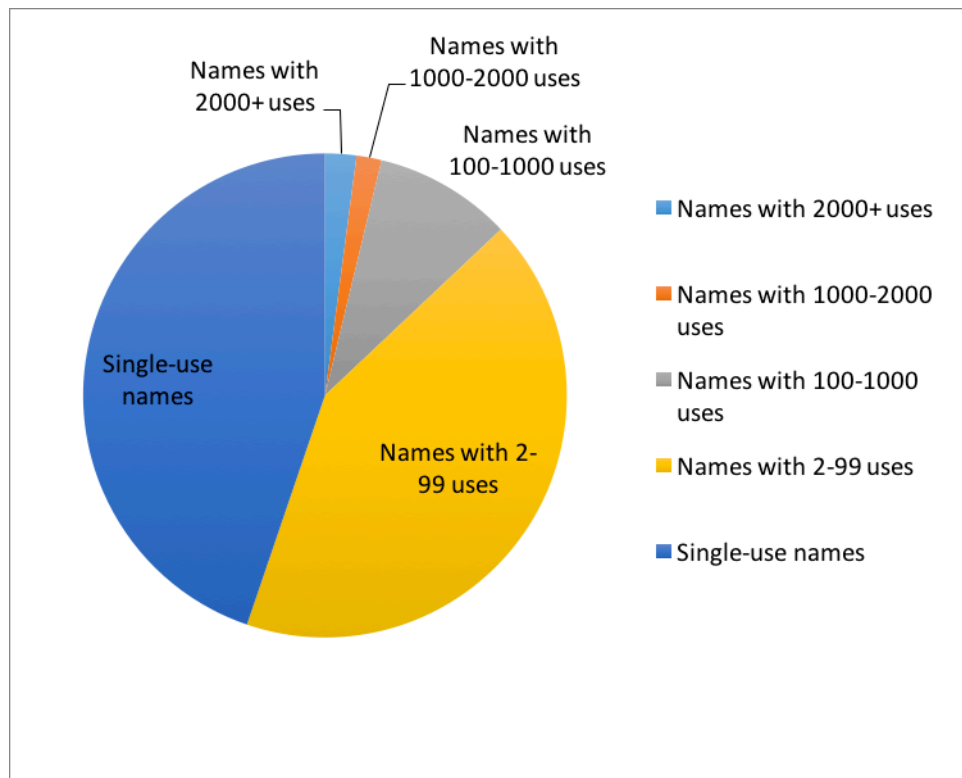


Figure 4-2: Frequency of use of 239 male names

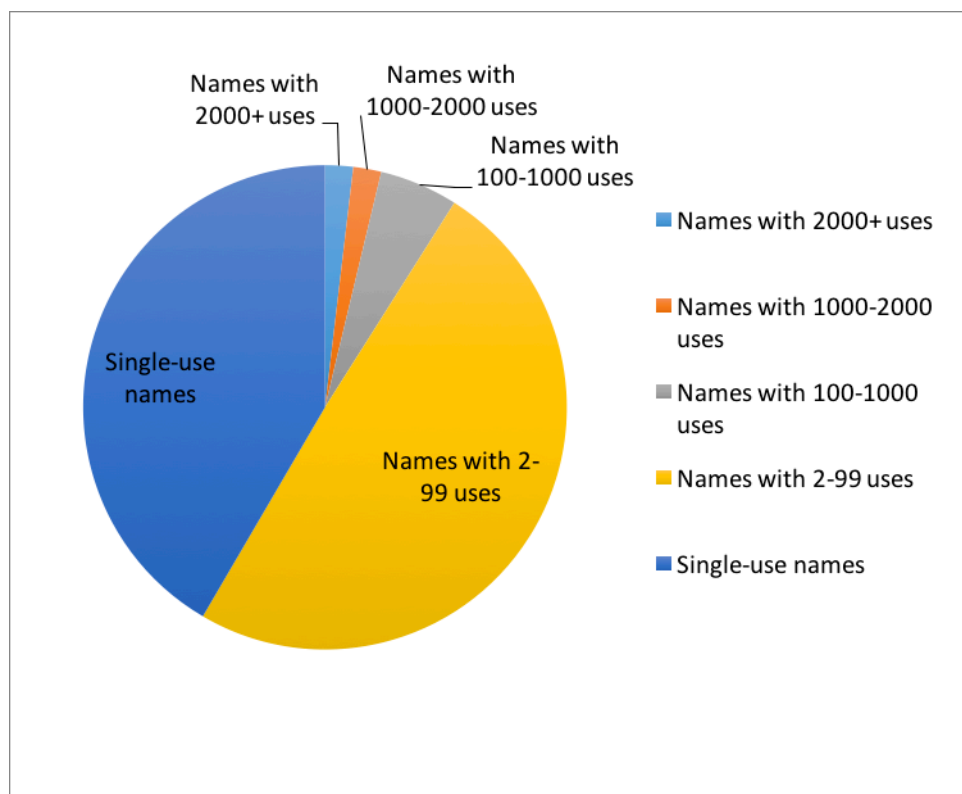


Figure 4-3: Frequency of use of 267 female names

Figure 4-2 and Figure 4-3 focus on the name-stock itself and the proportions which are represented in the data in various frequencies; however, it is also important to examine the

data with a focus on the people who are represented. Figure 4-4 and Figure 4-5 show how the name-stock applies to the male and female populations; the top five names for each sex were given to 58.78% of the males and 49.92% of the females. Conversely, 4.75% of the male and 6.71% of the female children were given a name which overall had fewer than 100 uses. Overall, this means that 87.03% of the male name-stock represents only 4.75% of the male population, and 91.01% of the female name-stock represents 6.71% of the female population.

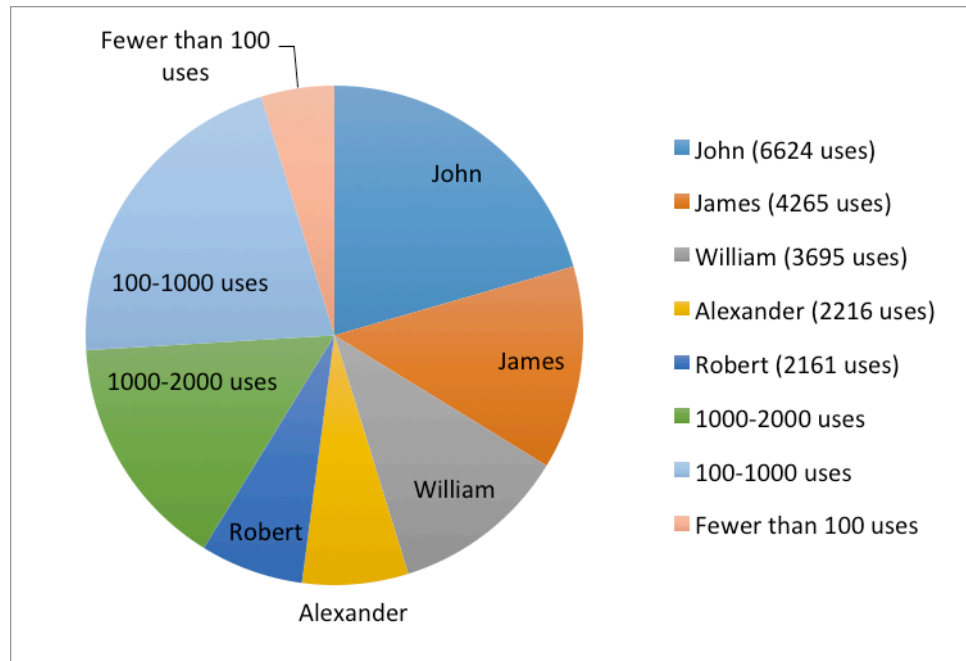


Figure 4-4: Distribution of male names, including top 5

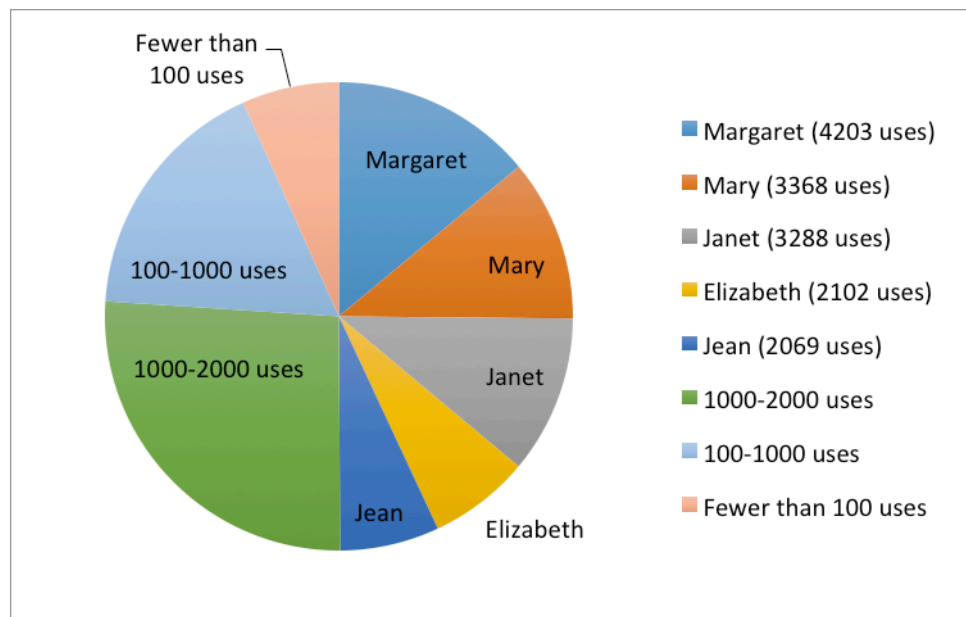


Figure 4-5: Distribution of female names, including top 5

These charts represent the 30,106 females and 32,255 males for whom baptismal data was gathered. However, as earlier stated, there were also 95 individuals of unknown sex. These 95 children had one of 52 names: of these, 80 had one of 39 names which were also in use by male and/or female children, and 15 had one of 13 names which were not represented in the male or female name-stocks. These names are further discussed in 4.1.2.3.

4.1.1.1 Size of name-stock, parish-specific

Although there are 478 names in the overall name-stock, this figure represents analysis of over 60,000 bearers and, particularly with the large proportion of single-use names, therefore cannot be said to represent each parish. The size of the name-stock for each parish is given in Table 4-1, alongside the number of bearers. The ratio of names to bearers has also been provided, in decimal form.

Table 4-1: Size of individual parish name-stocks

| Parish | Names in name-stock | Number of bearers | Names to bearers |
|---------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 123 | 4,910 | 0.025 |
| Dundonald | 162 | 6,665 | 0.024 |
| Durness | 123 | 2,301 | 0.053 |
| Govan | 245 | 16,765 | 0.015 |
| Holm | 77 | 3,675 | 0.021 |
| Kilmallie | 142 | 5,011 | 0.028 |
| Kilrenny | 120 | 4,770 | 0.025 |
| Longside | 119 | 6,194 | 0.019 |
| Saltoun | 103 | 3,118 | 0.033 |
| Tiree | 90 | 7,185 | 0.013 |
| Tongland | 87 | 1,862 | 0.047 |

It can be seen here that, despite an overall stock of 478 names, most parishes have an individual name-stock approximately a quarter of that total. The mean size of the parish name-stocks is 126, the median 120, and the mode 123;¹⁵ this means that the parishes of

¹⁵ The mean, median and mode are often used to calculate the central tendency of a set of figures (Field 2011: 20). The mean is the average figure (the total divided by the number of results); the median is the middle result when all results are laid out in ascending order; the mode is the figure which occurs most frequently.

Kilrenny, Auchtermuchty, and Durness can be seen as average parishes, at least when considering this dataset.

Govan has the largest name-stock at 245 names (51.26% of the total); it also has the greatest number of bearers (16,765), so this is unsurprising. However, Holm has the smallest name-stock, with 77 names (16.11% of the total), despite there being three parishes with fewer bearers. To understand how name-stock size and bearers relate to each other, it is useful to consider the parish ratios of these, given in decimal form in the above table.

These range from 0.013 (Tiree) to 0.053 (Durness), with the mean being 0.028, the median 0.025, and the mode 0.025. The parishes that could be seen as average include Kilmallie, Dundonald, and, again, Auchtermuchty and Kilrenny. Although Durness and Tongland have the fewest bearers, both have a large ratio of names to bearers, indicating a greater degree of variation in these areas. Govan, on the other hand, has the most bearers but the smallest ratio of names to bearers, indicating overall less variation in name-giving. These are not surprising outcomes. With a fairly limited stock of names, there will necessarily be less variation in those parishes where the population is far higher; it seems reasonable to believe that the opposite would also be true.

However, there are figures in this table which are more surprising. Tiree in particular has a very small name-stock compared to its number of bearers (90 to 7,185, or 0.013). While it is the second largest parish of this dataset, it ranks 9th in the size of its name-stock. One possible explanation for this is that, due to it being situated on an island, it is potentially more isolated than many of the other parishes and there are thus fewer influences from other communities. The relatively low figure found for Holm, another island parish, would support this hypothesis.

These remarks relate to the name-stock size of each parish; however, it is also important to examine the proportions of these name-stocks which refer to male or to female children. The name-stocks were therefore divided into the names given to male, female, and unknown children; these results are given in Table 4-2. As noted for the overall name-stock in 4.1.1, several names were given to both male and female children, or to male/female and unknown children. Therefore, the figures given below do not precisely match the figures given for the overall size of each parish's name-stock.

Table 4-2: Breakdown of parish name-stocks: male, female, and unknowns

| Parish | Names of male children (bearers) | Names of female children (bearers) | Names of children of unknown sex (bearers) | Male to female names |
|---------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 53 (2,645) | 66 (2,251) | 11 (14) | 0.79 |
| Dundonald | 80 (3,461) | 85 (3,202) | 2 (2) | 0.94 |
| Durness | 39 (1,213) | 74 (1,034) | 19 (54) | 0.53 |
| Govan | 143 (8,586) | 118 (8,176) | 3 (3) | 1.12 |
| Holm | 32 (1,929) | 48 (1,746) | 0 (0) | 0.67 |
| Kilmallie | 53 (2,591) | 88 (2,418) | 2 (2) | 0.60 |
| Kilrenny | 49 (2,402) | 66 (2,355) | 14 (14) | 0.74 |
| Longside | 54 (3,165) | 67 (3,027) | 2 (2) | 0.82 |
| Saltoun | 40 (1,624) | 65 (1,491) | 3 (3) | 0.62 |
| Tiree | 40 (3,694) | 51 (3,491) | 0 (0) | 0.78 |
| Tongland | 49 (946) | 49 (915) | 1 (1) | 0.82 |

Also given in Table 4-2 are the ratios of male to female names, again in decimal form. Any figure smaller than 1 shows that there are more female names than male, and any figure greater than 1 shows that the opposite is true; the closer the figure is to 1, the closer the number of male and female names. It can therefore be seen that it is usual for there to be more female names than male names, with the mean being 0.77 and the median 0.78 (there is no mode for these figures). This indicates that, in an average parish, there would be 0.77 or 0.78 male names for every female name.

The parish of Govan stands out here as the only parish where male names outnumber female names, and it does so strongly, with 1.21 male names for every female name. Reasons for this are unknown.

4.1.2 Name-stock content

In this section, the names most frequently given to males, females, and children of unknown sex are presented. For males and females, the top 20 names are given; for unknowns, this was not possible, but a selection is provided. The entire male, female, and unknown name-stocks are given in Appendices I, II, and III, alongside the number of bearers and percentages of overall use.

The analysis in this section is based upon the entire dataset of 32,255 male children, 30,106 female children, and 95 children of unknown sex, and results therefore reflect

general name-choices. Many names, including some in the top 20, were not used in all parishes; parish-specific analysis is provided in 4.1.3.

4.1.2.1 Male names

There were 32,255 male children whose names were suitable for analysis. The full list of names and their percentages of use are given in Appendix I; the 20 names in most frequent use are given in Table 4-3 below.

Table 4-3: The most frequently used male names

| Rank | Name | Number of bearers | Percentage of male population (%) |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | John | 6,624 | 20.54 |
| 2 | James | 4,265 | 13.22 |
| 3 | William | 3,695 | 11.46 |
| 4 | Alexander | 2,216 | 6.87 |
| 5 | Robert | 2,161 | 6.70 |
| 6 | George | 1,304 | 4.04 |
| 7 | Thomas | 1,303 | 4.04 |
| 8 | David | 1,190 | 3.69 |
| 9 | Donald | 1,127 | 3.49 |
| 10 | Andrew | 896 | 2.78 |
| 11 | Archibald | 817 | 2.53 |
| 12 | Hugh | 620 | 1.92 |
| 13 | Niel | 420 | 1.30 |
| 14 | Charles | 408 | 1.26 |
| 15 | Duncan | 377 | 1.17 |
| 16 | Peter | 330 | 1.02 |
| 17 | Patrick | 319 | 0.99 |
| 18 | Ewen | 315 | 0.98 |
| 19 | Allan | 290 | 0.90 |
| 20 | Angus | 272 | 0.84 |
| TOTAL | | 28,949 | 89.75 |

It must be stressed these rankings show the names as they are represented in the entire dataset, and thus the figures are necessarily skewed towards those parishes with more bearers. For example, in Govan, the name *James* is ranked 2nd, with 1,431 of 8,586 male

children (16.67%) bearing that name. Conversely, in Kilmallie, *James* is ranked 9th, with only 73 of 2,591 (2.82%) of its male children bearing the name. The figures from the Govan parish greatly expand the overall usage of James, accounting for 1,431 of 4,265 (33.56%) of overall occurrences.

An alternative way of calculating the overall percentage of use for each name is to combine the percentage from each parish and average the total. As the calculation involves percentages rather than the number of bearers, the impact of larger parishes is reduced. For conciseness, this process will be summarised as ‘representing parishes equally’ during this section.

Table 4-4 shows the refined rankings and percentages of use for each name, once parishes were represented equally. The rankings and figures from Table 4-3 are given alongside, for comparison.

Table 4-4: Figures and rankings for male names, recalculated to represent all parishes equally

| Percentages as given in Table 4-3 | | | Percentages recalculated to represent all parishes equally | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------------|--|-----------|----------------|
| Rank | Name | Percentage (%) | Rank | Name | Percentage (%) |
| 1 | John | 20.54 | 1 | John | 19.79 |
| 2 | James | 13.22 | 2 | James | 12.76 |
| 3 | William | 11.46 | 3 | William | 11.38 |
| 4 | Alexander | 6.87 | 4 | Alexander | 7.13 |
| 5 | Robert | 6.70 | 5 | Robert | 6.30 |
| 6 | George | 4.04 | 6 | George | 4.52 |
| 7 | Thomas | 4.04 | 7 | Thomas | 4.09 |
| 8 | David | 3.69 | 8= | David | 4.01 |
| 9 | Donald | 3.49 | 8= | Donald | 4.01 |
| 10 | Andrew | 2.78 | 10 | Andrew | 2.73 |
| 11 | Archibald | 2.53 | 11 | Hugh | 2.17 |
| 12 | Hugh | 1.92 | 12 | Archibald | 1.97 |
| 13 | Niel | 1.30 | 13 | Patrick | 1.34 |
| 14 | Charles | 1.26 | 14 | Charles | 1.32 |
| 15 | Duncan | 1.17 | 15 | Angus | 1.18 |
| 16 | Peter | 1.02 | 16 | Niel | 1.17 |
| 17 | Patrick | 0.99 | 17 | Duncan | 1.14 |
| 18 | Ewen | 0.98 | 18 | Ewen | 1.11 |
| 19 | Allan | 0.90 | 19 | Peter | 1.01 |
| 20 | Angus | 0.84 | 20 | Henry | 0.76 |
| TOTAL | | 89.75 | | | 89.89 |

The names in the equal representation list have remained largely unchanged from the overall top 20, though there are some changes near the bottom of the list, with *Allan* being replaced by *Henry*, and *Angus* rising from 20th to 15th. This latter change can be summarised as follows: *Angus* is a predominant name in parishes including Durness (where 6.01% of male children bore the name), which is one of the smaller parishes. However, it is used very infrequently in parishes such as Govan, the largest parish, where only 0.03% of male children had the name. Taking the average percentage for the name means that the high percentage for a low-population parish (such as Durness) is more

accurately included, and is not over-diluted by the low percentage for a high-population parish (such as Govan).

Even when taking an average percentage, the rankings display the overall popularity of a name, and such rankings differ greatly between parishes. For example, *Archibald*, with 817 bearers, is ranked 11th overall, and 12th when the parishes are equally represented.

However, 331 of these bearers are from Tiree, where the name was ranked 4th and represented 8.96% of male children. A further 277 bearers were in Govan, where the name was ranked 9th, and there were 83 in Kilmallie, where the name was again ranked 9th.

Excluding Durness, the name appears in all parishes, with varying degrees of frequency: only one child in Longside bore the name, and seven in Kilrenny.

Conversely, *Ewen* is largely unused in the parishes studied; there is one usage in Durness, and none in nine of the parishes. However, it still appears in the top 20 names, both overall and when the parishes are equally represented, due solely to its high usage in Kilmallie: there, it is the 3rd most used male name, and was given to 12.12% of the male children.

Therefore, these lists cannot be said to represent each parish but, instead, represent the general early modern Scottish name-stock.

4.1.2.2 Female names

The baptismal entries of 30,106 female children were suitable for analysis. The 20 names in most frequent use are given in Table 4-5 below; for the full list of names and percentages of use, see Appendix II. Several names here contain the character sequence ‘&c.’; this is discussed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

Table 4-5: The most frequently used female names

| Rank | Name | Number of bearers | Percentage of female population (%) |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | Margaret | 4,203 | 13.96 |
| 2 | Mary &c. | 3,368 | 11.19 |
| 3 | Janet | 3,288 | 10.92 |
| 4 | Elizabeth | 2,102 | 6.98 |
| 5 | Jean &c. | 2,069 | 6.87 |
| 6 | Ann | 1,808 | 6.01 |
| 7 | Catharene | 1,803 | 5.99 |
| 8 | Agnes | 1,614 | 5.36 |
| 9 | Isabel | 1,461 | 4.85 |
| 10 | Christian &c. | 1,176 | 3.91 |
| 11 | Helen &c. | 876 | 2.91 |
| 12 | Marion &c. | 799 | 2.65 |
| 13 | Barbara | 563 | 1.87 |
| 14 | Jane | 451 | 1.50 |
| 15 | Flora &c. | 423 | 1.41 |
| 16 | Anna | 334 | 1.11 |
| 17= | Euphan &c. | 287 | 0.95 |
| 17= | Sarah | 287 | 0.95 |
| 19 | Elspet | 280 | 0.93 |
| 20 | Grizel | 274 | 0.91 |
| TOTAL | | 27,466 | 91.23 |

As for the male name-stock, these rankings show the names as they are represented in the entire dataset, and the figures are therefore skewed towards those parishes with larger populations. Again, to represent the parishes equally, the average percentage for each female name was calculated. These results are shown in Table 4-6, with the figures from Table 4-5 provided for comparison.

Table 4-6: Figures and rankings for female names, recalculated to represent all parishes equally

| Percentages as given in Table 4-5 | | | Percentages recalculated to represent all parishes equally | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|---------------|----------------|
| Rank | Name | Percentage (%) | Rank | Name | Percentage (%) |
| 1 | Margaret | 13.96 | 1 | Margaret | 13.63 |
| 2 | Mary &c. | 11.19 | 2 | Mary &c. | 10.86 |
| 3 | Janet | 10.92 | 3 | Janet | 10.04 |
| 4 | Elizabeth | 6.98 | 4 | Jean &c. | 6.86 |
| 5 | Jean &c. | 6.87 | 5 | Ann | 6.39 |
| 6 | Ann | 6.01 | 6 | Catharene | 6.28 |
| 7 | Catharene | 5.99 | 7 | Elizabeth | 5.96 |
| 8 | Agnes | 5.36 | 8 | Isabel | 5.04 |
| 9 | Isabel | 4.85 | 9 | Agnes | 4.33 |
| 10 | Christian &c. | 3.91 | 10 | Christian &c. | 3.72 |
| 11 | Helen &c. | 2.91 | 11 | Helen &c. | 3.33 |
| 12 | Marion &c. | 2.65 | 12 | Barbara | 2.85 |
| 13 | Barbara | 1.87 | 13 | Marion &c. | 2.64 |
| 14 | Jane | 1.50 | 14= | Flora &c. | 1.21 |
| 15 | Flora &c. | 1.41 | 14= | Jane | 1.21 |
| 16 | Anna | 1.11 | 16 | Euphan &c. | 1.10 |
| 17= | Euphan &c. | 0.95 | 17 | Grizel | 1.09 |
| 17= | Sarah | 0.95 | 18 | Elspet | 1.00 |
| 19 | Elspet | 0.93 | 19 | Anna | 0.99 |
| 20 | Grizel | 0.91 | 20 | Sarah | 0.98 |
| TOTAL | | 91.23 | | | 89.51 |

4.1.2.3 Children of unknown sex

It was not possible to create a list of the top 20 names given to children of unknown sex, due to only 14 names having more than one occurrence, and only four more than two. The four names which appear more than twice are given in Table 4-7; the entire list of unknown names is given in Appendix III.

Table 4-7: Names given to children of unknown sex, with more than two occurrences

| Name | Number of bearers | Parish(es); bearers in brackets |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--|
| Fairly | 15 | Durness (15) |
| Eric | 9 | Durness (9) |
| Mackay | 7 | Durness (7) |
| Francis ¹⁶ | 5 | Durness (3), Kilmallie (1), Longside (1) |

These records are predominantly from the parish of Durness. The Durness clerks infrequently recorded the sex of the children and, therefore, that parish contains a higher number of children of unknown sex: 54 of the 95 children of unknown sex were in Durness.

Of the four names in Table 4-7, it is possible that both *Fairly* and *Eric* are obscured Gaelic names with an Anglicised spelling, and, if that were the case, both could be categorised as female names rather than unknown. However, since there is some uncertainty over their origin, they have been categorised as unknown. These names are discussed in 4.2.7.

Mackay is a transferred surname. Transferred surnames, discussed in 4.3.2, were frequently given to both males and females; it is therefore impossible to classify individual bearers as being male or female when the clerk does not specify the sex.

In the present day, *Francis* is typically recognised as being a male name, and *Frances* is recognised as the form given to females. This situation seems to be the same in the early modern period. The name was recorded 200 times for fathers and 18 times for mothers. 175 (87.5%) of the male occurrences were spelled *Francis*, and 16 (88.89%) of the female occurrences were spelled *Frances*. Each form therefore seems to be clearly marked for gender. However, given variant spellings were commonplace in the registers and not all parents' names were recorded with the usual spelling, spelling is not a reliable indicator of

¹⁶ This headform covers names spelled both *Francis* and *Frances*.

the sex of the child. Therefore, if the sex of a child named *Francis* or *Frances* was not specified, the child was recorded as being of unknown sex.

In the list of names in Appendix III, there are some names which could be regarded as unisex: for example, *Nicholas*. Unisex names are discussed in 4.1.2.4. Due to there being several male and female bearers of these names, it was not possible to assign a sex to a child when the clerk had not specified one.

In Appendix III, there are also some names which are not recognisable as being typically male or female, or as being transferred surnames. Examples include *Malley* and *Scota*. *Malley* occurred only once, and its origins are unknown. There is one other occurrence of *Scota*, where it is specified that the child is female; however, as will be demonstrated in the next section, it is plausible that the name was not exclusively intended for female bearers. It was therefore considered necessary to classify these names as being given to children of unknown sex.

4.1.2.4 Overlapping names

41 names were given to both male and female children. These names and the number of bearers are given in Table 4-8.

The name *Eric* is highlighted in this table as it cannot be counted as a name truly given to both male and female children. Spellings were preserved as they appeared in the parish registers; it is likely that the male child was named *Eric*, but the female was instead named *Oighrig*, with the clerk using a different spelling to the one used today. *Eric* and *Oighrig* are discussed in 4.2.7.

Table 4-8: Names given to both males and females

| Name | Male bearers | Female bearers |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Alexander | 2,216 | 1 |
| Alexis | 1 | 1 |
| Angus | 272 | 1 |
| Ann | 1 | 1,808 |
| Anstruther | 5 | 6 |
| Anthony | 10 | 1 |
| Bell | 1 | 7 |
| Boyd | 3 | 1 |
| Braidie | 1 | 2 |

| | | |
|----------|-------|-------|
| Bruce | 1 | 1 |
| Campbell | 1 | 1 |
| David | 1,190 | 1 |
| Donald | 1,127 | 2 |
| Douglas | 8 | 2 |
| Duncan | 377 | 2 |
| Dundas | 1 | 1 |
| Ebenezer | 26 | 2 |
| *Eric | 1 | 1 |
| Fairlie | 1 | 1 |
| Fletcher | 1 | 1 |
| Giles | 3 | 9 |
| Gordon | 6 | 1 |
| Hamilton | 3 | 2 |
| Hanna | 1 | 19 |
| Harvey | 5 | 1 |
| James | 4,265 | 1 |
| Jean &c. | 1 | 2,069 |
| Jerome | 15 | 1 |
| John | 6,624 | 4 |
| Lindsay | 2 | 1 |
| Lucy | 1 | 36 |
| Mackay | 3 | 1 |
| Marcus | 1 | 1 |
| Mary &c. | 1 | 3,368 |
| Maxwell | 4 | 2 |
| Nicholas | 3 | 9 |
| Smellie | 5 | 4 |
| Stewart | 11 | 3 |
| Susan | 1 | 54 |
| Thomas | 1,303 | 1 |
| William | 3,695 | 3 |

Many of these names seem to be clearly associated with either males or females; for example, there are 4,265 male children named *James*, and only one female recorded as bearing the name. It is possible that, in these cases, a clerical error has been responsible for

the exception: for example, a daughter named *Mary* accidentally being recorded as ‘son of’ in the baptismal register. The evidence of parents’ names cannot be used to support such names being unisex. Although occasional instances were found where a parent had a name usually associated with the opposite sex – for example, John Brown was a mother in Govan (646/1 FR0177) – these parents each had one child. Therefore, there are not multiple references to the same individual which would confirm or negate the possibility of clerical error.

Other names in Table 4-8 may be classed as unisex names. *Anstruther* and *Smellie*, for example, both have near-equal numbers of male and female bearers, and there are several examples of both male and female children named *Giles* and *Nicholas*. Redmonds has noted that, in England, *Nicholas* was used for females as well as males (2004: 13); the data collected for this project would suggest that, in Scotland, the name tended to be predominantly given to females. Redmonds also noted that *Douglas* was almost always given to girls in early modern England (2004: 13); the dataset of this project suggests that the situation was different in Scotland, with *Douglas* being predominantly given to male children.

Several of these names are transferred surnames, with examples being *Boyd*, *Fletcher*, *Hamilton*, and *Maxwell*. It is possible that this is due to transferred surnames being less marked for gender, and thus being given to children of both sexes. As will be discussed in 5.7.2.2, transferred surnames were sometimes given to children in reference to a particular person, such as a minister; it is therefore possible that, if the parents wished to name their newborn after the doctor who delivered them or the minister who would baptise them, they would do so regardless of the child’s sex.

4.1.3 Name-stock breakdown by parish

In this section, the general name-stock presented in 4.1.2 is separated according to parish. This allows any differences to be seen, whether these differences are due to social, linguistic, or geographical variables.

4.1.3.1 Male name-stocks

The male name-stocks of each parish are given in Table 4-9 and Table 4-10. The symbol ‘=’ before a name indicates it is ranked equal to that above or below it.

Table 4-9: Top 20 male names in Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Durness, Govan, Holm, and Kilmallie

| | Auchtermuchty | | Dundonald | | Durness | | Govan | | Holm | | Kilmallie | |
|-------------|----------------------|----------|------------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| Rank | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % |
| 1 | John | 18.91 | John | 21.50 | John | 17.63 | John | 23.46 | James | 20.43 | John | 22.62 |
| 2 | James | 16.23 | William | 17.48 | Donald | 14.00 | James | 16.67 | John | 18.51 | Donald | 14.20 |
| 3 | David | 9.95 | James | 16.58 | Hugh | 9.88 | William | 13.67 | William | 13.84 | Ewen | 12.12 |
| 4 | William | 9.91 | Robert | 9.42 | William | 9.06 | Robert | 10.12 | Patrick | 9.12 | Alexander | 10.07 |
| 5 | Thomas | 7.41 | David | 5.92 | George | 7.50 | Alexander | 4.57 | Gilbert | 4.35 | Duncan | 7.80 |
| 6 | Robert | 7.38 | Thomas | 4.65 | James | 6.43 | Thomas | 4.23 | =David | 4.30 | Angus | 5.29 |
| 7 | George | 6.24 | Hugh | 3.67 | Angus | 6.01 | Andrew | 3.59 | =Magnus | 4.30 | Allan | 3.82 |
| 8 | Andrew | 4.95 | Alexander | 3.64 | Alexander | 5.52 | Archibald | 3.23 | Robert | 3.78 | Archibald | 3.20 |
| 9 | Alexander | 4.54 | George | 2.34 | Robert | 5.27 | George | 3.21 | Peter | 2.54 | James | 2.82 |
| 10 | Henry | 2.57 | Andrew | 1.99 | Kenneth | 2.80 | David | 2.62 | Alexander | 2.49 | William | 2.24 |
| 11 | Richard | 2.04 | Matthew | 1.65 | Niel | 2.39 | Matthew | 1.57 | Thomas | 2.13 | Dougald | 1.89 |
| 12 | Patrick | 1.32 | Adam | 1.42 | Hector | 2.14 | Hugh | 1.21 | Edward | 2.02 | Charles | 1.78 |
| 13 | Peter | 1.17 | Archibald | 0.87 | Charles | 1.57 | Peter | 1.19 | =Archibald | 1.87 | Robert | 1.20 |
| 14 | Charles | 0.79 | =Charles | 0.78 | Murdoch | 1.32 | Walter | 1.06 | =Charles | 1.87 | =Hugh | 1.12 |
| 15 | Walter | 0.72 | =Francis | 0.78 | Roderick | 1.24 | Daniel | 0.85 | Andrew | 1.71 | =Lachlan | 1.12 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------------|--------|--------------|----------|--------------|---------|--------------|--------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| 16 | Ebenezer | 0.68 | Joseph | 0.66 | Andrew | 1.07 | Allan | 0.83 | George | 1.35 | Peter | 1.04 |
| 17 | Michael | 0.64 | Daniel | 0.52 | Thomas | 0.82 | Charles | 0.62 | Henry | 1.24 | George | 0.73 |
| 18 | Francis | 0.57 | Peter | 0.49 | Duncan | 0.66 | =Adam | 0.48 | Nicoll | 1.09 | =Thomas | 0.69 |
| 19 | Laurence | 0.45 | Edward | 0.43 | David | 0.58 | =Henry | 0.48 | Jerome | 0.78 | =Malcolm | 0.69 |
| 20 | Joseph | 0.38 | Duncan | 0.38 | =Edward | 0.49 | Joseph | 0.41 | Mungo | 0.73 | Colin | 0.66 |
| 20= | | | | | =Patrick | 0.49 | | | | | | |
| 20= | | | | | =Jay | 0.49 | | | | | | |
| Total % | | 96.85 | | 95.17 | | 92.09 | | 94.07 | | 98.45 | | 95.10 |

Table 4-10: Top 20 male names in Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tiree, and Tongland

| | Kilrenny | | Longside | | Saltoun | | Tiree | | Tongland | |
|-------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| Rank | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % |
| 1 | James | 16.12 | John | 19.94 | John | 16.13 | John | 19.38 | John | 24.10 |
| 2 | John | 15.49 | William | 17.57 | James | 15.15 | Donald | 15.48 | William | 15.33 |
| 3 | David | 11.29 | Alexander | 15.55 | William | 14.66 | Niel | 9.66 | James | 13.64 |
| 4 | William | 10.91 | James | 14.98 | George | 9.30 | Archibald | 8.96 | Robert | 9.83 |
| 5 | Alexander | 9.50 | George | 10.46 | Robert | 8.07 | Alexander | 8.18 | Alexander | 7.82 |
| 6 | Robert | 9.41 | Thomas | 5.09 | Alexander | 6.53 | Hugh | 5.74 | Thomas | 6.13 |
| 7 | Thomas | 8.83 | Robert | 4.52 | Andrew | 5.91 | Hector | 4.93 | David | 4.65 |
| 8 | George | 5.33 | Andrew | 2.88 | Thomas | 4.99 | Lachlan | 4.71 | Samuel | 3.38 |
| 9 | Andrew | 5.08 | Charles | 2.18 | David | 3.82 | Malcolm | 4.33 | George | 3.07 |
| 10 | Henry | 1.29 | Peter | 1.11 | Archibald | 2.34 | Duncan | 3.09 | Andrew | 2.54 |
| 11 | Peter | 1.04 | Nathaniel | 0.95 | Patrick | 2.03 | Allan | 2.87 | Hugh | 1.80 |
| 12 | Philip | 0.75 | =David | 0.66 | Henry | 1.85 | Charles | 2.65 | =Adam | 0.95 |
| 13 | Charles | 0.62 | =Arthur | 0.66 | Peter | 1.60 | Angus | 1.52 | =Joseph | 0.95 |
| 14 | Michael | 0.46 | Patrick | 0.41 | =Adam | 1.42 | Dougald | 1.46 | Walter | 0.74 |
| 15 | Adam | 0.42 | =Gilbert | 0.28 | =Richard | 1.42 | James | 1.35 | Archibald | 0.53 |
| 16 | Martine | 0.37 | =Francis | 0.28 | Charles | 1.29 | Colin | 1.08 | Matthew | 0.42 |
| 17 | Stephen | 0.33 | =Joseph | 0.19 | =Francis | 0.62 | Roderick | 1.03 | =Charles | 0.32 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| 18 | =Archibald | 0.29 | =Roderick | 0.19 | =Matthew | 0.62 | Murdoch | 0.68 | =Peter | 0.32 |
| 19 | =Patrick | 0.29 | =Lewis | 0.19 | Joseph | 0.43 | William | 0.49 | =Henry | 0.32 |
| 20 | =Walter | 0.21 | =Benjamin | 0.16 | =Walter | 0.18 | =Peter | 0.30 | =Daniel | 0.32 |
| 20= | =Anstruther | 0.21 | =Ernest | 0.16 | =Stephen | 0.18 | =Farquhar | 0.30 | =Gordon | 0.32 |
| 20= | | | | | | | | | =Anthony | 0.32 |
| Total % | | 98.24 | | 98.41 | | 98.50 | | 98.19 | | 97.80 |

Separating the name-stock in this way allows certain differences to be seen. Perhaps most apparent is that several parishes have names which feature in their top 20 but which did not feature in the overall top 20 (given in Table 4-3, 4.1.2.1).

Of the names which did not feature in the overall top 20, 21 appeared in the top 20 of a single parish (see Table 4-11).

Table 4-11: Names which appear in the top 20 of a single parish, but do not appear in the overall top 20

| Name | Parish and ranking |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| Anstruther | Kilrenny (=20) |
| Anthony | Tongland (=17) |
| Arthur | Longside (=12) |
| Benjamin | Longside (=20) |
| Ebenezer | Auchtermuchty (16) |
| Ernest | Longside (=20) |
| Farquhar | Tiree (=20) |
| Gordon | Tongland (=17) |
| Jay | Durness (=20) |
| Jerome | Holm (19) |
| Kenneth | Durness (10) |
| Laurence | Auchtermuchty (19) |
| Lewis | Longside (=17) |
| Magnus | Holm (=6) |
| Martine | Kilrenny (16) |
| Mungo | Holm (20) |
| Nathaniel | Longside (11) |
| Nicoll | Holm (18) |
| Philip | Kilrenny (12) |
| Roderick | Durness (15) |
| Samuel | Tongland (8) |

Eighteen names appeared in the top 20 of more than one parish (see Table 4-12).

Table 4-12: Names which appear in the top 20 of more than one parish, but do not appear in the overall top 20

| Name | Parishes and rankings |
|-------------|--|
| Adam | Dundonald (12), Tongland (=12), Saltoun (=14), Kilrenny (15), Govan (=18) |
| Colin | Tiree (16), Kilmallie (20) |
| Daniel | Govan (15), Dundonald (17), Tongland (=17) |
| Dougald | Kilmallie (11), Tiree (14) |
| Edward | Holm (12), Dundonald (19), Durness (=20) |
| Francis | Dundonald (=14), Longside (=15), Saltoun (=17), Auchtermuchty (18) |
| Gilbert | Holm (5), Longside (=15) |
| Hector | Tiree (7), Durness (12) |
| Joseph | Tongland (=12), Dundonald (16), Longside (=17), Saltoun (19), Auchtermuchty (20), Govan (20) |
| Lachlan | Tiree (8), Kilmallie (=14) |
| Malcolm | Tiree (9), Kilmallie (=18) |
| Matthew | Dundonald (11), Govan (11), Tongland (16), Saltoun (=17) |
| Michael | Kilrenny (14), Auchtermuchty (17) |
| Murdoch | Durness (14), Tiree (18) |
| Richard | Auchtermuchty (11), Saltoun (=14) |
| Roderick | Tiree (17), Longside (=17) |
| Stephen | Kilrenny (17), Saltoun (=20) |
| Walter | Govan (14), Tongland (14), Auchtermuchty (15), Kilrenny (=20), Saltoun (=20) |

These tables highlight the importance of examining the name-stocks of individual parishes, rather than only the overall name-stock. Although the names listed above do not feature in the overall top 20, they were nevertheless in frequent use in certain areas; indeed, *Gilbert*, *Hector*, *Magnus*, *Malcolm*, *Kenneth*, *Lachlan*, and *Samuel* are among the top 10 names in some parishes.

As well as presenting names whose usage was particularly high in a certain parish or parishes, displaying the name-stocks of each parish reveals the variation in usage of certain names. For example, Table 4-4 stated that *John* was the most frequently used male name overall, representing 20.54% of male children and 19.79% when the parishes were

represented equally. When viewing the name-stocks of the individual parishes, it becomes clear that, although *John* is the most frequently used male name in nine parishes, it is ranked second, behind *James*, in Kilrenny and Holm, and is thus not the top male name in all areas.

James is ranked second in Table 4-4, representing 13.22% of male children overall and 12.76% when the parishes were represented equally. However, while *John* is consistently ranked first or second, *James* is used much more variably: its usage ranges from 20.43% in Holm (where it is ranked 1st) to 1.35% in Tiree (where it is ranked 15th). It also ranks considerably below average in Durness (6.43%; 6th) and Kilmallie (2.82%; 9th). This is potentially linked to the political implications of the name, as discussed in 2.3.5.2: the usage of *James* would be likely to vary if naming were being influenced by perceptions of the Jacobite movement.

Similarly, *William* frequently ranks highly; in nine parishes, the percentage of male bearers ranges between 9.06% (Durness) and 17.57% (Longside). This was reflected in Table 4-4, with the overall percentage being 11.46% and 11.38% when parishes were represented equally. However, with the name-stocks displayed separately, it can be seen that two parishes did not fit this pattern: 2.24% of male children were named *William* in Kilmallie, and 0.49% in Tiree.

One particularly striking name is *Donald*, which ranks second in Durness, Kilmallie, and Tiree, ranging between 14.00% and 15.48%, yet does not appear in the top 20 of any other parish. The highest percentage of use elsewhere was 0.14% (12 uses) in Govan, and it did not appear at all in Holm, Kilrenny, or Saltoun.

Based on Table 4-9 and Table 4-10, there are four parishes in particular where the name-stock varies considerably from the general name-stock: Durness, Kilmallie, Tiree, and Holm. The factor potentially responsible for these differences is location, with Holm being based in Orkney and the other three parishes in the Highlands; all other parishes are Lowland. With this in mind, the name-stocks of the Highland and Lowland parishes were combined and analysed as two distinct groups; these are displayed in Table 4-13, alongside the data from the Orkney parish, Holm. Viewing the parish name-stocks separately in this way is extremely useful, as specific similarities and dissimilarities can be seen. However, the individual name-stocks can only be said to represent the particular parish from which they originate. Combining and comparing name-stocks from larger areas (i.e. comparing

name-stocks of Highland parishes and Lowland parishes), allows us better to understand the similarities or dissimilarities between these wider areas.

Table 4-13: Average top 20 male names in Highland, Lowland, and Orkney parishes

| | Highland: Durness, Kilmallie, Tiree | | Lowland: Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Govan, Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tongland | | Orkney: Holm | |
|-------------|--|------------------|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Rank | Name | Average % | Name | Average % | Name | Average % |
| 1 | John | 19.88 | John | 19.93 | James | 20.43 |
| 2 | Donald | 14.56 | James | 15.62 | John | 18.51 |
| 3 | Alexander | 7.92 | William | 14.22 | William | 13.84 |
| 4 | Hugh | 5.58 | Robert | 8.39 | Patrick | 9.12 |
| 5 | Angus | 4.27 | Alexander | 7.45 | Gilbert | 4.35 |
| 6 | Niel | 4.17 | Thomas | 5.90 | =David | 4.30 |
| 7 | Ewen | 4.07 | George | 5.71 | =Magnus | 4.30 |
| 8 | Archibald | 4.05 | David | 5.56 | Robert | 3.78 |
| 9 | William | 3.93 | Andrew | 3.84 | Peter | 2.54 |
| 10 | Duncan | 3.85 | Archibald | 1.09 | Alexander | 2.49 |
| 11 | James | 3.53 | Hugh | 1.02 | Thomas | 2.13 |
| 12 | George | 2.81 | =Peter | 0.99 | Edward | 2.02 |
| 13 | Hector | 2.43 | =Henry | 0.99 | =Archibald | 1.87 |
| 14 | Robert | 2.25 | Charles | 0.94 | =Charles | 1.87 |
| 15 | Allan | 2.23 | Adam | 0.70 | Andrew | 1.71 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|--------------|---------|--------------|--------|--------------|
| 16 | Charles | 2.00 | Patrick | 0.69 | George | 1.35 |
| 17 | Lachlan | 1.94 | Matthew | 0.66 | Henry | 1.24 |
| 18 | Malcolm | 1.68 | Richard | 0.58 | Nicoll | 1.09 |
| 19 | Dougald | 1.15 | Samuel | 0.56 | Jerome | 0.78 |
| 20 | Kenneth | 1.13 | Walter | 0.45 | Mungo | 0.73 |
| Total % | | 93.43 | | 95.29 | | 98.45 |

There is a great deal of variation between these three lists. There are several names which only feature in the top 20 of one area:

- Highlands (11): *Allan; Angus; Ewen; Donald; Dougal; Duncan; Hector; Kenneth; Lachlan; Malcolm; Niel*
- Lowlands (5): *Adam; Matthew; Richard; Samuel; Walter*
- Orkney (6): *Edward; Gilbert; Jerome; Magnus; Mungo; Nicoll*

Eight names appear in all three columns: *Alexander; Archibald; Charles; George; James; John; Robert; and William*. Six names appear in both the Lowland and Orkney top 20s, but not in the Highlands list: *Andrew; David; Henry; Patrick; Peter; and Thomas*. The only name to feature in both the Highland and Lowland top 20s, but not in Orkney, is *Hugh*. There are none which feature in the Highland and Orkney top 20s, but not in the Lowlands.

Where names are shared between lists, their usage often varies considerably. For example, *George* is more frequently used in the Lowland parishes (5.71%) than in the Highlands (2.81%) or in Orkney (1.35%). *Hugh*, which did not feature in the Orkney top 20, was given to 5.58% of Highland males and 1.02% of Lowland males.

It was stated earlier that there were several names which did not appear in the overall top 20, but did appear in the top 20 of more than one parish. Some of these names now appear in these Highland/Lowland top 20s, including:

- *Lachlan*: 17th in the Highlands
- *Matthew*: 17th in the Lowlands
- *Richard*: 18th in the Lowlands
- *Walter*: 20th in the Lowlands

These names had mainly appeared in parishes of a certain area; for example, *Matthew* featured in the top 20 of four Lowland parishes: Dundonald, Govan, Saltoun, and Tongland. The percentage and ranking in the general name-stock had been diluted by the inclusion of the Highland and Orkney parishes, but, in the name-stock of the Lowland parishes, it becomes apparent how frequently used *Matthew* was in this wider Lowland area.

4.1.3.2 Female name-stocks

The female name-stocks of each parish are shown in Table 4-14 and Table 4-15.

Table 4-14: Top 20 female names in Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Durness, Govan, Holm, and Kilmallie

| Rank | Auchtermuchty | | Dundonald | | Durness | | Govan | | Holm | | Kilmallie | |
|------|---------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------|------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % |
| 1 | Margaret | 16.08 | Margaret | 13.74 | Barbara | 9.67 | Margaret | 16.18 | Margaret | 21.48 | Mary &c. | 20.43 |
| 2 | Janet | 10.62 | Mary &c. | 13.37 | Catharene | 9.48 | Janet | 15.64 | Barbara | 11.17 | Ann | 14.39 |
| 3 | Jean &c. | 8.75 | Janet | 13.09 | Ann | 9.28 | Agnes | 10.49 | Isabel | 7.90 | Catharene | 11.33 |
| 4 | Catharene | 7.60 | Jean &c. | 12.21 | Mary &c. | 9.09 | Mary &c. | 9.87 | Janet | 7.50 | Janet | 6.20 |
| 5 | Isabel | 7.55 | Elizabeth | 10.21 | Margaret | 7.54 | Elizabeth | 9.83 | Jean &c. | 6.93 | Christian &c. | 5.54 |
| 6 | Helen &c. | 7.29 | Agnes | 8.49 | Christian &c. | 7.35 | Jean &c. | 7.01 | Mary &c. | 6.64 | Sarah | 5.46 |
| 7 | Elizabeth | 6.53 | Ann | 5.06 | Isabel | 7.16 | Isabel | 4.99 | Ann | 5.61 | Margaret | 5.00 |
| 8 | Ann | 6.31 | Marion &c. | 3.19 | Janet | 6.77 | Catharene | 3.19 | Helen &c. | 5.44 | Jean &c. | 4.84 |
| 9 | Christian &c. | 5.60 | Helen &c. | 2.87 | Marion &c. | 3.87 | Jane | 2.80 | Catharene | 5.10 | Peggy | 2.89 |
| 10 | Mary &c. | 5.20 | Isabel | 2.28 | Jean &c. | 3.58 | Christian &c. | 2.75 | Euphan &c. | 3.15 | Isabel | 2.77 |
| 11 | Agnes | 3.86 | Catharene | 1.91 | Elizabeth | 2.61 | Marion &c. | 2.47 | Elizabeth | 2.69 | Elizabeth | 2.15 |
| 12 | Euphan &c. | 2.31 | Barbara | 1.78 | Johanna | 2.42 | Ann | 2.35 | Marjory | 2.46 | Kate | 1.78 |
| 13 | Barbara | 1.51 | Sarah | 1.12 | Euphan &c. | 1.55 | Helen &c. | 2.10 | Christian &c. | 2.23 | Flora &c. | 1.65 |
| 14 | Betty | 1.29 | Isabella | 1.00 | Georgina | 1.45 | Anna | 1.77 | Anna | 2.06 | Flory | 1.24 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 15 | Elspet | 1.11 | Anna | 0.97 | =Bessie | 1.35 | Grizel | 0.93 | =Jane | 1.78 | Jane | 1.20 |
| 16 | Grizel | 1.02 | Martha | 0.75 | =Hughina | 1.35 | Martha | 0.71 | =Cicilia | 1.78 | =Helen &c. | 1.03 |
| 17 | Rachel | 0.67 | Euphan &c. | 0.66 | Betty | 1.16 | Isabella | 0.62 | Marion &c. | 1.32 | =Isabella | 1.03 |
| 18 | Isabella | 0.62 | Susanna | 0.62 | Flora &c. | 1.06 | Sarah | 0.53 | Elspet | 1.20 | Florance | 0.66 |
| 19 | May | 0.58 | =Christian &c. | 0.59 | =Lucy | 0.97 | Lilias | 0.48 | Grizel | 0.34 | =Marjory | 0.62 |
| 20 | Jane | 0.49 | =Susan | 0.59 | =Dol | 0.97 | Susanna | 0.40 | Isabella | 0.29 | =Lucy | 0.62 |
| 20= | | | | | | | | | | | =Betty | 0.62 |
| Total % | | 94.99 | | 94.49 | | 88.68 | | 95.11 | | 97.07 | | 91.45 |

Table 4-15: Top 20 female names in Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tiree, and Tongland

| | Kilrenny | | Longside | | Saltoun | | Tiree | | Tongland | |
|------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|------------|-------|
| Rank | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % | Name | % |
| 1 | Margaret | 18.00 | Margaret | 15.49 | Margaret | 14.15 | Mary &c. | 19.25 | Janet | 14.86 |
| 2 | Janet | 11.46 | Jean &c. | 10.93 | Janet | 10.73 | Catharene | 16.44 | Margaret | 14.64 |
| 3 | Elizabeth | 9.77 | Elizabeth | 10.57 | Agnes | 8.65 | Ann | 11.26 | Mary &c. | 14.21 |
| 4 | Agnes | 6.45 | Mary &c. | 10.21 | Jean &c. | 7.71 | Flora &c. | 10.48 | Jean &c. | 9.07 |
| 5 | Helen &c. | 5.65 | Janet | 8.75 | Mary &c. | 7.18 | Marion &c. | 8.45 | Agnes | 8.20 |
| 6 | Ann | 5.48 | Isabel | 6.97 | Helen &c. | 6.77 | Margaret | 7.62 | Elizabeth | 5.46 |
| 7 | Catharene | 5.27 | Ann | 6.64 | Isabel | 6.04 | Christian &c. | 6.53 | Grizel | 4.70 |
| 8 | Isabel | 5.01 | Christian &c. | 5.52 | Marion &c. | 5.57 | Janet | 4.84 | Marion &c. | 3.17 |
| 9 | Christian &c. | 4.54 | Elspet | 4.43 | Elizabeth | 5.10 | =Isabel | 2.64 | Helen &c. | 2.95 |
| 10 | Jean &c. | 4.37 | Jane | 2.44 | Catharene | 4.96 | =Effy | 2.64 | Jane | 2.51 |
| 11 | Mary &c. | 3.99 | Barbara | 2.35 | Christian &c. | 3.22 | Flory | 1.58 | Isabel | 2.19 |
| 12 | Euphan &c. | 2.12 | Anna | 2.18 | Ann | 2.01 | Euphan &c. | 1.15 | =Ann | 1.86 |
| 13 | Marjory | 2.04 | Catharene | 2.02 | Euphan &c. | 1.88 | Sarah | 0.95 | =Anna | 1.86 |
| 14 | Elspet | 2.00 | Grizel | 1.92 | Elspet | 1.68 | Isabella | 0.80 | Catharene | 1.75 |
| 15 | Grizel | 1.66 | Isabella | 1.22 | Alison | 1.61 | Jane | 0.74 | =Sarah | 1.53 |
| 16 | Barbara | 1.49 | Helen &c. | 1.19 | Martha | 1.34 | Helen &c. | 0.72 | =Isabella | 1.53 |
| 17 | Sophia | 1.44 | Agnes | 1.16 | =Barbara | 1.14 | Elizabeth | 0.63 | =Barbara | 1.53 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------------|---------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 18 | Anna | 1.06 | Marjory | 0.86 | =Isabella | 1.14 | Annabella | 0.43 | Grace | 1.31 |
| 19 | Rachel | 0.98 | Sarah | 0.69 | Henrietta | 1.01 | Juliann | 0.37 | =Henrietta | 0.66 |
| 20 | Isabella | 0.85 | Beatrix | 0.66 | Anna | 0.94 | Julia | 0.34 | =Nicholas | 0.66 |
| Total % | | 93.63 | | 96.20 | | 92.83 | | 97.86 | | 94.65 |

As for the male names, there are several differences which can be seen when the parish name-stocks are displayed separately. Several names appear in the top 20 of one or more parishes, but not in the overall top 20 (given in Table 4-5, 4.1.2.2).

Of the names which did not feature in the overall top 20, 21 appeared in the top 20 of a single parish (see Table 4-16).

Table 4-16: Names which appear in the top 20 of a single parish, but do not appear in the overall top 20

| Name | Parish and ranking |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| Alison | Saltoun (15) |
| Annabella | Tiree (18) |
| Beatrix | Longside (20) |
| Bessie | Durness (=15) |
| Cicilia | Holm (=15) |
| Dol | Durness (=19) |
| Effy | Tiree (=9) |
| Florance | Kilmallie (18) |
| Georgina | Durness (14) |
| Grace | Tongland (18) |
| Hughina | Durness (=15) |
| Johanna | Durness (12) |
| Julia | Tiree (20) |
| Juliann | Tiree (19) |
| Kate | Kilmallie (12) |
| Lilias | Govan (19) |
| May | Auchtermuchty (19) |
| Nicholas | Tongland (=19) |
| Peggy | Kilmallie (9) |
| Sophia | Kilrenny (17) |
| Susan | Dundonald (20) |

Nine names appeared in the top 20 of more than one parish (see Table 4-17).

Table 4-17: Names which appear in the top 20 of more than one parish, but do not appear in the overall top 20

| Name | Parishes and rankings |
|-------------|--|
| Betty | Auchtermuchty (14), Durness (17), Kilmallie (=19) |
| Flory | Tiree (11), Kilmallie (14) |
| Henrietta | Saltoun (19), Tongland (=19) |
| Isabella | Tongland (=15), Kilmallie (=16), Govan (17), Saltoun (=17), Auchtermuchty (18), Holm (20), Kilrenny (20) |
| Lucy | Durness (=19), Kilmallie (=19) |
| Marjory | Holm (12), Kilrenny (13), Longside (18), Kilmallie (=19) |
| Martha | Dundonald (16), Govan (16), Saltoun (16) |
| Rachel | Auchtermuchty (17), Kilrenny (19) |
| Susanna | Dundonald (18), Govan (20) |

Examining the name-stocks of the individual parishes also allows us to see the variation in usage of certain names. For example, Table 4-6 shows that *Margaret* was the most frequently given female name, both overall (13.96%) and when the parishes were represented equally (13.63%). However, when viewing the separate name-stocks, it becomes apparent that *Margaret* is the highest ranked name in seven of the 11 parishes. In Tongland, the name is ranked a close second behind *Janet*; *Janet* represents 14.86% of Tongland females, compared to *Margaret*'s 14.64%. The parishes of Durness, Kilmallie, and Tiree have considerably different percentages for the name, ranging from 5.00% (Kilmallie) to 7.62% (Tiree).

Like *James*, the rankings and percentages of *Catharene* are variable. Table 4-6 ranks it 7th overall (with 5.99%) and 6th (6.28%) when the parishes are represented equally; however, the parish-specific figures range from 1.75% in Tongland (where it is ranked 14th) to 16.44% in Tiree (where it is ranked 2nd).

Barbara is a particularly interesting case. It is the most frequently used name in Durness (9.67%), and the second in Holm (11.17%), yet does not appear in the top 20 names of three parishes: Govan, Kilmallie, and Tiree. The name is ranked 21st (0.38%) in Govan, and 25th (0.37%) in Kilmallie, with no occurrences in Tiree.

As for the male names, the name-stocks of the Highland and Lowland parishes were combined and analysed as two separate groups; these name-stocks are given in Table 4-18, alongside the data from Holm, representing Orkney.

Table 4-18: Average top 20 female names in Highland, Lowland, and Orkney parishes

| | Highland: Durness, Kilmallie, Tiree | | Lowland: Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Govan, Kilrenny, Longside, Saltoun, Tongland | | Orkney: Holm | |
|-------------|--|------------------|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Rank | Name | Average % | Name | Average % | Name | Average % |
| 1 | Mary &c. | 16.26 | Margaret | 15.47 | Margaret | 21.48 |
| 2 | Catharene | 12.42 | Janet | 12.17 | Barbara | 11.17 |
| 3 | Ann | 11.64 | Mary &c. | 9.15 | Isabel | 7.90 |
| 4 | Margaret | 6.72 | Jean &c. | 8.58 | Janet | 7.50 |
| 5 | Christian &c. | 6.47 | Elizabeth | 8.21 | Jean &c. | 6.93 |
| 6 | Janet | 5.94 | Agnes | 6.76 | Mary &c. | 6.64 |
| 7 | Flora &c. | 4.40 | Isabel | 5.00 | Ann | 5.61 |
| 8 | =Marion &c. | 4.19 | Ann | 4.24 | Helen &c. | 5.44 |
| 9 | =Isabel | 4.19 | Helen &c. | 4.12 | Catharene | 5.10 |
| 10 | Barbara | 3.35 | Catharene | 3.81 | Euphan &c. | 3.15 |
| 11 | Jean &c. | 2.82 | Christian &c. | 2.87 | Elizabeth | 2.69 |
| 12 | Sarah | 2.13 | Marion &c. | 2.17 | Marjory | 2.46 |
| 13 | Elizabeth | 1.80 | Grizel | 1.60 | Christian &c. | 2.23 |
| 14 | Effy | 1.17 | Barbara | 1.45 | Anna | 2.06 |
| 15 | Peggy | 1.00 | =Jane | 1.36 | =Jane | 1.78 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 16 | Flory | 0.94 | =Elspet | 1.36 | =Cicilia | 1.78 |
| 17 | Euphan &c. | 0.93 | Anna | 1.25 | Marion &c. | 1.32 |
| 18 | Johanna | 0.87 | Isabella | 1.00 | Elspet | 1.20 |
| 19 | Helen &c. | 0.78 | Euphan &c. | 0.91 | Grizel | 0.34 |
| 20 | Jane | 0.65 | Sarah | 0.59 | Isabella | 0.29 |
| Total % | | 88.67 | | 92.07 | | 97.07 |

Compared to the male names, there is not a great deal of variation between these three columns. There are some names which only appear in the top 20 of one area:

- Highlands (5): *Effy; Flora &c.; Flory; Johanna; Peggy*
- Lowlands (1): *Agnes*
- Orkney (2): *Cicilia; Marjory*

For the male names, there were 11 (Highland), five (Lowland), and six (Orkney) names which appeared only in one column; in comparison, the female names are few.

Eight male names appeared in all three columns; for the females, this figure is fourteen: *Ann; Barbara; Catharene; Christian &c.; Elizabeth; Euphan &c.; Helen &c.; Isabel; Jane; Janet; Jean &c.; Margaret; Marion &c.; Mary &c.*

Six male names appeared in both the Lowland and Orkney top 20s, but not in the Highlands list. There are four female names in this category: *Anna; Elspet; Grizel; Isabella.*

As with the male names, only one female name appears in both the Highland and Lowland lists, but not in Orkney's – *Sarah* – and there are no names which feature in the Highland and Orkney top 20s, but not in the Lowlands.

As with the male names, where names feature on more than one list, the usage often varies. For example, names in the group *Mary &c.* are more frequently found in the Highland parishes (16.26%) than in the Lowlands (9.15%) or in Orkney (6.64%). *Elizabeth* was more frequently used in the Lowland parishes (8.21%) than in Orkney (2.69%) or the Highlands (1.80%).

It was stated earlier that there were nine names that did not appear in the overall top 20, but did appear in the top 20 of more than one parish. Two of these names appear in the Highland/Lowland top 20s:

- *Flory*: 16th in the Highlands (11th in Tiree, 14th in Kilmallie)
- *Isabella*: 18th in the Lowlands, 20th in Orkney (joint 15th in Tongland, joint 16th in Kilmallie, 17th in Govan, joint 17th in Saltoun, 18th in Auchtermuchty, 20th in Holm and Kilrenny)

Similarly to the male names, these names were predominantly used in a certain area, and their usage was diluted by those areas which did not use the name. For example, *Flory* appeared in the top 20 of two of the three Highland parishes (11th in Tiree, 14th in

Kilmallie); however, its percentage of use was diluted by Lowland and Orkney parishes where it was not used (there was only one occurrence outside Tiree and Kilmallie, in Govan).

It is striking that, in the Highland parishes, diminutive forms of names are more commonly given in the registers when compared to the Lowland parishes. *Effy*, *Peggy*, and *Flory* (diminutive forms of *Euphemia* (*Euphan &c.*), *Margaret*, and *Flora*) all feature in the Highland parishes' top 20 names. *Effy* in particular is interesting as it is recorded more frequently in the registers than the group of names of which it is a diminutive: *Euphan &c.* In contrast, there are no diminutive forms in the Lowland parishes' top 20: the highest ranked diminutive form in the Lowland parishes overall is *Betty*, ranked 27th, although the name is ranked 14th in Auchtermuchty.

As will be discussed in 4.2.4, it was decided that the names would be recorded as they were given in the register; therefore, the diminutives have been kept separate from the 'formal' names they represent. Should there be a need to combine the diminutives and the formal names, the name-stocks of the Highland parishes in particular would need to be updated. For example, *Margaret* (7th; 5.00%) would be ranked 4th in Kilmallie if it were combined with *Peggy* (9th; 2.89%). However, this does not negate the Highland/Lowland differences outlined above; with a combined percentage of 7.89%, a *Margaret/Peggy* group in Kilmallie would still have a much lower percentage than found in the Lowland parishes. Similarly, *Catharene* is used more often in the Highland parishes than in the Lowland parishes (11.33% in Kilmallie); if combined with the figures for *Kate* (1.78% in Kilmallie), this Highland/Lowland divide would further increase.

4.2 Problematic issues

In analysing the name-stock, several methodological issues arose which affected the resulting output for name-stock size and content. In this section, these issues are outlined and their resolution explained, with clarification as to how the name-stock analysis was affected.

4.2.1 Children of unknown sex

The names of 62,456 children were used in name-stock analysis. Names were considered as part of an overall name-stock, and as part of a male or female name-stock. 95 individuals were of unknown sex, and their names were therefore not included in a male or female name-stock, but were kept separate.

The sex of these children could not be determined for a variety of reasons. Where possible, parishes had been chosen where the sex of the child was consistently given (e.g. ‘son of’, ‘daughter of’). In some cases where the sex of the child was not given, a sex was assigned based on the name given (e.g. *Elizabeth* would be presumed female, *John* male); it was reasoned that, if a child was given a name not usually given to children of that sex (e.g. a son named *Ann*, as in Govan (646/3 FR0545)), the clerk would highlight this in the register by ensuring the sex was noted. In other cases, a sex could not be assigned as the name was either not associated with a particular sex, or an association was not known. These names were entered into the stock of unknown¹⁷ names, rather than male or female name-stocks. Frequently, the name was a transferred surname (such as *Campbell*, *Lumsdaine*, and *Mackay*; discussed in 4.3.2), and it was not clearly associated with a particular sex. Even if the sex of one *Lindsay*, for example, was known, it could not be inferred that all other *Lindsays* were of the same sex: in Govan, the name *Maxwell* was given to both male and female children.

Some forenames could also be given to male and female children, with, for example, *Nicholas* and *Giles* being given to both sexes alike (see 4.1.2.4). Others were associated with a particular sex, but unreliable spelling meant that the name could be wrongly categorised as another (e.g. the male *Francis* could be spelled as female *Frances*; female *Oighrig* is known to have been spelled as male *Eric*).

The sex of some children could not be determined due to a discrepancy in the baptismal entry itself. For example, Helen McFadzen was baptised in 1829 in Dundonald (OPR: 590/3 FR0576). The clerk had originally written ‘[unidentified name] son of [parents]’, and later changed the unidentified name to *Helen*, without changing ‘son’ to ‘daughter’. It cannot be known whether the clerk neglected to alter the recorded sex, or whether a male child has indeed been named *Helen*. Therefore, the name has necessarily been included among the unknown names.

4.2.2 Variants (spellings)

From experience gained during the pilot study, it was expected that the spelling of many names would be inconsistent. This was proven to be the case, as the spelling of *Elizabeth*

¹⁷ In this section, ‘unknown’ indicates a name given to a child of unknown sex, rather than, for example, a name of unknown origin.

in Kilmallie illustrates: there were 32 occurrences of *Elizabeth*, 17 of *Elisabeth*, and three of other spellings (*Elisabath*, *Elasibeth* and *Elazebeth*).

Though it might be expected that variant spellings be restricted to a specific period, indicating a variant being used by only one clerk, this was usually not the case. Indeed, the clerks themselves were found to alternate between spellings, with different spellings used even in cases of parent-child name-sharing: for example, in 1819, Alexander Cummine had a son named *Allexander* (Kilmallie: FR520/1 223).

For name-stock analysis, spelling variants of the same name have been combined under a single headform, although the original spelling of each name is preserved in the database. As discussed in 3.3.4, the headform is generally that spelling which is most often used in the parish. For example, the 32 uses of *Elizabeth*, 17 uses of *Elisabeth*, and three of other spellings have been combined to give a total of 52 *Elizabeths* in the overall Kilmallie name-stock, with *Elizabeth* being the headform (Figure 4-6).

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--|--|---|
| Effy | 7 Effy | 6 Effie | 1 | | | | | |
| Eliza | 6 | | | | | | | |
| Elizabeth | 52 Elizabeth | 32 Elisabeth | 17 Elisabath | 1 Elazebeth | 1 Elasibeth | | | 1 |
| Elspet | 3 | | | | | | | |
| Emily | 2 Emily | 1 Emly | 1 | | | | | |

Figure 4-6: Spellings of *Elizabeth*

However, it was not always possible to group various spellings under a headform in this way. The variant spellings of some names are very similar to others, and distinctions cannot always be distinguished. For example, in Durness, there are occurrences of *Mariann* (1), *Marion* (26), *Maryann* (2), *Maryanne* (3), *Merran* (3), *Mirran* (3), and *Mirron* (2).¹⁸ These names are very close, in terms of both pronunciation and spelling, and were deemed too similar to attempt to separate.¹⁹ It was hoped that marriages and burials would be traced for some of these children, to discover which name was recorded later in their lives; however, due to a small stock of surnames, this was not possible.

¹⁸ In this parish, there were also two *Mary Anns*. It was unclear whether *Ann* was a middle name or the second part of a first name; for purposes of consistency, any pair of names separated by a space were treated as a first and middle name. Middle names are discussed in 4.3.3.

¹⁹ Those names with only two syllables, rather than three (*Merran*, *Mirran*, *Mirron*), may be misspellings of *Marion* or *Maryann*, but may also be representing *Muireann*. To further complicate the situation, *Marion* is known to have been used as a translation of *Muireann* (Ó Corráin & Maguire 1990: 141).

Alternatives were also given for some names, with entries including ‘Marion i.e. Mour’, ‘Marion/Maryann’, ‘Marion or Minie’, and ‘Maryann (Minie)’. Multiple given names are further discussed in 4.2.5, but here it is important especially to consider the entries ‘Marion or Minie’ and ‘Maryann (Minie)’. It is possible that *Marion* and *Maryann* are variant spellings of the same name, but equally possible that *Minie* is an accepted nickname for both *Marion* and *Maryann*. In either case, these examples serve to demonstrate the close relationship between the two names.

These names, therefore, were not grouped under single-name headforms, as was the case with *Elizabeth*. Instead, they were grouped under a mass-headform, representing all names in this group. Mass-headforms are indicated by ‘&c.’: e.g. the group of names including such forms as *Christian*, *Christina*, *Cirstane*, *Christana*, *Christen*, and *X<tn>* is covered by the mass-headform *Christian &c.* In these cases, the name given in the headform (here, *Christian*) is that which most frequently appeared in the registers.

4.2.3 Variants (compounds)

A small number of compound names appeared in the registers. These included *Helen-Rebecca*, *Flora-Ann* (both Tiree), and *Jean-Ann* (Kilmallie). These were not classed as distinct names in their own right, being hyphenated compounds of other names. However, they could not be amalgamated under headforms *Helen*, *Flora* and *Jean*: this would incorrectly suggest the first half of the compound was more important, and the second part of the name would be fully obscured within the data-output. Therefore, compound names were classed under mass-headforms (e.g. *Helen &c.*, *Flora &c.*, and *Jean &c.*). Although the headform *Helen &c.* contains only the *Helen-* segment of *Helen-Rebecca*, the ‘&c.’ highlights that this is not a group comprising only *Helens*, and indicates that there is extra, important data contained in the names grouped under this headform.

4.2.4 Variants (diminutives)

Several diminutive forms occur in the database. These include *Nancy*, which may have represented *Anne* (Hey 2002: 39) or *Agnes* (Bigwood 2006: 25), *Dick* presumably for *Richard*, and *Minie* (now usually *Minnie*), which was used for *Marion/Maryann* (4.2.5).

It appears that an individual could be known by both a formal name and its diminutive in the records, with the Kilmallie group *Cleaver [Wm1]* containing a mother named *Elizabeth* who is alternatively referred to as *Betty*. It is therefore possible that, of the Kilmallie

children baptised *Betsy* (3) and *Betty* (15), all are also named *Elizabeth*; this would mean that the parish had 70 children named *Elizabeth*, rather than the 52 instances given in the name-stock analysis. However, it could not be definitively known whether those children baptised *Betsy* and *Betty* were more formally known as *Elizabeth*; therefore, to avoid conjecture and to maintain consistency, only the form given in the baptismal record was considered when compiling the name-stock.

Diminutive names have not been incorporated into ‘&c.’ groups. Diminutives have been classed as distinct variants of a name, and are therefore counted as separate names. Forms in the ‘&c.’ groups are thought to be variant spellings of a name (or multiple names, if the boundary is unclear), rather than distinct variants of that name or names.

4.2.5 Multiple names given

In 33 baptismal entries, more than one name was given for the child. For example, the baptismal entry for a child in Durness reads:

John Mackay alias MacAlisterroy in Nuibeg had a child baptized whose name is properly Wilhelmina - commonly Mina 26th July

(1775, OPR: 048/00 0010 0021)

This record refers to the ‘proper’ and ‘common’ names of a child, and is not an isolated example, with ‘Maryann Mackay - Commonly Called Minie Mackay’ also being found in the records (OPR: 048/00 010 0100). Other phrases used to denote multiple names include:

- ‘i[.]e[.]’ - ‘Eury ie Vear’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0047)
- ‘or’ - ‘Marion or Minie’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0100)
- ‘alias’ - ‘Vear, alias Eury’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0077)
- punctuation: ‘Vear/Eury’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0061); ‘Alexandrina = Alexie’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0086)

These pairs of names are of two types: diminutive or translation. Most concern diminutives: for example, *Alexandrina* and *Alexie*; *Wilhelmina* and *Mina*. With these, the formal name usually appears first, as seen with ‘Marion or Minie’, but exceptions were found: ‘Betty or Elizabeth’ (OPR: 048/00 0020 0010).

Alongside the pairs giving a formal and diminutive name, a smaller number provide an English translation, or known equivalent, alongside a Gaelic name: for example, ‘Evander

or Eoghain’ (OPR: 048/00 0020 0009) and ‘Evander or Ewan’ (OPR: 048/00 0020 0004).²⁰ Here, the English form tends to appear first, with the Gaelic name second; examples include the *Evander* records given above, and ‘Henrietta /Eric/ MacVee’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0068), a mother in Durness (discussion of the form *Eric* and its relationship to *Henrietta* can be found in 4.2.7).

It proved impossible to amalgamate these names fully into the name-stock analysis. The problem centred around the fact that a child could only be grouped under one headform, even if one form given was a diminutive of the other. To count a child under two headforms would mean duplicating data, which would seriously undermine the integrity of both the methodology and output. However, to count a child under only one headform would mean selecting one of the given forms as the main name and neglecting the other: a situation which was especially important to avoid when considering Gaelic names and English equivalents. Therefore, all children for whom multiple names were given were not grouped under any headform at all, but instead were kept entirely separate in the name-stock output. Their names are not counted as distinct forms in the overall name-stock, and they do not count towards the total number of names analysed. They are instead represented in Appendix V.

4.2.6 Interchangeable names

Many scholars have written on the interchangeability of personal names in early modern Scotland. For example, Hey (2002: 39) states: “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 (1990: 70) writes that “*Jean, Jane, Jessie* or *Janet* tend to be interchangeable”. Bigwood (2006: 25-6) in particular lists several sets of names which she regards as having been interchangeable:

- *Agnes, Nancy*
- *Angus, Aeneas, Aonghas*
- *Christian, Christina, Christine, Kirsty*

²⁰ *Evander*, an Anglicisation of *Iomhar*, was used in the Highlands (Hanks, Hardcastle & Hodges 2006: 403). Hanks et al note that this form was “peculiar to the MacIver family, apparently to differentiate it from the surname”, though this does not seem to have been the case in the data collected for this project.

- *Donald, Daniel*
- *Elizabeth, Elisabeth, Betty, Beatrice, Beatrix, Isabella*
- *Helen, Ellen, Nellie*
- *Hugh, Hew, Ewan, Aodh*
- *Isabella,²¹ Isabel, Bella*
- *Jean, Jane, Jeanie, Janet, Jessie, Jenny*
- *John, Ian, Iaian, Eun, Eoin*
- *Margaret, Maggie, Peggy*
- *Morah, Morag, Sara(h)*
- *Patrick, Peter*
- *Samuel, Sorley*

However, to class all of these names as being ‘interchangeable’ would neglect the distinction that, in many cases, the clerk would be opting to write an English equivalent of the child’s real, Gaelic name. Some Gaelic names appear to have had only one widely used English equivalent (e.g. *Coinneach: Kenneth*), but others had several acceptable equivalents (e.g. *Beathag: Betty, Rebecca*, occasionally *Sophie*).²² It is therefore entirely possible that a mother named *Beathag*, for example, would have her name recorded as *Betty* by one clerk and as *Rebecca* by another.

The perceived interchangeability of *Patrick* and *Peter* is mentioned by many scholars (Bigwood 2006: 26; Cory 1990: 93); however, this is a possible example of English equivalents being the true cause. According to Hanks et al, the Gaelic name *Pàdraig* had two known English equivalents: *Patrick* and *Peter* (2006: 407). In Durness, the father of the group *Dunn [PatPet1]* is variously referred to as *Peter* and *Patrick*. It is possible that the father’s name is actually neither *Peter* nor *Patrick*, but instead *Pàdraig*, with the clerk recording one of the accepted Anglicisations.

²¹ *Isabella* appears both here and alongside *Elizabeth*, suggesting that there are several names with which it is interchangeable.

²² All equivalents here from Lawson (1990: 10).

Cory (1990: 93) writes that:

There are some Christian names which are generally considered to have a separate identity, but were, and are, used with a fine impartiality even by their owners, such as Peter for Patrick, and Donald for Daniel.

If the man in Durness were actually named *Pàdraig*, it would suggest that some clarification is missing from Cory's statement, and that 'interchangeability' refers to the interchangeability in a clerk's usage of the names rather than the interchangeability of the name itself in everyday use. It would mean that the father in *Dunn [PatPet1]* is unlikely to have been known as *Peter* by some and *Patrick* by others; more likely, he was *Pàdraig* when spoken to in Gaelic, and variously *Peter* or *Patrick* when the language used was English.

This situation is plausible for Durness, where Gaelic was widely spoken. However, evidence from other areas suggests that *Patrick* and *Peter* may be interchangeable, rather than accepted equivalents for a Gaelic name; fathers known as both *Peter* and *Patrick* have been found in parishes where Gaelic was not widely spoken, such as Saltoun, Dundonald, Govan, and Holm.

4.2.7 Gaelic names obscured by spelling

Although the clerks in the chosen parishes tended to write in English only, it must be remembered that Scotland was not a monolingual country and Gaelic was also spoken in many areas.²³ In many cases, it is likely that a name recorded in the register as, for example, *Donald* may in fact refer to a child named *Dòmhnall*, with the clerk choosing to write the English equivalent. This may be due to the clerk either deliberately translating the name, being unsure of the Gaelic spelling, or being unfamiliar with the Gaelic form and thus writing a phonologically-similar English name. Lawson (1990: 9) writes that translation in particular is common in early modern Scotland:

²³ Durness, Kilmallie, and Tiree are in areas which are considered to have been entirely Gaelic-speaking in 1705, 1765, and 1806 (Withers 1984: 56, 71, 83). By 1881, between 75% and 94.9% of the population in the Kilmallie and Durness areas still spoke Gaelic, and, in Tiree, the proportion was between 95% and 100% (Withers 1984: 225).

In the early days of Civil Registration, Gaelic names were not acceptable to the Registrars, who insisted on using what they reckoned were the ‘proper’ versions of names in English. Unfortunately, different Registrars had different ideas of what the proper translations were!

It was decided that, to avoid conjecture, the name-stock output of this project would specifically refer to the names as given by the clerks, and therefore no attempt was made to determine exactly how many *Donalds* are *Dòmhnalls*. Indeed, as the names of many of the Scottish population were only recorded in the OPRs, such an attempt would likely be impossible. It is important, however, to be aware of the fact that many of the names written in the OPRs may not be the names actually given to the children, but rather a clerk’s interpretation of them.

In most cases, it is clear where an English equivalent may potentially be replacing the actual given Gaelic name: *David* is a known English equivalent of *Dàibhidh*, for example, as is *Jane* for *Sine* (Lawson 1990: 10). However, in other cases, the Gaelic name is more obscured. In the parish of Durness, in Sutherland, nine instances of the name *Eric* were found. At first glance, these would appear to be male children named *Eric*: there are fathers in the parish named Eric Mackay (OPR: 048/00 0010 0118) and Eric Campbell (OPR: 048/00 0010 0113), and one baptism is for ‘Eric John Thomson, son to Rev<d> Mr Findlater’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0115), with ‘son’ indicating that the child is male. However, there are also several mothers named *Eric* (e.g. Eric MacVee (OPR: 048/00 0010 0042), Eric Mackenzie (OPR: 048/00 0010 0096) and Eric Morison (OPR: 048/00 0010 0058)), which would suggest that female children could also bear the name. It is possible that *Eric* was a name which could be given to both male and female children, but, for the baptism of Eric Calder (1791), it is apparent that there is instead an obscured Gaelic name. For Eric Calder’s baptism, the clerk added the note ‘They call Eric Henriette or Harriot in English’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0065). A similar situation can be seen with the name of one of the Durness mothers: ‘Henrietta /Eric/ MacVee’ (OPR: 048/00 0010 0068), where *Eric* appears alongside, and apparently as a translation of, *Henrietta*. These clerical notes suggest that, in fact, *Eric* may not always be *Eric*, but instead a Gaelic name which could be translated as *Harriet* or *Henrietta*. This hidden Gaelic name is most likely to be *Oighrig*, which is known to have a large number of English equivalents: e.g. “Effie, Euphemia, Erica, Efrica, Africa, Harriet, and, in Lewis particularly, Henrietta and Etta” (Lawson 1990: 9), with *Harriet* and *Henrietta* being of especial interest when considering

the baptismal entry for Eric Calder. Its pronunciation (IPA: /ɔɪrɪk/ or /ɪrɪk/)²⁴ is also similar to that of Eric (IPA: /ɛrɪk/).

Many Durness children do not have their sex defined in their baptismal record, with the clerk merely stating ‘child’, and unfortunately it is therefore difficult to tell which *Eric*s are male (and *Eric*) and which are female (and *Oighrig*). For this study, therefore, only the names of those children whose sex is known have been included in the name-stock; the Durness records therefore are stated to include one male *Eric*, one female *Oighrig*,²⁵ and seven children of unknown name and sex.

Also in Durness, there were 15 children who have been grouped under the headform *Fairly* (comprised of 12 *Fairlys*, two *Fairlies*, and one *Fairley*). The sex was not given for these children, but there are five mothers with the name (including Fairly Gordon (OPR: 048/00 0010 0061) and Fairly McPherson (OPR: 048/00 0020 0014)) and no fathers; it is therefore likely that *Fairly* is usually, and possibly exclusively, a female name in this area.

Fairly was a previously unknown name (as a first, middle, or surname) in all parishes except Dundonald. It also did not appear in dictionaries of first names, such as that by Hanks et al (2006). In Dundonald, it was used once as a male name and appears to have been used as a transferred surname in honour of a local landowning family.²⁶ It is possible that its usage as a transferred surname had been brought to Durness at some point, but, given this surname does not seem to be in use in the Durness area and with an understanding of the situation with *Eric* and *Oighrig*, it was prudent to investigate Gaelic names which potentially may be being obscured in the Durness uses of the name.

²⁴ The IPA given in this section represents a modern pronunciation, rather than accurately portraying an eighteenth-century pronunciation as found in this region of the Highlands. It is intended purely as a general guide to help the reader understand the similarity between *Oighrig* and *Eric*. *Oighrig* appears to have more than one pronunciation today; my thanks go to Dr. Simon Taylor and Alasdair Whyte, who each offered modern pronunciations.

²⁵ Usually, the headform replicates the spelling most frequently given in the baptismal entries, as discussed in 3.3.4. Here, however, a non-represented form (*Oighrig*) has been used as the headform. This decision has been made to avoid any confusion due to the most common spelling, *Eric*, being identical to the usual spelling of an entirely different name.

²⁶ The Fairlie family appear in the Dundonald records when their own children are baptised in the parish. The father is described as “William Fairlie of that Ilk” and the baptism takes place “at the house of Fairlie” (e.g. 590/1 FR0064). See 5.7.2.2 for discussion of naming for landowners.

It is possible that there is indeed an obscured name here, namely *Forbflaith*²⁷ or a variant of it. *Forbflaith* was a very rare name in the mediaeval period (Sellar 2004: 51-3), but was revived in the nineteenth century by Sir James Ramsay of Bamff (Perthshire), in the form *Ferelith* (Sellar 2004: 53). Ramsay's revival of the name postdates the occurrences in Durness, but it is possible that the name had maintained a presence in Durness, an isolated rural Highland community on the northern coast, while having died out elsewhere. When discussing the use of *Forbflaith* in Ireland, Ó Corráin and Maguire (1990: 107) give a variant spelling as *Forlaith* and a modern pronunciation of 'fur-la'; it is easy to see how a clerk might replicate such a pronunciation as *Fairly*, although the difference in region and accent must also be taken into account.

As the spelling *Fairly* does not directly conflict with any other given names in the database (the male name found in Dundonald is instead *Fairlie*), this has been retained as the headform. However, it should be understood that the names grouped under this headform are potentially the name *Forbflaith* (or one of its variants) or another hidden Gaelic name.

As discussed in 4.2.5, some names were given alongside others as translations or diminutives. However, the circumstances surrounding one pair of names is unclear. *Eury* and *Vear* both appear only in Gaelic-speaking parishes: Kilmallie and Durness. In Kilmallie, *Vear* tends to be given as a single name: there are 14 occurrences of various spellings (six *Vear*, five *Vere*, and three *Ver*). There are also four instances of *Verica* which may be related, and two cases of *Veronica* in the parish. *Eury* does not appear in the parish.

In Durness, *Eury* is twice given as a single name, but otherwise it is consistently paired with *Vear*: two cases of "Vear alias Eury" (048/00 0010 0058; 048/00 0010 0077), one of "Vear/Eury" (048/00 0010 0061), and one of "Eury ie Vear" (048/00 0010 0047). This pairing seems to apply to both children and adults, with mothers being referred to as, for example, "Eury Miller alias Vear Miller" (048/00 0010 0033) or alternatively "Vear alias Eury Miller" (048/00 0010 0039).

It is unclear whether one of these names is viewed as a diminutive of the other, or as a translation or equivalent. If a translation or equivalent, it is unknown which name is Gaelic and which is English. The only potential clue at this stage arises from an "Effie or Vere"

²⁷ My thanks go to Prof. Thomas Clancy for this suggestion.

which was found in Kilmallie (520/2 FR0320). This pairing raises the possibility that *Eury* and *Effie* may be related names or variant spellings of the same name. This in turn may provide a link to *Oighrig*: as discussed earlier, this name had several English equivalents, one of which was *Effie*; however, this seems unlikely as *Vear* and *Oighrig* (spelled *Eric*) both appear in the Durness records during the same period. It is instead possible that *Eury*/*Effie* are used as English equivalents for another Gaelic name. The Durness evidence does not contradict this: although both *Eury* and *Effie* were used there, the usage of *Eury* stopped five years before the first *Effie* appeared in the records, and these spellings may therefore be due to clerical preference.

However, even if *Eury* is potentially linked to *Effie*, the origin of *Vear* is unknown. This is clearly a complicated situation surrounding a pair of names, one of which may be a hidden Gaelic name of unknown origin, and requires further research.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Female names derived from male names

4.3.1.1 Overview

Several female names found in the Scottish name-stock are suffixed male names (e.g. *Basilea* < *Basil*; *Davidina* < *David*). In particular, *-ina* was often added to a male name, resulting in names such as *Jamesina*, *Andrewina*, and *Hughina* (Cory 2004: 93); these names are discussed in 4.3.1.1.1. Other suffixes include *-y* (*Hughy* < *Hugh*) and *-a* (*Nicla* < *Nicoll*); these are discussed in 4.3.1.1.2.

It is certain that some of these names were specifically constructed to name a female child after a male. Two females, both in Kilrenny, were named *Andrea*. The first bearer of the name was Andrea Anderson, youngest child to James Anderson and Margaret Millar, baptised 24 October 1797. When recording her baptism, the clerk wrote: “She was named after Andrew Anderson, Supposed to be [lost at sea]” (Kilrenny OPR: 438/00 0020 0047); Andrew was Andrea’s uncle, the younger brother of James. Here, it is clear that *Andrea* has been formed from *Andrew*, and with a specific commemorative purpose.

Basil was not a frequently used name, occurring only five times overall; however, four of those occurrences were in Govan, where *Basilea* was found. The name-bearer, Basilea Hamilton, was the eldest daughter of a man named *Basil*. Although not explicitly stated, it appears that the daughter’s name was formed from the father’s.

In other cases, it is possible that the female name is used in its own right, rather than being consciously formed from a male name. Most of the names presented in this section occur only a few times; *Christina*, however, occurs 134 times.²⁸ The name associated with it, *Christian*, was not borne by any male children in this study, although it frequently occurs as a female name. It is therefore unlikely that females are consciously being given a suffixed male name, and the comparatively high rate of occurrence supports the theory that the name is being used in its own right. However, the distinction between a conscious and an unconscious bestowal of the name is not always apparent, and indeed may have changed during the period studied; therefore, an inclusive policy was adopted when constructing the tables.

The origin of some names could not be determined. Some names are clearly formed from a male name (e.g. *Angusina* < *Angus*); however, with others, it is debatable whether a male name is the root or whether they are simply a female name ending *-ina*, *-a*, *-y*, etc. (e.g. *Hardina*, *O'Rina*). As the origin of these latter names is unknown, there is a possibility that they are indeed formed from male names. Therefore, for purposes of consistency, these names have also been included in the tables below.

The following information is also presented in the tables:

- number of bearers
- number of parishes in which the name appears
- whether these parishes are Highland, Lowland, or in Orkney (represented by H, L, and O respectively)
- the root male name
- whether the male name appeared in the overall database, the parish(es) in which the female name appeared, and in PoMS.

To determine the root male name, the *Oxford Dictionary of First Names* by Hanks, Hardcastle and Hodges (2006) was consulted; if the female name was in the *Dictionary*,

²⁸ As discussed in 4.2.2, all occurrences of *Christina* were included in the general '*Christian &c.*' group as there is uncertainty over the boundaries between *Christian*, *Christina*, and variant spellings. As all female names ending *-ina* have been included here, the names spelled <Christina> have been included: 134 *Christinas* out of 1176 name-bearers in the '*Christian &c.*' group. However, inclusion has relied purely on spelling and this is therefore not a secure group. Despite this flaw, their inclusion here serves to highlight the existence of another *-ina* name.

the stated male root has been presented here. For names not in the *Dictionary*, suggestions as to the male root have been given where possible. Some names appeared in the *Dictionary* but the root name is potentially different to that given; alternative suggestions have been given for those names.

In some cases, the root name is clear: e.g. *Adamina* < *Adam*. In cases where the root name is unclear, a name is suggested where possible, but marked to highlight uncertainty: e.g. *Constina* < ?*Constant(ine)*.

As these female names are formed from male names, the case for the suggested male roots would be strengthened if the relevant male names appeared in the same parishes as the female derivatives. Results from the overall database and for the specific parishes have been given, alongside results from the PoMS database. PoMS was consulted to give extra information in those cases where the suggested male root did not appear in the overall database, to ascertain whether the name had been used at an earlier date. For example, *Constant(ine)* a suggested male root for *Constina*, did not appear in the relevant parishes or in the overall database. However, *Constantine* did appear in the PoMS database. It is therefore possible that *Constina* was originally formed from *Constantine* and has survived in areas where *Constantine* has not.

In all three of these columns (overall database, relevant parishes, PoMS), occurrence of the male name is marked with ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Where multiple results are given (e.g. ‘yes/no’), this indicates that more than one male root was suggested. For the name *Allina*, both *Alistair* and *Allan* were suggested roots; the consistent ‘no/yes’ across the three columns shows that *Alistair* did not appear in any of the sources, but *Allan* appeared in all three.

4.3.1.1.1 -ina names

Of the 267 female names in the database, 31 ended *-ina*; these are given in Table 4-19 below.

Table 4-19: Female names ending *-ina*

| Female name | No. of bearers | No. of parishes | Highland/ Lowland/Orkney | Male name acting as root | | Occurrence of male name in: | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | Hanks et al | Alternative suggestion | Database | Relevant parishes | PoMS |
| Adamina | 1 | 1 | H | Adam | | yes | yes | yes |
| Alexandrina | 4 | 2 | H | Alexander | | yes | yes | yes |
| Allina | 1 | 1 | H | Alistair | Allan | no/yes | no/yes | no/yes |
| Andrina | 1 | 1 | L | | Andrew | yes | yes | yes |
| Angusina | 5 | 2 | H | | Angus | yes | yes | yes |
| Arabina | 1 | 1 | L | | | | | |
| Carolina | 1 | 1 | H | Lat. Carolus (Charles) | | yes (Charles) | yes (Charles) | yes (Charles) |
| Christina | 134* | 8 | HL | Christian (via Christiana) | | no* | no* | yes |
| Clementina | 2 | 2 | L | Clement | | no | no | yes |
| Colina* | 4 | 2 | H | | Colin | yes | yes | yes |
| Constina | 1 | 1 | L | | ?Constant(ine) | no | no | yes (Constantine) |
| Davidina | 2 | 1 | H | | David | yes | yes | yes |
| Davina | 2 | 1 | H | David | | yes | yes | yes |
| Dolina | 3 | 1 | H | Donald | | yes | yes | yes |
| Donaldina | 1 | 1 | H | | Donald | yes | yes | yes |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----|---|-----|---------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Duncina | 1 | 1 | H | | Duncan | yes | yes | yes |
| Georgina | 19 | 3 | HL | George | | yes | yes | yes |
| Hardina | 1 | 1 | H | | | | | |
| Hughina | 16 | 2 | H | | Hugh | yes | yes | yes |
| Jacobina | 13 | 5 | LO | | Jacob/?James | no/yes | no/yes | no/yes |
| Kennethina | 1 | 1 | H | | Kenneth | yes | yes | yes |
| Marina | 1 | 1 | L | Marinus/Marius | ?Marianus | no/no/yes | no/no/yes | yes/no/no |
| O'Rina | 1 | 1 | H | | | | | |
| Robina | 20 | 7 | HLO | | Robert | yes | yes | yes |
| Rorina | 1 | 1 | H | | Rory | yes | yes | yes |
| Thomina | 2 | 2 | H | | Thomas | yes | yes | yes |
| Veramina | 1 | 1 | L | | | | | |
| Willhelmina | 6 | 2 | HL | Wilhelm | | no | no | no |
| Williamina | 6 | 3 | HLO | | William | yes | yes | yes |
| Willina | 5 | 1 | H | | William | yes | yes | yes |
| Zina | 3 | 1 | L | Alex(ander) (via Alexina) | | yes | yes | yes |

Information has been asterisked for two of the names given here:

- *Christina*: as discussed in footnote 28, there may be some deviation in the precise number of occurrences of this name. The name *Christian* does appear in both the database and the relevant parishes, but was only given to female children. As we are primarily interested in the usage of the male name, these columns have therefore been marked as ‘no’.
- *Colina*: it is debatable whether *Colina* belongs to the list of *-ina* names. It cannot be determined whether the name is *Col- + -ina*, with the second syllable of *Colin* being elided, or *Colin + -a*, thus falling into a category of names discussed in 4.3.1.1.2. It has therefore been included in both tables.

At least eleven of 31 names consist of the full male name with the *-ina* suffix: *Adamina*; *Angusina*; *Clementina*; *Davidina*; *Donaldina*; *Georgina*; *Hughina*; *Jacobina*; *Kennethina*; *Willhelmina*; *Williamina*. Although the spelling of *Georgina* does not feature the final ‘e’ of *George*, the pronunciation is the same as *George + -ina*; it is therefore counted here as a full male name with suffix. Of the male names forming the roots of these female names, eight of eleven were given to male children in the database: *Clement*, *Jacob*, and *Wilhelm* were not used.

At least thirteen of 31 names consist of part of a male name with the *-ina* suffix: *Alexandrina*; *Allina*; *Andrina*; *Carolina*; *Christina*; *Constina*; *Davina*; *Duncina*; *Robina*; *Rorina*; *Thomina*; *Willina*; *Zina*. At least one syllable has been elided from the male names here: for example, *Alexandrina* instead of *Alexanderina*, and *Duncina* instead of *Duncanina*. *Colina* may also potentially belong to this group.

Translation plays a role in some cases, particularly *Carolina*, *Jacobina*, and *Willhelmina*.

- *Carolina* is ultimately derived from *Carolus*, the Latin form of *Charles*. It may have been given as a name in its own right, or potentially as an alternative to the unattested **Charlesina*.
- *Jacobina* initially seems to be a feminine form of *Jacob*. However, the name *Jacob* does not appear in the database or in PoMS, so it is unlikely that the name is being consciously formed from the male name with the daughter being named after a particular person. It is possible that the *Jacob-* here is instead a Latin translation of *James*, a theory which is supported by Dunkling (1999: 76). It is also possible that the name is used politically, as discussed in 2.3.5.2; supporters of King James VII of Scotland and his heirs were known as Jacobites.

- Hanks et al state that *Wilhelmina* is a “feminine version of *Wilhelm*, the German form of *William* [...]. This name was introduced to the English-speaking world from Germany in the 19th century.” (2006: 276). It is unclear whether *Wilhelmina* is being consciously used as an alternative for *Williamina* (both names appear in Durness), or whether it is being used as a name in its own right, regardless of its male root. Although Hanks et al state the name first appears in the English-speaking world in the nineteenth century, the first occurrence in this study’s database is in the late eighteenth century (Durness, 1775).

For a discussion of names affected by Gaelic/English translation, see 4.3.1.1.1.1.

If a male name forms the root of *Hardina*, found in Kilmallie, it is unknown. The root may be *Hardie*, a name given to a child in Auchtermuchty; however, that child is of unknown sex and thus it is not known whether *Hardie* was a male, female, or unisex name. There is a greater tendency for female names to end in a vowel (Cutler et al 1990: 481), but the ending of *Hardie* is not necessarily indicative of a female bearer: males named *Anthony*, *Harvey*, and *Rory* were found (with the latter being the root of *Rorina* in Table 4-19). If *Hardie* and *Hardina* had the same root name, it is inconclusive whether *Hardina* is a female version of a male *Hardie*. *Hugh* was found to have two corresponding female forms: *Hughy* and *Hughina*; it is therefore possible that *Hardie* and *Hardina* are both female forms.

Hanks et al state that *Zena* is a Highland short form of *Alexina* (2006: 410), a form of *Alex* (2006: 399), which is itself a short form of *Alexander*, *Alexandra*, or *Alexis* (2006: 8). Assuming that *Zena* could also be spelt *Zina*, as it appears in the database, this is a convincing claim: *Alexander* and similar names were in widespread use throughout the parishes. However, Hanks et al state that this is a Highland form, but all occurrences in this study were found in Kilrenny, one of the Lowland parishes. There are several possible reasons for this: a Highland form may have been transferred to a Lowland parish; the name *Zina* is not a variant spelling of *Zena* and is a different name entirely; there may be a difference between present-day and early modern use; or, the information given by Hanks et al may need some refinement.

4.3.1.1.1.1 English -ina equivalents of Gaelic names

It is possible that some of the names in the records and on this list were not actually given to children, but were alternatives recorded by the clerk. Gaelic was widely spoken in some of these areas, namely the Highland parishes, and Gaelic names are represented elsewhere

in the registers, with *Oighrig* (spelt as ‘Eric’) and possibly *Forbflaith* (spelt as ‘Fairly’ and ‘Fairley’) both appearing several times. Some Gaelic names are known to have had English equivalents, and the clerks may have used these instead of attempting to use Gaelic orthography. Lawson (1990: 10) gives examples of Gaelic names and English equivalents found on Harris, his list including such names as *Fionnaghal* (equivalents *Fiona* or *Fingalla*), *Barabal* (equivalents *Annabella* or *Barbara*), and *Mairi* (equivalent *Mary*). Dwelly (2001) likewise provides a list of known Gaelic-English equivalents.

Some of the English equivalents on these lists end in *-ina*; this means that some of the names given in the table above may not be *-ina* names, created by adding a feminine suffix to a male name, but instead concealed Gaelic names. For example, Lawson states that, on Harris, the names *Rachel* and *Ronaldina* are both found as English equivalents of *Raonaid* (1990: 10). *Ronaldina* does not appear in the database compiled for this study, but several other names found in the lists of Lawson and Dwelly do. Key comments have also been found in Hanks, Hardcastle and Hodges’ dictionary (2006).

Affected *-ina* names are:

- *Alexandrina*: *Alexina*, *Alexanderina* and *Lexy* are equivalents of *Leccsaidh* (Lawson 1990: 10)
- *Dolina*: equivalent of *Dollag* (Lawson 1990: 10) or *Dolag* (Hanks et al 2006: 401)
- *Donaldina*: *Donaldina* and *Donalda* are also equivalents of *Dollag* (Lawson 1990: 10)

Hanks, Hardcastle and Hodges state that *Dolag* is a feminine diminutive of *Donald* (2006: 401), so whether *Dolina* and *Donaldina* are English equivalents for *Dolag* or whether they are male names with a feminine suffix, they are quite clearly all feminine versions of *Donald*. However, if they are equivalents for *Dolag*, the name-bearers have not been given true *-ina* names.

4.3.1.1.2 Other female names from male names

Excluding the *-ina* names, 20 female names appear to have been formed from suffixed male names (nineteen if *Colina* is excluded). These are given in Table 4-20 below.

Table 4-20: Female names formed from suffixed male names

| Female name | No. of bearers | No. of parishes | Highland/ Lowland/Orkney | Male name acting as root | | Occurrence of male name in: | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------|
| | | | | Hanks et al | Alternative suggestion | Database | Relevant parishes | PoMS |
| Adriana | 1 | 1 | L | Adrian | | no | yes | yes |
| Alexia | 1 | 1 | L | Alexis | Alexander | yes/yes | no/yes | yes/yes |
| Alexie | 6 | 1 | H | | Alexander | yes | yes | yes |
| Alexis | 1 | 1 | H | Alexius (Lat. sp. of Gr. Alexios) | Alexander | no/yes | no/yes | no/yes |
| Andrea | 2 | 1 | L | Andreas | Andrew | no/yes | no/yes | no/yes |
| Antonia | 1 | 1 | L | Anthony | | yes | yes | yes |
| Basilea | 1 | 1 | L | | Basil | yes | yes | no* |
| Charlotte | 30 | 10 | HL | Charles | | yes | yes | yes |
| *Colina | 4 | 2 | H | | Colin | yes | yes | yes |
| Dol | 10 | 1 | H | | Donald | yes | yes | yes |
| Dollie | 6 | 1 | H | Donald (or Dorothy) | | yes | yes | yes |
| Dunkey | 1 | 1 | H | | Duncan | yes | yes | yes |
| Georgiana | 1 | 1 | L | George (via Georgia/Georgina) | | yes | yes | yes |
| Georgie | 1 | 1 | H | George (via Georgia/Georgina) | | yes | yes | yes |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Hughy | 3 | 1 | H | Hugh* | | yes | yes | yes |
| Johnsy | 1 | 1 | L | | John | yes | yes | yes |
| Mariana | 2 | 1 | L | | ?Marianus | yes | yes | no |
| Nicla | 1 | 1 | H | Nicholas | Nicoll | yes/yes | no/yes | yes/no |
| Patricia | 2 | 1 | L | Lat. Patricius (related to Patrick) | | yes (Patrick) | yes (Patrick) | yes (Patrick) |
| Scota | 1 | 1 | L | | ?Scott | yes | yes | yes |

As before, information has been asterisked for three of the names given here:

- *Basilea*: although the suggested root name *Basil* does not appear in PoMS, the female name *Basilia* does. Assuming *Basilia* has the same root as *Basilea*, this indicates that *Basil* was presumably used in Scotland during the period covered by PoMS and that *Basil* + suffix was not a new construction in the early modern period.
- *Colina*: as stated in 4.3.1.1.1, it is unclear whether *Colina* is an *-ina* name or an *-a* name. It has therefore been included in both tables.
- *Hughy*: Hanks et al record that *Hughie* is a diminutive of *Hugh* given to male children (2006: 126). Some *Hughys* in the database were of unknown sex, so there may be male *Hughys* in early modern Scotland; however, there are certainly also female children with this name.

At least seven of 20 names appear to consist of a full male name with suffix: *Adriana*; *Basilea*; *Georgiana*; *Georgie*; *Hughy*; *Johnsy*; *Scota*. *Colina* may also potentially belong to this group. As with *Georgina* in 4.3.1.1.1, the spellings of *Georgiana* and *Georgie* do not feature the final ‘e’ of *George*. However, the pronunciation is the same as *George* + *-iana* or *-ie*, and they are therefore counted as full male names with suffix.

At least eight of 20 names consist of part of a male name with an added suffix: *Alexia*; *Alexie*; *Alexis*; *Andrea*; *Charlotte*; *Dollie*; *Dunkey*; *Nicla*. Strikingly, there are several names which seem to be formed from *Alexander*, though some of these may be diminutives of, for example, *Alexandrina* rather than originating as a female form of *Alexander*.

A wide range of suffixes are used, including *-y/-ie* (*Hughy*, *Georgie*), *-a* (*Nicla*, *Scota*), *-ea* (*Andrea*, *Basilea*), and *-sy* (*Johnsy*). Three names end *-iana*, though the precise formation of these names is not known. *Georgiana* does appear to end *-iana*, but *Adriana* may also be *Adrian* + *-a*, and the male root of *Mariana*, if indeed there is one, has not been established. In the parish where the two *Marianas* appear, Longside, there are two males named *Marianus*, and it is possible that *Mariana* is derived from this name. However, both *Marianas* were baptised before either *Marianus* (*Mariana*: 1757, 1758; *Marianus*: 1775, 1821); there is therefore a possibility that the male name *Marianus* was formed from *Mariana*.

4.3.1.2 Discussion

4.3.1.2.1 Geographical distribution

When considering all 50 female names in these tables, the geographical distribution of these names seems to be fairly even between the Highlands and Lowlands, though the Highlands account for slightly more. Orkney overall has far fewer of these names, though this may be due to the smaller amount of data from this area.

Of the 50 female names:

- 31 appear in the Highlands (26 specific to Highlands)
- 24 appear in the Lowlands (17 specific to Lowlands)
- three appear in Orkney (none specific to Orkney).

- four names appear in both the Highlands and Lowlands
- two names appear in both the Lowlands and Orkney
- one name (*Robina*) appears in all three areas.

When considering only the 31 *-ina* names:

- 22 appear in the Highlands (18 specific to Highlands)
- 11 appear in the Lowlands (7 specific to Lowlands)
- three appear in Orkney (none specific to Orkney).

- three names appear in both the Highlands and Lowlands
- two names appear in both the Lowlands and Orkney
- one name appears in all three areas.

This information was put into the form of a bar graph (see Figure 4-7 below). The ‘overall’ columns show the number of female names derived from male names and the number of *-ina* names in each area (e.g. there are 31 female names in the Highlands which are potentially derived from male names). The ‘specific’ columns show the number of names which were specific to a single area (e.g. there are 26 female names potentially derived from male names which only appear in the Highland parishes).

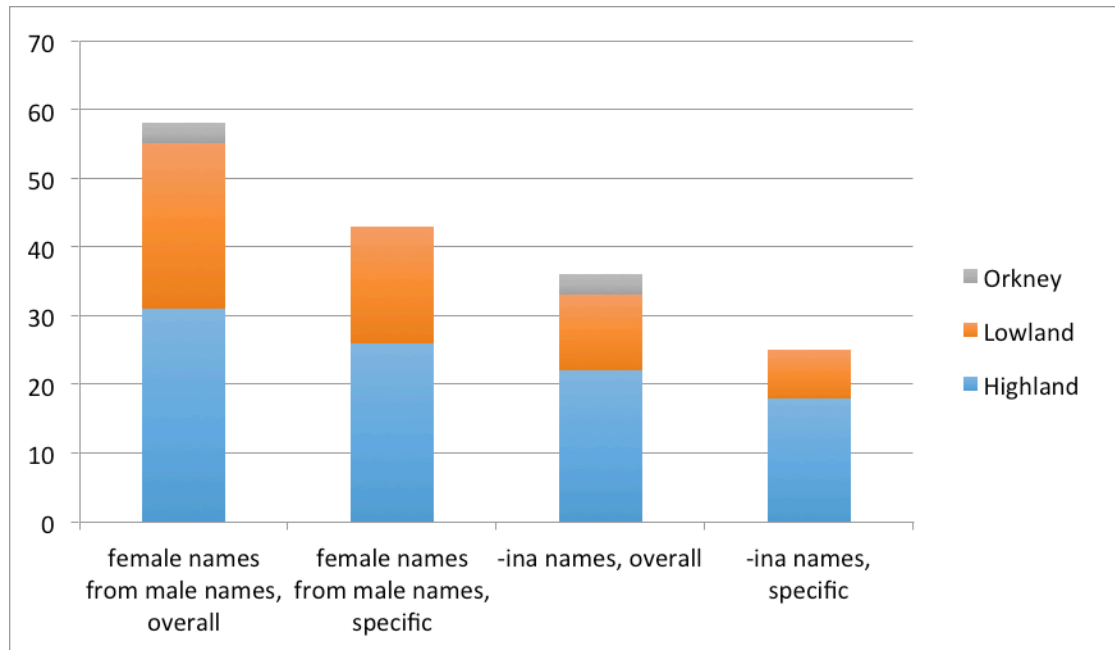


Figure 4-7: Geographical distribution of female names derived from male names

This graph shows that, when looking at all female names potentially derived from male names, the distribution is fairly even between Highland and Lowland parishes, though there are slightly more names in the Highlands. However, when looking at the *-ina* names only, this Highland/Lowland difference increases, particularly when considering only those *-ina* names specific to a certain area. This suggests that, although female names formed from male names appear in all areas, there tends to be a wider range of *-ina* names in the Highlands.

If the overall Highland name-stock were larger than that found in the Lowlands, that might explain this difference. However, there are 203 names in the overall Highland name-stock, and 384 in the overall Lowland name-stock. This situation is therefore unaffected by the overall size of the name-stocks, and it does appear that there tends to be a wider range of female names formed from male names, and in particular *-ina* names, in the Highlands.

4.3.1.2.2 Varying origin of names

In both tables above, there are names for which Hanks et al have suggested origins and an alternative suggestion has also been provided (e.g. *Andrea* < *Andreas* or < *Andrew*). Where alternative suggestions have been provided, this is not to say that the male root as provided by Hanks et al is incorrect; rather, a particular occurrence of a female name may have been formed differently and from a slightly different source than is typical. For example, Hanks et al state that the name *Andrea* most likely originated as a feminine form of *Andreas*, which is also the name from which *Andrew* derives (2006: 15). However, it was seen in

4.3.1 that, for at least one child, *Andrea* was probably specifically formed from *Andrew*.²⁹ It is possible that this distinction alters on a case-by-case basis: although the first *Andrea* in Kilrenny may have been formed from *Andrew*, this does not mean that the second *Andrea* was also.

Similarly, Hanks et al state that *Nicola* is a feminine form of the male name *Nicholas* (2006: 205). The data collected for this study show that, in early modern Scotland, *Nicholas* was more typically a female name, and *Nicoll* was the name given to male children. Therefore, if occurrences of the name *Nicla* are based on a male name, it is more likely, in this area and period, that it is formed from *Nicoll* rather than *Nicholas*.

4.3.2 Transferred surnames

4.3.2.1 Overview

4.3.2.1.1 Definition

When discussing the origin of a name, the term ‘transferred surname’ generally refers to a name which originated as a surname but is then also used as a first name. Examples from Hanks et al include *Brooke*, *Russell*, and *Seymour* (2006: 40, 237, 240).

A secondary meaning is more relevant for this study, which analyses how names were used in early modern Scotland. Although a first name may have originated as a surname and thus technically be a transferred surname, it is the motivation of the name-givers which is significant. A distinction must be drawn between a name specifically chosen by the name-givers due to its role as a surname (e.g. naming a child *Somervail* after Janet Somervail), and a name not specifically chosen for its role as a surname, regardless of its ultimate origin (e.g. naming a child *Somerville* after Somerville MacIndoe).

4.3.2.1.2 Number of transferred surnames

In total, there are 478 first names in the name-stock. 189 of these also appear as surnames in the database, and an additional 37 names are recorded as surnames in Black’s dictionary *The Surnames of Scotland* (1946; reprinted 2015). It is therefore tempting to state that there are between 189 and 226 transferred surnames in the name-stock (39.54% - 47.28%).

²⁹ If *Andrea* was not formed directly from *Andrew*, it was chosen due to its similarity to it. In either case, it is clear that the name-givers had *Andrew*, and not *Andreas*, in mind when naming the child *Andrea*.

However, due to numerous issues which must be considered, it is problematic to give a single estimate covering the entire dataset; these issues are discussed in 4.3.2.2. Instead, this section will outline the estimated number of transferred surnames in each parish.

Parish-specific analysis is necessary since, as will be discussed in 4.3.2.2.1, there is regional variation in not only the first names given but also the surnames in use. This means a name may be a transferred surname in one parish, but not in another. Due to the problem of regional variation, the following analysis only considers the surnames for which there is clear evidence in each parish. This means names such as *Smibert* in Auchtermuchty, which appears as a first name in the parish but not a surname, is not counted as a transferred surname, despite likely being so.³⁰

Table 4-21 shows:

- the total number of surnames in a parish which also appear in the parish's stock of first names.
- the refined estimate of how many transferred surnames are in each parish's stock of first names. Here, names are excluded if surname uses are greatly outnumbered by first name uses, as the latter uses are unlikely to be due to the name's role as a surname; e.g. *Alexander* appears 120 times as a first name in Auchtermuchty, and three times as a surname. These estimates are given as a range to allow for overall greater accuracy. The lower number refers to only those names which are almost certainly extant in the name-stock due to their presence as surnames in the parish. The higher number includes those names where this is less certain; for example, in Auchtermuchty, *Matthew* was used seven times as a first name and seven times as a surname. Its considered role in the parish is therefore unclear.
- the estimate of how many transferred surnames are in the name-stock, but presented as a percentage of the overall name-stock.
- the total number of children who have a first name which is also a surname in the parish.
- the number of children who have a first name represented by the refined estimate of transferred surnames.

³⁰ *Smibert* is a known surname in Scotland, with Black noting it is uncommon and mostly found in Edinburgh and southeast Scotland (2015: 734).

- the number of children with a first name represented by the refined estimate, presented as a percentage of the overall parish population.

Table 4-21: Number and percentage of potential transferred surnames and affected children

| Parishes | Transferred surnames | | | | Children affected | | | Est. range - children with trans. surnames as % of total pop. |
|---------------|--------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| | Size of first-name-stock | Total no. of surnames in first-name-stock | Est. range - no. of trans. surnames in first-name-stock | Est. range - trans. surnames as % of first-name-stock | Total children in parish | Total no. of affected children | Est. range - no. of children with trans. surnames | |
| Auchtermuchty | 123 | 28 | 15 - 20 | 12.20 - 16.26 | 4,910 | 694 | 28 - 47 | 0.57 - 0.96 |
| Dundonald | 162 | 36 | 23 - 30 | 14.20 - 18.52 | 6,665 | 367 | 45 - 140 | 0.68 - 2.10 |
| Durness | 123 | 6 | 6 | 4.88 | 2,302 | 18 | 18 | 0.78 |
| Govan | 245 | 87 | 62 - 75 | 25.31 - 30.61 | 16,765 | 2,701 | 133 - 408 | 0.79 - 2.43 |
| Holm | 77 | 3 | 0 - 1 | 0 - 1.30 | 2,675 | 42 | 0 - 3 | 0 - 0.11 |
| Kilmallie | 142 | 9 | 1 - 3 | 0.70 - 2.11 | 5,011 | 614 | 1 - 3 | 0.02 - 0.06 |
| Kilrenny | 120 | 26 | 16 - 21 | 13.33 - 17.50 | 4,770 | 519 | 30 - 44 | 0.63 - 0.92 |
| Longside | 119 | 24 | 17 - 21 | 14.29 - 17.65 | 6,194 | 781 | 28 - 53 | 0.45 - 0.86 |
| Saltoun | 103 | 10 | 7 | 6.80 | 3,118 | 34 | 11 | 0.35 |
| Tiree | 90 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7,185 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tongland | 87 | 9 | 5 - 6 | 5.75 - 6.90 | 1,862 | 94 | 9 - 10 | 0.48 - 0.54 |

Auchtermuchty, Durness, Kilrenny, and Longside have name-stocks which are average or close to average in size (as discussed in 4.1.1.1). Excluding Durness, there is a tendency for between 12.20% and 17.65% of the name-stock to be gained from the transferral of surnames. Although Dundonald has a larger-than-average name-stock, its estimated percentage of transferred surnames also falls close to this range.

Despite Durness having a name-stock of average size, it has a low percentage of transferred surnames. This seems to be due to regional variation: Durness is one of the three Highland parishes, and the other two – Kilmallie and Tiree – also have few surnames in their stocks of first names, Tiree having none at all. Holm, Saltoun, and Tongland also have below-average percentages of transferred surnames, though this may be related to the size of their name-stocks similarly being below average.

As shown in 4.1.3, the majority of the population of each parish tends to have one of the top twenty male or female names in that area. With transferred surnames not falling into these selections, we can expect a relatively small number of children to actually have a transferred surname as a first name. The evidence supports this hypothesis: less than one percent of children in most parishes have a transferred surname. Where this percentage is occasionally higher, this is due to uncertainty of whether the usages of a frequently occurring name are due to transferral of a surname. For example, in Dundonald, *Andrew* appeared 69 times as a first name, and 135 as a surname; in Govan, *Allan* appeared 71 times as a first name, and 65 as a surname. These are frequently used names across Scotland, but in these parishes the surname ranks highly as well.

4.3.2.1.3 Names used

4.3.2.1.3.1 Regional variation

As with the general name-stock, regional variation is evident among transferred surnames. As might be expected, this tends to imitate the variation among the surnames themselves. For example, *Mackay* was the first name of eleven children, all in Durness. Overall, there were 754 occurrences of the surname *Mackay*, and the vast majority (668; 88.59%) of these were in Durness, where it was the most common surname.

Regional variation was not solely dependent on whether a surname was particularly common in an area. Seven children had the first name *Maxwell*, and six of these (four males, one female, and one unknown) were in Govan. There were 200 occurrences of the surname *Maxwell* in the collected data, and a large proportion of these were indeed in

Govan (71; 35.5%). However, *Maxwell* was the surname of a local landowning family; it is likely that several, if not all, uses of the transferred surname were in honour of this particular family. Thus, a surname need not be especially common in an area to become a well-used transferred surname; it need simply be the surname of an important family.³¹

4.3.2.1.3.2 Prototypicality - surnames

Not all surnames were used as first names. The top ten most common surnames from the data are given in Table 4-22, with the number of occurrences both as a surname and as a first name.

Table 4-22: Top ten most frequently occurring surnames

| Rank | Name | Surname count | First name count |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|
| 1 | Cameron | 1,919 | 2 |
| 2 | McLean | 1,437 | 0 |
| 3 | Smith | 1,062 | 0 |
| 4 | McDonald | 1,054 | 0 |
| 5 | Brown | 1,035 | 0 |
| 6 | Wilson | 960 | 4 |
| 7 | Anderson | 902 | 2 |
| 8 | Campbell | 895 | 3 |
| 9 | Robertson | 887 | 3 |
| 10 | McKinnon | 747 | 0 |
| Total | | 10,898 | 14 |

Five of these names were used as first names, though they occurred overwhelmingly as surnames and are therefore overtly transferred surnames. The other five did not appear in the stock of first names at all, and may be classed as prototypical surnames.

Generally, surnames beginning with *Mc-* or *Mac-* can be classed as prototypical surnames. Approximately one sixth of surnames were thus prefixed, yet only three (*Mackay*, *McInnes*, and *Mckinlay*) appeared in both the stock of first names and of surnames. Their occurrences as first names are likely to be as overt transferred surnames: both *McInnes* and *Mckinlay* were used only once as first names; although *Mackay* was used eleven times as a first name in Durness, it appeared far more often (with 668 occurrences) as a surname.

³¹ See 5.7.2.2 for further discussion.

4.3.2.1.3.3 Associated sex

As has been discussed, it is difficult to determine exactly how many transferred surnames are in the overall database. To conduct some preliminary analysis of male and female names, a list of most likely transferred surnames was created: names were included if the surname was attested in the database and it was likely that transferral had been from surname to first name. Examples include *Smellie*, *Waddel*, and *Chapman*. This list contained 121 names; there were 54 female bearers, 170 male bearers, and 42 bearers of unknown sex. Transferred surnames therefore seem to be more often borne by male children; this remains true even if the 42 bearers of unknown sex were all female.

One feature of many transferred surnames is that they can be borne by children of both sexes. For example, *Douglas* was the first name of 11 children, and these bearers were not exclusively male or female (see Table 4-23).

Table 4-23: Uses of the name *Douglas*, parish-specific

| Parish | <i>Douglas</i> as surname | <i>Douglas</i> as first name (male) | <i>Douglas</i> as first name (female) | <i>Douglas</i> as first name (unknown) |
|---------------|----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Auchtermuchty | 2 | 2 | - | 1 |
| Dundonald | 8 | 1 | - | - |
| Durness | 2 | - | - | - |
| Govan | 37 | 3 | 1 | - |
| Holm | 0 | - | - | - |
| Kilmallie | 0 | - | - | - |
| Kilrenny | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Longside | 0 | 1 | - | - |
| Saltoun | 9 | - | - | - |
| Tiree | 0 | - | - | - |
| Tongland | 0 | - | - | - |
| Total | 60 | 8 | 2 | 1 |

When attempting to determine how a name is used, sex attribution may be a useful indicator of whether a name is an overt transferred surname. Although some unisex names were found in the name-stock (e.g. *Giles*, *Nicholas*), these represent a small proportion of the overall name-stock. This suggests that *Douglas* was not likely to be viewed as a unisex first name, but was perhaps used as a transferred surname without a clear affiliation to

either sex. This lack of affiliation means that, although the majority of bearers were male, it is likely that the name was still an overt transferred surname.

4.3.2.2 Issues to be considered

4.3.2.2.1 Regional variation and otherwise complex cases

Some names occurred frequently in the database both as a first name and as a surname. Thus, it can be difficult to determine whether a particular name-choice can be attributed to the name's prior existence as a first name, or as a surname. This can sometimes be made clearer by conducting parish-specific analysis. For example, *Allan* was originally a personal name (Black 2015: 14), but features as a surname in several parishes. Table 4-24 shows the number of occurrences of *Allan* as a surname and as a first name in all parishes.

Table 4-24: Occurrences of the name *Allan*, parish-specific

| Parish | <i>Allan</i> as surname | <i>Allan</i> as first name |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 12 | 2 |
| Dundonald | 102 | 10 |
| Durness | 0 | 0 |
| Govan | 65 | 71 |
| Holm | 102 | 0 |
| Kilmallie | 1 | 99 |
| Kilrenny | 1 | 0 |
| Longside | 57 | 2 |
| Saltoun | 26 | 0 |
| Tiree | 0 | 106 |
| Tongland | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 367 | 290 |

In parishes such as Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, and Longside, there are far fewer occurrences of *Allan* as a first name than as a surname, which would suggest usages as a first name are likely to be transferral of the surname. Conversely, in Kilmallie and Tiree, the name is frequently used as a first name but not as a surname; this would suggest *Allan* is likely to be used as a first name in its own right. However, in Govan, the situation is unclear: the balance of first name and surname occurrences is almost equal.

The answer to the question ‘Is *Allan* a transferred surname?’ is thus complex. This highlights the difficulties in establishing a concrete number of transferred surnames in early modern Scotland, and also indicates a high level of regional variation.

4.3.2.2.2 Prototypicality - first names

Transference is not unidirectional. Many surnames in Black’s dictionary originated as personal names: e.g. *James* (2015: 382). The name *James* appeared only twice as a surname in the database, but was the first name of 4,266 children. It is therefore likely that name-givers considered *James* to be a first name, and may even have been unaware of its existence as a surname. Therefore, although *James* is listed as a surname in Black’s dictionary, it may be classed as a prototypical first name.

Of the additional names provided by Black’s dictionary (that is, surnames which did not appear in the database), there are 21 names which can be classed as prototypical first names. This means that the true number of transferred surnames in the name-stock is likely to be closer to 205 than 226 of 478.

4.3.2.2.3 Transferred surnames and motivation

As mentioned in 4.3.2.1.1, some of these names, despite an ultimate origin as transferred surnames, may not have been chosen for that reason. A potential example is *Somerville*. The first occurrence of this name as a first name was clearly a transferral of the surname, as the child was named with her mother’s maiden name. However, the name was then used twice more within the family, and it cannot be determined whether the children were named specifically for their relative’s maiden name or for their other relative’s first name. If the latter, it would have to be stated that only one occurrence of the name’s three bestowals could be attributed to a usage of a transferred surname.

Overall, this situation is difficult to evaluate. One method of analysis would be to attempt to establish when certain surnames entered the stock of first names: if a surname had been used as a first name for several generations and then became less common as a surname, it would be possible to argue that, by the later period, any uses of the name would be motivated by knowledge of the name as a first name rather than as a surname. Candidates for this type of analysis might include *Stewart*, which occurred 14 times as a first name and 307 times as a surname. This type of detailed analysis cannot be undertaken here due to its depth and complexity; however, the results of such a study would allow for a more accurate estimate of the total number of transferred surnames.

4.3.3 Middle names

4.3.3.1 Overview

Middle names are of significance in studies of naming practices as the middle name may potentially be given in honour of a particular person (e.g. the mother, a grandparent). In addition, by studying the bestowal of middle names, we can understand how they differ to and are used alongside first names by investigating such questions as:

- what proportion of middle names is given in honour of someone?
- would a commemorative middle name be given if the first name was already in honour of a particular person? Would both names be in honour of the same person?
- is there correlation between traditional commemorations and the type of name? For example, if the first child baptised by a minister is to be named for him, must it be the child's first name which honours the minister, or would the middle name be sufficient?

This section presents the range and nature of middle names in the dataset, and outlines several problematic issues. The role of middle names as a naming practice, including the questions outlined above, is discussed in 5.8. Middle names of specific children are given in italics, to distinguish from first names and surnames.

4.3.3.1.1 Number of children

Overall, 1,651 of 62,456 children (2.64%) were classed in the database as having at least one middle name. This figure represents 831 females, 803 males, and 17 children of unknown sex.

1,585 of 1,651 children (96.00%) had a single middle name: e.g. George *Banks* Martin, Margaret *Kilburne* Campbell. 65 children (3.94%) had two middle names: e.g. James *Lyon Walker* Marshall, Elizabeth *Gibson Thomson* Todd. One male child had three middle names: John *Gordon William Anderson* Munro.

Of the 65 children with two middle names, 40 were male, 23 were female, and two were of unknown sex. Thus, although more females overall had a middle name, the bearers of multiple middle names were more likely to be male.

4.3.3.1.2 Regional analysis

Although, overall, 2.64% of children had at least one middle name, this proportion varied according to parish. Table 4-25 shows, per parish, the number of children with at least one middle name and the number with multiple middle names. It also shows the percentage of children who fall into these categories in each parish.

Table 4-25: Children with one or more middle name

| Parish | Children with min. one middle name | Children with multiple middle names | % of parish population with min. one middle name | % of parish population with multiple middle names |
|---------------|---|--|---|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 158 | 13 | 3.22 | 0.26 |
| Dundonald | 362 | 11 | 5.43 | 0.17 |
| Durness | 127 | 8 | 5.56 | 0.35 |
| Govan | 445 | 13 | 2.65 | 0.08 |
| Holm | 42 | 0 | 1.14 | - |
| Kilmallie | 112 | 5 | 2.24 | 0.10 |
| Kilrenny | 74 | 3 | 1.55 | 0.06 |
| Longside | 199 | 6 | 3.21 | 0.10 |
| Saltoun | 38 | - | 1.22 | - |
| Tiree | 30 | 2 | 0.42 | 0.03 |
| Tongland | 64 | 6 | 3.44 | 0.32 |
| Total | 1,651 | 67 | - | - |

With regard to the specific number of children with middle names, Govan and Dundonald contribute the largest totals. However, Govan also has the largest population of children, and the overall percentage of children with middle names in that parish is in fact average.

Although the percentages range widely, from 0.42% to 5.56%, there are no clear regional differences. Of the three Highland parishes, Tiree has a very low percentage of children with middle names: 0.42%. This contrasts with the percentages of the other Highland parishes: the percentage in Kilmallie is slightly under average, at 2.24%, and Durness has the highest percentage of children with middle names, at 5.56%.

Even when considering parishes which were geographically very close, there are clear differences. Auchtermuchty and Kilrenny are approximately 25 miles apart and have populations of a similar size (4,910 and 4,770 respectively). However, Auchtermuchty has more than double the number of children with middle names, and is above average at

3.22%. Kilrenny, conversely, has a below-average proportion of children with middle names: 1.55%.

4.3.3.1.3 Date analysis

Before the 1780s, middle names did not often appear in the baptismal records. Of the 1,651 children with middle names, only 17 were born before 1780; this means 98.97% of children with middle names were born post-1780. The upward trend in the bestowal of middle names from this point can be seen in Figure 4-8 below.

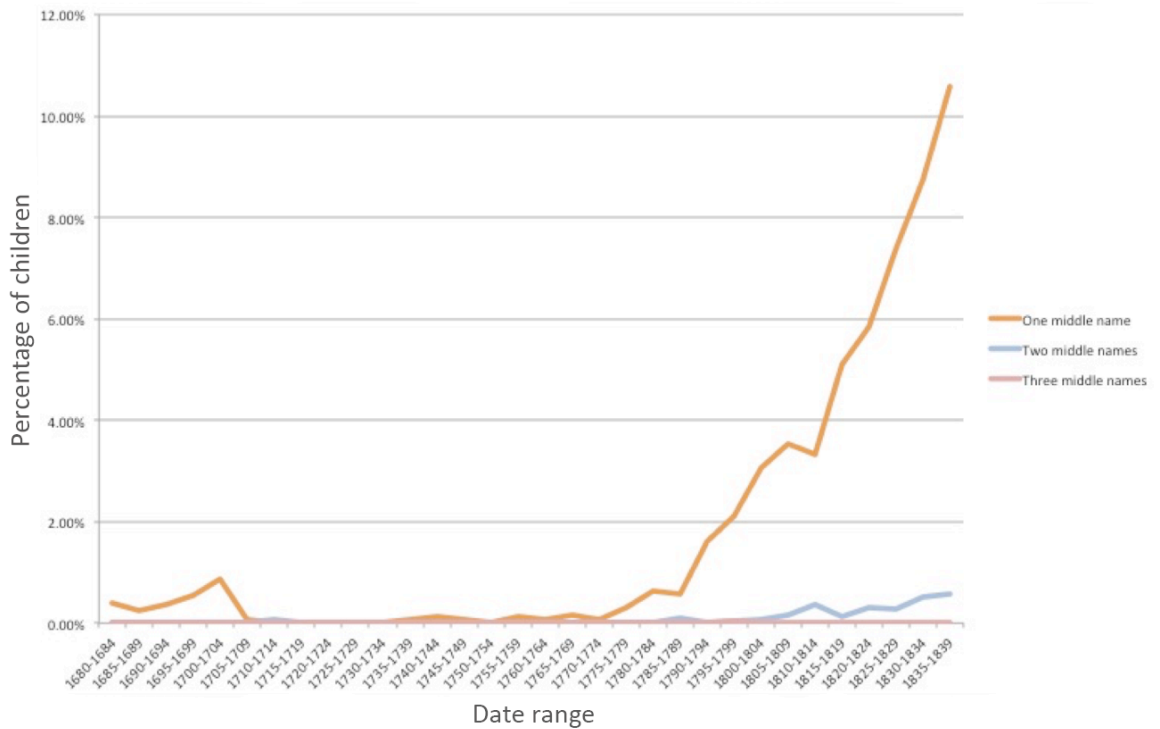


Figure 4-8: Proportion of children with one or multiple middle names

This graph shows the proportion of children with a middle name, rather than the number. Overall, it demonstrates that middle names were used increasingly from 1780 onwards, with more rapid growth in usage from 1810 to the end of the period being studied. The orange line represents those children with one middle name; the blue line, indicating those children with two middle names, also sees a small upward trend in usage from 1800 onwards.

Although there is a marked increase in the number of middle names after 1780, middle names did appear sporadically before this point, and in several areas. Five of eleven parishes had a child with a middle name born before 1780, and the Orkney parish, Holm, had evidence of particularly early middle names: one child (Abram *Meassone* Mansone) in

1680 and a second (John *Garioch* Bews) in 1702. The date of the earliest recorded middle name in each parish is given in Table 4-26 below.

Table 4-26: Earliest recorded middle name in each parish

| Parish (in order of earliest date) | Date of earliest recorded middle name |
|---|--|
| Holm | 1680 |
| Longside | 1713 |
| Kilrenny | 1741 |
| Dundonald | 1755 |
| Govan | 1779 |
| Durness | 1780 |
| Kilmallie | 1782 |
| Auchtermuchty | 1783 |
| Tiree | 1788 |
| Saltoun | 1791 |
| Tongland | 1798 |

Of the six parishes which first exhibited middle name bestowal after 1780, four of these did so in the 1780s. The first recorded middle names in the final two parishes, Saltoun and Tongland, appeared before the beginning of the nineteenth century, and therefore before the steep upward trend beginning in 1810.

4.3.3.1.4 Stock of middle names

The overall stock of first names in the database amounted to 478 names, and these were shared among 62,456 children. Although only 1,651 (2.64%) of these children had a middle name, the stock of middle names was in fact larger than the stock of first names. There were 556 names in the stock of middle names; this figure represents 1,559 of the 1,651 children with middle names, as illegible names, initials, and children with two or more middle names were discounted. If the middle names of those children with multiple middle names are counted as a single entry in the name-stock (e.g. *Alexander Muir*), the name-stock contains an additional 62 names (618 in total); if these middle names are counted separately (e.g. *Alexander* and *Muir*), 24 names are added (580 in total). The full dataset of middle names is given in Appendix VI.

It is likely that the stock of middle names is larger than the stock of first names due to the preponderance of surnames. Although transferred surnames were used as first names, they represent a much higher proportion of middle names. Of the 556 names in the middle-

name-stock, 481 (86.51%) were surnames, 60 (10.79%) were first names, and 15 (2.70%) were unknown.

The frequent appearance of surnames as middle names can also be seen by examining the number of children bearing each type of name. Of the 1,585 children with one middle name:

- 1,314 (82.90%) had a surname for a middle name, e.g. Margaret *Johnston* Hay
- 221 (13.94%) had a first name for a middle name, e.g. Kenneth *John* McKay
- 50 (3.15%) were unknown. These names included *Allan*, a potential transferred surname which was particularly complex (see 4.3.2.2), and initials (e.g. John G. Ballingall).

Of the 66 children with two or more middle names:

- 29 (43.93%) had two surnames, e.g. William *Erskine Rankine* Philp
- 25 (37.87%) had a first name followed by a surname, e.g. Isabella *Theodora Coverdale* Gordon
- three (4.54%) had two first names, e.g. Mary *Ann Amilia* Weuley
- one (1.51%) had a first name between two surnames: John *Gordon William* Anderson Munro
- eight (12.12%) were partly unknown, e.g. Robert *J. Johnstone* Reedie, Agnes *P Helen* Robertson

Excluding the children whose names were partly unknown and the child with three middle names, no child had a set of middle names where a surname preceded a first name.

The top ten most frequently occurring middle names are given in Table 4-27 below. Nine of the top ten middle names are transferred surnames in origin; only *Ann* is a prototypical first name, though several of these names also appear in the first name stock as transferred surnames. Considering the significant proportion of surnames in the middle-name-stock, it seems unusual that the most frequently occurring middle name should be a first name in origin. Reasons for this will be suggested in 4.3.3.2.2 and 4.3.3.2.3.

Table 4-27: Top ten most frequently occurring middle names

| Rank | Name | Number of bearers |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Ann | 67 |
| 2 | Campbell | 37 |
| 3 | Wilson | 29 |
| 4 | Thomson | 24 |
| 5= | Robertson | 20 |
| 5= | Stewart | 20 |
| 7 | Hamilton | 19 |
| 8 | Gordon | 18 |
| 9 | Smith | 15 |
| 10 | Walker | 14 |
| Total | | 263 |

4.3.3.2 Problematic issues

When examining the prevalence of middle names in the database, various issues must be taken into account. The first of these, duplicated surnames, has affected the overall total of children with middle names, given in 4.3.3.1.1. The remaining issues have not affected this total, as it was not possible to determine their precise level of influence. It should therefore be borne in mind that the overall total, as given above, may be affected by these issues, and to an unknown extent.

For purposes of consistency and validity, records were systematically entered into the database; for example, the first name provided by the clerk was the name entered into the ‘First Name’ field unless the clerk had indicated that this was not the first name of the child. A following name would be entered as the middle name, unless apparent that it was in fact the surname. The system could be amended slightly to suit the individual style of a clerk (for example, one clerk chose to begin all entries with the father’s surname), but it would then be consistently followed with all entries recorded by that clerk.

The following issues concern situations where this systematic data-entry is perhaps over-simplified or problematic.

4.3.3.2.1 Duplicated surnames

In 4.3.3.1.1, it was stated that 1,651 children had middle names. However, 1,733 children were entered into the database with text in the ‘middle name’ field. The remaining 82 children were excluded from analysis in this section as it was not believed they had actually been bestowed with a middle name.

Clerks’ recording of baptismal records tended to be largely formulaic: e.g. ‘FirstName MiddleName child of FatherFirstName FatherSurname and MotherFirstName MotherSurname’. The formula varied slightly from clerk to clerk, but in all cases a clear clerical preference for the order of entry could be seen. On occasion, the clerks broke from their usual style: e.g. ‘FirstName Surname’ of child rather than ‘FirstName MiddleName’. For consistency, the surname provided in the usual middle name position was recorded as being a middle name; however, it was assumed that it was instead a clerical slip from the usual style. During data-entry, these names were noted as FirstName (*MiddleName*) Surname - e.g. Elizabeth (*Halliday*) Halliday - rather than FirstName *MiddleName* Surname, and were later excluded from analysis.

4.3.3.2.2 Double first names

In a study of bynaming in the present-day Western Isles, Bramwell writes of “the common practice of giving boys two forenames, such as Donald Ewen or Calum Iain, as, effectively, one name” (2007: 41). Bramwell’s article highlights a practice which has been little studied, and geographical and temporal restrictions have therefore not been investigated. In the present-day, the practice seems to be prevalent in areas like the Western Isles - Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands - but it is unknown whether this practice was followed in the early modern period, or in a wider area. It is therefore possible that some of the children in this study were not given a first and a middle name, but a ‘double first name’.

It was stated in 4.3.3.1.4 that, of the children with more than one middle name, none had a set of middle names where a surname preceded a forename.³² Children had names such as Malcolm *Alexander Paterson* Allan, but seemingly not Malcolm *Paterson Alexander* Allan. Such a pattern would support the theory of a practice of giving ‘double first names’,

³² This statement did not include the child with three middle names, or the children whose middle names were only partly known.

as the child's name could conceivably be Malcolm Alexander *Paterson* Allan, with the first name being Malcolm Alexander.

However, the children who have both a forename and a surname as middle names appear in several parishes, (namely Dundonald, Govan, Auchtermuchty, Longside, Durness, Kilmallie, and Tongland) covering a wide geographical area. The relevant children also appear as late as the 1830s. Given the geographical spread, it seems unlikely that the pattern could recede from as far south as Tongland and become specific to one region as it appears to be today.

It is therefore unclear whether this naming practice concerns only Highland children or all Scottish children in the early modern period, or indeed whether the practice did not emerge until after the period being studied. Due to these complexities, no analysis of this practice was used to alter the overall numbers of children with middle names given in 4.3.3.1.1. However, to fully understand the figures presented there, it must be accepted that some of the middle names discussed in this study may not be middle names, but rather the second part of a 'double first name'.

4.3.3.2.3 Hyphenated names

Hyphenated names present complications in that clerks may not have used hyphens consistently. Variant spellings were discussed in 4.2.2; *Maryann* was grouped together with *Mariann*, *Marian* and other names with similar sounds and spellings, under the heading *Marion &c*. The hyphenated name *Mary-Ann* was also included in this group, due to its spelling and pronunciation being almost identical to that of *Maryann*.

In 4.3.3.1.4, it was noted that *Ann* was unusual in that it was the only first name in the top ten middle names, and, further to this, it was the most frequently occurring middle name overall. *Ann* is used 67 times as a middle name, and *Mary* is the first name for 51 of these children. This correlation suggests that *Mary Ann* is a recognised pair of names, and possibly intended as a first name like *Maryann* or *Mary-Ann*. This may explain why *Ann* is the most frequently recorded middle name; it may be that, in several cases, *Mary Ann* [Surname] should instead be *Mary-Ann* [Surname].³³ However, in the present day, *Ann* is a very common middle name, with Dunkling stating (1990: 20):

³³ If this were the case, 1,584 children (2.54%) have a middle name, rather than 1,651 (2.64%).

the recent tendency in English-speaking countries has been for Ann/Anne to be used as a middle name rather than a first name. It is easily the commonest feminine middle name in England, the U.S.A. and Canada. While it has never been a distinctively Scottish Christian name, it is likely to become so, if Scottish parents remain faithful to it.

If the entries in the Scottish OPRs do indeed refer to Mary *Ann* [Surname] rather than Mary-Ann [Surname], the tendency to use *Ann* as a middle name may in fact be long-established.

Kilrenny and, to a lesser extent, Tiree display more hyphenation than the other parishes, with examples including *Agnes-Dewar*, *George-Thomas*, *William-Bennet*, and *Helen-Rebecca*. There are 109 examples of hyphenated names in total: 93 in Kilrenny, ten in Tiree, three in Kilmallie, and one each in Auchtermuchty, Longside, and Tongland.³⁴ 72 of these children are female (66.06%), and 37 (33.94%) are male. In 90 cases, the second part of the name is a surname (e.g. *Corstorphine*, *Davidson*), and in 14 cases it is a first name (e.g. *Ann*, *Jean*). Four children have three sections to their name (e.g. *Ann-Jean-Brown*), with the second and third parts consisting either of two surnames (two cases) or first and surname (two cases). The second part of the final child's name, *John-Gilbert*, may be either a first name or a surname.

The relatively large number of hyphenated names may explain why the overall number of middle names in Kilrenny and Tiree is so low (1.55% and 0.42% respectively, compared to 2.64% average): the clerks in these areas perhaps hyphenated names that clerks in other parishes did not. Hyphenation would cause a name like *Mary-Flora* to be counted as one hyphenated first name, rather than a first name *Mary* with middle name *Flora*. If hyphenated names were counted as examples of middle naming, the proportion of children with middle names in Tiree would be 0.56% rather than 0.42%. In Kilrenny the proportion would rise from 1.55% to 3.5%, a similar proportion to that found in Auchtermuchty (3.22%).

It seems plausible that many examples of hyphenated names are in fact middle names, given the revised proportion of middle naming in Kilrenny, the prevalence of surnames in hyphenated names, and the existence of children with triple-barrelled first names.

³⁴ If hyphenated names are included, 1,760 children (2.82%) have a middle name.

However, for consistency, names have been recorded exactly as the clerk entered them. At this stage, it would be methodologically unsound to assume that examples of hyphenation are intended to represent first and middle names. As discussed above, it is likely that *Mary Ann* is often considered to be a pair of first names rather than a first and middle name. *Mary-Ann* appears among the dataset of hyphenated names, and it could thus be argued that this use of hyphenation is deliberate, emphasising the pairing of the names. It is currently unknown whether names such as *Flora-Ann* or *Mary-Flora* would be similarly regarded. Therefore, hyphenated names have been preserved in the dataset, and not included in the overall total of middle names. Similarly, unhyphenated names in the middle name position have been classed as such, though not all of them may have been considered to be middle names by the name givers.

Chapter 5 – Naming patterns

This chapter focuses on the naming patterns displayed in the data, with analysis based on familial units rather than individuals. As discussed in Chapter 3, not all familial units are included in this analysis: some have been discounted due to difficulties in determining the precise members of a family. Table 5-1 shows the number of families on which all analysis in this chapter is based.

Table 5-1: Number of familial units suitable for analysis

| Parish | Number of families | Families with at least one son | Families with at least one daughter | Families with at least one son and one daughter |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 1,548 | 1,212 | 1,071 | 735 |
| Dundonald | 1,885 | 1,330 | 1,274 | 719 |
| Durness | 607 | 456 | 442 | 291 |
| Govan | 5,885 | 4,216 | 4,104 | 2,435 |
| Holm | 776 | 607 | 571 | 402 |
| Kilmallie | 743 | 548 | 484 | 289 |
| Kilrenny | 1,233 | 961 | 991 | 719 |
| Longside | 1,414 | 1,016 | 970 | 572 |
| Saltoun | 1,233 | 872 | 819 | 458 |
| Tiree ³⁵ | 434 | 350 | 351 | 267 |
| Tongland | 668 | 432 | 438 | 202 |
| Total | 16,426 | 12,000 | 11,515 | 7,089 |

³⁵ Tiree was the second largest parish in terms of baptisms collected, yet a particularly low number of groups were created. This is due to the fact Tiree showed very little variation in surnames: 15.65% of baptismal entries had the most frequently occurring surname (*McLean*), and 66.14% had one of the top ten. In comparison, in Dundonald, a parish of similar size, 2.68% of baptismal entries had the most frequently occurring surname (*Wilson*) and 19.69% had one of the top ten surnames. With this lack of variation, and the fact 98.19% of males (4.1.3.1) and 97.86% of females (4.1.3.2) in the parish had one of the top twenty names, it was not possible to successfully group all records without the risk of attributing children to the wrong families.

It was noted in 4.1 that diachronic analysis was not included in the study of the name-stock. Such analysis was also not conducted during the study of naming practices, owing to time and word-count constraints, though preliminary diachronic research on the practice of substitution is given in 5.3. As with the results of the name-stock study, therefore, figures presented in this chapter should be viewed with the understanding that these figures would have varied during the period studied. It is anticipated that future research using this dataset will concentrate on these changing trends, and build on the figures presented in this chapter.

5.1 The traditional Scottish naming pattern

5.1.1 Approach

As discussed in 2.3.2.1, many scholars have claimed that there is widespread use of a traditional Scottish naming pattern, particularly during the early modern period. The pattern is usually stated to be 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 2004: 92).

It is difficult to determine precise rates of usage of this pattern. The most logical approach would be to analyse the name-sharing between grandparents, parents, and children to ascertain whether name-sharing occurred and if it did so in the correct order. This approach is problematic due to the general difficulty in discovering the grandparents of children: making such links is both time-consuming and fraught with complications due to lapses in record-keeping. Nevertheless, attempts to construct genealogies have been made; the results of these are discussed in 6.3.2.

Despite the issues in establishing exact rates of usage of the pattern, it is possible to estimate the proportion which were not following it. The pattern specifies that the third child of either sex should be named for the parent. Due to limited variation in the name-stock and/or instances of parent-child name-sharing, one or both of the grandparents may share a name with the parent; thus we may see the parent’s name appearing earlier than the third child. However, if the family is following the naming pattern, the parent’s name must appear among the first three unique names of children of the relevant sex. It is necessary to specify ‘unique’ names due to the potential practising of substitution: if a child named for a

grandparent had died, it is possible that the next child would also be given that name, thereby delaying but perhaps not ignoring use of the pattern. In such cases, the fourth child of a certain sex may share a name with the parent, but it would be the third unique name of the familial unit and thus would be counted as adhering to the naming pattern.

As discussed in 2.3.2.1, Hamilton-Edwards mentioned several variations to the usual pattern (1983: 71). The approach adopted for this study is suitable for analysis of patterns V1 and V2, both of which had the parents' names appearing within the first two or three children of each sex. However, it is unsuitable for analysis of V3, where the mother's name appeared fourth. This approach also does not reveal usage of the variant outlined by Lawson (1979: 3), where naming for grandparents, aunts, and uncles was given precedence over naming for parents. Further analysis is therefore required into usage of both the V3 variation and the variation described by Lawson.

5.1.2 Overall rates of usage

Of the 12,000 families with at least one son, 2,729 had three or more uniquely named sons. Table 5-2 shows the number and proportion of these where name-sharing between father and son occurred within the first three names, where it occurred outwith the first three names, and where it did not occur.

Table 5-2: Father-son name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name-sharing within first three names | 1,868 | 68.45 |
| Name-sharing outwith first three names | 166 | 6.08 |
| No name-sharing | 695 | 25.47 |
| Total | 2,729 | 100 |

The majority of these families exhibited name-sharing within the first three names: 68.45%. The remaining 31.55%, comprising both those families which did not exhibit name-sharing and those that did outwith the first three names, could not have been following the naming pattern.

Of the 11,515 families with at least one daughter, 2,375 had three or more uniquely named daughters. Table 5-3 shows the number and proportion where mother-daughter name-sharing occurred within the first three names, where it occurred outwith the first three names, and where it did not occur.

Table 5-3: Mother-daughter name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named daughters

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name-sharing within first three names | 1,399 | 58.91 |
| Name-sharing outwith first three names | 168 | 7.07 |
| No name-sharing | 808 | 34.02 |
| Total | 2,375 | 100 |

As with the families with three or more sons, the majority of these families exhibited name-sharing within the first three names and may have been following the naming pattern: 58.91%. The remaining 41.09% could not have been following the pattern, as name-sharing either did not take place or it took place outwith the first three unique names.

In many of these families, name-sharing may not be indicative of the name-givers following the naming pattern but simply of a desire to name a child after a parent or person who happened to share the parent's name. To further refine the figures above of 31.55% and 41.09% not following the naming pattern, it is useful to examine those families with both a minimum of three uniquely-named sons and a minimum of three uniquely-named daughters. If these families are following the naming pattern, the names of both parents should appear within the first three unique names of children of the relevant sex. If the name of only one parent appears, they would have been a positive result in Table 5-2 or Table 5-3, but were not in fact following the naming pattern. Table 5-4 shows the rates of name-sharing in the 949 families with the sufficient number of both sons and daughters.

Table 5-4: Parent-child name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons and three or more uniquely-named daughters

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Both parents name-sharing within first three names | 441 | 46.47 |
| One parent name-sharing within first three names | 363 | 38.25 |
| No name-sharing within first three names | 145 | 15.28 |
| Total | 949 | 100 |

Of the 949 families concerned, 46.47% exhibited name-sharing with both parents within the first three unique names for each sex and thus may have been following the naming pattern. 15.28% of families showed no name-sharing within the first three names, and 38.25% showed name-sharing for only one parent; this means 53.53% of these 949 families were not following the naming pattern. The figure of 38.25% also has implications

for the families represented in Table 5-2 and Table 5-3, as it suggests a significant proportion of those groups may not have been following the naming pattern despite exhibiting parent-child name-sharing. The estimated proportion affected can be calculated by discarding the 145 families in Table 5-4 which exhibited no name-sharing and recalculating the proportions of Table 5-4: see Table 5-5.

Table 5-5: Families with three or more uniquely-named sons and three or more uniquely-named daughters, and where at least one parent shares a name with a child

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Both parents name-sharing within first three names | 441 | 54.85 |
| One parent name-sharing within first three names | 363 | 45.15 |
| Total | 804 | 100 |

The estimated proportion of families which may have exhibited parent-child name-sharing but not been following a naming pattern is therefore 45.15%; this percentage can then be applied to those families in Table 5-3 and Table 5-4. The groups represented in Table 5-5 were also represented in Table 5-3 and Table 5-4; these two tables have thus been recalculated (Table 5-6 and Table 5-7) to avoid double-analysis of those families.

Table 5-6: Father-son name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons, recalculated to remove data from Table 5-5

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name-sharing within first three names | 1,203 | 60.00 |
| Name-sharing outwith first three names | 107 | 5.34 |
| No name-sharing | 695 | 34.66 |
| Total | 2,005 | 100 |

Table 5-7: Mother-daughter name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named daughters, recalculated to remove data from Table 5-5

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name-sharing within first three names | 819 | 57.43 |
| Name-sharing outwith first three names | 93 | 6.52 |
| No name-sharing | 514 | 36.04 |
| Total | 1,426 | 99.99 |

Regarding the families in Table 5-6, it can be estimated that, of the 1,203 families which exhibited father-son name-sharing within the first three unique names, 45.15% were not

following the naming pattern: 543 families. This results in an estimate of 27.08% potentially following the naming pattern, with 72.92% not following. This figure of 72.92% comprises: 32.92% exhibiting father-son name-sharing within the first three names but not following a pattern; 5.34% exhibiting father-son name-sharing outwith the first three names; and 34.66% not exhibiting father-son name-sharing.

Of the families in Table 5-7, it can be estimated that, of the 819 families which exhibited mother-daughter name-sharing within the first three unique names, 45.15% were not following the naming pattern: 370 families. This results in an estimate of 31.49% potentially following the naming pattern, with 68.51% not following. The latter figure comprises: 25.95% exhibiting mother-daughter name-sharing within the first three names but not following a pattern; 6.52% exhibiting mother-daughter name-sharing outwith the first three names; and 36.04% not exhibiting mother-daughter name-sharing.

If Table 5-6 and Table 5-7 are combined (see Table 5-8), estimates can be made about the overall group of families with three or more uniquely-named children of a certain sex.

Table 5-8: Parent-child name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons or daughters

| | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name-sharing within first three names | 2,022 | 58.93 |
| Name-sharing outwith first three names | 200 | 5.83 |
| No name-sharing | 1,209 | 35.24 |
| Total | 3,431 | 100 |

Of the families in Table 5-8, it can be estimated that 45.15% of the 2,022 families exhibiting parent-child name-sharing within the first three unique names were not following the naming pattern: 913 families. This results in an estimate of 32.32% potentially following the naming pattern, with 67.68% not following. This latter figure comprises: 26.61% exhibiting parent-child name-sharing within the first three names but not following a pattern; 5.83% exhibiting parent-child name-sharing outwith the first three unique names; and 35.24% not exhibiting parent-child name-sharing.

These results suggest that a significant proportion of the early modern Scottish population were in fact not following the naming pattern, or were not following it strictly and as specified. In addition, the parent-child name-sharing that was discovered does not prove 32.32% of families were following the pattern; this name-sharing may be coincidental due

to lack of choice caused by little variation in the name-stock, or to an intention to name after the parents but not specifically to follow the pattern.

However, the figures presented latterly are merely an estimate and cannot provide definitive proof. More concrete evidence can be taken from Table 5-2, Table 5-3, and Table 5-4 as these are not based on extrapolation. These tables showed that 31.55%, 41.09%, and 53.53% of the respective groups could not have been following the naming pattern: a significant proportion of the population.

5.1.3 Breakdown by parish

The previous section provided estimates for overall usage of the naming pattern in Scotland but it is likely that regional differences may be found. Therefore, the same approach was applied to each parish so that such differences could be established. Table 5-9 shows the breakdown of families with three or more uniquely-named sons.

Table 5-9: Father-son name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons; parish-specific

| Parish | Father-son name-sharing within first three names (%) | Father-son name-sharing outwith first three names (%) | No father-son name-sharing (%) |
|---------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 66.90 | 10.56 | 22.54 |
| Dundonald | 72.99 | 6.20 | 20.80 |
| Durness | 28.87 | 6.34 | 64.79 |
| Govan | 78.00 | 4.71 | 17.28 |
| Holm | 69.09 | 7.88 | 23.03 |
| Kilmallie | 43.21 | 6.17 | 50.62 |
| Kilrenny | 85.29 | 3.27 | 11.44 |
| Longside | 78.26 | 1.93 | 19.81 |
| Saltoun | 66.00 | 9.33 | 24.67 |
| Tiree | 16.25 | 11.25 | 72.50 |
| Tongland | 65.22 | 5.80 | 28.99 |

The families represented in the first column may be following the naming pattern; those in the second and third cannot be. This can be condensed into Table 5-10 below.

Table 5-10: Proportion of families following or not following the naming pattern, based on father-son name-sharing; parish-specific

| Parish | Families potentially following the naming pattern (%) | Families not following the naming pattern (%) |
|---------------|--|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 66.90 | 33.10 |
| Dundonald | 72.99 | 27.00 |
| Durness | 28.87 | 71.13 |
| Govan | 78.00 | 21.99 |
| Holm | 69.09 | 30.91 |
| Kilmallie | 43.21 | 56.79 |
| Kilrenny | 85.29 | 14.71 |
| Longside | 78.26 | 21.74 |
| Saltoun | 66.00 | 34.00 |
| Tiree | 16.25 | 83.75 |
| Tongland | 65.22 | 34.79 |

These two tables reveal clear regional differences in the potential following of the naming pattern. The Lowland and Orkney parishes have between 65.22% (Tongland) and 85.29% (Kilrenny) of families who may potentially be following the naming pattern. The Highland parishes show much lower percentages, the highest being Kilmallie at 43.21% and the lowest Tiree at 16.25%. Table 5-11 and Table 5-12 show the rates of mother-daughter name-sharing in families of the specified size.

Table 5-11: Mother-daughter name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named daughters; parish-specific

| Parish | Mother-daughter name-sharing within first three names (%) | Mother-daughter name-sharing outwith first three names (%) | No mother-daughter name-sharing (%) |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 55.70 | 7.46 | 36.84 |
| Dundonald | 64.32 | 8.81 | 26.87 |
| Durness | 20.45 | 6.81 | 72.72 |
| Govan | 70.09 | 5.93 | 23.98 |
| Holm | 59.33 | 4.67 | 36.00 |
| Kilmallie | 39.47 | 5.26 | 55.26 |
| Kilrenny | 68.03 | 6.46 | 25.51 |
| Longside | 49.70 | 7.78 | 42.51 |
| Saltoun | 46.56 | 8.40 | 45.04 |
| Tiree | 36.18 | 12.50 | 51.32 |
| Tongland | 43.40 | 7.55 | 49.06 |

Table 5-12: Proportion of families following or not following the naming pattern, based on mother-daughter name-sharing; parish-specific

| Parish | Families potentially following the naming pattern (%) | Families not following the naming pattern (%) |
|---------------|--|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 55.70 | 44.30 |
| Dundonald | 64.32 | 35.68 |
| Durness | 20.45 | 79.53 |
| Govan | 70.09 | 29.91 |
| Holm | 59.33 | 40.67 |
| Kilmallie | 39.47 | 60.52 |
| Kilrenny | 68.03 | 31.97 |
| Longside | 49.70 | 50.29 |
| Saltoun | 46.56 | 53.44 |
| Tiree | 36.18 | 63.82 |
| Tongland | 43.40 | 56.61 |

Again, the Highland parishes tend to have low percentages of families who may be following the naming pattern and, as with father-son name-sharing, represent the three lowest percentages. However, in general all parishes have lower rates of mother-daughter name-sharing, and the lowest Lowland rate (Tongland: 43.40%) is almost equal to the highest Highland rate (Kilmallie: 39.47%).

Tables 5-13 and 5-14 contain details of the families with at least three uniquely-named sons and three uniquely-named daughters, with Table 5-13 concerning numbers and Table 5-14 proportions of each parish's population. As in Table 5-4, these tables show only whether there has been name-sharing within the first three unique names, not whether there has been name-sharing at all. Therefore, some of the children in the third column may have shared a name with a parent, but were not within the first three uniquely-named children of that sex.

Table 5-13: Parent-child name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons and three or more uniquely-named daughters; parish-specific; number of families

| Parish | Parent-child name-sharing for both parents within first three | Parent-child name-sharing for one parent within first three | No parent-child name-sharing within first three | Total |
|---------------|--|--|--|--------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 34 | 33 | 9 | 76 |
| Dundonald | 52 | 35 | 14 | 101 |
| Durness | 2 | 15 | 22 | 39 |
| Govan | 201 | 111 | 11 | 323 |
| Holm | 21 | 27 | 6 | 54 |
| Kilmallie | 3 | 10 | 5 | 18 |
| Kilrenny | 81 | 36 | 9 | 126 |
| Longside | 25 | 33 | 7 | 65 |
| Saltoun | 14 | 22 | 5 | 41 |
| Tiree | 4 | 30 | 52 | 86 |
| Tongland | 4 | 11 | 5 | 20 |
| Total | 441 | 363 | 145 | 949 |

Table 5-14: Parent-child name-sharing in families with three or more uniquely-named sons and three or more uniquely-named daughters; parish-specific; proportion of families

| Parish | Parent-child name-sharing for both parents within first three (%) | Parent-child name-sharing for one parent within first three (%) | No parent-child name-sharing within first three (%) |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 44.74 | 43.42 | 11.84 |
| Dundonald | 51.49 | 34.65 | 13.86 |
| Durness | 5.13 | 38.46 | 56.41 |
| Govan | 62.23 | 34.37 | 3.41 |
| Holm | 38.89 | 50.00 | 11.11 |
| Kilmallie | 16.67 | 55.56 | 27.78 |
| Kilrenny | 64.29 | 28.57 | 7.14 |
| Longside | 38.46 | 50.77 | 10.77 |
| Saltoun | 34.15 | 53.66 | 12.20 |
| Tiree | 4.65 | 34.88 | 60.47 |
| Tongland | 20.00 | 55.00 | 25.00 |

As in 5.1.2, the second columns, concerning name-sharing with one parent, are significant here: these would have displayed as either father-son or mother-daughter naming in previous tables. However, the families cannot be following the pattern as both parents' names would need to be used. This suggests that a substantial proportion of families represented in Tables 5-9 and 5-11 were not following the naming pattern despite exhibiting name-sharing. The estimated proportion affected is shown in the second column in Table 5-15; this has been calculating by disregarding the fourth column of Tables 5-13 and 5-14 which showed no name-sharing.

Table 5-15: Parent-child name-sharing in larger families

| Parish | Parent-child name-sharing for both parents within first three | Parent-child name-sharing for one parent within first three |
|---------------|--|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 50.75 | 49.25 |
| Dundonald | 59.77 | 40.22 |
| Durness | 11.76 | 88.24 |
| Govan | 64.42 | 35.58 |
| Holm | 43.75 | 56.25 |
| Kilmallie | 23.08 | 76.92 |
| Kilrenny | 69.23 | 30.77 |
| Longside | 43.10 | 56.90 |
| Saltoun | 38.89 | 61.11 |
| Tiree | 11.76 | 88.24 |
| Tongland | 26.67 | 73.33 |

Unfortunately, the next stages conducted in 5.1.2 cannot be carried out here due to the small amount of data concerned in some parishes, Tongland and Kilmallie in particular. However, the second column in Table 5-15 does suggest that a significant proportion of the families represented in Tables 5-9 and 5-11 were not following the naming pattern even though parent-child name-sharing was present. This is especially true in regard to the three Highland parishes and Tongland, where, of the families who showed some parent-child name-sharing, fewer than 30% showed name-sharing for both parents.

Overall, these tables show that clear regional differences exist with regard to potential following of the traditional naming pattern. Although not all families who show name-sharing for both parents may actually be following the pattern, there are many instances where the pattern may be followed in parishes such as Govan and Kilrenny, where the rate of both parents name-sharing was over 60% (Table 5-14). Conversely, Table 5-13 showed that name-sharing for both parents was almost non-existent in the three Highland parishes and Tongland. Although the percentage for families who may be following the pattern (as given in Table 5-15) looks fairly high for Kilmallie and Tongland, this is due to the small amount of data for these areas. If the naming pattern is indeed being followed in early modern Scotland, it seems that usage would be much more prevalent in the Lowlands, but would wane in usage in parishes closer to the border with England.

5.2 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

5.2.1 Overview

Although it does not appear that there is widespread adoption of the traditional naming pattern, the rates of patrilineal and matrilineal naming can be examined separately from this pattern to determine the general importance of using parents' names for children. Although the terms 'patrilineal naming' and 'matrilineal naming' are used in this section, these figures cannot indicate concrete rates of these types of naming: name-sharing may be coincidental due to a parent having the same name as the intended namesake or to limited variation in the name-stock. These figures reflect simply the rates of father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing overall and in each parish. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that the true rates of patrilineal and matrilineal name-sharing are likely to be fairly close to the figures given, and therefore any regional differences are noteworthy.

The tables in this section show rather lower rates than the figures for parent-child name-sharing given in 5.1.3. The latter concerned only those families with three or more uniquely named children of a given sex, while these figures concern all families with a child of the given sex. Consequently, many families in the following tables had only one child who may have shared a name with a parent; it is possible, indeed likely, that many of these families would have exhibited father-son or mother-daughter name-sharing if further children of the relevant sex had been produced.

5.2.1.1 Patrilineal naming

Of the 12,000 families with at least one son, 11,823 were analysed for the existence of father-son name-sharing. The remaining 177 families were excluded due to lack of clarity resulting from illegible or missing baptismal names. Of these 11,823 groups, 44.81% exhibited father-son name-sharing and 55.19% did not.

When individual parishes are considered (Table 5-16), regional differences can again be seen. Many parishes have between 40% and 50% of families showing patrilineal naming, and Kilrenny has an especially high rate: 62.11%. The three Highland parishes, conversely, have particularly low rates, between 20.70% and 23.18%. Tongland, which showed lower rates of parent-child name-sharing in larger families (5.1.3), also has lower than average rates of patrilineal naming. Saltoun in East Lothian also falls below average.

Table 5-16: Rates of patrilineal naming; parish-specific

| Parish | Father-son name-sharing (%) | No father-son name-sharing (%) |
|---------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 44.04 | 55.96 |
| Dundonald | 45.89 | 54.11 |
| Durness | 20.70 | 79.30 |
| Govan | 49.64 | 50.36 |
| Holm | 45.83 | 54.17 |
| Kilmallie | 23.18 | 76.82 |
| Kilrenny | 62.11 | 37.89 |
| Longside | 51.36 | 48.64 |
| Saltoun | 34.95 | 65.05 |
| Tiree | 20.92 | 79.08 |
| Tongland | 33.49 | 66.51 |

The families which showed father-son name-sharing were examined to determine the birth order of the relevant child (Table 5-17). As there is limited variation in the name-stock, there is a possibility that father-son name-sharing is coincidental, with the father happening to share a name with another intended namesake. If name-sharing is fairly even across birth order, we might hypothesise that coincidence has caused name-sharing. However, if the majority of eldest children share a name with the father, it would suggest that name-sharing is more deliberate than coincidental.

Table 5-17: Patrilineal naming: birth position of relevant son

| Parish | Eldest son (%) | 2nd son (%) | 3rd son (%) | 4th or later son (%) |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 58.71 | 24.62 | 10.98 | 5.68 |
| Dundonald | 63.46 | 23.09 | 10.63 | 2.82 |
| Durness | 45.16 | 26.88 | 18.38 | 9.68 |
| Govan | 64.76 | 23.89 | 9.25 | 2.11 |
| Holm | 57.56 | 28.76 | 8.86 | 4.80 |
| Kilmallie | 63.41 | 24.39 | 8.13 | 4.07 |
| Kilrenny | 64.20 | 21.18 | 12.94 | 1.68 |
| Longside | 65.35 | 25.20 | 8.66 | 0.79 |
| Saltoun | 61.72 | 21.78 | 11.88 | 4.62 |
| Tiree | 30.14 | 26.03 | 19.18 | 24.66 |
| Tongland | 55.00 | 27.86 | 14.29 | 2.86 |

In most parishes, the eldest son bears the father's name. This would suggest that common practice in these areas is to give the eldest son the father's name, and thus name-sharing is probably deliberate. Two Highland parishes do not fit this pattern: Tiree and, to a lesser extent, Durness, which have more even distribution across birth position. It is therefore possible that name-sharing in these areas is either not deliberate, or that they lack local tradition of naming usually the first child after the father. Considering the stark Highland/Lowland differences which have been apparent thus far, it is interesting that Kilmallie tends more towards the rates of name-sharing found in the Lowland parishes than in the other two Highland areas.

5.2.1.2 Matrilineal naming

Of the 11,515 families with at least one daughter, 10,371 were analysed for the existence of mother-daughter name-sharing. The remaining 1,144 groups were excluded due to lack of clarity resulting from illegible or missing baptismal names or, most frequently, from the mother's name not being given in the records. Of these 10,371 families, 35.86% exhibited mother-daughter name-sharing, and the remaining 64.14% did not. The overall rate of mother-daughter name-sharing is thus lower than that of father-son name-sharing.

The rates of each parish were also examined to ascertain regional differences (Table 5-18). Most parishes have 30% to 45% of families showing matrilineal naming, and Kilrenny again shows the highest rate: 45.92%. As before, Highland areas tend to have particularly

low rates, with Durness lowest at 15.57%. Tiree, however, shows a close-to-average rate for matrilineal naming, despite having an especially low rate of patrilineal naming. Tongland and Saltoun again show lower than average rates: 25.74% and 22.86% respectively.

Table 5-18: Rates of matrilineal naming; parish-specific

| Parish | Mother-daughter name-sharing (%) | No mother-daughter name-sharing (%) |
|---------------|---|--|
| Auchtermuchty | 34.75 | 65.25 |
| Dundonald | 34.70 | 65.30 |
| Durness | 15.57 | 84.43 |
| Govan | 40.59 | 59.41 |
| Holm | 37.82 | 62.18 |
| Kilmallie | 21.79 | 78.21 |
| Kilrenny | 45.92 | 54.08 |
| Longside | 37.33 | 62.67 |
| Saltoun | 22.86 | 77.14 |
| Tiree | 31.15 | 68.85 |
| Tongland | 25.74 | 74.26 |

As with the overall rate of mother-daughter name-sharing, these parish-specific rates are lower than those of father-son name-sharing. Tiree is the only parish which exhibits a higher rate of mother-daughter name-sharing than father-son name-sharing (31.15% compared to 20.92%). It therefore seems to be fairly typical that rates of mother-daughter name-sharing are lower.

These families were also examined to determine the birth order of the relevant child (Table 5-19). As with father-son name-sharing, it tends to be the eldest daughter which shares her mother's name. Name-sharing is therefore more likely to be deliberate than coincidental in most parishes. Again, Tiree stands out as having more even distribution across birth order, and both Durness and Tiree have a higher than average rate of name-sharing with fourth or later daughters.

Table 5-19: Matrilineal naming: birth position of relevant daughter

| Parish | Eldest daughter (%) | 2nd daughter (%) | 3rd daughter (%) | 4th or later daughter (%) |
|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 52.51 | 27.65 | 15.08 | 4.75 |
| Dundonald | 50.00 | 27.97 | 16.38 | 5.65 |
| Durness | 48.08 | 32.69 | 7.69 | 11.54 |
| Govan | 60.86 | 22.84 | 13.28 | 3.02 |
| Holm | 55.29 | 23.56 | 17.79 | 3.36 |
| Kilmallie | 62.00 | 24.00 | 10.00 | 4.00 |
| Kilrenny | 60.80 | 20.49 | 14.48 | 4.23 |
| Longside | 58.64 | 24.55 | 10.91 | 5.91 |
| Saltoun | 58.79 | 20.88 | 14.29 | 6.04 |
| Tiree | 32.32 | 32.32 | 16.16 | 19.19 |
| Tongland | 64.10 | 24.36 | 6.41 | 5.13 |

5.2.1.3 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

This section concerns those families with at least one son and one daughter: i.e. those families that could potentially display both father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing. Of the 7,089 families with at least one son and one daughter, 6,504 were suitable for analysis; with the remainder, the existence of mother-daughter or of father-son name-sharing was unclear. The rates of parent-child name-sharing among these 6,504 families are given in Table 5-20.

Table 5-20: Parent-child name-sharing in families with at least one child of each sex

| Parish | Parent-child name-sharing for both parents (%) | Parent-child name-sharing for one parent (%) | No parent-child name-sharing (%) |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| Auchtermuchty | 21.59 | 46.51 | 31.89 |
| Dundonald | 25.12 | 45.28 | 29.60 |
| Durness | 3.51 | 33.33 | 63.16 |
| Govan | 31.33 | 43.80 | 24.86 |
| Holm | 23.71 | 45.36 | 30.93 |
| Kilmallie | 5.58 | 37.92 | 56.51 |
| Kilrenny | 37.99 | 42.94 | 19.07 |
| Longside | 29.69 | 45.05 | 25.26 |
| Saltoun | 14.48 | 41.65 | 43.88 |
| Tiree | 8.84 | 37.75 | 53.41 |
| Tongland | 11.11 | 51.64 | 35.25 |

The three Highland parishes - Durness, Kilmallie, and Tiree - show extremely low rates of name-sharing. All have fewer than ten percent of families with both parents sharing a name with a child, and more than fifty percent of families with no parent-child name-sharing. These are the only parishes to show such low rates of name-sharing, though Tongland and Saltoun are again lower than average when considering families showing name-sharing for both parents.

It may be argued that family size would have an impact on rates of patrilineal or matrilineal naming: if families in the dataset were generally smaller in some areas, due either to a lower birth-rate or to unstable record-keeping, these areas would see fewer opportunities to name children after parents. However, family size is unlikely to influence the rates; similarly low rates of name-sharing in the Highland parishes and Tongland were seen in Tables 5-13 and 5-14, where only large families were considered. Saltoun, although not displaying a strikingly low rate in these tables, did have fewer than average families showing name-sharing. In addition, the propensity to name the eldest children after parents would also negate this argument.

It therefore appears that there is a clear geographical divide when considering naming after parents in early modern Scotland. The Highlands and Lowlands generally seem to have disparate attitudes to parent-child name-sharing, with Lowland families more commonly

displaying such name-sharing and often applying it to the eldest children. The Orkney parish, Holm, tends to align with the Lowland practices. However, Tongland and, to a lesser extent, Saltoun show lower rates of name-sharing than the other Lowland parishes, though the rates are higher than those found in the Highland areas. Overall, this suggests that there is a Highland/Lowland divide concerning parent-child name-sharing, and a second divide within the Lowlands themselves, affecting those parishes which are closer to the English border. These divisions can be seen in Figure 5-1 below. The two black lines mark where such divisions may be placed, though it is intended to be suggestive rather than concrete; the northern line, for example, does not match the traditional Highland/Lowland border. Suggestive lines were chosen instead due to the difficulty of placing a concrete line to separate the southern parishes.

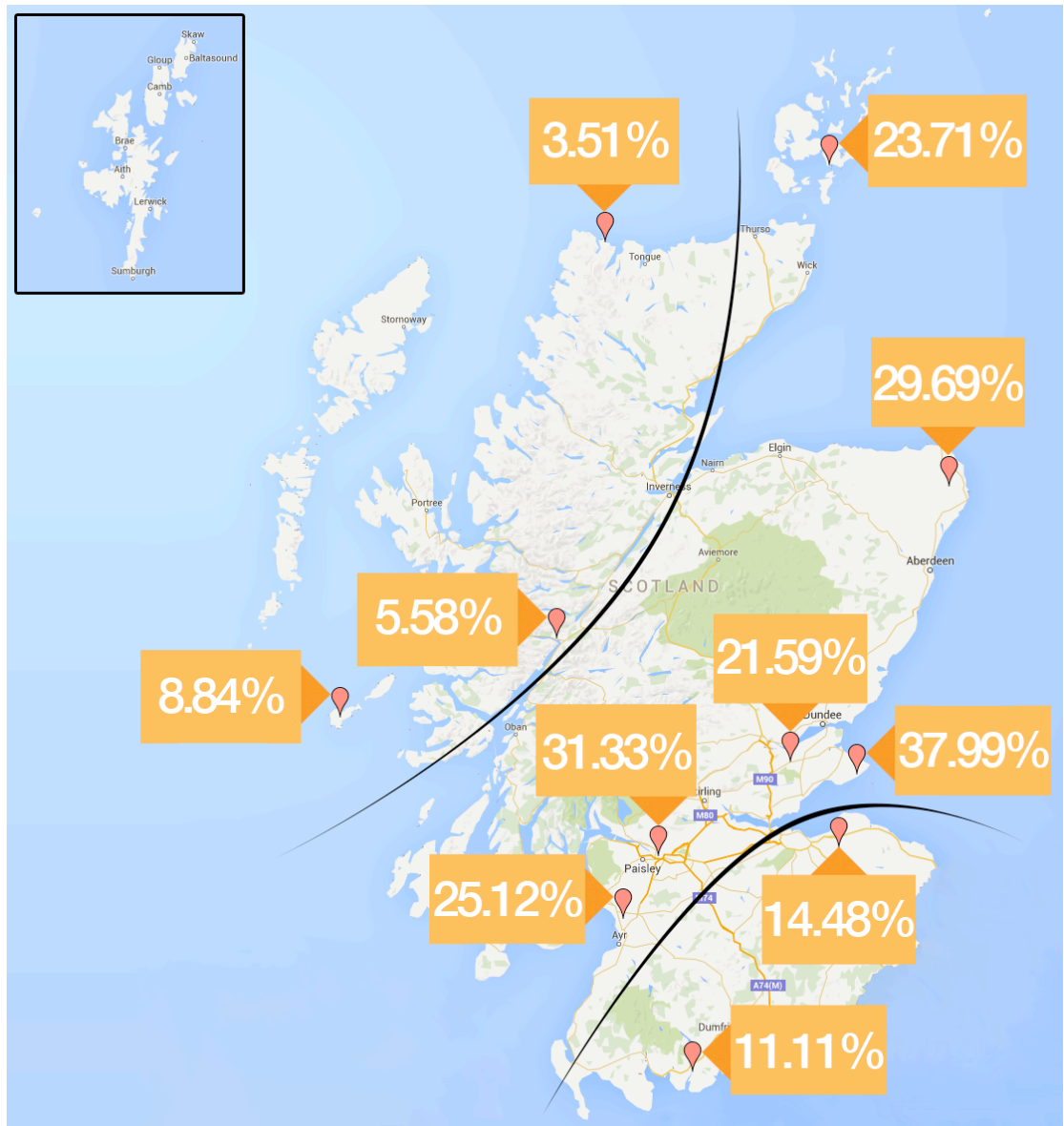


Figure 5-1: Parent-child name-sharing from Table 5-20: name-sharing for both parents

The divide within the Lowlands is potentially geographical in nature, perhaps relating to the comparative closeness of these parishes to England, or it may simply be caused by general variation if Tongland and Saltoun are outliers. The Highland/Lowland divide, however, could instead be bound to social variables. For example, the usage of patronymics in many areas of the Highlands may sufficiently indicate lineage to the local society, so there would be less perceived need to also name a child after a parent. The clerk stated the father of William Bethune, baptised in 1790 in Durness, to be ‘James Bethune alias Macuilam macpatric’ (048/00 0010 0060); if the function of patrilineal naming is partly to denote parentage, patronymics and matronymics are already fulfilling this role in the Highland parishes.

5.2.1.4 Father-daughter and mother-son name-sharing

In 4.3.1, several examples of female names derived from male names were presented, with examples including *Basilea*, seemingly named after her father *Basil*. In this section, children bearing this type of name will be analysed to determine how many have a name potentially derived from their father’s, thus representing father-daughter name-sharing. Additionally, in 4.1.2.4, cases of potentially unisex names were presented. Some of these appeared to be clearly unisex, with several instances of both males and females bearing the name, but others were predominantly used for one sex, with only one or two occasions where that sex varied. It is possible that, in some of the cases where a name usually associated with one sex was used for the other, the child was being named after the parent of the opposite sex. This section seeks to establish whether this is the case.

5.2.1.4.1 Female names derived from male names

In Table 4-19 and Table 4-20, 50 names were presented which were potentially formed from a male root. In these tables, it was indicated whether that male root had been found in the relevant parish. As we are concerned with the rate of father-daughter name-sharing, only those names where the potential male root was found in the parish will be analysed. Table 5-21 shows these names, the potential root, and the number of cases where the suggested root name does or does not match the name of the child’s father.

Table 5-21: Potential cases of daughter's name being derived from father's name

| Name | Potential root | Root matches father's name | Root does not match father's name | Unknown | Total |
|-------------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|-------|
| Adamina | Adam | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Adriana | Adrian | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Alexandrina | Alexander | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| Alexia | Alexander | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Alexie | Alexander | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| Alexis | Alexander | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Allina | Allan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Andrea | Andrew | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Andrina | Andrew | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Angusina | Angus | - | 5 | - | 5 |
| Antonia | Anthony | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Basilea | Basil | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Carolina | Charles | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Charlotte | Charles | 2 | 27 | 1 | 30 |
| Colina | Colin | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Davidina | David | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Davina | David | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Dol | Donald | 1 | 9 | - | 10 |
| Dolina | Donald | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Dollie | Donald | 1 | 5 | - | 6 |
| Donaldina | Donald | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Duncina | Duncan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Dunkey | Duncan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Georgiana | George | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Georgie | George | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Georgina | George | 2 | 17 | - | 19 |
| Hughina | Hugh | 2 | 13 | 1 | 16 |
| Hughy | Hugh | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Jacobina | ?James | 2 | 11 | - | 13 |
| Johnsy | John | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------|------------|
| Kennethina | Kenneth | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mariana | ?Marianus | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Marina | ?Marianus | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Nicla | Nicoll | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Patricia | Patrick | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Robina | Robert | 2 | 18 | - | 20 |
| Rorina | Rory | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Scota | ?Scott | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Thomina | Thomas | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Williamina | William | 2 | 4 | - | 6 |
| Willina | William | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| Zina | Alexander | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Total | | 21 | 160 | 4 | 185 |

One Durness child was not included in the overall name-stock (and thus not in Table 4-19, Table 4-20, or Table 5-21) due to reasons outlined in 4.2.5. However, she represents another case of father-daughter name-sharing: she was baptised *Alexandrina (Alexie)*, with her father being *Alexander* (048/00 0010 0086).

Disregarding the four unknown cases but including *Alexandrina (Alexie)*, 22 of 182 fathers have the root name as their own name: 12.09%. In some cases this may be coincidental: it is unknown, for example, whether *Jacobina* would be recognised as a female form of *James* (though evidence from 5.2.1.4.3 suggests this is the case). However, some cases do seem to be instances of a daughter being given the female form of her father's name: both *Basilea* and the apparent root *Basil* are rare names in the database, and it seems likely that *Basilea* has been deliberately formed from the name of the father. Additionally, as the clerk who recorded the baptism of Colina McDougall in Tiree remarks upon the death of her father Colin – “Flora MacLean Relict [widow] of the Deceased Colin McDougall late Cottar in Kilmaluag had a Daughter [...] under the name Colina” (551/2 FR351) – we can hypothesise that Colina was specifically named for her father.

5.2.1.4.2 Potentially unisex names

Table 4-8, in 4.1.2.4, showed those names which were given to both male and female children. Some of these names seemed to be unisex, occurring an equal or nearly equal number of times with either sex. Others were clearly skewed to one particular sex. This

section seeks to determine whether any of those children who were given a name usually associated with the opposite sex were in fact potentially named for a parent.

Table 5-22 is based upon data from Table 4-8, but concerns only those children who have a name usually given to the other sex; for example, in Table 4-8, 2,216 male children and one female child were named *Alexander*. Only the parentage of the single female child is checked in the table below, to determine whether this typically male name has been given to a female due to parental influence. As we are concerned only with those names which are clearly associated with a particular sex, not all names from Table 4-8 are examined here: it was decided that only those names with at least a 5:1 male to female or female to male ratio would be examined.

Table 5-22: Parent-child name-sharing where child has a non-typical name for that sex

| Name | Parent-child name-sharing | No parent-child name-sharing | Unknown | Total |
|--------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Alexander | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Angus | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ann | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Anthony | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| David | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Donald | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Duncan | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Ebenezer | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Hanna | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Harvey | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| James | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Jean &c. | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Jerome | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| John | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| Lucy | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mary &c. | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Susan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Thomas | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| William | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Total | 3 | 24 | 0 | 27 |

This table indicates that three of 27 children share a name with a parent of the opposite sex: 11.11%. It must be conceded that, given the possibility of clerical errors as discussed in 4.1.2.4, many of these children may either not be of the declared sex or may not have been given the recorded name. However, 11.11% is close to the percentage presented in the previous section (12.09%), which would suggest it is accurate.

Thomas Watson was baptised in Saltoun, with the clerk writing “Meney Mutter Relict [widow] of Thomas Watson in Samuelston Mains lately deceased had a Daughter named Thomas” (719/00 0020 0177). This appears to be a similar case to that of Colina

McDougall in the previous section: the first child born after a father's death taking his name. This case is particularly interesting in that the male form of the name has been given. However, this male form may be a clerical error: a marital record for Thomsina Watson was found in the same parish, when the child would have been 22 years old. It is therefore possible that *Thomas* was a clerical error and the name was actually *Thomsina* (or *Thomasina*). Conversely, *Thomsina* may be the clerical error, particularly if the clerk found it unusual that a female should bear a typically male name and assumed the name was other than stated. However, although the precise form of her name is unknown, it can be stated that Thomas (or Thomsina) Watson has likely been named for her recently deceased father.

5.2.1.4.3 Overall father-daughter and mother-son name-sharing

Overall, considering parent-child name-sharing in both preceding sections, name-sharing between father and daughter is more commonplace than between mother and son, with no instances of mother-son name-sharing being found. However, father-daughter name-sharing seems to be fairly limited, with only 25 of these 209 female children sharing their father's name or a modified form of it.

The question then arises: are there any cases in which both a brother and sister have potentially been named for the father? The families of the relevant 25 female children were examined to see if a son also bore the father's name. The situation in three families was unknown due to not all siblings' names being known. Of the remaining 22 groups, nine had no male children so the parents had no opportunity to name both a son and daughter after the father. It is not necessarily the case that, in these families, daughters were given a name derived from the father's specifically because there had been no sons. In such a situation, we might expect the relevant daughters to be fairly late in the birth order, but generally this was not found: for example, Basilea was the first of four children (all daughters) born to Basil Hamilton and Margaret Clark in Govan.

In the remaining families, where the situation was both known and there was an opportunity to name both a male and female child with the father's name, six of 13 did display both father-son and father-daughter name-sharing: 46.15%. All six cases involve daughters bearing derived forms of their fathers' names, rather than the usual male form. In four of these families, the son was born first; no burial records were found to indicate that the son had died before the daughter was similarly named. Equally, in the two cases where the daughter was born first, no burial records for the daughters were found. Burial

records were often poorly updated, but the evidence thus suggests that parents would give a child a name very similar to that borne by an elder, living child.

The remaining seven groups displayed only father-daughter name-sharing. These groups are significant as they would not have been counted in 5.2.1.1 as displaying patrilineal naming. These seven families are therefore in addition to the 5,298 families stated in 5.2.1.1 to have potentially named a child for the father. One of these children may have been named after her father due to his passing before her birth: Jacobina Lisle in Saltoun, daughter to James Lisle and Janet Meikle, is noted as being her father's "posthumous daughter" (719/00 0020 0043). This entry therefore provides more possible evidence for children being named after relatives who had recently died. It also supports the idea that *Jacobina* would be recognised as a female form of *James*, which was discussed in 4.3.1.1.1 and 5.2.1.4.1.

5.3 Substitution

Substitution is the practice of giving a child the same name as a deceased elder sibling. Its usage in early modern Scotland has been referenced by scholars including Sinclair (1990: 7) and Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 72); see 2.3.5.1 for discussion. However, little is known about the overall rates of use and it was hoped that this research would reveal the proportion of families following this practice. This unfortunately was not possible; although parishes were selected partly due to the availability of burial records, these records tended to lack vital details needed to establish the identity of the deceased, and therefore burials could not be conclusively linked with known children on a wide scale. As noted in 2.3.5.1, burial records are required to confirm cases of substitution since living siblings are also known to have shared the same name. Therefore, although precise rates of usage could not be ascertained, the current section discusses potential rates of substitution in the various parishes. In addition, more detailed research into the practice was both possible and undertaken for a small number of families chosen as case studies; discussion of substitution in these groups can be found in 6.3.5.

Table 5-23 shows the potential rates of substitution in the various parishes. The first column shows the number of children in each parish who shared a name with an elder sibling, and the third column shows the number of families which contained at least one of these children. The second and fourth columns show how the numbers of children and families potentially implementing substitution correspond to the overall number of children and families in the parishes.

This table cannot be used to show varying regional levels of substitution, as mortality rates are unknown and burial records are generally poorly updated. Excepting the families discussed in 6.3.5, it also cannot be known whether duplicated names within a familial unit were due to substitution or whether some families had several living children with the same name. However, although the table is not a reliable indicator of regional substitution levels, it is useful in highlighting the overall potential rates of substitution in each area.

Table 5-23: Potential rates of substitution

| Parish | Potential substitution - no. of children | Potential substitution - % of children | Potential substitution - no. of families | Potential substitution - % of families |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|
| Auchtermuchty | 180 | 4.07 | 163 | 10.53 |
| Dundonald | 205 | 4.22 | 168 | 8.91 |
| Durness | 108 | 5.71 | 85 | 13.98 |
| Govan | 1,073 | 6.67 | 810 | 13.76 |
| Holm | 69 | 2.00 | 61 | 7.86 |
| Kilmallie | 85 | 4.70 | 73 | 9.83 |
| Kilrenny | 299 | 6.71 | 225 | 18.25 |
| Longside | 77 | 2.06 | 69 | 4.88 |
| Saltoun | 180 | 5.95 | 126 | 10.22 |
| Tiree | 100 | 5.24 | 79 | 18.20 |
| Tongland | 23 | 2.85 | 21 | 3.14 |
| Total | 2,399 | - | 1,880 | - |

As indicated by the differing figures in columns one and three, some families had several children possibly affected by substitution, and Table 5-24 below shows the number of potential substitutions per familial unit. Most families had only one or two potentially affected children. However, as many as five potential cases were found in some families.

Table 5-24: Number of potential substitutions per familial unit; parish-specific

| Parish | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Total |
|---------------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 147 | 15 | 1 | - | - | 163 |
| Dundonald | 139 | 24 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 168 |
| Durness | 67 | 13 | 5 | - | - | 85 |
| Govan | 607 | 155 | 37 | 10 | 1 | 810 |
| Holm | 54 | 6 | 1 | - | - | 61 |
| Kilmallie | 65 | 5 | 2 | 1 | - | 73 |
| Kilrenny | 166 | 45 | 13 | 1 | - | 225 |
| Longside | 61 | 8 | - | - | - | 69 |
| Saltoun | 88 | 26 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 126 |
| Tiree | 66 | 8 | 3 | 2 | - | 79 |
| Tongland | 19 | 2 | - | - | - | 21 |
| Total | 1,479 | 307 | 74 | 17 | 3 | 1,880 |

In some families, one name was used repeatedly: *Archibald* was used four times (comprising one primary baptism and three potential substitutions) by Donald Campbell and Katherine Campbell in Govan. In others, several names were used: four names (*Ann, David, Thomas, William*) were each used twice by William Miller and Mareon Dale in Dundonald.

Table 5-25 shows the number of potential substitutions for both male and female children. Male children are represented more often in almost all parishes, but this in itself is not necessarily significant, especially as many parishes are close to having a 1:1 distribution (e.g. 50.59% male and 49.41% female in Kilmallie); as noted in 4.2.1, more male children were baptised overall. In other parishes, the difference is clear: in Durness, 69.44% of potential substitutions involved a male child. However, as these figures indicate merely potential substitutions rather than confirmed cases, no further comment can currently be made upon general differences concerning sex.

Table 5-25: Number of potential substitutions according to sex; parish-specific

| Parish | Male child | Female child | Total |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 94 | 86 | 180 |
| Dundonald | 125 | 80 | 205 |
| Durness | 75 | 33 | 108 |
| Govan | 581 | 492 | 1,073 |
| Holm | 42 | 27 | 69 |
| Kilmallie | 43 | 42 | 85 |
| Kilrenny | 169 | 130 | 299 |
| Longside | 39 | 38 | 77 |
| Saltoun | 93 | 87 | 180 |
| Tiree | 49 | 51 | 100 |
| Tongland | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Total | 1,326 | 1,073 | 2,399 |

Comment can however be made upon specific cases. In one instance, a name was used twice but for children of different sexes. The *Sellar [Robt1]* family in Govan had eight children. The third son, *Smelie*, was baptised in 1783 (646/2 FR382), and the fourth daughter was named *Smeilie* in 1791 (646/2 FR393). The usage of a single name for both a male and a female child is likely related to the name being a transferred surname, which could be used for either sex (see 4.3.2.1.3.3). *Smellie* (here denoted by the headform) was used seven times by families with the Sellar surname (of a total nine occurrences, all in Govan), and appears to originate as the bestowal of a mother's maiden name as a first name (Smaylie Sellar, son of John Sellar and Mary Smaylie, baptised in 1750: 646/1 FR200). Therefore, it was likely to have been clearly recognised as a transferred surname by these families, and this recognition is reflected by the usage of the name for both sexes. It is particularly noteworthy however that, in this instance, the transferred surname is not tied to a specific sex even within the same familial unit, and a female child could potentially substitute for a male child.

These potential substitutions occurred throughout the period studied. The figures for most parishes are too small to be observed on a decade-by-decade basis, but Govan is sufficiently large to allow for meaningful examination of the trends in potential usage of the practice.

Table 5-26: Potential substitutions in Govan, decade-by-decade

| Date range | No. of baptisms | No. of potential substitutions | Substitutions as % of no. of baptisms |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1690-1699 ³⁶ | 592 | 11 | 1.86 |
| 1700-1709 | 971 | 43 | 4.43 |
| 1710-1719 | 1,221 | 88 | 7.21 |
| 1720-1729 | 1,432 | 130 | 9.08 |
| 1730-1739 | 1,553 | 154 | 9.92 |
| 1740-1749 | 1,227 | 99 | 8.07 |
| 1750-1759 | 1,359 | 91 | 6.70 |
| 1760-1769 | 1,760 | 132 | 7.50 |
| 1770-1779 ³⁷ | 767 | 48 | 6.26 |
| 1780-1789 | 702 | 54 | 7.69 |
| 1790-1799 | 854 | 55 | 6.44 |
| 1800-1809 | 929 | 51 | 5.49 |
| 1810-1819 | 767 | 44 | 5.74 |
| 1820-1829 | 817 | 34 | 4.16 |
| 1830-1839 | 1,125 | 39 | 3.47 |
| Total | 16,076 | 1,073 | - |

The first row, concerning the 1690s, should be disregarded. Many substitutions reflect elder siblings who had been baptised in earlier decades; it is likely that more children baptised in 1690-1699, and possibly a smaller number in 1700-1709, do in fact carry the name of an elder sibling but this sibling is not contained within the data.

The overall percentage of potentially substituted children in this parish is 6.86% (6.67% if the data from the 1690s is included). Between 1710 and 1799, the percentage for each decade is either higher than or almost equal to this figure, with the peak occurring in the 1730s. The proportion of potential substitutions begins to wane slightly from the 1800s, as can be seen in Figure 5-2.

³⁶ Although this research concerns names from 1680 onwards, the data for Govan begins in 1690.

³⁷ The division of the parish in the 1770s, as discussed in 3.2, accounts for the sudden drop in baptisms.

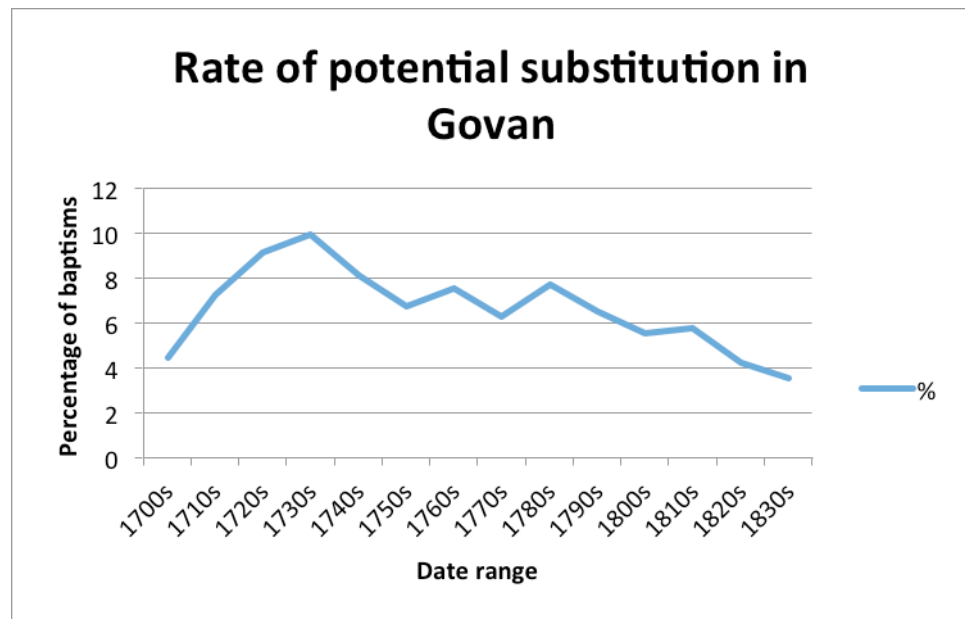


Figure 5-2: Rate of potential substitution in Govan, 1700-1839

As this graph shows only the proportion of potential substitutions, it cannot provide conclusive evidence for the general practising of substitution. The graph also only represents the data for Govan, and proportions are likely to vary elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is tempting to view the slight decline of these potential substitutions in the early 1800s as symptomatic of a larger trend. Substitution is known to have occurred during early modern Scotland, but is no longer a part of its naming system. Therefore there has been a marked decline in usage during the last two hundred years, and it would be natural to see the first part of this decline during the early nineteenth century.

5.4 Naming for other relatives

As discussed in 2.3.2.2, it was anticipated that many children would share a name with a relative other than their mother or father. It was especially thought that grandparents would generally be honoured, particularly as these individuals are pivotal to the successful following of the traditional naming pattern (2.3.2.1). Unfortunately, although large-scale analysis was conducted for parent-child name-sharing and for the following of the traditional naming pattern, it was not possible to pursue similar analysis of grandparent-grandchild name-sharing or aunt-niece/uncle-nephew name-sharing. This was due to the difficulty of successfully linking families to individuals outwith the immediate family group.

However, analysis was conducted on a smaller scale in the form of case studies, the results of which are given in Chapter 6. In particular, 6.3.3 discusses both naming for grandparents and naming for aunts and uncles.

5.5 Naming for godparents

Theories surrounding naming for godparents were discussed in 2.3.5.1. This section reveals the rates of godparent-child name-sharing found in the dataset and discusses the significant amount of variation discovered.

In both Scotland and England during the early modern period, ‘godparent’ and ‘witness’ are considered to be interchangeable terms (Sinclair 2000: 10; Boulton 2002: 152-53). ‘Sponsor’ is also regarded as an alternative term: Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 52) writes that “often the names of the sponsors or godparents, often called witnesses, are recorded” in early modern Scottish records, and both Cressy (2002: 152) and Smith-Bannister (1997: 29, 35) regard ‘witness’ and ‘sponsor’ as alternative terms for ‘godparent’ in early modern England. The interchangeability of these three terms thus appears to be widely accepted, although, as will soon be discussed, my research questions this interchangeability. For consistency, ‘godparent’ will be used throughout this section.

Therefore, when conducting this research, the records were searched for all instances where a child had been reported as having a godparent, whether the term used was ‘godparent’, ‘sponsor’, or ‘witness’. In addition, baptismal entries were included in the analysis if they included phrases such as ‘presented by’ or ‘helden up be’ (‘held up by’), as these appeared to indicate godparents as well. For example, in Govan, a child was “presented by Daniel Neilson sponsor, the parents being under scandall” (646/1 FR0104), another was “presented by John Haddin weaver in Glasgow, the parent being under scandall” (646/1 FR0089), and a third was “helden up be Andrew Snotgrass because the parent was sick” (646/1 FR0028).

In order to establish the rates of name-sharing, only those records where the sex of the child matched the sex of the godparent were analysed.³⁸ These results therefore necessarily consist almost entirely of male children, as female godparents were unusual. This differs from the situation in early modern England, where the custom was to give a child two

³⁸ Although female children occasionally shared a name with a male relative, as discussed in 5.2.1.4.2, such instances are too exceptional to be taken into consideration here.

godparents of the same sex and one of the opposite sex (Smith-Bannister 1997: 30).

Regarding the Aberdeen register, Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 52) notes that godparents were chosen according to this custom until 1584, but after 1600, the names of female godparents were rarely recorded.

In this dataset, godparents were overwhelmingly male. On occasion, a female relative would hold the position – “[the mother’s] sister Mary being Sponsor to the child” (Dundonald: 590/1 FR0174) – but female godparents were generally very rare. Saltoun, which had 1,440 male children with godfathers, had five female children with godmothers; this was the only parish where godmothers were found. One of these children shared her godmother’s name: Christian Dickson, whose baptismal record mentioned “witnesses Miss Christian Garden and Nelly Henderson” (719/00 0020 0055). Some male children also had a godmother: “witnesses Peter Brown & his wife” were present at Thomas Laing’s baptism in Saltoun (719/00 0020 0067). As records are excluded from analysis if the sex of the godparent and child do not match, and as only five records have both a female godparent and a female child, for ease of analysis these five records are not included in the tables below. The table instead only shows those children who are male and have male godparents.

Alongside records where the sex of the child did not match the sex of the godparent, records were excluded from analysis if the child’s name was not given in the baptismal entry, or if one of the godparents’ names had been partially illegible. The rates of name-sharing between godparent and child are given in Table 5-27, which shows both the number and percentage of children concerned.

Table 5-27: Name-sharing between godparent and child

| Parish | Name-sharing between godparent and child (%) | No name-sharing (%) | Total (%) | Total as % of male children in parish |
|---------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Auchtermuchty | 1 (33.33) | 2 (66.67) | 3 (100.00) | 0.11 |
| Dundonald | 33 (28.21) | 84 (71.79) | 117 (100.00) | 3.36 |
| Durness | 0 (0.00) | 7 (100.00) | 7 (100.00) | 0.57 |
| Govan | 54 (30.17) | 125 (69.83) | 179 (100.00) | 2.07 |
| Holm | 166 (68.60) | 76 (31.40) | 242 (100.00) | 12.44 |
| Kilmallie | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Kilrenny | 88 (31.32) | 193 (68.68) | 281 (100.00) | 11.60 |
| Longside | 525 (50.34) | 518 (49.66) | 1,043 (100.00) | 32.41 |
| Saltoun | 481 (33.40) | 959 (66.60) | 1,440 (100.00) | 88.40 |
| Tiree | 3 (9.68) | 28 (90.32) | 31 (100.00) | 0.84 |
| Tongland | 1 (33.33) | 2 (66.67) | 3 (100.00) | 0.31 |
| Total | 1,351 (40.39) | 1,994 (59.61) | 3,345 (100.00) | - |

There are several significant differences. Auchtermuchty, Durness, Tiree, and Tongland have very few records where a godparent was given, and Govan has comparatively few for its size. Kilmallie has none at all. In addition, these parishes generally see low amounts of name-sharing, with Durness having no examples. In comparison, large numbers of children were recorded as having godparents in Longside and Saltoun: almost one third of Longside's male children and almost 90% of Saltoun's male children. Holm and Longside show significantly high rates of name-sharing, Holm especially so.

It is tempting to suggest geography might be responsible here: regional differences have been seen to be important with regard to such issues as minister-child name-sharing and parent-child name-sharing. The Highland/Lowland divide has been particularly strong, and here the Highland parishes have very few examples of godparents overall, and their rates of name-sharing are particularly low. However, geography does not account for the contrast between Auchtermuchty and Kilrenny, the two Fife parishes. Almost 300 examples were suitable for analysis in Kilrenny, but only three in Auchtermuchty. This cannot be explained by those records which were not suitable for analysis: godparents were only mentioned ten times in the Auchtermuchty records, with the remaining records concerning female children with male godparents and one male child with a female godparent (his mother).

In some cases, discrepancy may potentially be explained by date. Many parishes experienced a decline in reported instances of children having godparents. In Longside, recording of godparents stops in 1785, with the exception of one child in 1811. In Kilrenny, records stop in 1782, with exceptions in 1784, 1785, 1793, and 1794. As stated in 3.2, the collection of records could not begin for some parishes until relatively late. This is especially true for the Highlands, where record collection did not begin until the 1760s and 1770s. If reporting of godparents saw a general decline in the late eighteenth century, this may explain why there are so few examples in the Highland records. However, given that Auchtermuchty was unaffected by this, with its record collection beginning in 1702, another explanation may be required.

Given that several terms were used throughout the records to refer to godparents, such as ‘sponsor’ and ‘witness’, it is possible that the significant differences seen in Table 5-27 might be explained by the varying usage of these terms. The terms used in each parish are given in Table 5-28, alongside any perceived restrictions on their use.

Table 5-28: Terms used to refer to godparents

| Parish | Terms used |
|---------------|---|
| Auchtermuchty | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable • ‘witness’: usually for children of important families (e.g. Ann, daughter of “Patrick Moncrieff of Reddie younger and his Lady Ann Drummond” (406/00 0010 0041)) |
| Dundonald | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy • ‘witness’ • ‘before [names]’ |
| Durness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy |
| Govan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy; no reason given • ‘presented by [names]’ • ‘helden up be’ or ‘holden up be’ • ‘witness’ |
| Holm | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘witness’ |
| Kilmallie | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no examples |
| Kilrenny | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy; no reason given • ‘witness’ |
| Longside | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy • ‘witness’ |
| Saltoun | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘witness’ |
| Tiree | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy |
| Tongland | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘sponsor’: father unavailable; illegitimacy |

Examination of these terms reveals that ‘godparent’ is not used at all in these records and, although the naming of ‘witnesses’ appears to be indiscriminate, a sponsor was largely only named when the father was unable to attend the baptism himself or when the child was illegitimate. Records mentioning sponsors often included such statements as “Hugh Campbell [...] sponsors father not able to come & child sickly” (Durness: 048/00 0020 0004), “The uncle of the child became sponsor, the mother declaring she did not know the father of it” (Tongland: 881/1 FR0091) and “Natural [...] His Grandmother standing sponsor” (Tongland: 881/1 FR0076). The record for Jean Rattaray reads: “[the mother] Isabel Mearrow daughter to David Mearrow who was sponsor for the Child instead of the Father of it / being a Bastard” (Auchtermuchty: 406/00 0010 0107). A legitimate child in Tongland had a sponsor due to his father being in England at the time of baptism – “In the

absence of the Father the Mother acted as Sponsor for her Child” (881/1 FR0077) – and the Auchtermuchty records for Katharine Thomson and Thomas Turpie both note that the father had recently died and relatives stood as ‘sponsor’ instead (in one case the grandfather, in the other the mother). Beside unavailability of the father and illegitimacy, religious reasons might also play a part. In the 1806 baptismal entry of Mary Lamont in Tiree, the clerk noted: “The said Angus Lamont [father] having been found very ignorant and a neglecter of Divine Ordinances, it was Judged proper that his said wife should hold up the Child to be Baptized; because she possessed somewhat more knowledge than he did” (551/1 FR0212). Also in Tiree, one mother became sponsor due to “The father of the Child being under a very bad character” (551/2 FR0515).

Reasons were not always given regarding sponsorship – “David Rhind became Sponsor” (Kilrenny: 438/00 0010 0359) and “presented by Robert Murdoch sponsor” (Govan: 646/1 FR0154). However, generally, the evidence suggests that sponsors are required only when the father is not available, whether due to illness or death, the inappropriateness of premarital sex, his identity not being known, or his lack of knowledge of the Church. Often, the responsibility is then passed onto another relative of the child; in Tongland, illegitimacy resulted in various people being named as sponsor: the mother (four records), the maternal grandfather (four records), the grandmother (two records; not stated whether paternal or maternal), and the maternal uncle (one record).

‘Witnesses’, on the other hand, generally have no accompanying information to justify their inclusion in the baptismal records. This was by far the most frequently occurring term in Longside and Saltoun, both of which had more than 1,000 male children with male godparents: in Longside, only three entries contained ‘sponsor’ rather than ‘witness’. In those records where neither term was used, the entry would usually contain the phrase “in face of the congregation” or “the congregation being present”; given this phrase appears to be replacing usage of ‘witness’ rather than the less common ‘sponsor’, this might suggest the role of the witness is fulfilled by the entire congregation, which does not quite equate with the idea of the child having only two or three godparents. In addition, ‘witness’ does not equate perfectly with ‘sponsor’, given the propensity to justify the inclusion of sponsors in the baptismal records.

This potential distinction between ‘sponsor’ and ‘witness’ is evidenced by records from Kilrenny and Saltoun. Both terms are used in records from Kilrenny: “witnesses David Mitchel and Alex Brown. Baily William Brown [...] became sponsor for the said Child”

(438/00 0010 0255); “witnesses Baily Andrew Boyter & Thomas Smith. Andrew Taylor became Sponsor” (438/00 0010 0277). In Saltoun, both terms are not expressly used in the same record, but the roles of various individuals at the baptism are highlighted: “Agnes Wilson a Stranger having a testificate³⁹ bearing she was married to one John Wilkison at present, living in England [...] she her selfe made faith for the Childs educa. witnessis to his baptism John Gledda who held up the child And Thomas Wood reader in Salton Kirk” (719/00 0010 0082). This record suggests that the mother, Agnes Wilson, has taken on the role of godparent (“[making] faith for the Childs [education]”), supported by one of the witnesses who presented the child alongside her, and also witnessed by a third individual. Therefore, it might be argued that the disparate rates of name-sharing and number of examples in these parishes can be explained by a distinction in meaning between ‘sponsor’ and ‘witness’, and the fact that not all parish clerks sought to record witnesses, if there were any, in the baptismal records. Those parishes which have especially few examples tend to have only instances of ‘sponsor’ in their records; this term naturally occurs less frequently as specific circumstances are required for sponsorship to be granted (such as the father being absent). In those parishes where witnesses are recorded, name-sharing is generally high: in Holm, where ‘sponsor’ does not appear, the rate of name-sharing is 68.60%, and in other areas it ranges between 28.21% (Dundonald) and 50.34% (Longside). However, given the lack of examples in the parishes where witnesses are not recorded (Durness, Tيرة, and Tongland), it is not possible to claim a clear distinction between rates of name-sharing for sponsors and for witnesses.

5.5.1 Specific examples of name-sharing

As relatives often seem to stand as sponsors or witnesses, in cases of name-sharing it is unclear whether the child has been named for the adult because they are a sponsor or witness or because they are a relative. In Saltoun, Warrander Henderson shares a name with his godfather Warrander Anderson (719/00 0030 0058). *Warrander* appears only once in the dataset as a child’s name. It appears five times as a surname *Warrender* in Saltoun, and this is the presumed origin of the first name. Warrander Anderson seems to be the only adult bearer of the name. The child’s mother’s maiden name was *Anderson*, so it is reasonable to assume that Warrander Anderson is a maternal relative of the child. This

³⁹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*) defines this as: “[Chiefly *Sc. Obs.*] A writing wherein a fact is attested; a certificate” (*OED: testificate*).

means, despite the name being very unusual, it is unknown whether name-sharing occurs due to the adult being godparent of the child or a relative (probably a maternal grandfather or uncle).

It is easier to suggest name-sharing is deliberate if a child has an unusual name and if there is no known familial link between sponsor/witness and child (though a more distant familial link is of course possible). *Lewis* was not a common name in Longside: it occurred six times in total, primarily in the 1800s. One of the earliest examples, in 1742, can be attributed to godparent-child name-sharing: the godfather of Lewis Lorimer, son of William Lorimer, was Lewis Gordon (218/00 0010 0237). Similarly, in Govan, the godfather of Zacharias Rankin, baptised in 1723, was Zacharias Steill (646/1 FR0113). *Zacharias* again was not a common name, occurring nine times in Govan, and at the time of the child's baptism his godfather was the only known adult bearer of that name in the parish. These examples suggest that, although some examples of name-sharing may be coincidental, others are probably deliberate. As in other countries such as England (Smith-Bannister 1997), therefore, naming for godparents can be identified as another practice reflected in the early modern Scottish records.

5.6 Naming for local individuals of importance

5.6.1 Overview

In 2.3.5.1, an overview of the existing theories surrounding local influences on the naming of children was provided. These influences were: naming a child for the minister, particularly if the child was the first baptised by him (Cory 1990: 69); naming a child for a landowner, possibly with a view to sponsorship (Steel 1962: 39); and naming for a doctor, particularly if the birth was the first attended by that doctor (Hamilton-Edwards 1983: 73). In this section, the dataset will be analysed to determine the proportion of names which have potentially been given in honour of the minister.

It was unfortunately not possible to conduct such an analysis of naming for landowners or doctors. As landowners often live on the outskirts of parishes and close to parish boundaries, many of those who would be relevant to a particular parish are not included in that parish's records, but rather those of a neighbouring area. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to consult a variety of sources in order to gain a full picture of the landowners surrounding each parish. However, this would be a fruitful area of future study. When devising this study, it was hoped that the clerks may have noted which were

the doctors' first attended births in the parish, or the name of the doctor may at times be mentioned elsewhere in the baptismal records. The former would have allowed for definite conclusions to be drawn, with the name of the affected child being seen alongside that of the doctor; the latter would have allowed for analysis of the overall usage of the doctor's name, potentially leading to some preliminary conclusions. However, unfortunately, no notes of the doctors' names were found in the parish records, and, therefore, no analysis could be conducted for a clearer understanding of this theory.

To analyse the potential influence of ministers on the naming of children, a list of names of all known ministers was created. The ministers' names were collected from *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* (hereafter *FES*), a list of Scottish ministers originally compiled by Hew Scott in the mid-nineteenth century. *FES* contains the ordination date for each minister, and thus, through comparison of the date given in *FES* and the recorded dates of baptisms, it was possible to investigate whether the first child baptised by the minister shared a name with him. The results of this examination are given in 5.6.2.1. The overall name-stocks of each parish were then examined to determine whether the names of the relevant ministers appeared to change in popularity during those individuals' time in the position; these results are given in 5.6.2.2.

For the discussion in 5.6.2.1, names could be analysed if the minister had taken up the position after record-collection had begun in that parish. More stringent criteria were necessary for inclusion in the analysis of 5.6.2.2; these criteria are as follows:

- the individual must not have taken up the post before records began in the parish
- the individual's name must not appear among the top five male names for the relevant parish.

As discussed in 4.1, 4.1.3.1, and 4.1.3.2, a substantial proportion of the population had one of only a handful of names. For example, in Longside, 78.5% of male children were named *John, William, Alexander, James, or George* (Table 4-10, 4.1.3.1), despite the overall male name-stock of the parish amounting to 54 names. It was reasoned that, with such a high proportion of the population having one of only a few names, any potential influence caused by the arrival of a similarly-named new minister would be negligible and likely invisible in analysis. With such common names, it would also be impossible to tell whether a child had been named in honour of the minister or, for example, a schoolteacher or doctor who happened to bear the same name. For these reasons, only the names of those

ministers which were not one of the five most commonly used male names in the relevant parish were analysed.

The names of ministers were also not analysed if the person had taken up the position before record collection began in that parish. Thomas Thomson was minister in Auchtermuchty during the period 1701-1734, and thus was minister in September 1702 when record collection for Auchtermuchty began. However, as his time in the position began before collection, any influence on the name-stock would not be seen. Therefore, only the names of ministers who had taken up posts during the relevant period for each parish were examined.

In the pilot study, only first names of both children and ministers were examined. In this study, the children's middle names and the ministers' surnames will also be taken into account, due to the significant number of transferred surnames in the name-stock (4.3.2) and the potential for middle names to be given in honour of a particular person (5.8).

For all parishes in 5.6.2.2, a table will be used to indicate how many children in a particular parish have a first or middle name which can potentially be attributed to the minister. These attributions are reasonable assumptions only: it refers to children born during or shortly after the minister's time in the position, or to those cases where name-sharing seems clear. Further restrictions on the number of children included in these tables are discussed fully on a case-by-case basis.

5.6.2 Naming for ministers

5.6.2.1 First child baptised by a minister

As *FES* included details of the ordination of each minister, it was possible to establish whether the first child baptised by them shared a name with them. The table below shows the number of relevant children who do or do not share a name with the new minister.

Table 5-29: Minister-child name-sharing, where child is first baptised

| Parish | First child name-sharing | First child not name-sharing | Total |
|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Auchtermuchty | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Dundonald | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Durness | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Govan | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Holm | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Kilmallie | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Kilrenny | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Longside | 1* | 4 | 5 |
| Saltoun | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Tiree | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Tongland | 3* | 3 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 31 | 53 |

The two asterisked figures refer to children who do exhibit name-sharing, but not in the most common format. As will be discussed in 5.6.2.3, the majority of children were given the first name of the minister as their own first name. The two children here were not: in Longside, Katherine Imray McLeod was given the surname of John Imray as her middle name (218/00 0030 0062); in Tongland, Lydia Stewart McMinn had the same middle name as Dugald Stewart Williamson (881/2 FR0151).

Although the majority of the examined ministers do not share a name with the first child baptised by them, a substantial proportion (41.51%) do. This proportion is so high that it cannot be purely coincidental; several of these children have been deliberately named for the minister baptising them.

However, this tradition does not seem to be regularly followed in all areas. For example, none⁴⁰ of Govan's four ministers and only two of Dundonald's eight share a name with the first baptised child. Strikingly, both Fife parishes see the majority of their ministers sharing a name with the first baptised child: 5 of 6 in Auchtermuchty and 7 of 8 in Kilrenny.

Saltoun, in East Lothian, also has a rate which is slightly higher than average, with 50% of its ministers sharing a name with the first baptised child. This indicates clear regional variation in the following of this tradition: a greater tendency towards minister-child name-sharing in the eastern part of the Central Belt, and especially in Fife.

The Fife parishes are also significant in that they contain several instances of children being baptised with the full name of the minister, rather than simply the first name. For example, Robert J. Johnstone Reddie and Robert J. Johnstone Melville were both baptised in Auchtermuchty, and were clearly named for the minister Robert John Johnstone.

Likewise, George Dixon Harris was the first child baptised by George Dickson in Kilrenny, and has clearly been named for the minister. Most significantly, in Kilrenny, in April 1835, James Brown Smith was baptised, with the clerical note "named James Brown, in honour of our new Minister" (438/00 0020 0105). This type of naming, where a minister's full name is given to a child, seems to be more widely used in Fife; the only examples outside Fife in this study are one each in Dundonald⁴¹ and Govan.⁴²

There is only one instance of a female child being given the first name of a minister: William, daughter to George Maxwell and Jane Hardy, was baptised in Tongland in October 1826 (881/2 FR0147), shortly after William Dow was ordained in the parish. In several cases where a girl has been the first child baptised, it is the first male child who has been named for the minister instead. This suggests that the entries for the girl Scot Grier, cited by Cory (1990: 69), and Hughina Hay, cited by Hamilton-Edwards (1983: 73), may

⁴⁰ One child, Pollock Finnie (646/2 FR0393), is probably named for John Pollock; however, it cannot be assumed that Pollock was the *first* child baptised by the new minister, with two other children being baptised between the minister's ordination and Pollock Finnie's baptism. Likewise, Matthew Leishman Barr (646/3 FR0519) is likely named for Matthew Leishman, but again does not appear to have been the first child baptised by him.

⁴¹ John Macleod Rob (590/1 FR0288) was baptised on February 17th 1816, two days after John Macleod was ordained as minister.

⁴² As noted above, Matthew Leishman Barr (646/3 FR0519) was baptised around the time of Matthew Leishman's arrival in the parish.

be atypical. It also suggests a need to refine the stated tradition of naming the first child baptised by a minister for that minister; the tradition instead appears to be predominantly applied to male children.

5.6.2.2 Parish by parish analysis

5.6.2.2.1 Auchtermuchty

Five Auchtermuchty ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Matthew Moncrieff (1734)
- Patrick Maxton (1734-1750)
- Laurence Gillespie (1751-1760)
- Charles Wilson (1766-1777)
- Robert John Johnstone (1832-)⁴³

Matthew Moncrieff was minister for less than a month before his ordination was reversed. No children were baptised *Matthew* or *Moncrieff* during or shortly after his time in the position, as either a first or a middle name.

Maxton was also unused as either a first or middle name, and *Patrick* was not used as a middle name. *Patrick* was used several times as a first name during Patrick Maxton's time in the position; however, the name was used frequently before and after this point, and any influence of the minister himself on overall usage of the name is indiscernible. One instance can likely be attributed to the minister: Patrick Maxton was ordained on 16th July 1734, and the first child baptised by him was also named *Patrick* (Patrick Gilmore, 30th July: 406/00 0010 0076).

Neither *Laurence* nor *Gillespie* was used as a middle name, and *Gillespie* was not used as a first name. However, Laurence Gillespie being minister does seem to have influenced the use of *Laurence* as a first name in the parish. Laurence was used as a first name three times before the minister took up his position, but six times during his incumbency (1751-1760). The name drops out of use once Gillespie leaves the position: only three more children are baptised *Laurence* throughout the remainder of the period, all more than 25 years after Gillespie's time as minister.

⁴³ A missing end-date indicates that the individual was in the position until after 1839, the end of the period being studied.

As hypothesised at the end of the previous section, it is possible that the stated tradition of naming the first child baptised by a minister after that minister is occasionally altered slightly, with the practice being retained for the first male child. Such an alteration would ensure that, if the minister's first name was being passed on, a male name was not given to a female. Laurence Gillespie was ordained on 27th June 1751, and Laurence Lilburn was baptised 1st August 1751 (406/00 0010 0104). According to the baptismal records, only one other child was baptised between the ordination and Laurence Lilburn's baptism: a girl, Isabel Wilkie, on 27th July (406/00 0010 0104). Laurence Lilburn was thus the first male child baptised by Gillespie. Considering the relative rarity of *Laurence* before this point, it seems almost certain that the child was named after the new minister; however, an important distinction is that he may have been so named specifically because he was the first male child baptised by him.

Charles Wilson was minister from 1766 to 1777. *Charles* was not used as a middle name, and *Wilson* was not until significantly later. *Wilson* was also not used as a first name. *Charles* was used sporadically as a first name throughout the entire period studied, so ministerial influences are largely indiscernible. However, one usage can potentially be attributed to the minister: he was ordained on 6th February 1766, and the first child baptised by him, on 7th February, was named *Charles* (406/00 0010 0131). Thus, although the minister's name overall does not seem to have increased in popularity, the first child baptised by him does share a name with him.

Robert John Johnstone was ordained on 17th August 1832. *Robert* was not a middle name from this point, and *Johnstone* was not used as a first name. Although Robert was not ranked within the top five male names in the parish, it was ranked sixth, accounting for 7.38% of male names, and was used steadily throughout the period. There are therefore no discernible differences in usage.

However, two children seem to be definitively named for the minister. Rather than being given only his first name or surname, the minister's full name has been incorporated into their own, assuming that in both cases 'J.' stands for *John*: Robert J. Johnstone Reddie (406/00 0030 0040) and Robert J. Johnstone Melville (406/00 0030 0040). The former of these was baptised on 22nd August 1832, five days after the minister's ordination, and was the first child baptised by him; the name of this child therefore provides evidence for the theory that the first child baptised by a minister would be named for him.

Table 5-30: Minister-child name-sharing in Auchtermuchty

| Auchtermuchty | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 10 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 2 |

5.6.2.2.2 Dundonald

Three Dundonald ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Joseph Carnochan (1724-1728)
- Hamilton Kennedy (1729-1731)
- Thomas Walker (1732-1780)

The surname of the first minister, *Carnochan*, does not appear as a first or middle name, and *Joseph* is not used as a middle name. However, it is likely that the minister's first name has influenced the choice of first name for two children: despite the name only appearing once before (in 1691), it is used in 1724 and again in 1726 (590/1 FR0077; 590/1 FR0078). The minister was ordained three months before the 1724 incidence, and seven other children were baptised in that period; therefore, although it seems probable that the child was named for the minister, it was not the first child baptised by him.

No influence could be seen regarding the minister Hamilton Kennedy. Although *Hamilton* appeared as both a first name and a middle name, and *Kennedy* appeared as a middle name, these baptisms occurred significantly after Hamilton Kennedy's time as minister.

The surname of Thomas Walker was not used as a first name, and it was not used as a middle name until 1828. *Thomas* was not used as a middle name, but occurred throughout the period as a first name. The first child baptised by the minister does not share a name with him: the first child is *Elizabeth* (590/1 FR0087) and the first male child is *James* (590/1 FR0087). The minister may have had a slight influence on the name-stock, with the average usage being approximately 2% higher during Thomas Walker's time in the position than during the years preceding (see Table 5-31 below).

Table 5-31: Usage of *Thomas* in Dundonald

| Year range | Average usage of name (%) |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1680-1731 | 2.63 |
| 1732-1780 (minister's incumbency) | 4.69 |
| 1781-1839 | 5.29 |

However, the usage continues to increase after the minister's incumbency. It cannot be known whether *Thomas* has increased in popularity partially due to the influence of the minister, or whether this is a coincidental trend. If there is ministerial influence, the degree is also unknown. The table below therefore only shows those children likely named after Joseph Carnochan.

Table 5-32: Minister-child name-sharing in Dundonald

| Dundonald | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 2 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 0 |

5.6.2.2.3 Durness

No Durness ministers fit the criteria for analysis.

5.6.2.2.4 Govan

Two Govan ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Charles Coats (1712-1745)
- Matthew Leishman (1821-)

The surname of the first minister, *Coats*, is not used as either a first name or a middle name. *Charles* appears once as a middle name, but is not due to ministerial influence: it is used in 1808, significantly after the minister's death, and is likely given for the child's father (646/2 FR0428).

Charles Coats was ordained on 2nd May 1712, and conducted his first baptism on the same day.⁴⁴ The child was named *Andrew* (646/1 FR0079); therefore, in this instance, the first

⁴⁴ The entry confirms this, stating that the child is the "first child of Charles Coats baptized" (646/ FR0079).

child baptised by the minister does not share a name with him. *Charles* is used steadily over the period, and there is no discernible difference in usage.

Leishman does not appear as a first name; however, it is used three times as a middle name, all in the 1820s (646/3 FR0519; 646/4 FR0524; 646/3 FR0531). The only known bearers of the surname *Leishman* in Govan are the minister and his immediate family, and thus the two instances of *Leishman* as a middle name are likely to be due to ministerial influence.

Matthew Leishman was ordained on 1st March 1821. As with Charles Coats, the first child baptised by him does not share a name with him, and is instead *Andrew* (646/3 FR0519). Three weeks before Leishman's ordination, however, a baptism is recorded for Matthew Leishman Barr (646/3 FR0519). This seems likely to be in honour of the minister, though it is notable that, according to *FES*, he had not at that date been ordained. *Matthew* is frequently used throughout the period, ranking 11th overall in Govan, and there is no discernible difference in usage during the time of Matthew Leishman's incumbency.

Table 5-33: Minister-child name-sharing in Govan

| Govan | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 1 | 1 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 2 |

5.6.2.2.5 Holm

Two Holm ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- George Tod (1681-1687)
- Andrew Smith (1799-)

Neither *George* nor *Tod* was used as a middle name, and *Tod* was also not used as a first name. Two children were given the first name *George* during his incumbency; however, uses of *George* previous to 1680 are unknown and the name was used steadily until 1839, so these two baptisms must be deemed probably insignificant. George Tod was ordained on 10th November 1681, and the first child baptised by him was not named for him: the first child was *Anna* (019/00 0010 0065), and the first male child *Gilbert* (019/00 0010 0065).

The surname of the latter minister, Andrew Smith, was not used as a first name. *Smith* is used for six middle names during the 1830s; however, this is rather late in Andrew Smith's time as minister and is thus probably unrelated.

Andrew Smith was ordained on 2nd May 1799 and, as with George Tod, the first child baptised by him was not named for him: *John* (019/00 0010 0168). There is no discernible increase in usage of the name *Andrew* from 1799, though an Andrew Smith Linklater was baptised in 1830. It is possible that this child was baptised with the minister's full name, in the style of Robert J. Johnstone Reddie above (Auchtermuchty). However, given that the name has been bestowed so late in the minister's incumbency, and the frequency of *Smith* as a surname in this area,⁴⁵ this instance is more likely to be coincidental than deliberate.

Table 5-34: Minister-child name-sharing in Holm

| Holm | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 0 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 0 |

5.6.2.2.6 Kilmallie

One Kilmallie minister fits the criteria for analysis:

- Thomas Davidson (1836-)

The minister's surname, *Davidson*, was not used as a first or middle name in Kilmallie during the period studied. His first name, *Thomas*, also did not appear as a middle name. *Thomas* was used fairly steadily as a first name in the parish, appearing 18 times from 1775 to 1834 and being the 18th most common male name (Table 4-9, 4.1.3.1). However, there was no discernible influence of the minister on its usage, with no children being baptised with that name during Thomas Davidson's time in the position.

⁴⁵ There are 164 surnames in Holm and *Smith* is ranked 38th, accounting for 22 bearers and 0.59% of the population. If the name had been less common, for example one of the 50 surnames with only one or two bearers, it could be more easily argued that the middle name had been given for the minister.

Table 5-35: Minister-child name-sharing in Kilmallie

| Kilmallie | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 0 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 0 |

5.6.2.2.7 Kilrenny

Four Kilrenny ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Thomas Key (1724-1754)
- Patrick Simson (1759-1760)
- Joseph Duncan (1809-1818)
- George Dickson (1835-)

Thomas Key was ordained on 15th April 1724, and conducted his first two baptisms on the 19th: *Eupham* and *Thomas* (both 438/00 0010 0159). Therefore, one of the first children baptised, and certainly the first male baptised, shares a name with the new minister.

Thomas occurs frequently throughout the period studied, and there is no apparent difference in its usage around the time of Thomas Key's incumbency. *Key* does not feature as either a middle name or a first name.

Patrick Simson was ordained on 10th May 1759; his first baptism was of *Patrick* on the 22nd (438/00 0010 0265). Therefore, as with Thomas Key, the first child baptised by this minister also shares a name with him. Simson was not in the parish for long, and consequently there is no discernible difference in the usage of the first name *Patrick*. The minister's surname, *Simson*, is not used as either a middle or a first name during or after this brief incumbency.

Joseph Duncan was ordained on 21st September 1809. The first child to be baptised by him was *William* on the 30th (438/00 0020 0086), and therefore there is no name-sharing in this instance. *Duncan* is not used as a first name or a middle name during Joseph Duncan's incumbency. *Joseph* is a rare name in the parish, occurring only twice in the baptismal entries: one of these appears in February 1810, only a few months after the minister's arrival (438/00 0020 0084). The rarity of the name in this area, coupled with the close timing of the baptism and the minister's arrival, suggests that this usage of the name is due to ministerial influence.

George Dickson transferred to Kilrenny on 20th August 1835. The first baptism he conducted was of a child named *Margaret* on the 28th (438/00 0030 0052), and the first male baptism was of George Dixon Harris on the 30th (438/00 0030 0053). Although there is slight variation in the spelling of *Dickson/Dixon*, it is clear that this child has been baptised with George Dickson's full name, rather than simply his first name.

Due to Dickson's incumbency beginning near the end of the period studied, it is not possible to see any difference in usage of the name *George*. *Dickson* is used as a middle name in the example of George Dixon Harris above, but otherwise does not occur as either a first or middle name.

Table 5-36: Minister-child name-sharing in Kilrenny

| Kilrenny | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 4 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 1 |

5.6.2.2.8 Longside

One Longside minister fits the criteria for analysis:

- Thomas Kidd (1829)

Although the minister does fulfil the criteria, he was ill at his ordination, having to be carried to the church, and died three days later. He therefore understandably seems to have had no influence on the name-stock of the parish: no child was baptised with either of his names around the time of his ordination and death. As Kidd did not have the opportunity to baptise any children, it would be misleading to create a table for Longside.

5.6.2.2.9 Saltoun

Four Saltoun ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Archibald Douglas (1684-1696)
- Archibald Lundie (1696-1759)
- Patrick Bannerman (1760-1790)
- Andrew Johnston (1791-1829)

As they share a first name, Archibald Douglas and Archibald Lundie will be discussed simultaneously. Neither surname was used as a first name, and, of the two, only *Douglas* was used as a middle name: its sole usage was in 1826, so is insignificant for this analysis. The name *Archibald* was not used as a middle name, but appears several times as a first name.

Early in their incumbencies, each minister baptised a child who shared their name. Archibald Douglas became minister on 24th July 1684. According to the baptismal records, there were three children baptised on 31st July, none of which were named *Archibald* (instead, *Kathrin* (719/00 0010 0079), *George* (719/00 0010 0080), and *John* (719/ 00 0010 0080)). However, Archibald Wood was the next child baptised, on 25th August (719/00 0010 0080). Therefore, a child early in Douglas's incumbency did share his name, though according to the baptismal records it was not the first child baptised by him.

Archibald Lundie was ordained on 24th September 1696, and baptised his first two children on 11th October: *Katharine* and *Archbald* (both 719/00 0010 0114). Therefore, one of the first two children baptised by him, the male, shares a name with Lundie.

Any additional influence of the two ministers is difficult to assess. The use of *Archibald* in Saltoun is reasonably high, at 2.34% overall. This compares to e.g. 0.29% in Kilrenny, 0.87% in Dundonald, and 0.53% in Tongland, though it has not as high a proportion as Govan (3.23%), Kilmallie (3.20%), or Tiree (8.96%). It is not clear whether this is related to the two ministers: Archibald Douglas takes up the post close to the start of the period being studied, so use of the name before his incumbency cannot be determined. Some influence may be indicated by the fact that the usage of *Archibald* from the period 1684-1759, when Douglas and Lundie held the post, was 3.01%; the usage from 1760 to the end of the period being studied was 1.50%. However, this slight difference may be due to natural variation in the usage of the name, rather than due to the disappearance of ministerial influence.

Patrick Bannerman was ordained on 6th November 1760. *Bannerman* was not used as either a first or middle name, and *Patrick* was not used as a middle name.

There was no discernible increase in the overall usage of Patrick as a first name. However, the first child baptised by the minister does share a name with him: Patrick Hunter was baptised on 16th November (719/00 0020 0027). This baptismal entry therefore provides evidence for the theory that the first child baptised by a minister would be named for him.

The final Saltoun minister to be analysed was Andrew Johnston. *Johnston* was not used as a first name, but three children had *Johnston* as a middle name, all during Andrew Johnston's time as minister. One of these has a mother with the maiden name *Johnston* (719/00 0020 0175), so the middle name may have been given to reference the mother rather than the minister. It cannot be determined whether the other two were given the name in honour of the minister: *Johnston* is the 7th most common surname in the parish, so cannot be linked to the minister alone.

Andrew Johnston was ordained on 22nd September 1791. *Mary* was the first baptised child (719/00 0020 0120), and the first male child was *Benoni* (719/00 0020 0120). Therefore, unlike the previous two ministers, the first child he baptised was not named for him.

The overall usage of Andrew as a first name was calculated for the minister's incumbency, the years preceding, and the years following. These results are given in the table below.

Table 5-37: Usage of *Andrew* in Saltoun

| Year range | Average usage of name (%) |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1680-1790 | 5.56 |
| 1791-1829 (minister's incumbency) | 7.07 |
| 1830-1839 | 5.97 |

This set of figures initially looks encouraging: the slightly lower percentage in usage in the years preceding and following the minister's incumbency would suggest ministerial influence in name-choosing. However, this unfortunately cannot be definitively stated. Due to the relatively short final date range, 1830-1839, there are very few baptismal entries available for analysis; the figure of 5.97% refers to only four children. Therefore, we cannot be sure that there is not instead a steady increase in the overall usage of the name Andrew, unrelated to the minister himself.

Table 5-38: Minister-child name-sharing in Saltoun

| Saltoun | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 3 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 0 |

5.6.2.2.10 Tiree

No Tiree ministers fit the criteria for analysis.

5.6.2.2.11 Tongland

Two Tongland ministers fit the criteria for analysis:

- Thomas Brown (1807-1826)
- Dugald Stewart Williamson (1832-)

Thomas was not used as a middle name, and *Brown* was not used as a first name. Two children had *Brown* as a middle name; however, these were not early in Thomas Brown's incumbency and thus are probably insignificant, especially as Brown was the 7th most common surname in the parish, accounting for 1.61% of the population.

There is, however, potential evidence of significant ministerial influence on the usage of *Thomas* as a first name. As with many ministers already discussed, the first child baptised by him also shared a name with him: Thomas Copland was baptised one month after Brown's ordination (881/1 FR0075). Unlike most of the previous ministers, there is reason to suspect that the minister also had an effect on the overall usage of the name. As seen in the table below, the usage of *Thomas* was significantly lower during the periods preceding and following the minister's incumbency.

Table 5-39: Usage of *Thomas* in Tongland

| Year range | Average usage of name (%) |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1680-1806 | 4.75 |
| 1807-1826 (minister's incumbency) | 12.69 |
| 1827-1839 | 2.06 |

During Thomas Brown's time as minister, *Thomas* was the third most frequently used name, after *James* and *John*; before and after this time, it was ranked joint 7th and joint 10th respectively. Additionally, in the period 1807-1809, the very start of Thomas Brown's incumbency, *Thomas* was the most used male name in the parish, accounting for 26.92% of male children. It therefore seems that the arrival of this new minister has potentially significantly influenced the names given to children in the parish.

It is difficult to determine exactly how many children this affected. We may suppose that, if the minister had not arrived in the parish, that approximately 4% of children in the period 1807-1826 would have been named *Thomas*, rather than 12.69%; this percentage would consist of 8 children. In the actual records, 25 children were named *Thomas*; therefore we might assume that 17 children were named *Thomas* due to ministerial

influence. This figure has been entered into the table below; however, it is only an estimate and does not represent the baptismal entries themselves.

Contradictory to the phenomenon regarding *Thomas*, no children were baptised *Dugald* or *Williamson*, the names of the second minister given above, as either a first or middle name.

Table 5-40: Minister-child name-sharing in Tongland

| Tongland | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 17 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 0 |

5.6.2.3 Discussion

5.6.2.3.1 Types of names transferred

At the end of each section of parish analysis above, a table was given which outlined the amount and type of name-sharing which seemed to be apparent. As explained in the introduction to this section, these numbers are based upon reasonable assumptions only, and thus can give us a general idea of the name-sharing between children and ministers. However, where numbers are based on general increases in usage, these figures cannot be used to state that these children were definitively named for the minister; any increase in name-sharing may have been due simply to a new or renewed awareness of a particular name, rather than a desire to name a child for a specific individual.

The parish tables from the above sections have been combined to create an overall table, given below.

Table 5-41: Overall minister-child name-sharing

| All Parishes | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Minister's first name | Minister's surname |
| Child's first name | 37 | 0 |
| Child's middle name | 0 | 6 |

The vast majority of children represented in this table have the same first name as the minister. A small number have the minister's surname as their middle name, but this group predominantly comprises those children who have been given the minister's full name (e.g. George Dixon Harris, discussed above). Despite the name-givers having the ability to give

a minister's surname as a first name (see 4.3.2) or a first name as a middle name (see 4.3.3), children are in fact not generally given these types of names.

In 2.3.5.1, the baptismal entry of Scot Grier was presented and discussed (baptism cited by Cory 1990: 69). Scot was a daughter whom the parents originally wished to name *Jenny*; however, being the first to be baptised by a new minister, Alexander Scot, she was instead given his surname as her first name. The conclusion of the discussion in 2.3.5.1 was that, in this study, we could expect to see children baptised both with the minister's first name and with the minister's surname. This conclusion can now be revised: it is far more likely that a child will be baptised with the minister's first name. Usages of the surname will generally be confined to the middle name position, and the example given by Cory is of a rare form, having no equivalent in this dataset.

5.7 Transferred surnames

5.7.1 Overview

The stock of transferred surnames was discussed in 4.3.2. This section will expand on that discussion, and examine the proportion of transferred surnames potentially given in honour of a particular person.

5.7.2 Breakdown by source

5.7.2.1 *Mother's maiden name*

As will be demonstrated in 5.8.2, a significant proportion of those children with middle names had a middle name which represented their mother and, in particular, the mother's maiden name. It would therefore be reasonable to presume that mothers' maiden names may also be the source of some transferred surnames. Table 5-42 shows the results of this investigation.

Table 5-42: Mother's maiden name as transferred surname

| Name | No. of bearers | Sex | Parish | Birth order (unique, of same sex) | Year |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|--|---------------|
| Adam | 1 | male | Longside | 6 | 1813 |
| Allan | 1 | male | Longside | 5 | 1825 |
| Findlay | 1 | male | Govan | 8 | 1834 |
| Graham | 1 | male | Govan | 2 | 1834 |
| Harvie | 1 | male | Govan | 4 | 1790 |
| Hill | 1 | male | Kilrenny | 4 | 1807 |
| Jarvie | 1 | female | Govan | 4 | 1799 |
| Mackay* | 2 | female; unknown | Durness (2) | 1; 1 or 2, dependent on sex | 1797; 1805 |
| Maxwell | 2 | male (2) | Govan (2) | 3; 3 | 1760; 1789 |
| Rowan | 1 | male | Govan | 4 | 1804 |
| Smellie | 2 | male (2) | Govan (2) | 5; 6 | 1750; 1758 |
| Somerville | 1 | female | Govan | 3 | 1779 |
| Stewart | 1 | male | Durness | 2 | 1830 |
| Thomson | 1 | female | Durness | 1 | 1805 |
| Walker | 1 | male | Govan | 7 | 1816 |

Mackay is asterisked; one of the bearers of this name was Mackay Mackay, daughter of Hugh Mackay and Isobel Mackay (048/00 0010 0086). Therefore the occurrence of Mackay as a first name may not necessarily be due to the mother's maiden name being bestowed as a first name, but possibly to a replication of the child's surname or a clerical error.

In total, there were 18 cases (including the above-mentioned Mackay) where the first name of the child matched the maiden name of the mother. As discussed in 4.3.2.1.2, it was not possible to determine precisely how many children had a surname for a first name, so these 18 cases cannot be expressed as a proportion. However, more than 300 children had a first name which also appeared in the records at least once as a surname but which was not the mother's maiden name, so these 18 cases do seem to be unusual rather than commonplace. Of the 18 cases shown above, 13 were male, four female, and one was of unknown sex. Discounting the child of unknown sex, this means 76.47% of relevant children were male, and 23.53% female. In 4.3.2.1.3.3, a set of 266 children with surnames as first names was

examined, and it was stated that 170 children were male, 54 female, and 42 of unknown sex. Again discounting those of unknown sex, 75.89% were male and 24.11% female. These percentages are extremely close to the 76.47% and 23.53% given above, which suggests that the number of male and female children with their mothers' maiden names as first names is roughly proportionate to the overall number of male and female children with surnames as first names. However, the similarities between these two sets of percentages cannot be determined to be significant; the first set of percentages may be affected by the small dataset (17 cases) and the second set may be substantially different in the (unlikely) situation of all 42 children of unknown sex being female.

11 of the 18 cases were found in Govan, four in Durness, two in Longside, and one in Kilrenny. These parishes had some of the highest estimated numbers of children with transferred surnames (Table 4-19, 4.3.2.1.2) so this result was expected. It is surprising that no such cases were found in Dundonald, which had the second highest number of children with transferred surnames, though this may be partly explained by the overall small number of cases of children with their mothers' maiden names as first names.

Three names appear notably early: *Smellie* in 1750 and again in 1758, and *Maxwell* in 1760. Otherwise names appear from 1779 onwards, with a slight majority of cases (10 of 18) occurring after 1800.

The naming patterns shown so far in Chapter 5 tend to determine the names of the earliest children in each family, for example, with first sons or daughters usually being named after the father or mother (5.2.1.1; 5.2.1.2). If naming patterns are being followed by the families of these 18 cases, we would expect the birth order to reflect this: children would be less likely to be among the first of that sex born to a family. This does indeed seem to be the case. In 10 of 18 cases, the relevant child was the fourth or later child of that sex born to the family. Some children were born especially late: for example, in seventh or eighth position in the birth order. In one case, it can also be suggested why a child was the first born and still had this type of name: Mackay Mackay, mentioned above as daughter to Hugh Mackay and Isobel Mackay in Durness, was an illegitimate child, the product of an adulterous relationship: "Hugh Mackay [...] a single Lad, and Isobel Mackay wife of James Mackay". In such a situation, it seems less likely that the parents would see fit to follow any usual naming practices: such practices as naming the child after her maternal grandmother might mark the child as being the legitimate offspring of Isobel and her

husband, and also possibly restrict James and Isobel naming their own legitimate children in deference to traditional naming practices.⁴⁶

With a third of families exhibiting mother-daughter name-sharing (5.2.1.2), giving a daughter the same first name as the mother was clearly deemed important. With the prospect of giving a child the mother's maiden name as a first name, there is an additional opportunity to name after the mother. The question then arises: does giving a child its mother's maiden name as a first name negate the need to give another child its mother's first name? Table 5-43 shows, of the 17 families where a mother's maiden name was used as a first name, how many families also had a child bearing its mother's first name. This table represents 17 rather than 18 families as both children named *Smellie* in Table 5-42 were born into the same family.

Table 5-43: Usage of both mother's first name and mother's maiden name

| Parish | Mother's maiden name and first name used | Only mother's maiden name used |
|---------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Durness | 1* | 3 |
| Govan | 6 | 4 |
| Kilrenny | 1 | - |
| Longside | 2 | - |
| Total | 10 | 7 |

The asterisk by one of the Durness figures denotes that although Mackay Mackay was the child of Hugh Mackay and Isobel Mackay, she had no siblings from that relationship; however, she had half-siblings from her mother's marriage to James, one of whom was named *Isobel*.

Generally, if using the mother's maiden name, there is a tendency to use the mother's first name as well. This is probably largely due to the propensity to name early-born children with a parent's first name, and those born relatively late with a transferred surname. There is a notable regional difference, with Durness having a majority of affected families with only the mother's maiden name used; this is likely related to the overall low rate of mother-daughter name-sharing in the Highlands.

⁴⁶ With regards to the traditional naming pattern in particular, James and Isobel had not been following this pattern: none of their first three sons bore their father's name (though the eldest daughter was named *Isobel*).

Given that, if the mother's maiden name is used, the first name is usually also used, it might be suggested that the maiden name is not being used to represent the mother; she has already been represented by the replication of her first name. It might instead be countered that the maiden name is being used to reflect general maternal lineage, rather than the mother in particular.

5.7.2.2 Influential non-relatives

In the pilot study, it was noted that the surname *Ralston* was used as a first name in Beith (Crook 2011: 108), and *Maxwell* was likewise found in Govan (2011: 109). Both these surnames were borne by landowning families in the relevant areas, and it was suggested that these transferred surnames may have been used in honour of those families. As discussed in 5.6, it was not possible to investigate fully naming after landowners in this study. However, some landowners were mentioned in the records if their own children were baptised there, and it was therefore possible to check the parish records for appearances of their surname as first names. Potential cases of naming a child after the landowning family are, in alphabetical order by parish:

- *Moncrieff*, Auchtermuchty: five children (three male and two unknown) were baptised *Moncrieff* in Auchtermuchty. The Moncrieff family occasionally appear in the baptismal records (e.g. “Major George Moncrief and Helen Skene his Lady” in 1750 (406/00 0010 0102)), and are known to have owned the Reddie estate, close to Auchtermuchty (Leighton, Swan & Stewart 1840: 216).
- *Fairlie*, Dundonald: as mentioned in 4.2.7, the Fairlie family were an important family in the Dundonald area, and one male child was baptised *Fairlie*.
- *Fullarton*, Dundonald: two male children were baptised *Fullarton*, in 1792 and 1822. In the 1750s, William Fullarton was described as being “of that ilk” (e.g. 590/1 FR0120), and from the late 1790s onwards, Stewart Murray Fullarton was described as “Esquire of Bartonholm” in the baptismal records of his children (e.g. 590/1 FR0254).

- *Anderson*, Durness: two children of unknown sex were baptised *Anderson*, in 1791 and 1807. James Anderson was tacksman⁴⁷ in Durness throughout the late 1700s and later lived on the Rispond estate (e.g. 048/00 0010 0092).
- *Forbes*, Durness: two children of unknown sex were baptised *Forbes*, and Donald Forbes was the tacksman in Durness in the late 1700s (048/00 0010 0065). These children were not necessarily named after Donald: one child was baptised in 1788, three years before the first entry mentioning Donald as tacksman; the other was baptised in 1767, which is presumably too early for any association with Donald. However, if he had become tacksman a few years before his first mention in the baptismal registers, the child born in 1788 may have been named due to his influence.
- *Mackay*, Durness: ten *Mackays* (seven unknown, two male, and one female) were baptised in Durness, and four of these were recorded after the 1804 mention of Hugh Mackay being tacksman (048/00 0010 0098). However, *Mackay* was used several times before Hugh's time as tacksman, and was also the most common surname in Durness (as stated in 4.3.2.1.3.1). It is therefore reasonably unlikely that these children were baptised upon his influence.
- *Cumming*, Longside: two male *Cummings* were found in the database, and both were baptised in Longside (in 1817 and 1826). Charles Cummine, laird of Kininmonth was the recorded father of an illegitimate child in 1706 (218/00 0010 0142). There is a significant delay between this record and the baptisms of the two *Cummings*, but it is possible that the *Cumming* family were still influential in the area 100 years later. The child baptised in 1826, *Cumming Lilly Moir* (218/00 0030 0043), is particularly noteworthy: *Lilly* is his mother's maiden name so, if he is indeed named after a landowning family, both his first and middle names are in honour of a particular individual or family (*Cumming* for the landowners, *Lilly* for his mother or maternal relatives).

⁴⁷ The *OED* defines 'tacksman' as "a middleman who leases directly from the proprietor of the estate a large piece of land which he sublets in small farms" (*OED: tacksman*).

- *Fletcher*, Saltoun: four children (two male, one female, and one unknown) were baptised *Fletcher* in mid-1700s Saltoun. The Fletcher family owned Saltoun Hall and were highly influential in the area (Knight & Gifford 1976: [n.p.]).

As not all landowners' families were included in the parish registers, this is not an exhaustive list. However, we can say that, based upon the short list above, some transferred surnames clearly do originate with local landowners and people of importance. In all but two of the above cases,⁴⁸ these first names were unique to the relevant parish, despite the surnames occurring fairly frequently elsewhere. For example, *Anderson* was the 14th most frequently occurring surname in Durness (25 uses) and used as a first name twice. It was the second most frequently occurring surname in Govan (340 uses) and the fourth in Kilrenny (129 uses), but was not used as a first name in either parish. It would therefore seem that the frequent appearance of a surname in an area does not necessarily mean that it will be used as a transferred surname; an additional factor is required, which, as the evidence presented above suggests, may be the presence of an important local family bearing that name.

Some interesting regional subtleties may also be emerging: in Durness, the names of one or two tacksmen were potentially used as transferred surnames (most notably *Anderson*), yet in Tiree none of the recorded tacksmen saw their surnames used in the name-stock (*Campbell*, *MacNiven*, *McLeod*). The constraints of this project have meant further research at this stage was not possible, but it would be a valuable area of more detailed study.

The evidence presented here concerns the names of landowning families, but it is also possible that some transferred surnames will derive from the ministers' names. As discussed in 5.6.2.3.1, no examples of this were found in the dataset, with ministerial influence almost invariably involving the minister's first name. However, considering the example given by Cory of Scot Grier, named after Alexander Scot (Cory 1990: 69), it is probable that a small number of similar cases will be found elsewhere in the Scottish records and thus in future research projects.

⁴⁸ *Forbes* was also found in Govan, Kilmallie, and Longside. As discussed in 4.2.7, *Fairlie* was also found in Durness, though potentially as an obscured Gaelic name rather than as a transferred surname.

5.7.3 Discussion

In 5.7.2.1, it was stated that the difference between the sexes seemed to be based on the overall number bearing transferred surnames, with this difference then filtering proportionately down to those children bearing the mother's maiden name. Therefore, there did not seem to be pressure to name boys or girls in particular with that maiden name. This differs from the results seen for middle names, where it was found that boys were more likely to have their mother's maiden name as a middle name, even though more girls overall had a middle name (as will be seen in 5.8.2.1.1). There therefore seems to be a difference in how surnames as first names and surnames as middle names are treated.

Although the presumed source is the mother's maiden name, this name would also have been the surname of the maternal grandparents, of the maternal grandfather's parents, and so forth. Therefore, the bestowal of the name may not be in reference to the mother herself, but to a more distant relative or set of relatives, or may simply be a marker of general lineage rather than in reference to an individual.

It is possible that many transferred surnames are indeed family names, perhaps from grandparents or great-grandparents. However, as mentioned in previous sections, it was not possible to establish family members beyond the immediate family for most familial units, and widespread analysis of this type of naming was therefore not possible. Chapter 6 deals with a small number of case studies, some of which contain children with transferred surnames as first names, and potential familial sources of transferred surnames other than maternal maiden name are discussed.

However, as with all types of name-sharing, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether name-sharing with a particular source is deliberate or coincidental, especially given the relatively small number of names in use. A child named *Maxwell* in Govan may well have been given his mother's maiden name for his first name, but it may also simply be an old family name which his mother also happened to bear. He may otherwise have been named after the local landowner, or after someone else entirely. Therefore, any figures in this section must be understood as suggestive rather than definitive.

5.8 Middle names

5.8.1 Overview

The stock and nature of middle names were discussed fully in 4.3.3. This section will examine the proportion of middle names which were potentially given in honour of someone, using the data laid out in 4.3.3 as a basis. A set of research questions concerning middle names were also stated in 4.3.3: these questions will be answered in 5.8.4.1, while 5.8.2 and 5.8.3 outline the particular groups of people in honour of whom children may have received their middle names.

5.8.2 Breakdown by honoured person

5.8.2.1 Relatives

5.8.2.1.1 Mother

In previous discussions of Scottish middle names, the mother's maiden name is thought to be one of the most typically used (Bigwood 2006: 60). Excluding cases where the child's father is unknown,⁴⁹ children are generally given the father's surname as their own. Giving the mother's surname to the child as a middle name is therefore a way of perpetuating an otherwise lost name from the maternal side of the family tree.

Of the 1,651 children with at least one middle name, 301 had their mother's surname as a middle name: 18.23%. Examples include Margaret *Aird* Brown, daughter of John Brown and Ann Aird (Dundonald: 590/3 FR0590), and John *Keddie* Anderson, son of Andrew Anderson and Jean Keddie (Auchtermuchty: 406/00 0030 0042). These children featured in all parishes except Tiree and throughout the entire period in question, with the earliest record in the project falling into this category: Abram *Meassone* Manson, son of Magnus Manson and Margaret Meassone, born in 1680 (Holm: 019/00 0010 0063). Of these 301 children, 222 (73.75%) were male, 78 (25.91%) were female, and one was of unknown sex. This difference in percentages is not due to a larger number of males having middle names overall: as stated in 4.3.3.1.1, males represented just under half of all children with

⁴⁹ If the father was unknown or undeclared, the child was given the mother's surname: e.g. Stewart Gray, 'natural' son of Margret Gray, born in Govan in 1807 (646/2 FR0425).

middle names (803 of 1,651: 48.64%). The evidence therefore shows that male children were much more likely than females to be given their mother's maiden name as a middle name.

The evidence also supports the theory that using the mother's maiden name as a middle name was fairly common. At 18.23%, the percentage of children who fall into that category is not an overwhelming majority; however, it is clearly a substantial group. Generally we might expect that, though a family might have several children with middle names, the mother's maiden name is unlikely to be used for more than one child (though exceptions to this are noted below and in 7.5). Therefore, when considering those families containing children with middle names, the proportion of families where a child's middle name can be identified as the mother's maiden name is likely to be significantly higher than 18.23%.

A much smaller group comprises those children who had their mother's first name as their middle name; 19 (1.15%) fell into this category.⁵⁰ Examples include Mary *Joanna* Hedderwick, daughter of James Hedderwick and Joanna McNielage (Govan: 646/3 FR0533). Despite the relatively few records, these children featured in several parishes: Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Govan, Kilmallie, Longside, and Tiree. They also appeared throughout much of the period being studied, with the earliest occurring in 1767. In this category, the female children greatly outnumber the males: 18 of 19 were females. One male child had his mother's first name as a middle name: George *Christian* Rowan, son to George Rowan and Christian Huttar (Govan: 646/2 FR0439). It is possible that George was given his mother's first name as his middle name since his elder brother, James, had already been given her maiden name as his middle name (Govan: 646/2 FR0435), though this situation was otherwise unknown in the records.

There is a case for excluding several of these 19 records from the group. Eight of the records refer to a child with the middle name *Ann*, six of whom are named Mary *Ann* [Surname]. All of these children do have their mother's first name in the middle name position; however, as discussed in 4.3.3.2.3, it is likely that several of the children with *Ann* in middle name position do not actually have a middle name, but rather a first name of

⁵⁰ This group would be expected to be smaller since, in general, fewer children had first names as middle names: as stated in 4.3.3, 82.90% had a surname and 13.94% had a first name for a middle name (the remainder were unknown).

e.g. Mary-Ann. If all those with *Ann* in middle name position are excluded, there would be 11 records in which the mother's first name is used as the child's middle name; if only those named Mary *Ann* are excluded, there would be 13 records in this category.

It is striking that over 73% of the first group were male children, while all bar one of the second group were female. The discrepancy is possibly due to the fact that surnames are largely neutral, while first names tend to be attached to a particular sex. There may therefore have been a desire among parents to give their child a middle name which was either neutral or matched the sex of the child.

Two further children had a middle name which reflected some aspect of their mother's name. One child's middle name was their mother's middle name: William *Stewart* Aitken, son to Thomas Aitken and Janet Stewart Glen (Govan: 646/3 FR0536); the second child had both the mother's first name and maiden name as middle names: Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie, daughter of John McFie and Elizabeth Shaw (Govan: 646/3 FR0542). The latter case is particularly interesting: Jane's elder sister, Margaret *Shaw* McFie, had already been given the mother's maiden name as a middle name (Govan: 646/2 FR0526), and a second elder sister had the first name Elizabeth (Govan: 646/2 FR0535), potentially also after the mother. Neither of those two elder siblings seems to have died before Jane was baptised. Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie therefore possibly represents a second or third attempt to name a child after the mother in some way.

Overall, nearly one fifth (19.38%) of all children with a middle name seemed to have been named in some way for their mother. This figure comprises 320 children.⁵¹

- 301 with the mother's maiden name
- 19 with the mother's first name (if the *Ann* names are included)
- one with the mother's middle name

In addition, although more females overall had a middle name, more male children had a middle name which represented their mother.

⁵¹ Although the figures total 321, there are 320 children as Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie features in two categories.

5.8.2.1.2 Father

In the records, 82 children had their father's surname in the middle name position. However, as discussed in 4.3.3.2.1, 81 of these were discounted from analysis: it was believed these entries contained accidental duplication of the father (and thus child's) surname. However, at least one child does appear to have his father's surname as part of his middle name: Kenneth *Mackay Thomson* Mackay, son of Donald Mackay and Sybella Thomson (Durness: 048/00 0010 0098). This is perhaps an effort to give the names of both parents in the middle name, though unusual as it means *Mackay* does appear twice in the child's name.

Of the 1,651 children with a middle name, 14 had their father's first name in that position: 0.85%. Examples include William *Archibald* Anderson, son of Archibald Anderson and Elizabeth Thomson (Govan: 646/2 FR0442), and John *Sheddan* Aitken, son of Sheddan Aitken and Margaret Barr (Govan: 646/3 FR0553). The earliest of these records appeared in 1808, substantially later than the first occurrence of a mother's first name as a middle name (1767). They also appeared in fewer parishes than the records featuring mothers' first names; records were found in Auchtermuchty, Dundonald, Govan, and Tiree (four parishes, compared to the six where mothers' first names were used as middle names). There were no parishes in which a father's first name was used as a middle name but a mother's was not.

Of the 14 children who had their father's first name as a middle name, 13 were male. The remaining child was Duncan *Malcolm* Campbell, daughter of Malcolm Campbell and Giles Campbell (Tiree: 551/1 FR317). The record states that the father was deceased by the time of the child's baptism, so it is likely that *Malcolm* was given as a middle name in commemoration. It is unknown whether *Duncan* was also given in honour of a particular person, but it also seemed to be considered to be a male name.⁵² It is of course also possible that this is a clerical error and Duncan *Malcolm* Campbell was in fact male.

In the previous section, it was stated that 18 of 19 children with their mother's first name as a middle name were female. Here, 13 of 14 children with their father's first name as a middle name are male. These children therefore provide added support to the theory that it

⁵² There were 377 males named *Duncan* in the dataset (Appendix I), as opposed to two females (Appendix II).

was thought important to match the sex of the child and the associated sex of the middle name (discussed in 5.8.2.1.1).

A further six children had the father's middle name as their own middle name. Five of these were male children who also had their father's first name as their own; for example, Stewart *Murray* Fullarton was the son of Stewart *Murray* Fullarton (Dundonald: 590/1 FR0254). The sixth child had her father's middle name as a middle name, but did not share a first name with either parent: Cecilia *Stirling* Middleton, daughter of Lewis *Stirling* Middleton and Eliza Campbell (Govan: 646/3 FR0551). Considering these six cases have their father's middle name as their own, it seems plausible the name is a surname from the paternal side, possibly the paternal grandmother's maiden name.

Overall, 21 of 1,651 children (1.27%) had a middle name which in some way represented their father. This figure comprises:

- 14 with the father's first name
- six with the father's middle name
- one with the father's surname

Far fewer children had a middle name representing their father than one representing their mother. This difference is due to the large number of middle names derived from the mother's surname; the father's surname would not be used in the same way as a child traditionally inherited it as its own surname.

Two of 1,651 children had a set of middle names which represented both parents. William *John Marshal* Dunlop was the son of John Dunlop and Janet Marshal (Govan: 646/3 FR0543), and the previously mentioned Kenneth *Mackay Thomson* Mackay was the son of Donald Mackay and Sybella Thomson (Durness: 048/00 0010 0098).

Overall, 339 of 1,651 children were given middle names which potentially represented one or both parents: 20.53%.⁵³ These 339 children include 241 males (71.09%), 97 females (28.61%), and one child of unknown sex (0.3%).

⁵³ Although the figures total 341, there are 339 children as two children shared a name with both mother and father.

5.8.2.1.3 Other relatives

It is expected that many middle names may originate from family members as Bigwood states that, as well the mother's maiden name, the surname of a grandmother or other relative was often used (2006: 60). However, as discussed in 5.4, it was not possible to conduct large-scale analysis on naming for grandparents and other relatives outwith the immediate family. In Chapter 6, many case study families were chosen partly because several of the children had been given middle names (as discussed in 6.1.1), and these names were therefore examined for potential influence from grandparents and other relatives. The subsequent results of this investigation are given in 6.3.4.

5.8.3 Influential non-relatives

As discussed in 5.6.2, some children's middle names were derived from the name of the minister: for example, James *Brown* Smith in Kilrenny was named after James Brown, John *Macleod* Rob was likely named after John Macleod in Dundonald, and, in Longside, Katharine *Imray* McLeod probably gained her middle name from John Imray. This type of name-sharing largely seems to have taken place when the child was the first baptised by the minister, though exceptions did occur: two children were named Robert *J. Johnstone* Reddie in Auchtermuchty, and the second was baptised three years after the ordination of Robert John Johnstone.

It had been anticipated that some children would have been named for the minister; as discussed in 2.3.5.1, many researchers have drawn attention to this practice (e.g. Steel 1962; Cory 1990). It had not been anticipated that children might have been named after the minister's wife, but this appears to have happened at least once in Govan. Jane *Elizabeth Boog* Barr, daughter to James Barr and Mary Findlay, was baptised on 16th July 1824 (646/3 FR0524). Jane Elizabeth Boog was the wife of minister Matthew Leishman, who had been ordained in 1821. The couple's marital record dates from 12th July 1824 (Govan: 646/00 0030 0191), just four days before Jane *Elizabeth Boog* Barr's baptism. It therefore appears that the child was baptised in honour of the minister's wedding and new wife.⁵⁴ Jane Barr may not have been the first child baptised after this occasion – William Clark (son to George Clark and Christian Fairservice) was baptised on the 15th (646/3

⁵⁴ A second case where a child is potentially named after the minister's wife is discussed in 5.8.4.1, though that baptism did not occur directly after the minister's wedding.

FR0524) – but she was the first female child. Interestingly, Jane’s elder brother (Matthew *Leishman* Barr) had been named after the minister, as discussed in 5.6.2.2.4, and this family therefore contained two children named after the minister’s family.

As might be expected considering the results of 5.7.2.2, some middle names derived from the local landowning families. As previously discussed (5.6.1), detailed analysis of this is not possible at this stage, though it would be a worthwhile area of future research in the form of case studies. Some comment can however be made, based on an unusual name and clerical notes in the baptismal records. For example, it was stated in the baptismal entry for Jane *Maxwell* McPherson (Tiree: 551/1 FR0237) that she was “named after the Duches of Gordon”, who had been Jane Maxwell. In Auchtermuchty, the child of William Nivison and Sarah Scott was baptised Onesiphorus *Tyndall Bruce* Nivison (406/00 0030 0026). Although not explicitly stated, the unusual name leaves no room for doubt that this child was named after the local landowner, Onesiphorus Tyndall Bruce. These two examples highlight that middle names clearly could derive from the names of important local individuals, and this could be a fruitful area of future study.

5.8.4 Discussion

5.8.4.1 Research questions: commemorative middle names

In 4.3.3, three research questions concerning middle names were outlined. These were:

- what proportion of middle names is given in honour of someone?
- would a commemorative middle name be given if the first name was already in honour of a particular person? Would both names be in honour of the same person?
- is there correlation between traditional commemorations and the type of name? For example, if the first child baptised by a minister is to be named for him, must it be the child’s first name which honours the minister, or would the middle name be sufficient?

Overall, 349 of 1,651 children had middle names which have been linked to another individual: 21.14%. This figure comprises 339 children whose names potentially represented a parent, seven whose names honoured the minister, one whose name honoured the minister’s wife, and two whose names honoured local landowners. The latter group is potentially much larger, but this will need to be confirmed with future research. As will be shown in 6.3.4, a further group of middle names can be linked to family members not discussed in this section, such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles. Overall, it

is likely a substantial proportion of middle names have been given in honour of a particular person.

Regarding the second question, it seems that if both a commemorative first and middle name are given, it is often the case that both names are given in honour of the same person. Several examples were discussed above, including George *Dixon* Harris, after George Dickson, and Jane *Maxwell* McPherson, after Jane Maxwell. This is relatively easy to uncover when investigating the names of particular individuals, but less easy to establish for large groups of data. It is unlikely that most instances of the mother's maiden name as a first name would appear alongside usage of the mother's first name: as shown in 5.8.2.1.1, the majority of children with their mother's maiden name as their middle name were in fact male. However, the mother's maiden name is associated with most maternal relatives, not just the mother, so it is possible that these male children are instead named after a male maternal relative. Given the difficulty in tracing grandparents, it is not possible to estimate how many of the children bearing their mother's maiden name are affected.

However, we can establish that some children bearing their mother's maiden name were named for a maternal relative. In Chapter 6, 12 case study families are analysed. Seven children were found to have their mother's maiden name as a middle name (6.3.4) and, of these, four may have been named for their maternal grandfather. For example, James *Anderson* Fowler was potentially named after his maternal grandfather, James Anderson (6.2.1), and John *Sutherland* Gardiner was potentially named after his maternal grandfather, John Sutherland (6.2.5). Some children had middle names which were found to be family names, though not their mothers' maiden names, and at least one child, Alexis *Snodgrass* Papillon, was probably named for her maternal grandmother, Alexis Snodgrass (6.2.4). As it is generally difficult to trace family beyond the parents, this type of analysis can only come from case studies at present; however, if four of seven children with their mother's maiden name as a middle name also share their maternal grandfather's first name, it seems likely that a significant proportion of those children bearing their mother's maiden name are in fact named for their maternal grandparent. In addition, it suggests that a substantial proportion of all children with a surname as a middle name have been given that name in conjunction with a commemorative first name, with both names honouring the same individual.

The third question seeks to establish if there is correlation between traditional commemorations and the type of name. This is of especial significance when examining

naming after a new minister, which seems to have been an expected honour in many areas. Generally, the answer is yes: some types of name are used more than others. As shown in 5.6.2.3.1, the vast majority of commemorative naming concerning ministers involved the minister's first name being used as the child's first name. Giving a middle name after the minister appears to have been much rarer, and, when this did happen, it was generally in conjunction with the first name: when naming a child after the minister Matthew Leishman, the child was baptised Matthew *Leishman* Barr, rather than *John *Leishman* Barr. There was only one example of a child bearing the minister's surname as a middle name where the first name was not also given in honour of him: Katharine *Imray* McLeod in Longside, who had the surname of John Imray as her middle name. This is presumably due to the fact that she was female and it would have been unusual to name her *John*; however, she bore the first name of the minister's wife (Catherine Memess) as her own, potentially in another attempt by the name-givers to honour the minister. Overall, it seems that, with traditions such as naming for the minister, the child's first name would usually be the affected name, and the middle name was generally only given if the first name was already honouring that individual.

5.8.4.2 Names within names

In many of the cases discussed in this section, both first and middle names have been given for a particular person. In 4.3.3.1.1, it was stated that 65 children had two middle names: many of these took the form of two surnames, but others consisted of a first name and surname. In 5.8.2.1.1, the baptism of Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie (Govan: 646/3 FR0542) was discussed. Jane was the daughter of John McFie and Elizabeth Shaw, and seemed to have been given both her mother's first name and maiden name as a middle name, essentially replicating a full name within her own name. To determine how common a practice this was, a list was made of all children named in the form *FirstName FirstName LastName LastName*. 24 children fell into this category, representing seven parishes; examples include Robert *Alexander Muir* Glover (Dundonald: 590/3 FR0582) and Elizabeth *Susan Maitland* Stewart (Tongland: 881/2 FR0138).

It was reasoned that a child was most likely to be named after a relative or person living in the same parish, so the records of the relevant parishes were searched to establish whether an individual had the same name as represented in the children's middle names. For example, the records of Tongland were searched for an individual named Susan Maitland, the middle names of Elizabeth *Susan Maitland* Stewart.

Of the 24 children, only two appeared to have someone else's full name as part of their name. One was Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie, the catalyst for this line of research, and the other was Jane *Elizabeth Boog* Barr, who was discussed in 5.8.3. Although the latter's name initially appears to be in the form `FirstName FirstName LastName LastName`, the name being replicated is Jane Elizabeth Boog, and thus the middle names do not constitute the whole of the individual's name. Instead, both the first and middle names must be taken together for the individual's name to be fully replicated.

It therefore seems that Jane *Elizabeth Shaw* McFie is an unusual case, which may in turn suggest this analysis is incorrect and she was actually named for an otherwise unknown woman named Jane Elizabeth Shaw. Nevertheless, this would be an interesting area of future research. As shown in 5.8.4.1, many single surname-based middle names appear to be commemorative and linked with the chosen first name; however, as will be shown in 6.2.7, some children with two surnames as middle names are clearly named for two separate individuals. Therefore, investigating those children with both one first name and one surname as middle names would be a worthwhile objective.

Chapter 6 – Case Studies

6.1 Overview

The quantitative approach adopted for this research is beneficial as it allows for an understanding of the general practices surrounding naming in early modern Scotland. However, the large-scale nature of the study meant it was impractical to construct family trees beyond simple parent-child relationships, and thus naming for relatives such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles could not be examined. Additionally, in reducing naming practices to percentages, it may be difficult to appreciate fully the naming choices made by name-givers. This chapter therefore focuses on 12 families and discusses the name-choices made, with the aim of both uncovering naming for relatives beyond the parents and of humanising the percentages thus far presented in this study.

As will be discussed in 6.1.1, case study families were predominantly selected for ease of analysis. As they were not chosen entirely at random, these families cannot be said to be truly representative of the overall dataset: they do not represent all parishes, tend to have a higher-than-average number of children, and also contain a higher-than-average number of children with middle names. In addition, as one focus of the discussion is grandparent-grandchild name-sharing, analysis necessarily concentrates upon later baptisms from the dataset as grandparents relevant to earlier baptisms are less easily traced. As these case studies are not representative, and as only 12 families are examined, results from this chapter are not necessarily indicative of overall naming trends and provide only limited evidence of the naming practices which were analysed quantitatively in Chapter 5.

However, despite such limitations, these case studies are useful as they provide qualitative evidence of various naming practices, including grandparent-grandchild name-sharing and aunt/uncle-niece/nephew name-sharing which could not be assessed in Chapter 5. In addition, they demonstrate that a single family might contain evidence for several of the naming practices discussed in the previous chapter, rather than simply containing, for example, one child sharing a name with a parent.

6.1.1 Methodology

These case studies, as with the rest of this project, are based on the contents of the OPRs.⁵⁵ The limitations outlined in Chapter 3 therefore still apply: it must be accepted that not all baptisms, marriages, and burials were recorded, and clerks did make errors.

Each case study concerns one extended family group. For each study, a familial unit was selected. The OPRs were then searched for further references to that family beyond the children's baptisms originally collected for this project. These references included:

- the parents' marital record. The children's baptisms provided an idea of the year in which the parents may have married; an eldest child born in 1760 would prompt a search of the preceding ten-year period for the parents' marriage. The marital record occasionally gave details of the parents of the marrying couple.
- the parents' baptismal records. These records would give the names of the parents of the baptised child, so the grandparents of the original set of children.

These two steps would be repeated where possible for multiple generations, to create a list of grandparents, great-grandparents, and so on, of the original set of children.

After establishing the parents of a certain generation, the records could then be searched for other children born to that couple. For example, in the first case study (6.2.1), Andrea Anderson was the mother of the original set of children, and her parents were found to be James Anderson and Margaret Millar. The records could then be searched for all children born to James Anderson and Margaret Millar. In this way, aunts and uncles of the original set of children could be determined. Once the extended family of the original set of children had been established as far as possible, the names of the children were compared to the names found elsewhere in their family. It could then be seen whether a child shared her name with an aunt or a great-grandmother, for example.

Over 30 familial units were originally selected for this part of the study. As noted in 6.1, these units were not chosen at random but were largely selected for ease of analysis, although some selections were based on whether interesting features had already been noticed within the naming of children (for example, if several children had middle names, or if children shared names with elder siblings). Some families were chosen because it had

⁵⁵ The case study of John Pollock's family (6.2.12) is an exception: although his children's baptisms were found in the OPRs, information on his marriages and the death of his wife were taken from *FES*.

been noticed during the grouping stage that the family was especially large; with a greater number of children, there would be more opportunities to name after various family members, if that was what the name-givers wished to do. Selecting some larger families therefore made it easier to establish whether children were named after distant relatives, and in what order. The remaining families were chosen because they had an unusual surname for the parish, as it was reasoned that these families would be easier to trace.

Many of the selected families were discounted as potential case studies after preliminary searches for relevant baptismal, marital, and burial records. For example, the family of Alexander Morton and Jean Wilson was chosen for further study due to *Morton* being an uncommon name in the parish (Tongland); however, beyond the baptisms of the couple's six children, no records could be found and little could therefore be concluded about this group. In total, 12 families are discussed below.

As elsewhere in this thesis, individuals' names are spelled as they appear in the records. However, as several records are consulted for this section, there are occasionally discrepancies in how a name is presented in the OPRs. For example, the surname of James Fowler (6.2.1) is spelled both *Fowler* and *Fowlar* in the baptismal records of his children, and, in his own baptismal record, it is spelled *Fouler*. To avoid ambiguity, only one spelling is used per person. The adopted spelling is the one that was first encountered when collating these family trees. For example, James's surname has been given as *Fowler* since that was the spelling used in his eldest child's baptismal record; his father's name was gleaned from James's own baptismal record, where the spelling was *Fouler*, and this form is consequently used when referring to the father.

To aid with visualisation, diagrams of the family trees are provided throughout 6.2. For consistency, this is done for all families, regardless of size.

6.2 Presentation of case studies

6.2.1 Fowler/Anderson family

Andrea Anderson married James Fowler on 8th February 1820 (Kilrenny: 438/00 0030 0145) and had nine children (Table 6-1).

Table 6-1: Children of James Fowler and Andrea Anderson

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Margaret | 20/11/1820 | - |
| Helen Millar | 02/12/1821 | - |
| Elisabeth Watson | 07/11/1823 | - |
| Jemima Anderson | 19/04/1825 | - |
| David | 18/01/1827 | - |
| Rhea/Andrea ⁵⁶ | 17/10/1828 | - |
| James Anderson | 18/01/1831 | - |
| Joan | 06/11/1836 | - |
| George Swan | 09/03/1839 | - |

James was the son of David Foulter and Helen Millar. Andrea was the youngest daughter of James Anderson and Margaret Millar, who married on 19th December 1789 (438/00 0020 0020). Andrea's baptism and those of her siblings are given in Table 6-2.

Table 6-2: Children of James Anderson and Margaret Millar

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| John | 15/08/1790 | - |
| Margaret | 06/11/1791 | - |
| James | 26/05/1793 | - |
| Agnes | 22/11/1795 | 08/03/1803 |
| Andrea | 24/10/1797 | - |

⁵⁶ This child's name was given in the baptismal records as 'Rhea or Andrea' (438/00 0030 0027). She shares both full and shortened name with her mother, who in the same record is named as 'Andrea alias Rhea Anderson'.

In turn, Andrea's father James was the eldest child of John Anderson and Margaret Wood, who married on 18th December 1764 (438/00 0010 0285). Their children (James's siblings, and Andrea's aunts and uncles) are detailed in Table 6-3.

Table 6-3: Children of John Anderson and Margaret Wood

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| James | 29/09/1765 | - |
| Helen | 21/06/1767 | - |
| Ann | 25/09/1768 | - |
| Ann | 15/07/1770 | - |
| Margaret | 28/06/1772 | - |
| Andrew | 24/07/1774 | - |
| Elizabeth | 19/05/1776 | - |
| John | 03/05/1778 | - |
| Robert | 02/04/1780 | - |

Andrea's mother Margaret was the eldest daughter of James Millar and Margaret Scott, whose children are detailed in Table 6-4.

Table 6-4: Children of James Millar and Margaret Scott

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| James | 19/07/1767 | - |
| Margaret | 16/04/1769 | - |
| Agnes | 17/02/1771 | - |
| Alexander | 14/02/1773 | - |
| Grizel | 22/01/1775 | - |
| Philip | 19/10/1777 | - |
| Thomas | 31/10/1779 | - |
| David | 14/04/1782 | - |
| John | 27/08/1784 | - |

We can now begin to identify the potential namesakes of the original set of children, born to James Fowler and Andrea Anderson (Table 6-5). This identification is based purely on name-sharing with known relatives; the paternal great-grandparents and siblings of the father are unknown and it is likely further name-sharing occurred with those relatives. All instances of observed name-sharing are stated; although it seems more likely that an eldest child should be named for a grandmother than for a great-aunt, this cannot be known for

certain. Therefore, to avoid wrongfully discounting a case of name-sharing, all occurrences are noted.

Table 6-5: Potential namesakes of the children of James Fowler and Andrea Anderson

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|------------------|---|
| Margaret | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandmother, Margaret Millar • maternal great-grandmother, Margaret Scott • maternal aunt, Margaret Anderson • maternal great-aunt, Margaret Anderson |
| Helen Millar | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paternal grandmother (first and surname), Helen Millar |
| Elisabeth Watson | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Elisabeth</i>: Elizabeth Anderson, great-aunt • <i>Watson</i>: unknown |
| Jemima Anderson | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Jemima</i>: unknown • <i>Anderson</i>: probably maternal relative |
| David | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paternal grandfather, David Fowler • maternal great-uncle, David Miller |
| Rhea/Andrea | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mother |
| James Anderson | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandfather, James Anderson (first and surname) • father (first only) |
| Joan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unknown |
| George Swan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unknown |

The potential naming choices made by the name-givers can now be compared to what was established about naming practices in the previous chapter. Both parents' names (*Andrea/Rhea* and *James*) are represented in the names of their children, though *James* may also represent the maternal grandfather. The family do not strictly follow the traditional naming pattern: the mother's name is used for the fifth daughter. However, other than the mother's name, all other elements of the naming pattern are observed and in the expected order.

Though there is some potential name-sharing with aunts/uncles or great-aunts/uncles, these names can usually also be attributed to other relatives. *Elisabeth* is potentially for a great-aunt, though this does not fit if the accompanying middle name *Watson* is for the same namesake. The sources of several names (e.g. *Jemima*, *Joan*, *George*) are unknown.

The middle names *Anderson* and *Millar* seem to originate from within the family tree; the sources of *Watson* and *Swan* are unknown.

George is not known to be a family name. It is possible that usage of this name was influenced by the then-minister, George Dickson, though it would not have been the first baptism conducted by him.

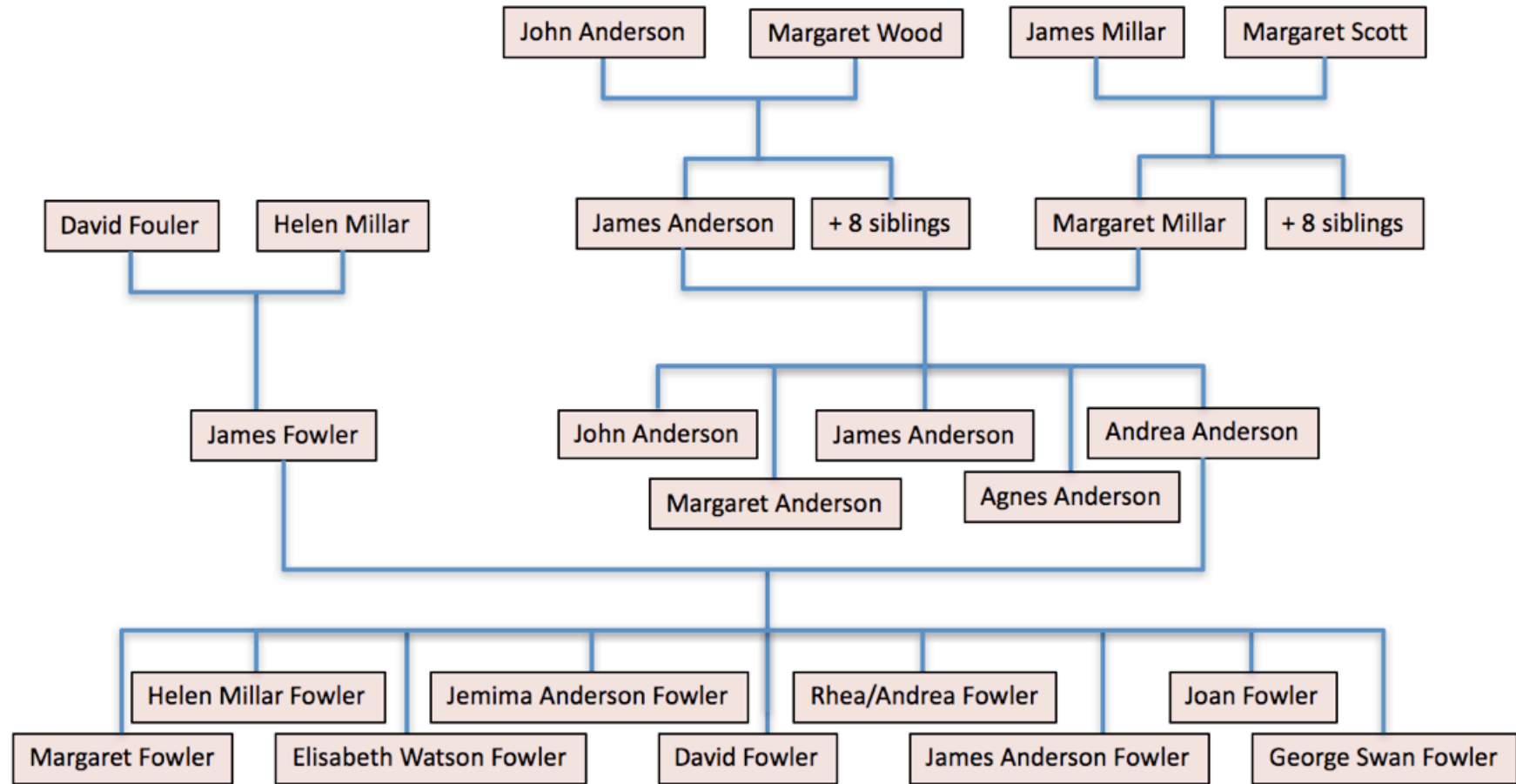


Figure 6-1: Children and ancestors of James Fowler and Andrea Anderson

6.2.2 Anderson/Millar family

The family tree for the previous case study was extended reasonably far on the maternal side, with great-grandparents being established. The names given to Andrea Anderson and her siblings can thus also be analysed.

As stated in 6.2.1, Andrea was the fifth child of James Anderson and Margaret Millar (Table 6-2). James's parents were John Anderson and Margaret Wood, and his siblings were given in Table 6-3. Margaret's parents were James Millar and Margaret Scott, and her siblings were given in Table 6-4. The potential namesakes of Andrea and her siblings are thus given in Table 6-6.

Table 6-6: Potential namesakes of the children of James Anderson and Margaret Millar

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|----------|--|
| John | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paternal grandfather, John Anderson • paternal uncle, John Anderson • maternal uncle, John Millar |
| Margaret | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandmother, Margaret Scott • paternal grandmother, Margaret Wood • mother, Margaret Millar • paternal aunt, Margaret Anderson |
| James | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • father • maternal grandfather, James Millar • maternal uncle, James Millar |
| Agnes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal aunt, Agnes Millar |
| Andrea | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paternal uncle (known namesake) |

All names here can be potentially attributed to a relative. Both parents' names are represented (*James* and *Margaret*). The family may also be following the traditional naming pattern though in a condensed form: the maternal grandmother, paternal grandmother, and mother are all named *Margaret*, so these three stages are completed with a single child; the maternal grandfather and father similarly share a name.

One child is potentially named for an aunt, *Agnes*, and the fifth child is known to be named for the uncle: *Andrea* for *Andrew*. As discussed in 4.3.1.1, Andrea's baptismal record stated she had been named for her uncle Andrew, who had been recently lost at sea (483/00 0020 0047).

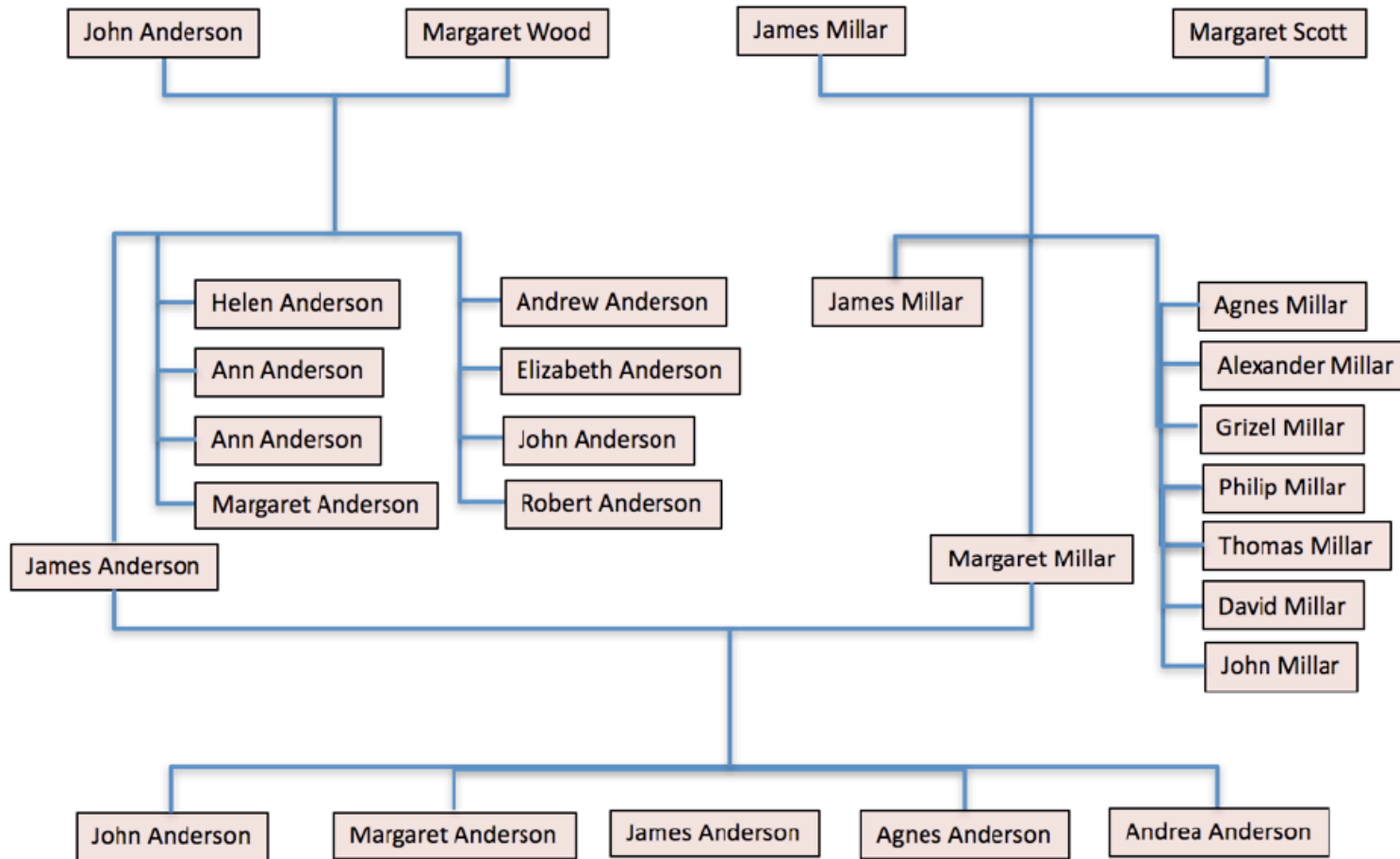


Figure 6-2: Children and ancestors of James Anderson and Margaret Millar

6.2.3 Barr/Napier family

Helen Napier married Matthew Barr on 22nd August 1777 (Govan: 644/010 0260 0204), and had five children (Table 6-7).

Table 6-7: Children of Matthew Barr and Helen Napier

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------|-----------------|----------------|
| Marion | 16/10/1779 | - |
| Helen | 26/05/1781 | - |
| John | 25/10/1782 | - |
| Margaret | 17/05/1786 | - |
| Mathew | 07/08/1790 | - |

Matthew's parents could not be determined, but Helen was born to John Napier and Marion Lees, who married on 3rd December 1758 (644/01 0250 0228); their children are given in Table 6-8.

Table 6-8: Children of John Napier and Marion Lees

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Helen | 03/09/1759 | - |
| Cicilia ⁵⁷ | 15/01/1761 | - |

John Napier's parents could not be established, but Marion Lees was the child of Andrew Lees and Helen Stewart, who married on 30th January 1728 (646/00 0010 0342). Andrew and Helen's children are given in Table 6-9.

Table 6-9: Children of Andrew Lees and Helen Stewart

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Robert | 05/09/1729 | - |
| Cicily | 13/06/1732 | - |
| <i>unnamed child</i> | 24/02/1734 | - |
| Marion | 13/12/1737 | - |

⁵⁷ *Cicilia* is probably a variant (or a clerical error) of *Cicily*, meaning this aunt shares a name with her own maternal aunt.

Although the paternal relatives of the original set of children could not be established, the maternal relatives were extended as far as the great-grandparents on one branch. The potential namesakes of the original set of children are therefore given in Table 6-10.

Table 6-10: Potential namesakes of the children of Mathew Barr and Helen Napier

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|--------------|---|
| Marion | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandmother, Marion Lees |
| Helen | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mother • maternal great-grandmother, Helen Stewart |
| John | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandfather |
| Margaret | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unknown |
| Mathew | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • father |

Both parents (*Mathew* and *Helen*) are represented in their names of their children. As the paternal relatives could not be determined, it cannot be known whether the family were following the traditional naming pattern. However, the orders of the maternal grandmother and mother's names and of the maternal grandfather and father's names match the orders specified in the pattern; therefore, it equally cannot be known that the family were not following the pattern.

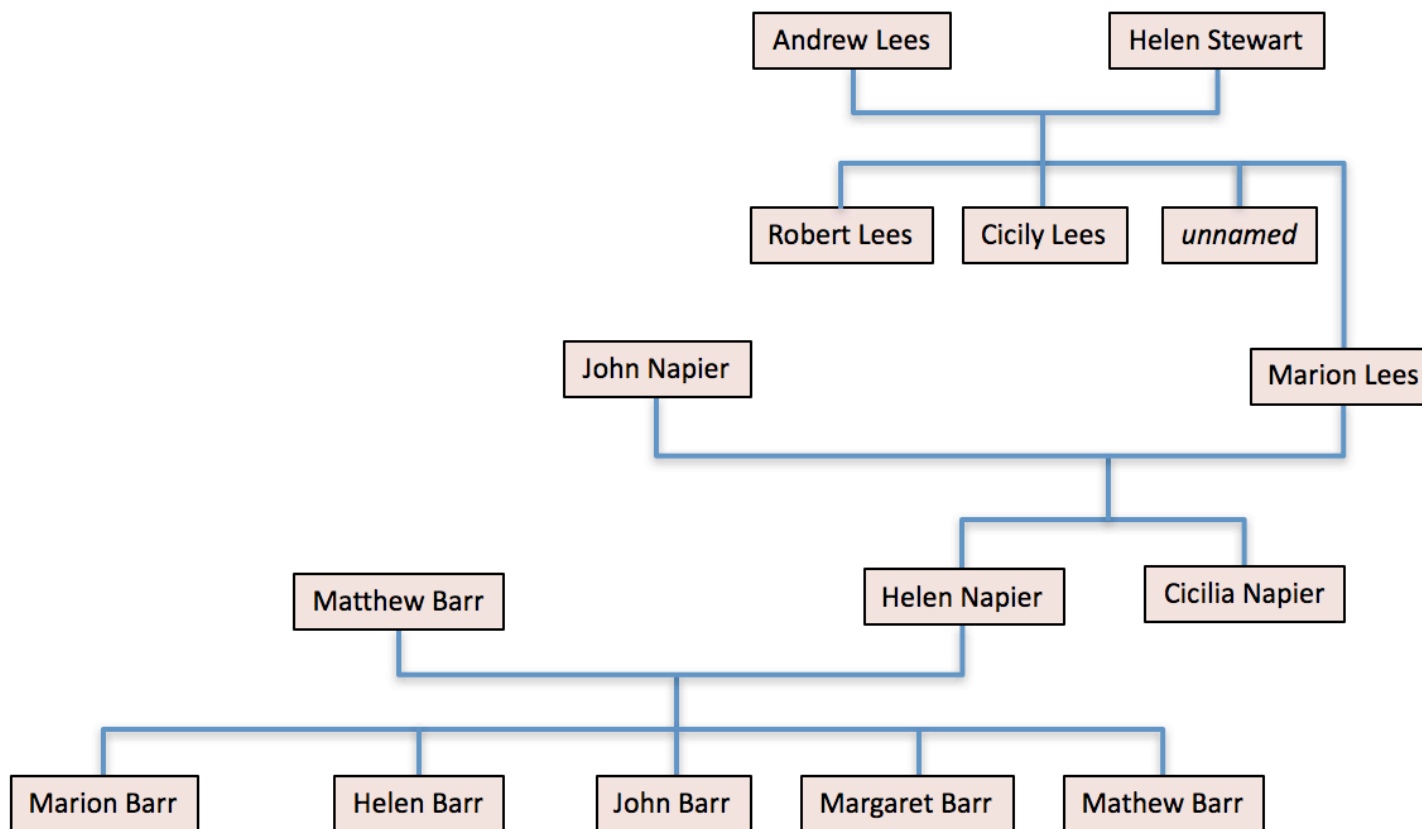


Figure 6-3: Children and ancestors of Matthew Barr and Helen Napier

6.2.4 Papillon/Jamison family

Charles Papillon married Elisabeth Jamison on 19th September 1803 (Govan: 644/01 0270 0358) and had three children, detailed in Table 6-11.

Table 6-11: Children of Charles Papillon and Elisabeth Jamison

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Peter James | 14/12/1804 | - |
| Alexis Snodgrass | 10/12/1806 | - |
| William Charles Hendry | 12/08/1808 | - |

Despite his unusual surname, the baptism and parentage of Charles Papillon could not be ascertained; however, it is likely that Peter Papillon, who witnessed both Peter James and Alexis Snodgrass's baptisms, is somehow related, and possibly the father or brother of Charles.

Elisabeth Jamison's family could however be found; she was the daughter of James Jamison and Alexis Snodgrass (married 20th June 1772: 644/01 0260 0119).⁵⁸ James and Alexis's children are given in Table 6-12.

Table 6-12: Children of James Jamison and Alexis Snodgrass

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------|
| Ann | 09/11/1773 | - |
| Elisabeth | 01/12/1774 | - |
| Alexis | 13/03/1778 | - |

The baptisms of James Jamison and of Alexis Snodgrass could not be traced, but Alexis's father was named in the couple's marriage record as John Snodgrass.

With this in mind, we can now revisit the children of Charles Papillon and Elisabeth Jamison and suggest potential namesakes (Table 6-13).

⁵⁸ The mother's name is given as *Alexandrina* in the marriage record, but *Alexis* in the baptismal records for her children. It seems plausible that *Alexandrina* was her official name, with the shortened form also being used. A similar shortening was found with *Alexandrina* and *Alexie*, discussed in 4.2.5.

Table 6-13: Potential namesakes of the children of Charles Papillon and Elisabeth Jamison

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|------------------------|--|
| Peter James | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Peter</i>: paternal relative (possibly grandfather or uncle) • <i>James</i>: maternal grandfather, James Jamison |
| Alexis Snodgrass | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandmother, Alexis Snodgrass |
| William Charles Hendry | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>William</i>: unknown • <i>Charles</i>: father • <i>Hendry</i>: unknown |

None of these children shares a first name with a parent, though the middle name *Charles* may be for the father. This is not particularly surprising as this is a fairly small family, and the parents' names may have been intended for any subsequent children. If the family were following the naming pattern, they have significantly amended it, with (potentially) the paternal grandfather's name as the first name of the eldest son, the maternal grandfather's name as the middle name of the eldest son, and the father's name as the middle name of the second son.

The names of Alexis Snodgrass match the pattern seen thus far in these case studies: a surname as a middle name, and both first name and middle name potentially after the same person. Her brothers are therefore interesting as *James* and *Charles* are not surnames, and, in Peter James's case (and possibly also William Charles Hendry's), the first and middle names are potentially given after different individuals.

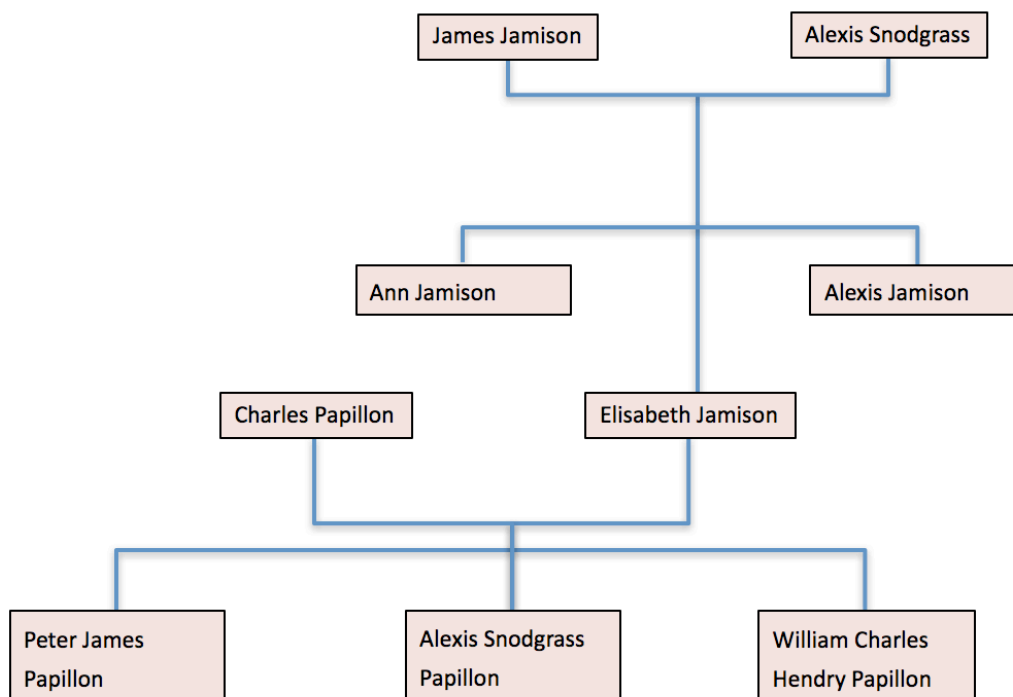


Figure 6-4: Children and ancestors of Charles Papillon and Elisabeth Jamison

6.2.5 Gardiner/Sutherland family

Alexander Gardiner and Ann Sutherland married in Kilrenny on 7th July 1822 (438/00 0030 0147) and had nine children (Table 6-14).

Table 6-14: Children of Alexander Gardiner and Ann Sutherland

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Ann | 23/02/1823 | - |
| Alexander | 27/09/1824 | - |
| John Sutherland | 17/10/1826 | - |
| James | 08/03/1829 | - |
| Martin | 07/07/1831 | 23/10/1833 |
| Martin | 12/04/1834 | - |
| Robert Tarvit Sutherland | 19/09/1836 | - |
| William | 21/04/1839 | 30/06/1840 |
| William | 03/07/1841 | - |

The parents of Alexander Gardiner could not be determined. There were multiple baptisms of children named Ann Sutherland and in the right period, so it was also not possible to

identify definitively the mother's parents. However, it is tempting to settle for a baptism on 6th January 1799 (438/00 0020 0050), in which the parents were named as John Sutherland and Anna Tarvett. This would mean the third child of Alexander Gardiner and Ann Sutherland, John Sutherland, carried the full name of his maternal grandfather, and would also identify the source of *Tarvit* in the name of Robert Tarvit Sutherland.

There are two instances of substitution in this family: Martin, born 1834, was the younger brother of Martin who died in 1833; William, born 1841, was the younger brother of William who died in 1840. These substitutions are particularly interesting as the children are relatively late in the birth order. If the family were following the traditional naming pattern,⁵⁹ it would be understandable for names early in the birth order to be replicated: if a child named for the paternal grandfather had died, we might expect the next to also be given that name. *Martin* and *William* however represent the fourth and sixth male names used by this couple. This suggests either that the couple were naming in honour of certain individuals and specifically wanted to preserve those names, and/or that substitution was a widely followed practice and that reusing those names was the natural step to take.

⁵⁹ They potentially did follow this pattern, as both parents' names appear within the first three names of the relevant sex. However, if the mother's parents were indeed John Sutherland and Anna Tarvett, the pattern could not have been followed due to names appearing in the wrong order.

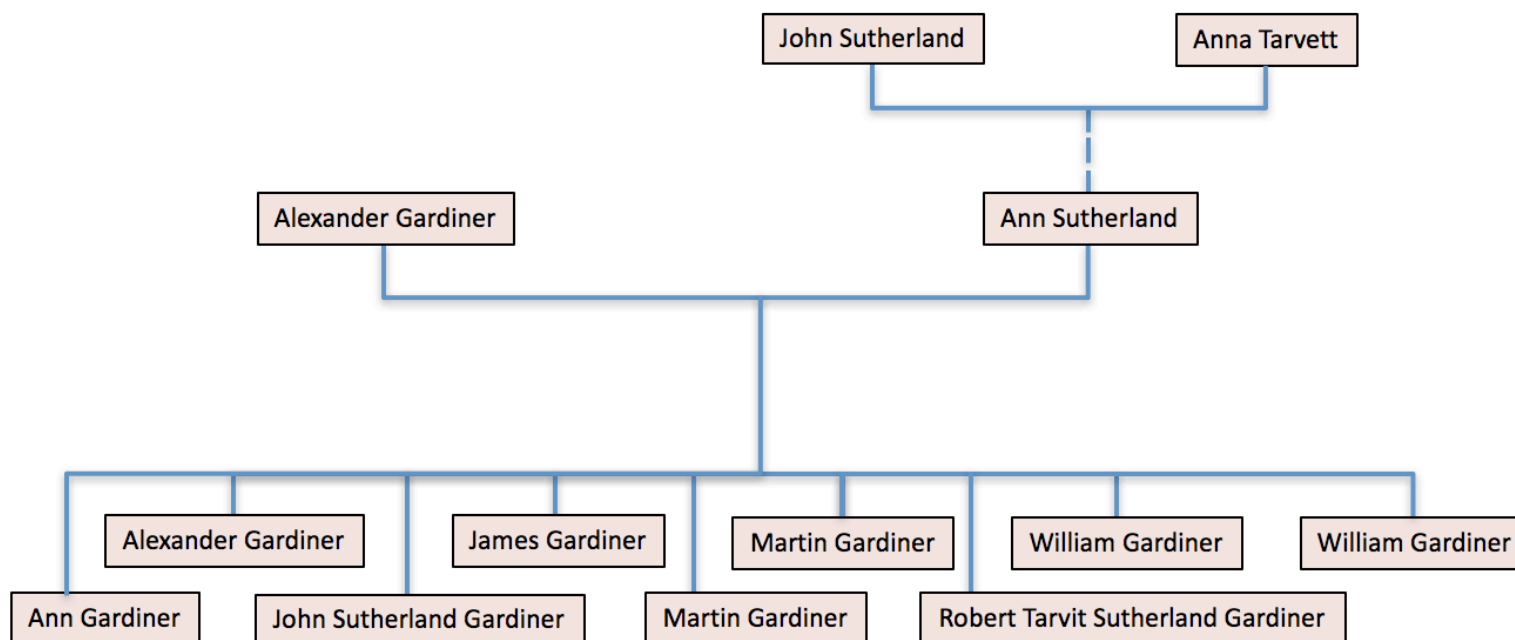


Figure 6-5: Children and potential ancestors of Alexander Gardiner and Ann Sutherland

6.2.6 Barrowman/Walls family

John Barrowman and Margaret Walls married in Galston (Ayrshire) on 12th May 1833 (593/00 0050 0156), and had three children (Table 6-15).

Table 6-15: Children of John Barrowman and Margaret Walls

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Henrietta | 30/04/1834 | 15/11/1835 |
| Janet Henrietta | 21/07/1836 | - |
| Margaret | 25/07/1844 | - |

Neither John Barrowman's nor Margaret Walls's parents could be traced, so no comment can be made upon naming for relatives other than noting that the third daughter bears her mother's name. This of course allows for the possibility that the family may have followed the traditional naming pattern. More interestingly, one of the children has a middle name; this middle name replicates the first name of a deceased elder sibling and thus can be considered a form of substitution. If the family were following the traditional naming pattern, this substitution ensures the continuation of the maternal grandmother's name while not delaying usage of the paternal grandmother's name. However, this comment is purely speculative due to the grandmothers' names being unknown.

This form of substitution has not been mentioned elsewhere, either in this study or, to my knowledge, in the work of other researchers; an examination of this practice would be a valuable extension to the knowledge we already have regarding substitution.

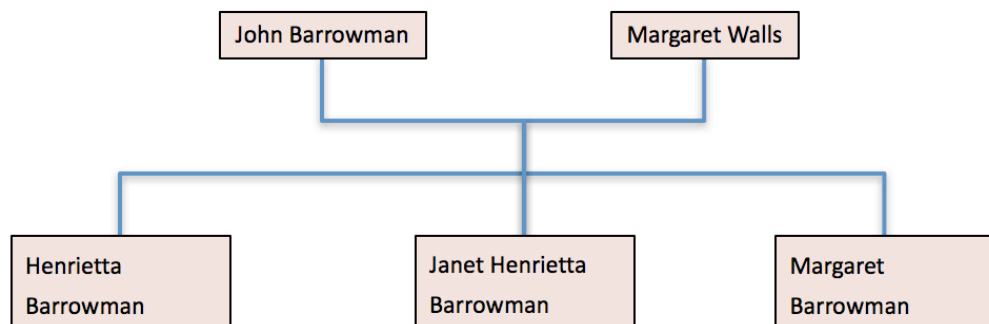


Figure 6-6: Children of John Barrowman and Margaret Walls

6.2.7 Way/Dickson family

William Way and Katharine Dickson married in the parish of St. Andrews and St. Leonards on 8th July 1826 (453/00 0200 0040). They had one child, born in Auchtermuchty (Table 6-16).

Table 6-16: Children of William Way and Katharine Dickson

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| John Dickson Gourley | 06/06/1830 | - |

The parents of Katharine Dickson were untraceable, but William Way was the only child of William Way and Margaret Gourlay (married 15th November 1804: 453/00 0160 0110; William baptised 23rd September 1805: 453/00 0040 0019). Regarding John Dickson Gourley therefore, we can see that, although *John* cannot be linked to any known relative, both *Dickson* and *Gourley* were family names, *Dickson* from the maternal side and *Gourley* from the paternal side.

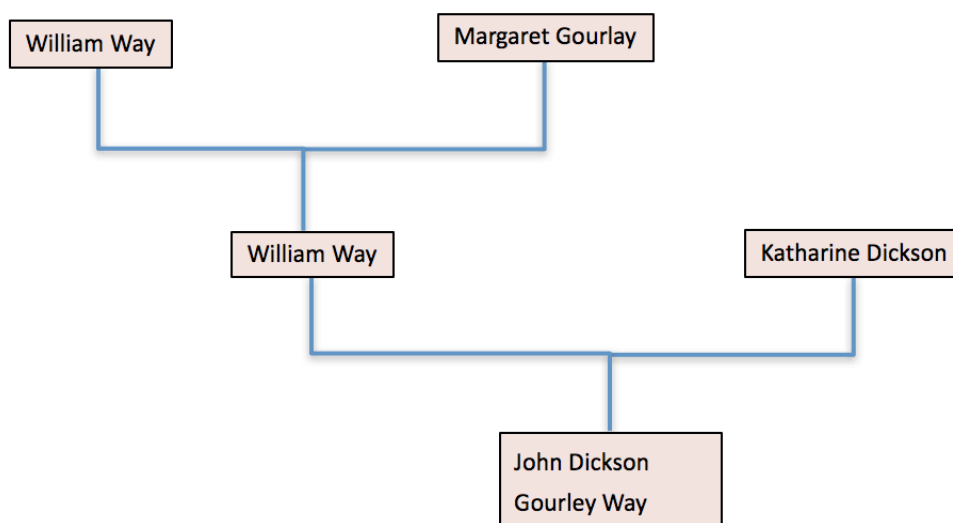


Figure 6-7: Child and ancestors of William Way and Katharine Dickson

6.2.8 Alston/Findlay family

John Thomas Alston married Annabella Findlay in Govan on 28th March 1810 (644/010 0280 0211), and had three children (Table 6-17).

Table 6-17: Children of John Thomas Alston and Annabella Findlay

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| John | 12/04/1811 | - |
| Robert Findlay | 19/08/1812 | - |
| George Augustus | 18/08/1822 | - |

John Thomas Alston was the son of John Alston and Patrick Craigie (married 07/06/1772; 685/010 0500 0070). His parents' baptisms could not be traced, but in the marital record Patrick Craigie's father was stated to be named Patrick Craigie.⁶⁰ The children of John Alston and Patrick Craigie are given in Table 6-18.

Table 6-18: Children of John Alston and Patrick Craigie

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| George | 09/05/1775 | - |
| Isabella | 20/01/1777 | - |
| Robert Douglas | 07/10/1778 | - |
| John Thomas | 24/06/1780 | - |

Returning to the mother of the original set of children, Annabella Findlay was baptised on 19th May 1787 (644/010 0180 0062). Her parents, Robert Findlay and Dorothy Dunlop, married on 17th July 1781 (644/010 0260 0270); their children are given in Table 6-19.

Table 6-19: Children of Robert Findlay and Dorothy Dunlop

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Janet | 15/11/1782 | - |
| Robert | 19/06/1784 | - |
| Annabella | 19/05/1787 | - |

Robert Findlay's parents are unknown, but Dorothy was the sixth child of Robert Dunlop and Janet Buchanan (married 13th December 1747; 644/010 0250 0099), whose children are given in Table 6-20.

⁶⁰ Patrick thus falls into the category of children who share a name with a parent of the opposite sex, discussed in 0.

Table 6-20: Children of Robert Dunlop and Janet Buchanan

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|---------|-----------------|----------------|
| James | 20/09/1748 | - |
| Janet | 02/02/1750 | - |
| Lilias | 15/06/1753 | - |
| Robert | 12/03/1756 | - |
| Janet | 24/01/1758 | - |
| Dorothy | 02/10/1759 | - |

The potential namesakes for the children of John Thomas Alston and Annabella Findlay are given in Table 6-21.

Table 6-21: Potential namesakes of the children of John Thomas Alston and Annabella Findlay

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|-----------------|---|
| John | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • father • paternal grandfather, John Alston |
| Robert Findlay | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandfather, Robert Findlay (both first and surname) • maternal uncle, Robert Findlay (both first and surname) • maternal great-uncle, Robert Findlay (both first and surname) |
| George Augustus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>George</i>: paternal uncle, George Alston • <i>Augustus</i>: unknown |

The elder two children share names with relatives, and in such a way that the family may potentially be following the traditional naming pattern. The first name of the third child may also be for a relative, an uncle. However, the middle name, *Augustus*, cannot be found within the family. Considering both paternal and maternal lines were traced to the grandparents and, in some branches, to the great-grandparents, it is strange that, if *Augustus* were a family name, it was not found within this part of the family tree. The name was also not the name of the minister in session (nor, indeed, any known minister for the parish), and was not found among the names of known adult males in the area.

The birthdate of George Augustus (18th August 1822) may provide a clue as to the potential influence upon his name. The Hanoverian king George IV – George Augustus Frederick – spent the fortnight of 15th–29th August 1822 in Edinburgh, a visit which was the first royal trip to Scotland since 1650 (Magnusson 2001: 648). Therefore, the naming

of the third child, baptised during this historic visit, may be in commemoration of this event. In addition, being the name of a Hanoverian king, this name carries political connotations. As discussed in 2.3.5.2, Glasgow was strongly anti-Jacobite; this Govan baptism may therefore provide evidence of ongoing support for Hanoverian rule in this area.

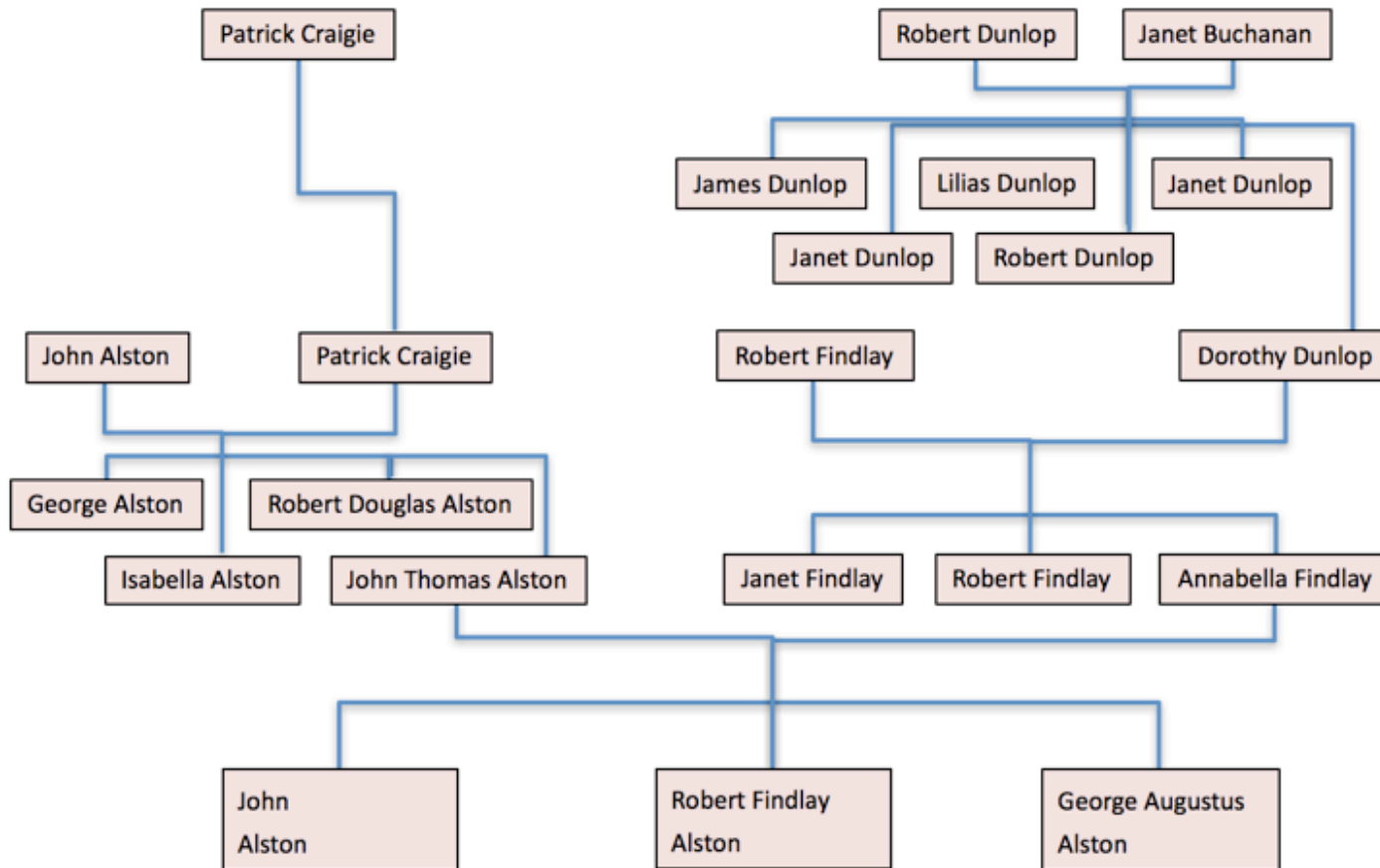


Figure 6-8: Children and ancestors of John Thomas Alston and Annabella Findlay

6.2.9 Alston/Brown family

George Alston, brother of John Thomas Alston in the previous study, married Rachel Brown on 10th June 1810 (644/01 0280 0127). They had eight children (Table 6-22).

Table 6-22: Children of George Alston and Rachel Brown

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Isabella | 26/01/1812 | - |
| Anne Craigie | 27/11/1813 | - |
| John Patrick | 18/03/1816 | - |
| James Brown | 07/10/1817 | - |
| George | 10/09/1819 | - |
| James Brown | 08/05/1821 | - |
| Robert Douglas | 26/01/1823 | - |
| Rachel | 20/04/1826 | - |

George Alston's parentage and siblings were detailed as part of the previous study (Table 6-18). Rachel Brown was born into an especially large family, being one of thirteen children of James Brown and Isobel Alston (married 29th May 1761 as James Broun and Isobell Alston (649/00 0030 0125)). She and her siblings are given in Table 6-23.

Table 6-23: Children of James Broun and Isobell Alston

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| John | 13/07/1762 | - |
| Isabel | 30/09/1763 | - |
| Jean | 14/04/1765 | - |
| Grisel | 21/12/1766 | - |
| Agnes | 21/10/1768 | - |
| Euphemia | 05/08/1770 | - |
| Mally | 02/06/1772 | - |
| George | 09/08/1773 | - |
| Thomas | 16/06/1775 | - |
| James | 24/07/1777 | - |
| Janet | 14/06/1779 | - |
| Patrick Alston | 14/09/1781 | - |
| Rachel | 04/06/1783 | - |

The parents of James Brown could not be established. Isobel Alston was the daughter of George Alston and Isobel Gibson, who married in Lesmahagow on 11th November 1738 (649/00 0030 0101). Their children are detailed below.

Table 6-24: Children of George Alston and Isobel Gibson

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Isobel | 28/07/1740 (twin) | - |
| Jean | 28/07/1740 (twin) | - |
| Euphan | 09/07/1742 | 02/10/1742 |
| John | 15/11/1743 | - |
| George | 18/03/1746 | - |
| Euphan | 17/05/1748 | - |
| James | 17/08/1750 | - |
| Janet | 04/02/1753 | - |
| Mary | 08/12/1755 | - |
| Mary | 02/04/1758 | - |

In the marriage record of this couple, the father of Isobel Gibson was stated to be John Gibson, but further details of her relatives are unknown. George Alston was the son of John Alston and Isobell Hamilton, who married on 28th November 1710 (621/00 0010 0206). Their children are given in Table 6-25.

Table 6-25: Children of John Alston and Isobell Hamilton

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Issabell | 02/07/1712 | - |
| John | 22/03/1714 | - |
| George | 02/01/1716 | - |
| James | 18/03/1720 | - |

The potential namesakes for the children of George Alston and Rachel Brown are given in Table 6-26.

Table 6-26: Children of George Alston and Rachel Brown

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|----------------|--|
| Isabella | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> paternal aunt, Isabella Alston as variant of <i>Isobel</i>: maternal grandmother, Isobel Alston; maternal great-grandmother, Isobell Gibson; maternal great-great grandmother, Isobell Hamilton; maternal aunt, Isabel Brown |
| Anne Craigie | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Anne</i>: unknown <i>Craigie</i>: paternal relative |
| John Patrick | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>John</i>: paternal grandfather, John Alston; maternal uncle, John Brown; maternal great-great grandfathers, John Gibson and John Alston <i>Patrick</i>: paternal grandmother, Patrick Craigie; paternal great-grandfather, Patrick Craigie; maternal uncle, Patrick Alston Brown |
| James Brown | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> maternal grandfather, James Brown maternal uncle, James Brown |
| George | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> father maternal great-grandfather, George Alston maternal uncle, George Brown |
| James Brown | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> maternal grandfather, James Brown maternal uncle, James Brown substitution of brother |
| Robert Douglas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> paternal uncle, Robert Douglas Alston |
| Rachel | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> mother |

Excepting the first name of Anne Craigie Alston, all children's names potentially represent relatives. Considering the middle name of Anne, it is possible that her unknown paternal grandmother is named *Anne* and, thus, she also shares a name with a relative. Both parents' names (*George* and *Rachel*) are used, and names of grandparents and great-grandparents are also potentially represented.

Given no burial for the first James Brown could be found, it is possible that there were two living sons with this name, as discussed in 5.3. If this were the case, one may have been named after the maternal grandfather, and the other after the maternal uncle. However, as burial records were poorly updated, it is also possible that the earlier son had died and the younger son was then given his name.

It is possible that the family are following the naming pattern, with modifications.

Assuming Isabella is used as a variant of Isobel (either by the family or by the clerk), the eldest daughter shares her maternal grandmother's name. The second daughter has *Craigie*, the paternal grandmother's name, as a middle name; it is possible that *Patrick* was not used as it was traditionally a male name. If these modifications are granted the pattern is followed, with the remaining child, Robert Douglas, sharing his uncle's name. However, given that several names are held by multiple members of the family, it must be stated that, although name-sharing does occur in the order of the traditional naming pattern, this may be coincidental.

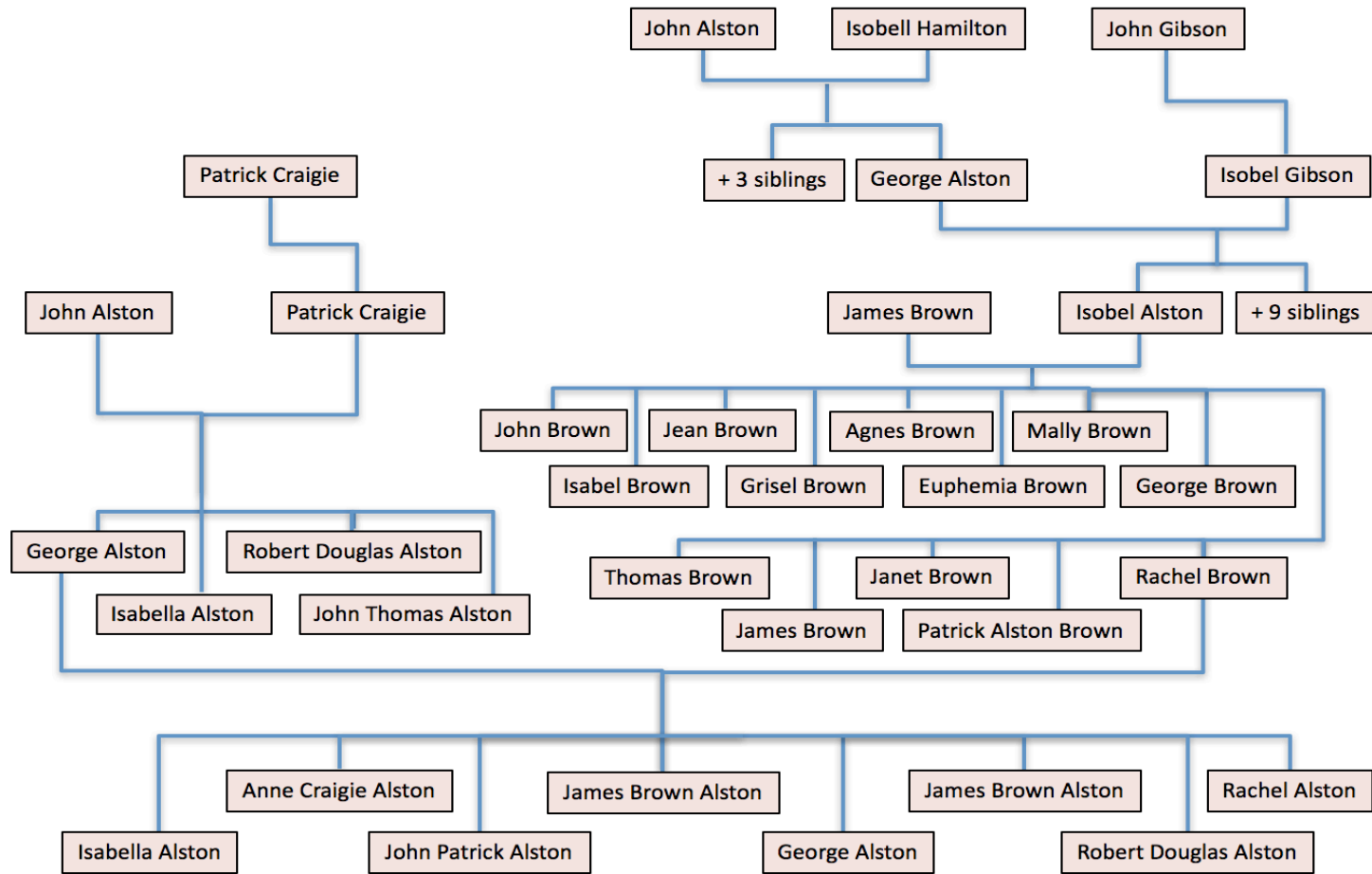


Figure 6-9: Children and ancestors of George Alston and Rachel Brown

6.2.10 Anderson/Fowler family

Philip Anderson and Elspith Fowler married in Kilrenny on 6th November 1784 (438/00 0020 0006) and had nine children (Table 6-27).

Table 6-27: Children of Philip Anderson and Elspith Fowler

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------|-------------------|----------------|
| Robert | 26/02/1786 | - |
| Margaret | 01/12/1787 | - |
| Elspith | 15/11/1789 | - |
| Philip | 08/11/1792 (twin) | 17/11/1792 |
| Janet | 08/11/1792 (twin) | 12/11/1792 |
| Janet | 15/12/1793 | - |
| Sophia | 07/06/1795 | - |
| Philip | 19/10/1797 | 24/03/1798 |
| Philip | 03/02/1799 | 15/04/1802 |

The parents of Philip Anderson and Elspith Fowler could not be determined so, although it can be seen that both parents' names were used, the analysis of potential namesakes is rather restricted. However, this family is relevant for viewing the practice of substitution: four children died in infancy, and the names of all were replicated with the next available sibling (excepting the final Philip, who was the last child). It may be hypothesised here that the parents were particularly keen on perpetuating the name *Philip* and consequently that they intended to have a son named for the father (rather than it being a coincidental name-sharing). The significance of *Janet* is less clear as it is not known whether she had been named for a relative; however, it again serves to highlight the prevalence of substitution in this period.

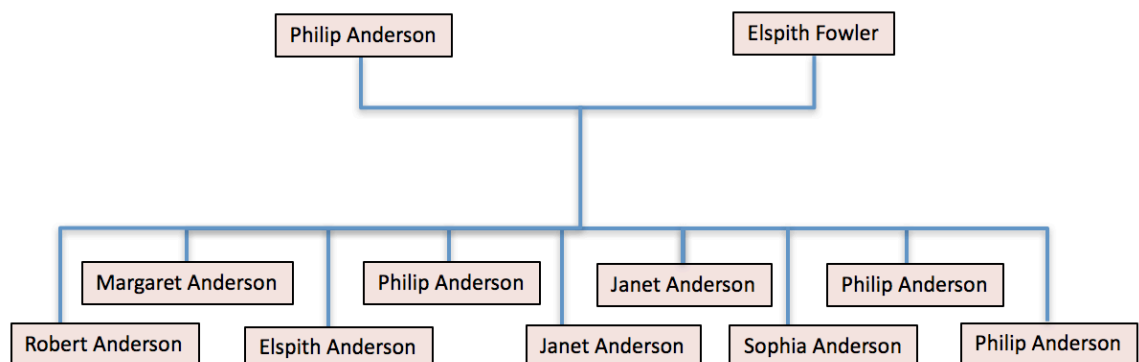


Figure 6-10: Children of Philip Anderson and Elspith Fowler

6.2.11 Cairns/Bell family

David Cairns and Marjory Bell married in Kilrenny on 27th December 1794 (438/00 0020 0109) and had eight children (Table 6-28).

Table 6-28: Children of David Cairns and Marjory Bell

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Marjory | 31/07/1796 | - |
| Helen | 13/10/1799 | 25/11/1801 |
| Mary | 27/04/1801 | 12/01/1802 |
| Peter | 28/11/1802 | - |
| Helen | 21/09/1806 | - |
| Margaret | 28/05/1809 | - |
| Isobel Gossman | 12/05/1811 | - |
| Elspith | 08/04/1813 | - |

David's parents could not be determined. Marjory was born on 15th September 1771, to Alexander Bell and Marjory Bell (438/00 0010 0315).

Two of these children died in infancy. Unlike the previous family, where the names of all deceased children were repeated, only one name in this family was used again, despite multiple opportunities to also repeat the other. This may indicate that *Helen*, the repeated name, was considered especially important to use. Reasons for this are unknown. One scenario may be that the family were following the traditional naming pattern; the eldest daughter shares a name with both the maternal grandmother and the mother. It has not been possible to trace the paternal grandparents for this family; however, if the paternal grandmother were named *Helen*, *Helen* may have been used again due to a desire to follow the naming pattern. *Mary*, conversely, would not need to be used again; the naming pattern would have been fulfilled with *Marjory* and *Helen*, so name-choice would be less restricted.

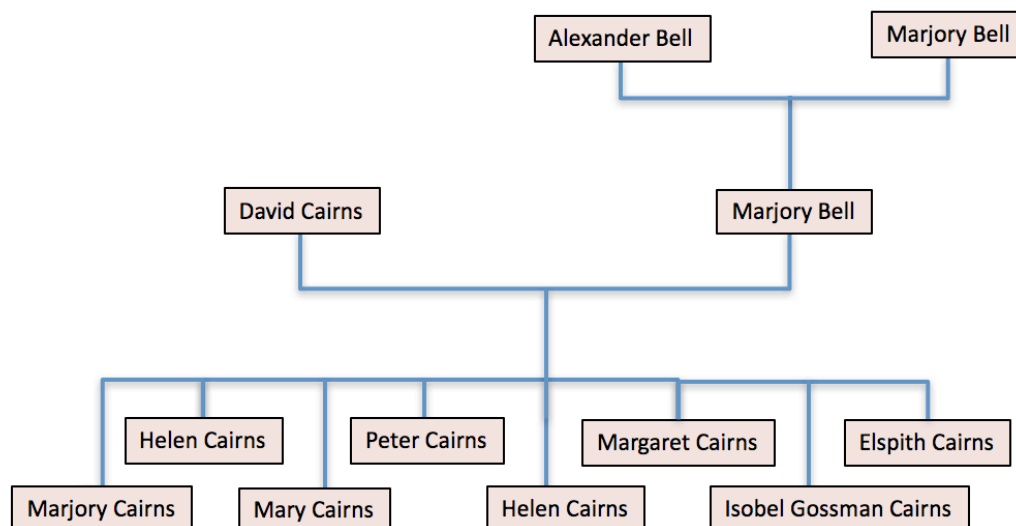


Figure 6-11: Children and ancestors of David Cairns and Marjory Bell

6.2.12 Pollock/Grey/Dickson family

John Pollock, minister in Govan, married Agnes Grey, daughter of William Grey, on 21st July 1795 and they had two children before Agnes's death on 17th April 1799 (*FES* 3, 413). John subsequently married Margaret Dickson, daughter of Nicholas Dickson, and had five children (*FES* 3, 413). John's children are given in Table 6-29.

Table 6-29: Children of John Pollock and Agnes Grey, and John Pollock and Margaret Dickson

| Child | Date of baptism | Date of burial |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| John | 03/05/1796 | - |
| William | 29/08/1797 | - |
| Gray | 18/06/1802 | - |
| Thomas Dickson | 23/02/1804 | - |
| Matthew Baillie | 26/11/1805 | - |
| Margaret Aitchison | 03/07/1807 | - |
| Alexander Stevenson | 05/06/1811 | 28/04/1812 |

The parents of neither mother nor of John Pollock could be determined, beyond the mothers' fathers stated in the source. The potential namesakes of the children are given in Table 6-30.

Table 6-30: Potential namesakes of the children of John Pollock

| Child | Potential namesakes |
|---------------------|---|
| John | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • father |
| William | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maternal grandfather, William Grey |
| Gray | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • father's deceased first wife, Agnes Grey • family of said Agnes Grey |
| Thomas Dickson | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Thomas</i>: unknown • <i>Dickson</i>: maternal relative |
| Matthew Baillie | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unknown |
| Margaret Aitchison | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Margaret</i>: mother • <i>Aitchison</i>: unknown |
| Alexander Stevenson | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unknown |

As the extended family could not be determined, potential name-sharing relating to many of these children is unknown; nevertheless, it can be seen that some did share names with relatives, with the maternal grandfather, father, and one of the mothers being represented. John's third child, and first with Margaret Dickson, is particularly noteworthy: he or she has been named *Gray*. This appears to be in reference to John's first wife, who had died three years previously.

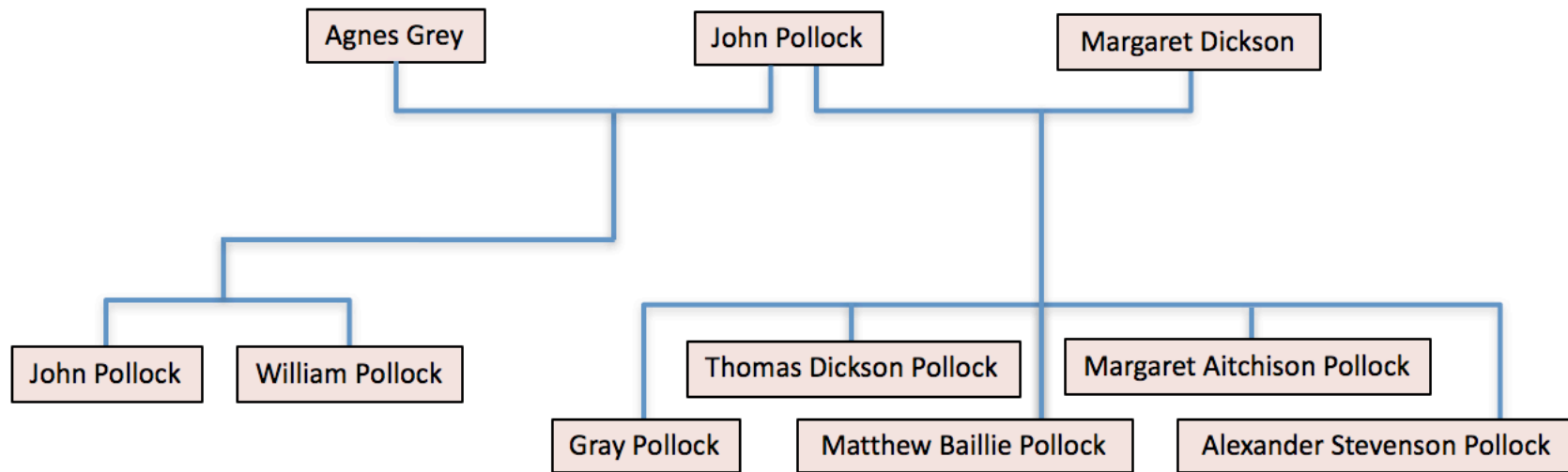


Figure 6-12: Children of John Pollock and Agnes Grey, and John Pollock and Margaret Dickson

6.3 Case studies and general naming practices

In the previous chapter, little could be said about naming practices such as naming children after grandparents or specific instances of substitution. This section seeks to redress this issue by amalgamating the case study results and briefly discussing them in relation to the practices outlined in Chapter 5. As stated in 6.1, however, these case studies are not fully representative of the overall dataset; therefore, any dissimilarities to the figures presented in Chapter 5 should not be seen as significant.

6.3.1 Patrilineal and matrilineal naming

The case study families were all analysed for the presence of father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing. These results are given in Table 6-31, alongside the birth order in which the relevant children appear.

Table 6-31: Parent-child name-sharing in case study families

| Family | Father-son name-sharing | Father-son name-sharing birth order | Mother-daughter name-sharing | Mother-daughter name-sharing birth order |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 6.2.1 | yes | 2 | yes | 5 |
| 6.2.2 | yes | 2 | yes | 1 |
| 6.2.3 | yes | 2 | yes | 2 |
| 6.2.4 | no (yes as middle name) | 2 | no | - |
| 6.2.5 | yes | 1 | yes | 1 |
| 6.2.6 | no sons | - | yes | 3 |
| 6.2.7 | no | - | no (maiden name as middle) | 3 |
| 6.2.8 | yes | 1 | no daughters | - |
| 6.2.9 | yes | 3 | yes | 3 |
| 6.2.10 | yes | 2 | yes | 2 |
| 6.2.11 | no | - | yes | 1 |
| 6.2.12 | yes | 1 | Grey: no daughters Dickson: yes | - 1 or 2 |

In total, eight of 12 fathers shared their first name with a son, three did not share their first name with a son, and one had no sons. Nine of the 13 mothers shared their first name with

a daughter, two did not share their first name with a daughter, and the remaining two had no daughters. In addition, though their first name did not match that of their parent, one son and one daughter each had a middle name which represented a parent.

Eight of 12 (66.67%) and nine of 13 (69.23%) are much higher than the figures given in 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2 for patrilineal and matrilineal naming (44.81% and 35.86% respectively). However, in Chapter 5 all families with sons or daughters were considered, whereas for the current chapter several families were chosen as case studies partly because they were larger groups. Therefore the groups in this section generally had more opportunities to name children after their parents, and higher rates of father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing would be expected. The rates here are much closer to the rates seen in Tables 5-2 (father-son name-sharing: 74.53%) and 5-3 (mother-daughter name-sharing: 65.98%), where the traditional naming pattern was being sought and thus only larger families were considered.

6.3.2 Traditional naming pattern

It was hoped that, in conducting case studies, solid evidence of the traditional naming pattern (2.3.2.1) might be found. Unfortunately, this was not the case, though several families potentially followed the pattern or partly followed it. One family, the Anderson/Millar family (6.2.2) did name children in the specified order but usage of the pattern was highly condensed, with several relatives sharing names; therefore, though they may be classed as following the pattern, they are not a good example for demonstration purposes.

A summary of each family's usage of the pattern is given in Table 6-32. Five families are excluded as the grandparents were unknown.

Table 6-32: Usage of the traditional naming pattern in case study families

| Family | Pattern usage |
|---------------|---|
| 6.2.1 | yes, all steps, except mother's name used fifth |
| 6.2.2 | yes, all steps, highly condensed |
| 6.2.3 | potentially, some relatives unknown |
| 6.2.4 | no (significantly amended if yes) |
| 6.2.8 | potentially yes, but no female children to verify |
| 6.2.9 | yes, with modifications |
| 6.2.11 | potentially, some relatives unknown |

Nearly all families here may potentially be following the naming pattern or following it to some extent. The former group provide partial support for the usage of the traditional naming pattern, but the latter group suggest that, if families in early modern Scotland were indeed following such a pattern, they did not always fully adhere to it.

Families were also examined to see if they were following one of the variants of the pattern, outlined in 2.3.2.1. As can be seen in Table 6-33, largely these variants were not followed or not enough information was known about the family. The variant given by Lawson is most promising, with two families being positive results in the table. However, as mentioned above, name-sharing in the Anderson/Millar family (6.2.2) was heavily condensed. The eldest daughter shared a name with her maternal grandmother, paternal grandmother, and her mother, and the second daughter then shared a name with an aunt. Therefore, this family may be following the variant as described by Lawson; equally, given the mother's name is represented by the eldest daughter, the family may be following the traditional naming pattern.

The Alston/Findlay family (6.2.8) similarly may be following V3 or the Lawson variant. However, name-sharing was again condensed, with the eldest son sharing both his father and paternal grandfather's name. Additionally, there were no female children in this family, so it is unknown whether the variants are followed for that sex.

Table 6-33: Usage of variants to the traditional naming pattern in case study families

| Family | V1 | V2 | V3 | Lawson |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 6.2.1 | no | no | no | no |
| 6.2.2 | no | no | unk | yes, heavily condensed |
| 6.2.3 | unk | unk | unk | unk |
| 6.2.4 | no | no | possibly, with amendments | possibly, with amendments |
| 6.2.8 | no | no | potentially yes, no females to verify | potentially yes, no females to verify |
| 6.2.9 | no | no | no | no |
| 6.2.11 | unk | unk | unk | unk |

6.3.3 Naming for other relatives

6.3.3.1 Grandparents

In Chapter 5, it was not possible to analyse instances of naming children after grandparents due to the difficulty in establishing relatives outside the immediate family for a large number of groups. Fortunately, it was possible with this small number of case studies, though grandparents were completely unknown for three of the 12 families. Table 6-34 shows the levels of grandparent-grandchild name-sharing in the remaining nine groups.

Table 6-34: Grandparent-grandchild name-sharing in case study families

| Family | Grandmother (maternal) | Grandmother (paternal) | Grandfather (maternal) | Grandfather (paternal) |
|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 6.2.1 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| 6.2.2 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| 6.2.3 | yes | - | yes | - |
| 6.2.4 | yes | no | middle name | possible |
| 6.2.5 | - | - | - | possible |
| 6.2.8 | - | - | yes | yes |
| 6.2.9 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| 6.2.11 | yes | - | - | - |
| 6.2.12 | - | - | yes | - |
| Total | 6 | 3 | 6-7 | 4-6 |

A dash in a box indicates that the grandparents' names were unknown or that there were no children of the relevant sex. It is therefore striking how many of these families contain children who share names with their grandparents: all families where there were female children and the maternal grandmother's name was known had a child who shared a name with that grandmother, for example. In fact, only one family (6.2.4) has a negative result in any column (paternal grandmother), and this results from the family having only one daughter (who shares her name with her maternal grandmother). Additionally, in three cases, the names of all four grandparents are represented.

Despite relying on evidence from a small set of case studies, these results clearly show that name-sharing between grandparents and grandchildren was considered important. In some cases, name-sharing may be coincidental due to the grandparent having the same name as a parent, for example; however, as there is only one (unavoidable) negative result in the

table, this is a clear indicator that a large proportion of Scottish families would have had children sharing names with grandparents.

6.3.3.2 Aunts and uncles

As with grandparents, it was not possible to examine potential instances of name-sharing between children and aunts or uncles in Chapter 5. In the case studies, five families contained instances of such name-sharing; these are detailed in Table 6-35.

Table 6-35: Aunt/uncle-niece/nephew name-sharing in case study families

| Family | Name-sharing with aunt | Name-sharing with uncle |
|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 6.2.1 | 1 | - |
| 6.2.2 | 2 | 4 |
| 6.2.4 | - | 1 |
| 6.2.8 | - | 2 |
| 6.2.9 | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 5 | 12 |

Many of these instances of name-sharing are likely to be coincidental; for example, one of the uncles who shares a name with a nephew is George Brown (6.2.9 Alston/Brown family). *George* is the name of the child's father and great-grandfather as well as uncle, and, considering the generally high rate of father-son name-sharing, it seems more likely that he is named for his father. Nevertheless, as it is indeed an example of uncle-nephew name-sharing, it is represented in the table above.

However, some instances of name-sharing are either known or seem very likely to be deliberate. Andrea Anderson is without question named for her uncle Andrew, as discussed in 6.2.2. Cases where the child has been given the full name of the aunt or uncle as their first and middle name, especially where that relative is the only known person with that name, also seem clear-cut. Such cases include Robert Douglas Alston, nephew to Robert Douglas Alston (6.2.9). It is also likely that Agnes Anderson (6.2.2) has been named for her aunt Agnes Millar: no other *Agnes* can be seen in the family tree; additionally, her siblings all share names with relatives so it seems likely that she would too.

Overall, name-sharing with aunts and uncles, and definitive naming for aunts and uncles, does occur in these records. However, fewer families exhibit such name-sharing, and it seems to appear later in the birth order: Robert Douglas Alston was the fourth uniquely named son, for example. These case studies suggest that naming for aunts and uncles

therefore was less important than naming for parents or for grandparents, though it did occur on occasion. However, it must be conceded that a very small number of records are relevant here, so any inferences should be treated with caution.

6.3.4 Middle names

The 12 families had 64 children between them; 23 of those children had a middle name (35.94%), and nine of 12 families had at least one child with a middle name. Although a substantially higher rate than discussed in 4.3.3.1.1 (2.64%), this is again due to the selection process: many families were chosen for case studies based on their children having middle names as it was thought important to explore the source of those names.

The number of children with middle names and the sources of those middle names are given in Table 6-36. Where the total number of names attributable to family and of unknown source is higher than the number of children with middle names in the family, this is due to a child having two middle names.

Table 6-36: Children with middle names in case study families

| Family | No. of children with a single middle name | No. of children with two middle names | No. of names attributable to family | No. of names of unknown source |
|--------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 6.2.1 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| 6.2.4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 6.2.5 | 1 | 1 | 3 ⁶¹ | 0 |
| 6.2.6 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 6.2.7 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 6.2.8 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 6.2.9 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 6.2.11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 6.2.12 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 20 | 3 | 18 | 8 |

These results suggest that a substantial proportion of middle names is from familial sources, with 69.23% of these names being attributable to relatives. Those 18 familial sources include seven instances of the mother's maiden name, two instances of the paternal grandmother's maiden name, and two instances of the maternal grandmother's maiden name. An uncle, a father, and a deceased sister are also represented, as well as a family surname which cannot be attributed to any one person. These cases suggest that, in addition to the 20.53% of middle names representing one or both parents (5.8.2.1.2), a substantial proportion of middle names is likely to be attributable to family names such as grandmothers' maiden names, names of uncles, and potentially sibling substitutions.

6.3.5 Substitution

In 5.3, potential levels of substitution were discussed but it was not possible to determine precise rates of usage due to the poor availability of burial records. Five of the families here are relevant for the examination of substitution, as children in these groups were

⁶¹ This total assumes that Ann Sutherland's mother is indeed Anna Tarvett (6.2.5) This assumption is based on the frequency of *Tarvit* in the parish. The surname appears 65 times, representing 1.35% of individuals in the parish. The low percentage means there is a similarly low chance of wrongly linking Ann Sutherland with Anna Tarvett. However, the possibility that this assumption is incorrect must be borne in mind when viewing these figures.

known to have died and/or their name was used with a subsequent child. Table 6-37 shows those families, whether the name of a deceased child was used again, whether there was a case of potential substitution (where a burial was not found for a child but the name was used again), and the number of such children in each family.

Table 6-37: Substitution in case study families

| Family | Child buried, name used again | Child buried, name not used again | No known burial, name used twice | Total affected children |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|
| 6.2.5 | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| 6.2.6 | 1 (middle) | - | - | 1 |
| 6.2.9 | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| 6.2.10 | 3 | - ⁶² | - | 3 |
| 6.2.11 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Total | 7 | 1 | 1 | 9 |

Of the nine relevant children, seven were buried and had their name used for a subsequent child. Only one, Mary of the Cairns/Bell family (6.2.11), did not see their name reused, and there was one case where a name was duplicated but a burial was not found for the elder child (James Brown Alston, of the Alston/Brown family (6.2.9)). It is unknown whether there were two living James Brown Alstons, or whether the generally poor updating of the burial records meant that the first child's burial simply went unrecorded. Overall, these results suggest that, of the 2,399 potential substitutions given in Table 5-23 (5.3), the majority are likely to be true substitutions: younger children given the name of their deceased elder sibling. These results also highlight that a name not being reused was fairly uncommon: if a child died, the family were likely to reuse that name if possible.

⁶² The youngest child of this family died in infancy, but as the family had no more children, there was no opportunity to reuse the name. Therefore, this is not counted as a positive result in this column.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

7.1 The commemorative nature of naming

The primary aim of this study was to establish the potential influences on the naming of children in early modern Scotland. It has been demonstrated that a substantial proportion of children in early modern Scotland shared names with relatives, with quantitative research focussing on parent-child name-sharing (5.2.1) and qualitative research also investigating grandparent-grandchild name-sharing and aunt/uncle-niece/nephew name-sharing (6.3.3). Name-sharing alone cannot confirm whether a name has been specifically given in honour of an individual: as shown in 4.1.1, there was limited variation in the name-stock, and subsequently a name-giver might choose a name which, coincidentally, was also the name of a relative or an important local person. In addition, name-sharing cannot confirm whether a name has been given in honour of a specific individual: limited variation also means that several relatives or persons of importance may bear the same name, often making it impossible to ascertain which person a child has been named after. This was demonstrated in Chapter 6: Table 6-26, for example, showed that a child named *George* shared his name with his father, his maternal uncle, and his maternal great-grandfather. Throughout this thesis, instances of name-sharing were highlighted, but determining whether name-sharing was deliberate and, if so, which relative was honoured was largely not possible. It was, however, possible when considering children with unusual names, such as *Onesiphorus* (named for the landowner) or *Zacharias* (named for his godfather). Conclusions can also be drawn for many children with transferred surnames. In the Saltoun registers, *Fletcher* was not a common first or surname: as a first name, it occurred four times and was ranked 46th; as a surname, it occurred eight times and was ranked joint 92nd. As a surname, it did not appear to be used by any families within the parish other than the landowning Fletcher family. It therefore seems likely that all uses of this name as a first name are specifically in honour of this family, though it cannot be known whether the name honours the family in general or a specific individual within it.⁶³

⁶³ If name-sharing were for a specific individual, the choice may have been politically motivated. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was a prominent politician and fierce opponent of the 1707 Acts of Union (Magnusson 2001: 540-41, 546-47). Alternatively, the honoured individual may have been any one of the Fletcher family who contributed greatly to the Saltoun community: for example, Andrew's brother Henry and his wife set up several industries, including a barley mill, in the early eighteenth century (Knight & Gifford 1976: [n.p.]).

Therefore, despite the difficulty in establishing the overall significance of name-sharing, selected examples show that name-sharing in those instances was intentional.

In addition, an investigation into middle names has shown that, although surnames are frequently given as middle names, these are often used in conjunction with a first name and thus the child's name would contain the full name of another person (5.8.4.1). This suggests that middle names are being used to reinforce the commemorative nature of the child's first name, and consequently verifies the motivation behind the choice of first name. It also suggests that the majority of middle names are likely to be purely commemorative. These hypotheses are supported by the fact that these names are gradually coming into use during this period, and might therefore be expected to have a specific purpose.

The commemorative nature of middle names is reinforced by the evidence of other countries: although in Catholic countries like Italy and France, middle naming was largely motivated by religion, with many such names being the name of a saint (Wilson 1998: 219), middle names in the Lormont and Minot areas of France were instead given after the godparent (Wilson 1998: 221). In the eighteenth-century United States, naming for family took precedence, with maiden names of female relatives being frequently used (Kulikoff 1986: 250).

With regards to the first and middle names being used in conjunction to commemorate an individual, similar instances have been found in the United States: of those in one family who had been named for a grandfather, approximately half shared both his first name and surname (Kulikoff 1986: 250). In his study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English naming practices, Smith-Bannister found two of 22 cases fitted into this category, both involving a child being given his maternal grandfather's first name and surname (1997: 125). He notes that, in both cases, the mother was an heiress (1997: 125), which suggests these examples of name-sharing may have been based on inheritance. It is unclear whether similar examples from this thesis are also potentially due to inheritance. However, Smith-Bannister's study ends in 1700, shortly after the period covered in this thesis begins, and the focus in his discussion of middle naming is upon the aristocracy, who were the first to use middle names (Wilson 1998: 220). It is therefore plausible that, for the families covered in this thesis, inheritance was less important than it had been for Smith-Bannister's dataset and that the action of giving both first and middle names for the maternal grandfather had simply become a recognised practice by this time. Nevertheless,

the fact that the practice's origins are potentially related to inheritance reinforces the suggestion that it was initially intended to be commemorative in purpose.

7.2 The importance of family

Largely, this study has dealt with naming for family members, though remarks have also been made on naming for godparents, ministers, and landowners. Discussion of these last three groups has tended to be qualitative in nature, so it is not possible to comment upon differing rates of name-sharing between, for example, parent and child or minister and child. However, parent-child name-sharing has been found in 44.81% and 35.86% of families with, respectively, sons or daughters, and minister-child name-sharing mostly seems to occur when a child is the first in the parish baptised by him. This would suggest familial naming is more prevalent, as was expected (2.3.2.2). Naming after landowners, similarly, has tended to involve only a small group of children; however, as noted in 5.6, this topic requires more research and thus conclusions may be revised.

A significant percentage of children share their name with a godparent: 40.39% of the 3,345 children suitable for analysis. Although not all children had godparents (this figure of 3,345 represents 5.27% of the dataset), this is a sizable proportion and reflects the situation in northern Europe, where naming for godparents frequently occurred during this period (Leibring 2016: 207). Approximately 40% to 50% of children shared a name with a godparent in the Limousin area of nineteenth-century France (Wilson 1998: 228) and, in England in the 1690s, 46.7% of male children shared a name with a godfather (Smith-Bannister 1997: 37); these proportions closely align with that found for Scotland in this thesis. The evidence of this thesis therefore suggests that the level of godparent-child name-sharing in Scotland was, understandably, similar to that found in neighbouring countries, though it differs to that found in countries such as Italy, where children generally only shared a name with godparents of high status (Wilson 1998: 228).

The discussion in 5.5 was complicated by issues surrounding the terms used to denote godparents; however, several regional differences were noted (for example, the rate of name-sharing in Holm was 68.60%, and in Dundonald it was 28.21%), which suggests areas may have had varying attitudes towards both the appointment of godparents and the practice of naming children for them.

In studies of English naming, it has been noted that godparents appear to have become less influential in the naming process throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a

study by Coster, a reduction was discovered in the number of godchildren mentioned in seventeenth-century wills (2002: 11), and Boulton has shown that, in London over the course of one hundred years, the proportion of children sharing a name with a father rose from 17.7% to 29.8%, while the proportion sharing a name with a godfather decreased from 82.3% to 57.9% (2002: 158-9). Smith-Bannister concluded that (1997: 184):

The most significant change in the name-sharing practices employed in England was, undoubtedly, the movement away from naming children after their godparents and towards naming them after their parents.

Although diachronic analysis of parent-child name-sharing was not part of this thesis, the results of 5.5 point towards a similar trend in Scotland: the reduction in records mentioning godparents from the late-1700s suggests a similar decline in the importance of godparents, though during the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ This subsequently suggests naming for family, and specifically parents, would have become more important during the same period. It is probable that this trend in naming is symptomatic of an overall change in the role of godparents, with Smith-Bannister noting that “the transference of the educative role of the godparent to the parent” is likely related (1997: 184).

Almost invariably, it was noted that more males seemed to be named for family members. With the exception of Tiree, all parishes showed higher rates of father-son name-sharing than of mother-daughter name-sharing, and, despite more females overall having a middle name, almost three quarters of the children whose middle names potentially represented a parent were male (5.8.2). This supports the findings of studies outside Scotland: as discussed in 2.3.4, most European countries display a similar pattern (Leibring 2016: 207), with Smith-Bannister reporting that, in his selection of English parishes, 30.8% of sons and 16.3% of daughters shared a name with a parent in 1695 (1997: 59). Rossi notes that this male/female distinction also existed in the twentieth-century United States, suggesting this phenomenon is due to the filial preservation of the family name: while women generally change their name upon marriage, “men are the symbolic carriers of the temporal continuity of the family” (1965: 503).

⁶⁴ This is not to say that the trend reached Scotland a century later, merely that the situation is currently unknown for seventeenth-century Scotland so a direct comparison is not possible.

Although the overall rates of English parent-child name-sharing as reported by Smith-Bannister for 1695 (1997: 59) are lower than those found in this thesis (30.8% and 16.3% for males and females respectively, compared to 44.81% and 35.86% in Scotland), this can likely be attributed to the discrepancy in study period, with his research period ending shortly after the period for this thesis begins. As he shows in Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2 (1997: 60), the rates of parent-child name-sharing in England rose steadily throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We might therefore expect figures for eighteenth-century England to be more closely aligned with those found for Scotland in this thesis, though further research into eighteenth-century English naming is required to confirm this.

Overall, naming for family members appears to have been a commonplace practice, both as regards parents and as regards relatives outwith the immediate family. Such name-sharing is apparent both in the first names and in the middle names given to the child, and potentially involves the first, middle, and surnames of those being honoured. The birth order of those children sharing names with parents implies that naming for parents was generally deliberate. Thus, although further research is required into naming for relatives other than parents (particularly grandparents, aunts, and uncles), considerable support has been found for the earlier suggestion that naming for relatives in early modern Scotland was a deeply embedded tradition (2.3.2.2).

7.3 Death and naming

Although a substantial proportion of children seem to be named in honour of living people, whether relatives or influential members of the community, the naming of other children appears to be in honour of a deceased person. It is occasionally noted in a record that a relative of the child being baptised had recently died, and on many of those occasions it appears that the child is then named for that relative. For instance, as discussed in 4.3.1.1, Andrea Anderson was specifically named for her deceased uncle Andrew. Similarly, Colina was the daughter of the deceased Colin McDougall (5.2.1.4.1), Thomas was the daughter of the deceased Thomas Watson (5.2.1.4.2), and Jacobina was the daughter of the deceased James Lisle (5.2.1.4.3). In each of these instances, a child has been named for a deceased relative. This practice was not unique to Scotland, with Smith-Bannister likewise noting that, in early modern England, some instances of parent-child name-sharing occurred after the death of the parent (1997: 55) and Wilson noting a French example in which the mother died in childbirth and the daughter was subsequently named for her (1998: 222).

The commemoration of such a relative appears to be sufficiently important to be prioritised over usual convention. For example, with the case of *Thomas*, customary sex-attribution was disregarded and a typically male name was used for a female child. In addition, both Thomas Watson and Jacobina Lisle had been the second child but first daughter of their respective parents; the evidence of Chapters 5 and 6 suggests that they would normally have been named after a female relative, most likely the mother or a grandmother. By choosing a name which honours the father, the name-givers therefore elect to ignore convention and instead commemorate the newly deceased. Of course, this very process may itself have been conventional. In a comparison between simple and complex societies, Alford writes (1988: 121):

the dead are more socially significant in more complex societies than they are in simple societies, and thus the perpetuation of their memories is of greater social concern.

With early modern Scottish society viewing their dead as ‘socially significant’ and valuing their memories, it seems reasonable to assume that certain processes, such as eschewing otherwise usual tradition to honour a recently deceased relative, might be widely accepted. Thus, a practice which, based upon a small amount of qualitative evidence, seems unusual may in fact have been traditional at the time.

As discussed in 5.3, substitution is likely to have been a widespread practice in early modern Scotland. This practice is known to have occurred elsewhere in Europe (Leibring 2016: 207), with Smith-Bannister recording specific examples in England (1997: 71). As with the naming process described above, substitution occurs as a result of a recent death, but it is unclear whether it is also commemorative or purely replicative. A distinction must be drawn between a child having the name of a deceased elder sibling specifically to commemorate that sibling, and a child having the name of a deceased elder sibling because the chosen name was significant and the parents wished to preserve it, possibly to commemorate another individual. Although this distinction should be recognised, it is not possible at this stage to determine which process is at work in Scotland. However, in her discussion of European naming systems, Leibring writes that “dead older siblings could be commemorated as namesakes” (2016: 207), and Smith-Bannister references a 1663 diary entry which notes “we called him John, after his toward brother that died the yeare before” (1997: 71). Leibring’s statement and the evidence provided by Smith-Bannister both suggest that commemoration, rather than replication, is the primary motivation in areas

outside Scotland. This in turn suggests that commemoration may also be the primary motivation behind examples of substitution in Scotland.

7.4 Regional divides

Throughout Chapter 2, it was argued that we would expect to find clear regional differences, particularly regarding the Highlands and Lowlands. As 2.1 showed, there was a long-standing divide between these two areas and, considering the relationship between naming and society, it would be natural to see this divide in the areas' naming. Indeed, this supposition has been shown to be true for both name-stock and naming practices. As discussed in Chapter 4 (particularly 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2), the name-stocks of the Highland and Lowland areas noticeably differed, with several names prominent in one area but uncommon in the other. With regard to naming practices, the Lowland parishes generally had higher percentages of parent-child name-sharing (5.2.1.1; 5.2.1.2), and consequently high percentages of families which may have followed the traditional naming pattern (5.1.3).

Some of the differences in the Highland and Lowland name-stocks may be explained simply by geographical variation, but others are likely due to the linguistic situation. Many of the names which appear frequently in the Highland areas can be attributed to the influence of Gaelic, which was widely spoken there. As shown in Table 4-11, names such as *Dougald*, *Hector*, *Lachlan*, *Malcolm*, and *Murdoch* appeared in the top 20 male names of Highland parishes only. In addition, Table 4-9 and Table 4-10 showed that names such as *Donald* and *Hugh* were used very frequently in the Highland areas, enough for *Donald* to be ranked joint 8th overall and *Hugh* 11th (Table 4-4), despite both being much less frequently used in most areas. All of these names are either Gaelic names or Anglicised forms of Gaelic names.⁶⁵

Similar examples can be found among the names given to female children. As shown in Table 4-14 and Table 4-15, names such as *Dol* and *Hughina* did not appear in the overall top 20 female names, but did feature among the top 20 names of Highland parishes. *Flora* &c. and *Effy* were similarly much more prominent in Highland parishes than elsewhere

⁶⁵ *Donald*, *Dougald*, *Hugh*, *Malcolm*, and *Murdoch* are Anglicised forms of *Domhnall*, *Dubhghall*, *Aodh*, *Mael Coluim*, and *Muireadhach* respectively, while *Hector* is a classicised form of *Eachann* and *Lachlan* is from Gaelic *Lachlann*, earlier *Lochlann* (Hanks et al 2006: 402, 126, 406, 121, 162).

(Table 4-14 and Table 4-15). As with the male names, these tend to be either Gaelic names or Anglicised forms of Gaelic names.⁶⁶

It is probable that individuals in the Highlands are being given one of these Gaelic names, with clerks then recording the Anglicised version. In the present-day Western Isles, the names which are officially recorded (for example, on birth certificates) tend to be English equivalents rather than the Gaelic names themselves (Bramwell 2016: 54), so it is reasonable to assume the situation was similar in the early modern Highlands. Considering the presumed linguistic origin, it is therefore understandable that these names should occur more frequently in the Highlands than the Lowlands.

Differences in naming practices may be symptomatic of the patronymic system rather than linguistic influence. Patronymics were recorded in Tiree and Durness, with examples including ‘John Mackay alias Macuilammacnish’ (Durness: 048/00 0010 0041)⁶⁷ and ‘Vear Mackay alias Eury Ninalister’ (Durness: 048/00 0010 0032).⁶⁸ As suggested in 5.2.1.3, if father-son name-sharing functions as a means of denoting parentage, this role is fulfilled by patronymics in the Highland parishes and there would therefore be a lesser need for father-son name-sharing.

Matronymics are recorded much less frequently, with no examples in the dataset. This may account for the rates of mother-daughter name-sharing in the Highland parishes which, although usually lower than those of father-son name-sharing, were not as strikingly low as found elsewhere. In Kilmallie, for example, the rate of father-son name-sharing was 23.18% (Table 5-16) and the rate of mother-daughter name-sharing was 21.79% (Table 5-18): a difference of 1.39%. The difference in Durness was 5.13% (with father-son name-sharing being higher), and, in Tiree, the rate of mother-daughter name-sharing was considerably higher than that of father-son name-sharing. In comparison, the average difference between rates of father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing in the Lowland parishes was 11.37%. Examples include Longside, which had a difference of

⁶⁶ *Effy* and *Flora* are Anglicised forms of *Oighrig* and *Fionnaghall* (a variant of *Fionnguala*) respectively, while *Dolag* is a Gaelic feminine form of *Donald* (Hanks et al 2006: 407, 101, 401). *Dol* is presumably a variant. *Hughina* is a feminine form of *Hugh* (or *Aodh*, as noted above).

⁶⁷ ‘John Mackay, son of William, son of Aonghus (*Angus*)’. *MacNish* derives from *mac* ‘son of’ + the Gaelic name *Naos*, a dialectal form of *Aonghus* (Black 2015: 550).

⁶⁸ ‘Eury, daughter of Alexander’.

14.03%, and Kilrenny (16.19%). The Orkney parish, Holm, had a difference of 8.01%. The disparity of the differences observed in the Lowlands and in the Highlands may be explained by the existence of patronymics and the lack of matronymics in the Highlands: in the Lowlands, father-son name-sharing and mother-daughter name-sharing are both used to denote parentage, though mother-daughter name-sharing is less common; in the Highlands, only mother-daughter name-sharing is used to denote parentage, with patronymics often fulfilling this role for fathers and sons.

Not all regional divides were clearly Highland/Lowland: Holm, in Orkney, displayed clear differences in its name-stock, with names such as *Magnus* and *Gilbert* occurring much more frequently. 83 of 84 occurrences of *Magnus* and 84 of 111 occurrences of *Gilbert* were found in Holm. *Magnus* has a long history in Orkney, with St. Magnus ruling as earl of Orkney in the early twelfth century (Tomany 2007: 128), so it is understandable that this name should be in especially widespread use. The reason for the popularity of *Gilbert* is less identifiable, though there were also earls with that name in the mediaeval period (Barry 1805: 411). There were no noticeable differences in Holm's usage of various naming practices, with its rates of father-son and mother-daughter name-sharing being close to average. Differences in Holm therefore seem to be confined to its name-stock, and may be related to natural variation as a result of its distance from mainland Scotland, as well as to significant historical figures.

As regional differences were generally evident, particularly between Highland and Lowland parishes, a lack of distinction may be indicative of a new or unsettled naming practice. For example, as discussed in 4.3.3.1.2, there were varying proportions of children with middle names in each parish, but no regional distinctions could be made. It was hypothesised that this lack of geographical divide was due to middle naming being an emerging practice, and one which had not yet settled. This supposition may also apply to the practice of naming a child after a minister if it were the first child baptised by him. This practice was shown to be more prevalent in Fife than other areas (5.6.2.1): rates were generally low in the Highlands, but similarly low in several Lowland parishes. It might be assumed that an east/west divide is responsible, as the Fife parishes are on the east coast; however, Longside is also on the east coast and had a low rate of minister-child name-sharing. As both Fife parishes show strong rates of name-sharing, it may be that a regional divide exists between Fife and the rest of Scotland for this practice. Equally, as it is unknown precisely when this type of naming began to occur, it is possible that the practice was not entirely settled during the period studied.

In 2.3.2.2, it was suggested that more isolated parishes may show greater conformity to naming patterns. This theory was based upon Bramwell's study of modern Scottish naming, where greater adherence to tradition was found on the islands than in mainland areas (2007: 35). However, this does not seem to have been the case. In 5.1.3, it was demonstrated that Tiree, an isolated island parish, had particularly low rates of parent-child name-sharing and subsequently it was unlikely that many families followed the traditional naming pattern. In addition, Govan, a less isolated parish, experienced much higher rates of name-sharing and potential pattern adherence: 64.42% of larger Govan families had both parents' names used within the first three children of the relevant sex, as opposed to 11.76% of Tiree families. Two suggestions can subsequently be made: first, it is possible that parishes such as Tiree did not follow the traditional naming pattern as it is usually described, but instead a variant, such as that discussed by Lawson (1979: 3). As discussed in 5.1.1, this study was designed to reveal usage of the traditional pattern itself. In addition, it would reveal usage of the V1 and V2 patterns discussed in 2.3.2.1, though not the V3 pattern or Lawson's variation. Therefore, the low rates of name-sharing and potential pattern adherence in Tiree may have been caused by usage of a variant pattern, whether V3, the variation described by Lawson, or an unknown variation. Second, it may simply be the case that parishes such as Tiree did not follow the usual naming practices during the early modern period as strongly as other areas. Although the more isolated areas have preserved tradition to the modern day, it does not necessarily entail that the traditions were themselves stronger in early modern times.

7.5 Implications for genealogical research

In addition to enhancing our understanding of early modern Scottish society, the results of this study also have further implications. As discussed in 2.2.2, knowledge of a society's naming practices can directly impact genealogical studies.

Several of the discoveries made during the course of this research will be important to genealogists whose studies involve early modern Scottish families. In 5.1.2 and 5.1.3, the proportions of families who potentially followed the traditional Scottish naming pattern were discussed. These sections showed that a considerable proportion of families were not following the traditional pattern, and therefore, when tracing a family tree, genealogists should not assume the pattern was being followed.

The usual birth order of children sharing a name with a parent was established in Tables 5-17 and 5-19. Such information may be useful to those genealogists whose family trees

contained examples of parent-child name-sharing. Knowledge of usual birth order would allow them to hypothesise whether the child was likely to have been the first-born or whether the researcher should be actively seeking records for earlier siblings.

The conclusion in 5.8.4.1 was that single, surname-based middle names are generally linked to the child's first name and that both names are given in honour of the same person. This theory can directly influence the approach taken to study children with these names. There are now grounds to presume, if a child is named Robert Keddie Young, he has been named after an individual called Robert Keddie. As discussed in 5.8.2.1.1, a substantial proportion of middle names are the mother's maiden name: *Keddie* falls into this category. Chapter 6 showed that, if the child's middle name is the mother's maiden name, the honoured individual is often the maternal grandparent of the child concerned; we might therefore hypothesise that, if a child is named Robert Keddie Young and his mother is Barbara Keddie, his maternal grandfather may have been Robert Keddie.⁶⁹ However, this approach should be taken with caution. Some families had multiple children with the mother's maiden name as a middle name – a younger brother of Robert Keddie Young was named Thomas Keddie Young – so some of these may be named for other maternal relatives than the grandparent.

If the child's first and middle names do not match the full name of any known relatives, it is possible that an unknown relative bears that name, which provides the genealogist with a further avenue to explore. For example, it seems likely that Thomas Keddie Young is named after another maternal relative, Thomas Keddie. If attempting to construct a genealogy for this family, it would be worth searching for a person with that name.

The results of this research illustrate the importance of first name material in genealogical research, strongly supporting Redmonds's view, given in 2.2.2, that such material is undervalued. In addition, this research has highlighted that middle names, a topic which so far has been rarely studied, can provide equally valuable information for the genealogist.

⁶⁹ Indeed, this was the case. Barbara Thomson Keddie was born to Robert Keddie and Helen Bell in 1804 (Auchtermuchty: 406/00 0010 0234).

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

This thesis has examined both the name-stock and the naming practices of eleven parishes in early modern Scotland in an attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What was the name-stock of early modern Scotland?
- Are there any regional differences in the name-stock or in the following of naming practices, and how can these differences be explained?
- Which naming practices were in use in early modern Scotland, and which proportion of families and/or children were affected?
- Were children mostly named for family, or for other people in the community?

Through quantitative analysis of 63,460 baptismal records, the name-stock of early modern Scotland has been established, and regional differences compared. Various sources of names have also been investigated, such as first names derived from surnames, and female names derived from male names. The substantial dataset also enabled the examination of several naming practices. Through both quantitative analysis of the dataset and complementary qualitative analysis of 12 case studies, this study has shown that a significant proportion of families exhibited parent-child name-sharing and that naming after other relatives was also prevalent. Conformity to the so-called traditional naming pattern has been examined, and significant regional differences found. In addition, this study has provided examples of minister-child name-sharing, landowner-child name-sharing, and godparent-child name-sharing, and, through selection of specific examples and examination of birth order, demonstrated that name-sharing was often deliberate. It has also investigated the regional differences found among these geographically disparate communities, and suggested reasons for these differences.

This project has also shown the value of consulting the Old Parish Registers, a source which has not previously been used for large-scale onomastic studies. This source has revealed not only a sizable name-stock, but also allowed for the analysis of various practices, including parent-child name-sharing, substitution, and the emerging custom of middle naming. On occasion, clerks have stated precise reasons for a particular name being given, which provides invaluable confirmation of hypotheses on name choices. Eleven sets of registers were analysed for this project, resulting in data for over 63,460 children (with 98.42% of all collected data being suitable for name-stock analysis). As registers are available for a further 890 parishes, it would be immensely beneficial to continue with the

study of these records, building on the evidence presented in this project and furthering our knowledge of early modern Scottish naming practices. This is particularly relevant when considering regional differences: such differences have been consistently apparent throughout this study, and, as this study concerns only eleven parishes, it is likely that there are many subtleties which have not been revealed.

8.1 Future research topics

Several new research questions have arisen in the course of this project.

Bearing in mind that the records used for this study were Presbyterian and results therefore do not represent all of the population, were there discernible naming differences which may be attributed to particular religious groups? For example, it was noted in 2.3.5.2 that the name-stock generated during this project may contain fewer saints' names than might be expected if Catholic populations were included. Additionally, given the relationship between godparents and religion, the godparental influence seen in 5.5 may vary greatly in studies which go beyond the Protestant Church. This may relate to overall rates of name-sharing, or to the general decline of godparental importance throughout the early modern period. Finally, as mentioned in 2.3.1.1, Jackson has found that Scottish Quakers in the early modern period generally seemed to follow the traditional Scottish naming pattern (2012: 24). She also found very little geographical variation in terms of name-stock (2012: 22), and hypothesised that these two features of Quaker naming may have been due to a strong group identity, though she notes comparative evidence for overall Scottish naming was not then available (2012: 23). The completion of this project, and generation of a name-stock of significant size, allows for questions raised by Jackson to be more easily approached.

As noted in 4.1 and 5, it was not possible to conduct diachronic analysis during this research project due to time and word-count constraints. However, such analysis would be immensely beneficial, allowing for an understanding of the variation in both the name-stock and usage of naming patterns over time, and it is therefore intended that this will be a focus of future research into this dataset. As the preliminary analysis of substitution (5.3) and the discussion of the name *Thomas* in Tongland (5.6.2.2.11) suggest, the database has the capability to output data according to year. The relevant function on the Reports page of the database allows for the selection of data from a precise, editable date-range. For example, data can be extracted for the year 1705 and then compared with data for other individual years, or it can be extracted for the period 1700-1709 and then compared with

data for other sets of years. Such output can be used to show changing trends either graphically (as demonstrated in 5.3) or in tabular form (as demonstrated in 5.6.2.2.11). Through this method, it is anticipated that aspects of research presented in Chapters 4 and 5 will be developed and refined, showing, for example, how the name-stock changed in size over the study period, how certain names grew or fell in popularity, and how the usage of the traditional naming pattern or rates of parent-child name-sharing changed during the study period.

As discussed in 2.3.1.1, it would be valuable to use the name-stock generated for this thesis as part of a comparative study, analysing names from both PoMS and the present day as well as the early modern period. PoMS was consulted for only one aspect of this thesis – the investigation into female names formed from male names – but a link was nevertheless established, with *Basilea* appearing both in this study’s dataset and in PoMS. A deeper investigation into the similarities between these datasets, and a subsequent analysis of the names used today, would help to bridge the gap between these two disparate periods, and allow us to view the diachronic transferral of names.

The traditional naming pattern itself requires further research. More qualitative studies should be conducted, building on the studies presented in Chapter 6. It would be particularly beneficial to focus on potential regional differences in usage of the traditional pattern. The case studies presented here did not include analysis of such differences, and the rates of parent-child name-sharing presented in 5.2.1 suggest that differences would indeed be noticeable. Qualitative studies would also allow for the potential discovery of the variants to the traditional pattern, discussed in 2.3.2.1. Additionally, as the traditional Scottish naming pattern is generally described as a ‘Scottish’ pattern, it should be determined whether this geographical epithet is appropriate.⁷⁰ For example, it would be valuable to examine Northumberland records for the presence of the naming pattern, before completing comparative studies using data from Northumberland and data from the neighbouring Scottish counties of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.

Due to time constraints, it was not possible to study the influence of landowners in great depth. However, this would likely be a fruitful area of research, considering the not infrequent appearances of landowners’ names, particularly among transferred surnames. It

⁷⁰ This research topic was suggested by Prof. Peter McClure, at the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in August 2014.

would be especially valuable to determine whether usage of landowners' names was likely to correspond to an individual or an entire family. Such a question might be answered through analysis of middle names as well as first names: it has already been shown that middle names often confirm the commemorative nature of the first name.

The role of godparents and naming in Scotland requires further investigation. It was stated in 5.5.1 that, since relatives often stood as godparents, it was frequently impossible to determine whether name-sharing occurred specifically because the adult was a godparent, or because he or she was a relative. In addition, a familial relationship between godparent and child cannot necessarily be discounted if the godparent's surname does not match that of the mother or father, as the relationship may be more distant. This topic would therefore benefit from detailed qualitative studies into individual family groups, to determine the relationship between godparent and child. If no familial relationship is found, it can be more strongly argued that early modern Scottish children were named for their godparents.

Finally, in-depth analysis of the separate categories of middle names would be welcomed. This thesis has demonstrated that single, surname-based middle names tend to be linked with the child's first name, with the names together commemorating a single person.

Comment has also been passed upon some examples of children with two surnames in the middle name position, though more research is needed here. In addition, no research has been conducted into those children with first names as middle names, or those with a combination of first and surnames. Such analysis may reveal further intricacies behind the process of name-giving, allowing us to better understand the motivations for naming children in early modern Scotland.

Appendices

Appendix I: Male name-stock

This appendix comprises the names given to 32,255 male children. Names are presented according to number of bearers.

| Rank | Name | No. of bearers | Proportion of male population (%) |
|------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | John | 6,624 | 20.54 |
| 2 | James | 4,265 | 13.22 |
| 3 | William | 3,695 | 11.46 |
| 4 | Alexander | 2,216 | 6.87 |
| 5 | Robert | 2,161 | 6.70 |
| 6 | George | 1,304 | 4.04 |
| 7 | Thomas | 1,303 | 4.04 |
| 8 | David | 1,190 | 3.69 |
| 9 | Donald | 1,127 | 3.49 |
| 10 | Andrew | 896 | 2.78 |
| 11 | Archibald | 817 | 2.53 |
| 12 | Hugh | 620 | 1.92 |
| 13 | Niel | 420 | 1.30 |
| 14 | Charles | 408 | 1.26 |
| 15 | Duncan | 377 | 1.17 |
| 16 | Peter | 330 | 1.02 |
| 17 | Patrick | 319 | 0.99 |
| 18 | Ewen | 315 | 0.98 |
| 19 | Allan | 290 | 0.90 |
| 20 | Angus | 272 | 0.84 |
| 21 | Hector | 220 | 0.68 |
| =22 | Henry | 215 | 0.67 |
| =22 | Matthew | 215 | 0.67 |
| 24 | Lachlan | 209 | 0.65 |
| 25 | Malcolm | 196 | 0.61 |
| 26 | Adam | 143 | 0.44 |
| 27 | Walter | 140 | 0.43 |

| | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|------|
| 28 | Gilbert | 111 | 0.34 |
| 29 | Daniel | 110 | 0.34 |
| 30 | Dougald | 109 | 0.34 |
| 31 | Richard | 107 | 0.33 |
| 32 | Joseph | 96 | 0.30 |
| 33 | Francis | 91 | 0.28 |
| 34 | Colin | 86 | 0.27 |
| 35 | Magnus | 84 | 0.26 |
| 36 | Edward | 77 | 0.24 |
| 37 | Samuel | 74 | 0.23 |
| 38 | Roderick | 62 | 0.19 |
| 39 | Kenneth | 53 | 0.16 |
| 40 | Murdoch | 46 | 0.14 |
| =41 | Michael | 39 | 0.12 |
| =41 | Stephen | 39 | 0.12 |
| 43 | Nathanael | 34 | 0.11 |
| 44 | Nicoll | 31 | 0.10 |
| =45 | Arthur | 30 | 0.09 |
| =45 | Ninian | 30 | 0.09 |
| 47 | Laurence | 29 | 0.09 |
| =48 | Ebenezer | 26 | 0.08 |
| =48 | Philip | 26 | 0.08 |
| 50 | Dugal | 23 | 0.07 |
| 51 | Gavin | 31 | 0.07 |
| 52 | Mungo | 20 | 0.06 |
| 53 | Gabriel | 17 | 0.05 |
| =54 | Jerome | 15 | 0.05 |
| =54 | Ronald &c. | 15 | 0.05 |
| 56 | Martine | 14 | 0.04 |
| 57 | Moses | 13 | 0.04 |
| =58 | Benjamin | 12 | 0.04 |
| =58 | Simon | 12 | 0.04 |
| =60 | Ephraim | 11 | 0.03 |
| =60 | Farquhar | 11 | 0.03 |

| | | | |
|-----|-------------|----|------|
| =60 | Stewart | 11 | 0.03 |
| 63 | Anthony | 10 | 0.03 |
| =64 | Lewis | 9 | 0.03 |
| =64 | Zacharias | 9 | 0.03 |
| =66 | Bryce | 8 | 0.02 |
| =66 | Christopher | 8 | 0.02 |
| =66 | Douglas | 8 | 0.02 |
| =69 | Hary | 7 | 0.02 |
| =69 | Isaac | 7 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Abraham | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Ernest | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Gordon | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Jay | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Johnston | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Jonathan | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Norman | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Paul | 6 | 0.02 |
| =71 | Quintine | 6 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Anstruther | 5 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Basil | 5 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Claud | 5 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Coll | 5 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Harvey | 5 | 0.02 |
| =80 | Smellie | 5 | 0.02 |
| =86 | Bartholomew | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Bowman | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Cornelius | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Crawford | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Findlay | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Lesslie | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Maxwell | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Ralph | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Rowan | 4 | 0.01 |
| =86 | Walker | 4 | 0.01 |

| | | | |
|------|------------|---|------|
| =86 | Wilson | 4 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Boyd | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Forbes | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Giles | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Hamilton | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Ludovick | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Mackay | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | M.J. | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Moncrieff | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Nicholas | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Oliver | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Robertson | 3 | 0.01 |
| =97 | Rodger | 3 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Abram | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Archy | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Barnel | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Benoni | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Bernard | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Buchan | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Cumming | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Cunningham | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Dickson | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Erskine | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Ezekiel | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Fletcher | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Fullarton | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Hans | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Laurie | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Lindsay | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Marianus | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Millar | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Muir | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Oswald | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Ritchie | 2 | 0.01 |

| | | | |
|------|------------|---|------|
| =109 | Sheddan | 2 | 0.01 |
| =109 | Sutherland | 2 | 0.01 |
| =132 | Alexis | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Allay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Ann | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Barklay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Bartie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Bell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Belleward | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Blair | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Bogle | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Bowie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Boyle | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Breadie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Bruce | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Campbell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Cederic | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Cesar | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Chapman | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Cochrane | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Connel | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Couper | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Craig | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Dallyell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Dewar | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Diarmid | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Dick | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Dundas | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Edmund | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Eglinton | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Elijah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Eric | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Eugene | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Evans | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|------|-----------|---|------|
| =132 | Evi | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Fairlie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Ferguson | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Fingon | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Fraser | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gardner | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gillean | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gillespie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Godfrey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gosman | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Graham | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Granville | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gray | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Gregor | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Hannah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Hepbury | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Hill | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Hodge | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Humphrey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Isaiah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Issachar | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Jaffery | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Jamieson | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Jean | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Jonah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Jonas | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Joshua | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Josiah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Josias | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Junor | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Keith | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Leven | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Linis | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Low | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------|
| =132 | Lucy | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Luke | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Lumisdaine | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Lydiors | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Marcus | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Marmaduke | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Marshall | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Mary | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Mearns | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Melvin | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Michie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Mitchell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Morison | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Myreton | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Nathan | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Nielson | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Nisbet | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Normand | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Norris | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Oatman | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Onesiphorus | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Orr | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Park | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Peterny | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Pollock | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Porter | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Pringle | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Reuben | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Rory | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Rupart | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Scott | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Simeon | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Solomon | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Stonely | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| =132 | Struan | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Susan | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Theophilus | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Thom | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Warrander | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Watt | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Wellwood | 1 | 0.00 |
| =132 | Zebulon | 1 | 0.00 |
| Total | | 32,255 | 100.00 |

Appendix II: Female name-stock

This appendix comprises the names given to 30,106 female children. Names are presented according to number of bearers.

| Rank | Name | No. of bearers | Proportion of female population (%) |
|------|---------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Margaret | 4,203 | 13.96 |
| 2 | Mary &c. | 3,368 | 11.19 |
| 3 | Janet | 3,288 | 10.92 |
| 4 | Elizabeth | 2,102 | 6.98 |
| 5 | Jean &c. | 2,069 | 6.87 |
| 6 | Ann | 1,808 | 6.01 |
| 7 | Catharene | 1,803 | 5.99 |
| 8 | Agnes | 1,614 | 5.36 |
| 9 | Isabel | 1,461 | 4.85 |
| 10 | Christian &c. | 1,176 | 3.91 |
| 11 | Helen &c. | 876 | 2.91 |
| 12 | Marion &c. | 799 | 2.65 |
| 13 | Barbara | 563 | 1.87 |
| 14 | Jane | 451 | 1.50 |
| 15 | Flora &c. | 423 | 1.41 |
| 16 | Anna | 334 | 1.11 |
| =17 | Euphan &c. | 287 | 0.95 |
| =17 | Sarah | 287 | 0.95 |
| 19 | Elspet | 280 | 0.92 |
| 20 | Grizel | 274 | 0.91 |
| 21 | Isabella | 244 | 0.81 |
| 22 | Marjory | 152 | 0.50 |
| 23 | Martha | 117 | 0.39 |
| 24 | Effy | 108 | 0.36 |
| 25 | Rachel | 92 | 0.31 |
| 26 | Betty | 90 | 0.30 |
| 27 | Flory | 86 | 0.29 |
| 28 | Susanna | 83 | 0.28 |
| 29 | Peggy | 71 | 0.24 |

| | | | |
|-----|-------------|----|------|
| 30 | Lillias | 61 | 0.20 |
| 31 | Sophia | 59 | 0.20 |
| 32 | Susan | 54 | 0.18 |
| 33 | Cicilia &c. | 49 | 0.16 |
| 34 | Alison | 44 | 0.15 |
| 35 | Beatrix | 44 | 0.15 |
| 36 | Kate | 43 | 0.14 |
| 37 | Rebecca | 43 | 0.14 |
| 38 | Grace | 41 | 0.14 |
| 39 | Bessie | 40 | 0.13 |
| 40 | Johanna | 37 | 0.12 |
| 41 | Lucy | 36 | 0.12 |
| 42 | Bethia | 33 | 0.11 |
| 43 | Henrietta | 33 | 0.11 |
| 44 | Annabel | 31 | 0.10 |
| 45 | Charlotte | 30 | 0.10 |
| 46 | Jessie | 28 | 0.09 |
| 47 | Florance | 24 | 0.08 |
| 48 | Joan &c. | 24 | 0.08 |
| 49 | Magdalene | 24 | 0.08 |
| 50 | Annabella | 22 | 0.07 |
| 51 | Eliza | 21 | 0.07 |
| 52 | Frances | 20 | 0.07 |
| 53 | Robina | 20 | 0.07 |
| 54 | Georgina | 19 | 0.06 |
| 55 | Hanna | 19 | 0.06 |
| 56 | May | 19 | 0.06 |
| 57 | Lilly | 18 | 0.06 |
| =58 | Cecil | 16 | 0.05 |
| =58 | Hughina | 16 | 0.05 |
| =60 | Una | 15 | 0.05 |
| =60 | Vear | 15 | 0.05 |
| 62 | Julia | 14 | 0.05 |
| =63 | Amelia | 13 | 0.04 |

| | | | |
|-----|-------------|----|------|
| =63 | Betsy | 13 | 0.04 |
| =63 | Jacobina | 13 | 0.04 |
| =63 | Juliann | 13 | 0.04 |
| =67 | Eleanora | 12 | 0.04 |
| =67 | Jemima | 12 | 0.04 |
| =67 | Louisa &c. | 12 | 0.04 |
| =67 | Penelope | 12 | 0.04 |
| =71 | Esther | 11 | 0.04 |
| =72 | Fanny | 11 | 0.04 |
| =73 | Dol | 10 | 0.03 |
| =73 | Nanny | 10 | 0.03 |
| =73 | Sibilla | 10 | 0.03 |
| =73 | Violet | 10 | 0.03 |
| =77 | Abigail | 9 | 0.03 |
| =77 | Giles | 9 | 0.03 |
| =77 | Nicholas | 9 | 0.03 |
| =80 | Annas | 8 | 0.03 |
| =80 | Dorothy | 8 | 0.03 |
| =80 | June | 8 | 0.03 |
| =80 | Willhelmina | 8 | 0.03 |
| =84 | Bell | 7 | 0.02 |
| =84 | Dorothea | 7 | 0.02 |
| =84 | Harriet | 7 | 0.02 |
| =84 | Sally | 7 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Alexie | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Annie | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Anstruther | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Caroline | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Dollie | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Lydia | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Minie | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Nans | 6 | 0.02 |
| =88 | Unnie | 6 | 0.02 |
| =97 | Angusina | 5 | 0.02 |

| | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------|
| =97 | Emily | 5 | 0.02 |
| =97 | Nelly | 5 | 0.02 |
| =97 | Willina | 5 | 0.02 |
| =101 | Alexandrina | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Alice | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Colina | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Diana &c. | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | John | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Lucia | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Marabel | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Smeilie | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Ursilla | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Verica | 4 | 0.01 |
| =101 | Williamina | 4 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Bess | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Clara | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Dolina | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Eleanor | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Henny | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Hughy | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Jinie | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Laetitia | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Lucretia | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Maria | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Matilda | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Ruth | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Somerville | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Stewart | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Teresa | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | William | 3 | 0.01 |
| =112 | Zina | 3 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Andrea | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Arabella | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Braidie | 2 | 0.01 |

| | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------|
| =129 | Brunton | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Cameron | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Clementina | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Davidina | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Davina | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Donald | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Douglas | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Duncan | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Ebenezer | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Elie | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Eury | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Hamilton | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Helena | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Honyman | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Juliet | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Leask | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Mariana | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Maxwell | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Patricia | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Phyllis | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Rosanna &c. | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Sarai | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Thomina | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Thomson | 2 | 0.01 |
| =129 | Veronica | 2 | 0.01 |
| =157 | Abi | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Adamina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Adelaide | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Adriana | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Agie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Alexander | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Alexia | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Alexis | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Alicia | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------|
| =157 | Allina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Andrina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Angus | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Anisabella | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Antonia | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Antony | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Arabina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Baikie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Baillie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Ban | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Basilea | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Beaty | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Bethun | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Bitridge | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Boyd | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Bridalbauer | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Bridget | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Bruce | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Campbell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Carnegie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Carolina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Cassey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Constina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Dane | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | David | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Donaldina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Duncina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Dundas | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Dunkey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Ellen | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Eluzia | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Emma | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Eric | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Fairly | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|------|------------|---|------|
| =157 | Fletcher | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Floria | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Floriana | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Francisess | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Georgiana | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Georgie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Gey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Gillian | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Gordon | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Hardina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Harvey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Helender | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Helesone | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Hillias | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Hope | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Imlah | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Irvain | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | James | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Jamie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Jarvie | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Jerome | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Jess | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Joanne | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Johnsy | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Juliana | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | July | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Kennedy | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Kennethina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Kitty | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Lavinia | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Leonora | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Lindsay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Linn | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Love | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|------|--------------|---|------|
| =157 | Luciana | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Mackay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Mady | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Marcus | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Marina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Marsley | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | McInnes | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Mckinlay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Monely | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Murray | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Nancy | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Nell | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Nicla | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | O'Rina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Oslay | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Penuel | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Philadelphia | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Primrose | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Rahel | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Rhea | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Richmond | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Rorina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Rosa | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Rose | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Scota | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Sibby | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Tammey | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Thomas | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Veramina | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Violetta | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Wemyss | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Wightman | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Wright | 1 | 0.00 |
| =157 | Wylie | 1 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|--------------|--|---------------|---------------|
| Total | | 30,106 | 100.00 |
|--------------|--|---------------|---------------|

Appendix III: Unknown name-stock

This appendix comprises all names of children of unknown sex. In some cases, names had been used elsewhere for either male or female children; however, the names were potentially unisex and a previous male or female bearer does not necessarily indicate all bearers are of the same sex. Names are presented in alphabetical order.

| Name | No. of bearers |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Anderson | 2 |
| Arnott | 1 |
| Blair | 1 |
| Boyce | 1 |
| Campbell | 1 |
| David | 1 |
| Douglas | 1 |
| Eric | 9 |
| Erskine | 2 |
| Fairly | 15 |
| Ffleeming | 1 |
| Fletcher | 1 |
| Forbes | 2 |
| Frances | 2 |
| Francis | 5 |
| Georgie | 1 |
| Gordon | 1 |
| Hamilton | 1 |
| Hardie | 1 |
| Heckie | 1 |
| Helen ⁷¹ | 1 |

⁷¹ *Helen* has been considered a female name throughout this study. As discussed in 4.2.1, doubt arises with this particular entry (Dundonald: 590/3 FR0576) since the record was corrected: *Helen* was written over another, illegible, name alongside the word 'son'. It is unknown whether 'son' is a relic of the original entry and should have been corrected to female, or whether this child is actually male. As the situation is unclear, this particular Helen was marked as being of unknown sex.

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Hughy | 2 |
| Jay | 2 |
| Johan | 2 |
| John | 1 |
| Johnston | 1 |
| Kay | 1 |
| Kennedy | 1 |
| Lesslie | 1 |
| Lindsay | 1 |
| Lucretius | 1 |
| Lumsdaine | 1 |
| Mackay | 7 |
| Malley | 1 |
| Marrie | 1 |
| Marrin | 1 |
| Maxwell | 1 |
| Millar | 1 |
| Mitchell | 2 |
| Moncrieff | 2 |
| Morrison | 1 |
| Nicholas | 1 |
| Nicoll | 1 |
| Nila | 1 |
| Normand | 1 |
| Scota | 1 |
| Smibert | 2 |
| Strachan | 1 |
| Sutherland | 1 |
| Thomson | 2 |
| Wemyss | 1 |
| Waddel | 1 |
| Total | 95 |

Appendix IV: All names and year of first occurrence

This appendix comprises the names given to all 62,456 children used in name-stock analysis. Names are presented alphabetically alongside the year of first occurrence in the dataset.

| Name | Year of first usage |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| Abi | 1809 |
| Abigail | 1714 |
| Abraham | 1693 |
| Abram | 1680 |
| Adam | 1681 |
| Adamina | 1829 |
| Adelaide | 1827 |
| Adriana | 1805 |
| Agie | 1813 |
| Agnes | 1680 |
| Alexander | 1680 |
| Alexandrina | 1792 |
| Alexia | 1807 |
| Alexie | 1789 |
| Alexis | 1725 |
| Alice | 1808 |
| Alicia | 1800 |
| Alison | 1683 |
| Allan | 1692 |
| Allay | 1763 |
| Allina | 1815 |
| Amelia | 1718 |
| Anderson | 1791 |
| Andrea | 1797 |
| Andrew | 1680 |
| Andrina | 1817 |
| Angus | 1745 |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Angusina | 1823 |
| Anisabella | 1728 |
| Ann | 1680 |
| Anna | 1680 |
| Annabel | 1692 |
| Annabella | 1787 |
| Annas | 1691 |
| Annie | 1780 |
| Anstruther | 1765 |
| Anthony | 1740 |
| Antonia | 1753 |
| Arabella | 1789 |
| Arabina | 1776 |
| Archibald | 1680 |
| Archy | 1831 |
| Arnott | 1824 |
| Arthur | 1683 |
| Baikie | 1771 |
| Baillie | 1719 |
| Ban | 1703 |
| Barbara | 1680 |
| Barklay | 1769 |
| Barnel | 1711 |
| Bartholomew | 1692 |
| Bartie | 1696 |
| Basil | 1793 |
| Basilea | 1750 |
| Beatrix | 1690 |
| Beaty | 1736 |
| Bell | 1767 |
| Belleward | 1776 |
| Benjamin | 1703 |
| Benoni | 1791 |
| Bernard | 1756 |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Bess | 1689 |
| Bessie | 1688 |
| Bethia | 1695 |
| Bethun | 1760 |
| Betsy | 1813 |
| Betty | 1711 |
| Bitridge | 1695 |
| Blair | 1833 |
| Bogle | 1816 |
| Bowie | 1758 |
| Bowman | 1767 |
| Boyce | 1826 |
| Boyd | 1740 |
| Boyle | 1813 |
| Braidalbauer | 1835 |
| Braidie | 1746 |
| Bridget | 1802 |
| Bruce | 1802 |
| Brunton | 1803 |
| Bryce | 1700 |
| Buchan | 1832 |
| Cameron | 1814 |
| Campbell | 1777 |
| Carnegie | 1742 |
| Carolina | 1799 |
| Caroline | 1773 |
| Cassey | 1831 |
| Catharene | 1680 |
| Cecil | 1725 |
| Cederic | 1825 |
| Cesar | 1724 |
| Chapman | 1835 |
| Charles | 1682 |
| Charlotte | 1735 |

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Christian &c. | 1680 |
| Christopher | 1734 |
| Cicilia &c. | 1703 |
| Clara | 1772 |
| Claud | 1698 |
| Clementina | 1781 |
| Cochrane | 1784 |
| Colin | 1686 |
| Colina | 1783 |
| Coll | 1787 |
| Connel | 1766 |
| Constina | 1838 |
| Cornelius | 1716 |
| Couper | 1782 |
| Craig | 1836 |
| Crawford | 1824 |
| Cumming | 1817 |
| Cunningham | 1819 |
| Dallyell | 1743 |
| Dane | 1833 |
| Daniel | 1688 |
| David | 1682 |
| Davidina | 1838 |
| Davina | 1821 |
| Dewar | 1798 |
| Diana &c. | 1784 |
| Diarmid | 1785 |
| Dick | 1769 |
| Dickson | 1820 |
| Dol | 1806 |
| Dolina | 1816 |
| Dollie | 1793 |
| Donald | 1705 |
| Donaldina | 1838 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| Dorothea | 1708 |
| Dorothy | 1704 |
| Dougald | 1732 |
| Douglas | 1772 |
| Dugal | 1702 |
| Duncan | 1693 |
| Duncina | 1796 |
| Dundas | 1834 |
| Dunkey | 1829 |
| Ebenezer | 1706 |
| Edmund | 1836 |
| Edward | 1690 |
| Effy | 1706 |
| Eglinton | 1765 |
| Eleanor | 1800 |
| Eleanora | 1736 |
| Elie | 1778 |
| Elijah | 1724 |
| Eliza | 1800 |
| Elizabeth | 1680 |
| Ellen | 1834 |
| Elspet | 1680 |
| Eluzia | 1791 |
| Emily | 1822 |
| Emma | 1818 |
| Ephraim | 1722 |
| Eric | 1770 |
| Ernest | 1774 |
| Erskine | 1761 |
| Esther | 1714 |
| Eugine | 1794 |
| Euphan &c. | 1681 |
| Eury | 1795 |
| Evans | 1787 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| Evi | 1765 |
| Ewen | 1773 |
| Ezekiel | 1780 |
| Fairlie | 1790 |
| Fairly | 1771 |
| Fanny | 1754 |
| Farquhar | 1787 |
| Ferguson | 1838 |
| Ffleeming | 1758 |
| Findlay | 1762 |
| Fingon | 1795 |
| Fletcher | 1744 |
| Flora &c. | 1780 |
| Florance | 1760 |
| Floria | 1808 |
| Floriana | 1816 |
| Flory | 1752 |
| Forbes | 1729 |
| Frances | 1721 |
| Francis | 1680 |
| Francisess | 1743 |
| Fraser | 1822 |
| Fullarton | 1792 |
| Gabriel | 1696 |
| Gardner | 1816 |
| Gavin | 1691 |
| George | 1680 |
| Georgiana | 1821 |
| Georgie | 1809 |
| Georgina | 1783 |
| Gey | 1770 |
| Gilbert | 1682 |
| Giles | 1690 |
| Gillean | 1825 |

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Gillespie | 1819 |
| Gillian | 1819 |
| Godfrey | 1836 |
| Gordon | 1720 |
| Gosman | 1813 |
| Grace | 1791 |
| Graham | 1834 |
| Granville | 1839 |
| Gray | 1802 |
| Gregor | 1837 |
| Grizel | 1684 |
| Hamilton | 1769 |
| Hanna | 1727 |
| Hans | 1756 |
| Hardie | 1837 |
| Hardina | 1810 |
| Harriet | 1797 |
| Harvey | 1768 |
| Hary | 1697 |
| Heckie | 1797 |
| Hector | 1712 |
| Helen &c. | 1680 |
| Helena | 1739 |
| Helender | 1706 |
| Helesone | 1699 |
| Henny | 1805 |
| Henrietta | 1705 |
| Henry | 1684 |
| Hepbury | 1804 |
| Hill | 1807 |
| Hillias | 1707 |
| Hodge | 1831 |
| Honyman | 1737 |
| Hope | 1825 |

| | |
|----------|------|
| Hugh | 1681 |
| Hughina | 1795 |
| Hughy | 1806 |
| Humphrey | 1750 |
| Imlah | 1836 |
| Irvain | 1805 |
| Isaac | 1756 |
| Isabel | 1680 |
| Isabella | 1698 |
| Isaiah | 1828 |
| Issachar | 1795 |
| Jacobina | 1682 |
| Jaffery | 1792 |
| James | 1680 |
| Jamie | 1784 |
| Jamieson | 1797 |
| Jane | 1681 |
| Janet | 1680 |
| Jarvie | 1799 |
| Jay | 1780 |
| Jean &c. | 1680 |
| Jemima | 1815 |
| Jerome | 1700 |
| Jess | 1827 |
| Jessie | 1776 |
| Jinie | 1756 |
| Joan &c. | 1700 |
| Joanne | 1833 |
| Johanna | 1749 |
| John | 1680 |
| Johnston | 1761 |
| Johnsy | 1839 |
| Jonah | 1722 |
| Jonas | 1736 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| Jonathan | 1763 |
| Joseph | 1691 |
| Joshua | 1826 |
| Josiah | 1833 |
| Josias | 1761 |
| Julia | 1820 |
| Juliana | 1818 |
| Juliann | 1797 |
| Juliet | 1823 |
| July | 1754 |
| June | 1799 |
| Junor | 1826 |
| Kate | 1783 |
| Kay | 1839 |
| Keith | 1811 |
| Kennedy | 1771 |
| Kenneth | 1743 |
| Kennethina | 1828 |
| Kitty | 1822 |
| Lachlan | 1746 |
| Laetitia | 1808 |
| Laurence | 1723 |
| Laurie | 1814 |
| Lavinia | 1833 |
| Leask | 1769 |
| Leonora | 1735 |
| Lesslie | 1765 |
| Leven | 1796 |
| Lewis | 1741 |
| Lillias | 1680 |
| Lilly | 1700 |
| Lindsay | 1755 |
| Linis | 1792 |
| Linn | 1823 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| Louisa &c. | 1775 |
| Love | 1803 |
| Low | 1813 |
| Lucia | 1752 |
| Luciana | 1780 |
| Lucretia | 1718 |
| Lucretius | 1788 |
| Lucy | 1728 |
| Ludovick | 1723 |
| Luke | 1809 |
| Lumsdaine | 1775 |
| Lydia | 1736 |
| Lydiors | 1758 |
| M.J. | 1818 |
| Mackay | 1784 |
| Mady | 1811 |
| Magdalene | 1707 |
| Magnus | 1680 |
| Malcolm | 1691 |
| Malley | 1766 |
| Marabel | 1712 |
| Marcus | 1800 |
| Margaret | 1680 |
| Maria | 1798 |
| Mariana | 1757 |
| Marianus | 1775 |
| Marina | 1778 |
| Marion &c. | 1680 |
| Marjory | 1681 |
| Marmaduke | 1718 |
| Marshall | 1776 |
| Marsley | 1818 |
| Martha | 1683 |
| Martine | 1717 |

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Mary &c. | 1680 |
| Matilda | 1823 |
| Matthew | 1680 |
| Maxwell | 1760 |
| May | 1704 |
| McInnes | 1773 |
| Mckinlay | 1756 |
| Mearns | 1816 |
| Melvin | 1824 |
| Michael | 1681 |
| Michie | 1821 |
| Millar | 1788 |
| Minie | 1797 |
| Mitchell | 1757 |
| Moncrieff | 1781 |
| Monely | 1827 |
| Morrison | 1808 |
| Moses | 1693 |
| Muir | 1727 |
| Mungo | 1689 |
| Murdoch | 1764 |
| Murray | 1802 |
| Myreton | 1765 |
| Nancy | 1783 |
| Nanny | 1760 |
| Nans | 1692 |
| Nathan | 1779 |
| Nathanael | 1681 |
| Nell | 1779 |
| Nelly | 1778 |
| Nicholas | 1684 |
| Nicla | 1831 |
| Nicoll | 1684 |
| Niel | 1681 |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Nielson | 1791 |
| Nila | 1801 |
| Ninian | 1681 |
| Nisbet | 1838 |
| Norman | 1802 |
| Normand | 1789 |
| Norris | 1770 |
| O'Rina | 1831 |
| Oatman | 1743 |
| Oliver | 1759 |
| Onesiphorus | 1830 |
| Orr | 1748 |
| Oslay | 1756 |
| Oswald | 1826 |
| Park | 1814 |
| Patricia | 1759 |
| Patrick | 1680 |
| Paul | 1750 |
| Peggy | 1782 |
| Penelope | 1712 |
| Penuel | 1787 |
| Peter | 1685 |
| Peterny | 1705 |
| Philadelphia | 1776 |
| Philip | 1737 |
| Phyllis | 1804 |
| Pollock | 1791 |
| Porter | 1819 |
| Primrose | 1734 |
| Pringle | 1775 |
| Quintine | 1714 |
| Rachel | 1689 |
| Rahel | 1705 |
| Ralph | 1776 |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Rebecca | 1692 |
| Reuben | 1747 |
| Rhea | 1838 |
| Richard | 1681 |
| Richmond | 1816 |
| Ritchie | 1766 |
| Robert | 1680 |
| Robertson | 1788 |
| Robina | 1703 |
| Roderick | 1775 |
| Rodger | 1724 |
| Ronald &c. | 1786 |
| Rorina | 1834 |
| Rory | 1777 |
| Rosa | 1821 |
| Rosanna &c. | 1765 |
| Rose | 1807 |
| Rowan | 1786 |
| Rupart | 1802 |
| Ruth | 1761 |
| Sally | 1793 |
| Samuel | 1698 |
| Sarah | 1682 |
| Sarai | 1730 |
| Scota | 1741 |
| Scott | 1761 |
| Sheddan | 1807 |
| Sibby | 1784 |
| Sibilla | 1758 |
| Simeon | 1795 |
| Simon | 1700 |
| Smellie | 1750 |
| Smibert | 1820 |
| Solomon | 1718 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| Somerville | 1779 |
| Sophia | 1680 |
| Stephen | 1692 |
| Stewart | 1764 |
| Stonely | 1750 |
| Strachan | 1778 |
| Struan | 1776 |
| Susan | 1742 |
| Susanna | 1688 |
| Sutherland | 1777 |
| Tammey | 1769 |
| Teresa | 1799 |
| Theophilus | 1680 |
| Thom | 1713 |
| Thomas | 1680 |
| Thomina | 1780 |
| Thomson | 1785 |
| Una | 1784 |
| Unnie | 1774 |
| Ursilla | 1720 |
| Vear | 1773 |
| Veramina | 1769 |
| Verica | 1813 |
| Veronica | 1784 |
| Violet | 1684 |
| Violetta | 1740 |
| Waddel | 1760 |
| Walker | 1778 |
| Walter | 1692 |
| Warrander | 1836 |
| Watt | 1819 |
| Wellwood | 1799 |
| Wemyss | 1830 |
| Wightman | 1763 |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Willhelmina | 1775 |
| William | 1680 |
| Williamina | 1728 |
| Willina | 1813 |
| Wilson | 1808 |
| Wright | 1805 |
| Wylie | 1790 |
| Zacharias | 1698 |
| Zebulon | 1793 |
| Zina | 1775 |

Appendix V: Children with alternative names

Clerks recorded more than one name for some children. As discussed in 4.2.5, these names were not included in the overall name-stock. They are presented below, alphabetically ordered according to the first name given in the record.

| First name given | Second name given | Delimiter | Parish | No. of occurrences | Sex |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|--------|
| Agnus | Agie | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Alexandrina | Alexie | = | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Andrea | Rhea | commonly called | Kilrenny | 1 | Female |
| Andrea | Rhea | or | Kilrenny | 2 | Female |
| Betty | Elizabeth | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Cathrine | Christian | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Effie | Vere | or | Kilmallie | 1 | Female |
| Elisabeth | Betty | - | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Euphemia | Effie | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Euphemia | Eppie | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Eury | Vear | i.e. | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Evander | Eoghain | or | Durness | 1 | Male |
| Evander | Ewan | or | Durness | 2 | Male |
| Jenna | Angusina | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Joan | Johnsie | or | Kilrenny | 1 | Female |
| Ketty | Cathrine | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Marion | Maryann | / | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Marion | Minie | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Marion | Mour | i.e. | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Marion | Mary | or | Kilrenny | 1 | Female |
| Marjory | May | or | Kilrenny | 2 | Female |
| Maryann | Minie | commonly called | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Maryann | Minie | i.e. | Durness | 1 | Female |
| May | Marjory | or | Kilrenny | 1 | Female |

| | | | | | |
|------------|----------|--|----------|---|--------|
| Peggy | Margaret | or | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Rhea | Andrea | or | Kilrenny | 1 | Female |
| Vear | Eury | / | Durness | 1 | Female |
| Vear | Eury | alias | Durness | 2 | Female |
| Wilhelmina | Mina | properly [Name 1] - commonly [Name 2] | Durness | 1 | Female |

Appendix VI: Middle names

This appendix comprises the 556 names which form the stock of middle names. 1,651 children were given middle names but 18 illegible entries were discounted from the name-stock. This appendix therefore represents 1,633 children who had one or more middle names. Names are presented in alphabetical order, alongside number of occurrences.

| Name(s) | Male | Female | Unknown | Total number of occurrences |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Aberdour | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Abraham | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Adam | 4 | - | - | 4 |
| Addie | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Agnes | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Aird | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Aitchison | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Aitken | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Alexander | 9 | 3 | - | 12 |
| Alexander Muir | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Alexander Paterson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Alice | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Alicia | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Alison | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Allan | 3 | 6 | - | 9 |
| Allan McPhee | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Amelia | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Anderson | 4 | 5 | 1 | 10 |
| Andrew | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Angus | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Ann | - | 67 | - | 67 |
| Ann Amilia | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ann Cameron | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Annabella Earl | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Anne Baigrie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Anne Shirriffs | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Anne Stephenson | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Anstruther | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Archibald | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Armour | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Armstrong | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Arrott | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Arthur | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Augusta | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Augustus | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Baigrie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Baillie | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Baird | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Baker | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Balfour | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ballingall | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Band | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Band Cowper | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Banks | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Banochie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Barclay | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Barclay McPherson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Barr | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Barrack | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Barrie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Barron | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Bartholomew | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Baxter | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Belfraze | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bell | 5 | 5 | - | 10 |
| Bennet | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Bentley | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bethune | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Bett | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Beveridge | 1 | - | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|----------|----|----|---|----|
| Birrel | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bisset | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Black | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Blaikie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Blair | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Bogle | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| Bone | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bonnar | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Boog | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Boulton | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bow | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Boyd | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Boyle | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Brand | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Breck | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Bridges | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Brodie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Brown | 4 | 8 | - | 12 |
| Brownell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bruce | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| Bryce | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Bryden | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Buchan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Buchanan | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| Burns | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| C. | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Caig | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Caldwell | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Cameron | 8 | 2 | - | 10 |
| Campbell | 21 | 16 | - | 37 |
| Carfrae | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Carlile | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Carrick | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Carson | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Carstairs | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Cathcart | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Catherine | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| Catto | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Charles | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Charles Hendry | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Charteris | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Cheap | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Chevis | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Chiene | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Chisholm | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Christian | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Christiana | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Christie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Christina | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Clark | 1 | 6 | - | 6 |
| Cochran | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Cochrane Clellan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Cockburn | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Colin | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Colvin | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Comb | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Combs | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Connel | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Coulter | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Coventry | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Cowan | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Cowie | - | 2 | - | 1 |
| Cowper | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Craig | 3 | 2 | - | 5 |
| Craigie | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Crail | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Crambie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Crawford | 6 | 5 | - | 11 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Crawford Mout | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Cresswell | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Crichton | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Cromarty | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Crosbie | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Cruickshank | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Cubbison | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Cumming | 3 | 2 | - | 5 |
| Cuningham | 6 | 5 | - | 11 |
| Currie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Cuthbertson | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Dale | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Dalglisch | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Dalrymple | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Dalyell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Daniel | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| David | 4 | - | - | 4 |
| Davidson | 6 | 3 | - | 9 |
| Davis | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Dean | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Denniston | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Dewar | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Dick | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Dickie | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Dickson Gourley | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Dixon | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Donald | 2 | - | 2 | 4 |
| Donaldson | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Dorward | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Douglas | 7 | 5 | - | 12 |
| Douglas Moncrieff | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Dowie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Downie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Downs | 1 | - | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|----|
| Duguid | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Duncan | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Dundas | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Dundey | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Dunlop | 7 | 4 | - | 11 |
| Dunn | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Durie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Dykes | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Edgar | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Edward | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Elder | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Eliza | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Elizabeth | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Elizabeth Boog | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Elizabeth Fish | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Elizabeth Shaw | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Erskine | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Erskine Rankine | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Ewing | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Ewing Hamilton | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Fairlie | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Fairrie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Falconer | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Farzer | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Faulds | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Fergus | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Ferguson | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Ferrie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ferrier | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Ferries | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Findlay | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Finslater | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| Fisher | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Fleming | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Fletcher | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Flora | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Forbes | 5 | 5 | - | 10 |
| Forbes Scobie | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Forrest | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Forrester | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Forsyth | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Fowlar | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| Frances | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Francis Edward | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Fraser | 2 | 4 | - | 6 |
| Frederic | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Fubister | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Fullarton | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| Fulton | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| G. | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gairns | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Galbraith | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Galt | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gardiner | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Gardiner Marshall | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Garioch | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| Geddes | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Gemmell | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| George | 6 | - | 1 | 7 |
| George Hutchison | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| George Innes | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gibb | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Gibson | 4 | 3 | - | 7 |
| Gibson Thomson | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Giffen | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Gilkieson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gillies | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Gilmore | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|----|---|----|
| Glassford | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Glen | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Glover | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Good | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Gordon | 7 | 10 | 1 | 18 |
| Gordon Matheson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gordon William Anderson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gore | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Gourlay | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Govan | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Gowar | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Grace | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Graham | 6 | 4 | - | 10 |
| Graham Divot | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Grant | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Gray | 2 | 4 | - | 6 |
| Gregory | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Greig | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Grieve | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Grimmand | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Grubb | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Guthrie | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| Haig | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Haldan | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Hall | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Hall Ashmead | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Halliday | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Hamilton | 8 | 11 | - | 19 |
| Handiside | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Hardie | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Harper | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Harriet | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Harvey | - | 5 | - | 5 |
| Hatt | 1 | - | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|----------------|----|---|---|----|
| Hay | 7 | 4 | - | 11 |
| Helen | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Henderson | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Hendry | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Henrietta | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Henry | 6 | 1 | - | 7 |
| Henry Newman | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Heron | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Hill | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| Hodge | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Hogarth McLean | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Hogg | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Home | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Honeyman | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Hope | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Hopkin | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Houden | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Hount | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Howat | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| Howie | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Hugh | 10 | - | - | 10 |
| Humphrey | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Hunter | 3 | 7 | - | 10 |
| Hutchison | 5 | 7 | - | 12 |
| Hutton | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Imray | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| Ingles | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Inness | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Irvine | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Isabella Robb | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Isobella | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| J. Johnstone | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Jack | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Jackson | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |

| | | | | |
|---------------|---|----|---|----|
| Jaffray | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| James | 9 | 1 | - | 10 |
| James Garden | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| James Grant | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| James Stewart | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Jamieson | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Jane | - | 10 | - | 10 |
| Jane Emslie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Janet | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Jean | 2 | 4 | - | 6 |
| Jessie | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Joanna | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| John | 7 | - | - | 7 |
| John Marshall | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| John Scobie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| John Skilling | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| John Thomson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Johnston | 6 | 4 | - | 10 |
| Jonathan | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Keay | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Keddie | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Keith | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Kelly | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Kelso | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Kennedy | 5 | 2 | - | 7 |
| Kenneth | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| Kerr | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Kidd | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Kilburne | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Kilgour | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| King | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Kininmond | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Kinloch | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Kirk | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |

| | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|
| Kirkwood | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Kitchen | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Knox | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Kyle | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Laidlaw | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Laing | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Lamont | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Langmuir | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Laughton | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Laurence | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| Layal | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Leaper | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Leburn | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Lecadet | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Lee | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Lees | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Leg | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Leishman | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Lennox | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Leslie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Letham | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Lewis | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Liddell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Lilburn | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Lillie | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Limond | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Lindsay | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| Livingston | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Lochhead | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Logan | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Loudon | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Low | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Luke | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Lumsdain | - | 2 | - | 2 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Lusk | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Lyon | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Lyon Walker | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Lyons | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Macgillivray | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Mackay | 6 | 3 | 2 | 11 |
| Mackay Thomson | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Mackie | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Mackintosh | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| MacMonnies | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| MacNiel | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mair | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Maitland | - | 7 | - | 7 |
| Maitland Gordon | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Malcolm | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| Manuel | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mareon | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Margaret | - | 5 | - | 5 |
| Maria | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Marten | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Mary | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mason | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Massie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mathers | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mathie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Matthew | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Maxwell | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| McAdam | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| McAlpine | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McCall | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| McCallum | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| McCay | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McCormack | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McCummin Hamilton | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| McDonald | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| McDougall | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McDougall Gillespie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McEwen | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McFarlane | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McFie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McGill | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McGregor | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| McIndoe | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McIntyre | 2 | 3 | - | 5 |
| McKean | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McKenzie | 3 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| Mckerrell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mckinlay | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McLaren | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McLean | 4 | - | - | 4 |
| McLeod | 4 | 5 | - | 9 |
| McMaster | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McNish | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| McPhail | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McPherson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mcqueen | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| McWhirter | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mearns | - | 7 | - | 7 |
| Meassone | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Meek | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Meiklejohn | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Meldrum | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Melville | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mess | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Michie | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Middlewick | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Millar | 1 | 5 | - | 6 |
| Milne | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|----|
| Mitchell | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Moir | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Moncrieff | 4 | 5 | 1 | 10 |
| Moncrieff Pattison | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Monson | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Montgomery | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Moodie | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Morris | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Morrison | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| Morton | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mossman | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mowat | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Muir Fullarton | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Mundie | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Munro | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Murdoch | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Mure | 1 | 7 | - | 8 |
| Murray | 5 | 6 | - | 11 |
| Napier | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Neilson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Nelson | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Nicol | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Nicolson | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Niel | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Nisbet | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Niven | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Norris | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| O'Connor | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Odie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ogilvie | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Ogston | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Oliver | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Orr | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Oswald | 7 | 5 | - | 12 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Owen | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| P Helen | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Paisley | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Park | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Paterson | 3 | 3 | - | 6 |
| Paton | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Patricia | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Paul | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Pearson | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Peden | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Pennal | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Peter V[-] | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Petrie | 3 | 2 | - | 5 |
| Pettegrew | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Petullo | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Philp | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Pillans | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| Pirie | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| Pollock | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Porter | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Portious | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Portious Maitland | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Pringle | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Railton | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Rainnie | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Rallary | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ralston | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Ramsey | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ranald | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Rankine | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Reay | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Reginald | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Reid | 3 | 2 | - | 5 |
| Rhynd | 1 | - | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|----|---|----|
| Rian | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Richardson | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Richmond | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Riddel | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Ritchard | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Ritchie | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Robb | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Robert | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Robert Mackay | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Robertson | 9 | 11 | - | 20 |
| Robina | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Robison | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Rollo | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Ross | 7 | 2 | - | 9 |
| Rothesia | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Rowan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Rowe | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Roxburgh | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Roy | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Russell | 1 | - | 1 | 2 |
| Ryan | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Sampson | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Sangster | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Scobie | 8 | 4 | - | 12 |
| Scott | 3 | 9 | - | 12 |
| Seath | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Semple | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Shannon | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Sharp | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Sharp Pattison | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Shaw | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Shearer | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Sheddan | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Sheills | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----|---|---|----|
| Sherran | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Shoolbred | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Sim | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Simpson | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Sinclair | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Skinner | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| Skirvan | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Smart | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Smith | 6 | 9 | - | 15 |
| Sommerville | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Sophia | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Souter | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Speirs | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Spence | 4 | - | - | 4 |
| Spread | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| St. Clair | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Stanley | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Stark | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Steel | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Steven | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Stevenson | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Stevenson Crawford | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Stewart | 11 | 9 | - | 20 |
| Stirling | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Struthers | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Summers | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Susan | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Susan Maitland | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Susannah Monteith | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Sutherland | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Swan | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Swanstone | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Tait | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Tarvit | - | 2 | - | 2 |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|---|----|
| Tarvit Sutherland | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Taylor | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Theodora Coverdale | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Thom | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Thomson | 13 | 10 | 1 | 24 |
| Thornton Melville | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Tinion | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Todd | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Topping | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Turnbull | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Tyndall Bruce | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Ure | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Veitch | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Vogelsang | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Volum | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Waddell | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Walker | 4 | 10 | - | 14 |
| Walkinshaw | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Wallace | - | 5 | - | 5 |
| Wardrop | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Watson | 6 | 7 | - | 13 |
| Weir | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| West | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Whitehead | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Whyte | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Widds | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Wilkie | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| William | 4 | - | - | 4 |
| Wilson | 14 | 15 | - | 29 |
| Wilson Cowan | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Wingate | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Wise | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Wishart | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Wood | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Woods | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Wylie | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Wymess | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Yarmouth | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Young | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| Youngson | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Yule | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Total | 799 | 819 | 15 | 1,633 |
| Number of illegible entries | 5 | 12 | 1 | 18 |
| Overall total | 804 | 831 | 16 | 1,651 |

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- Govan: 646/1, 646/2, 646/3
- Holm (as Holm and Paplay): 19/1, 19/2
- Kilmallie (as Kilmalie): 520/1, 520/2
- Kilrenny: 438/1, 438/2, 438/3

- Longside: 218/1, 218/2, 218/3
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