Kinship Collation:
*Trends in 19th Century UK kinship networks evidenced from rural Aberdeenshire*

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Abstract

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This thesis presents kinship collation a social history tool that can reveal the sense of community as experienced by past individuals from the mapping of their networks with related people across landscapes, social institutions and economic activity. The tool was developed from a doctoral project that worked from the interdisciplinary scholarly space created by modern, digitised genealogical endeavour and synergises methodological theories with processes that can repurpose the British-sphere record base of enumeration returns and population records.

The thesis challenges the longstanding belief that British data does not carry information on the kinship behaviours of nineteenth-century actors; instead, it reveals that the data has been intentionally and unintentionally hidden. It has taken the development of improved accessibility, enhanced visualisation and data management technology combined with a specific theorisation of kinship to reveal the varied kinship connectivity that ran through society influenced in form by socioeconomic currents. The thesis, therefore, asserts that British orthodoxy on kinship has fallen behind the theoretical discussions on the nature of kinship as mutuality and reciprocity between actors as it manifests in European cultures. The discourse follows an anthropological argument that not all relatives, even close ones are automatically kin, aligned to a hypothesis that kinship is not limited to the private world of the domestic co-residency.

The importance of kinship collation to map the lived community and identify kinship is amplified from a Scottish region; the sprawl of kinship is tracked as it was sustained across continents, over many decades and passed between generations. The networks are analysed for indicators of social forces that operated through the structures of the modern world, democracy, liberal values and capitalist structures and as individual social capital that stabilised women and men in their situations.
Acknowledgements

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Glossary of Terms

Agnatic - a relative whose connectivity is exclusively through males
Collateral - any blood relative who is not a direct ancestor, cousins, nieces, nephews, aunts, uncles, siblings
Farmtoun – the traditional economic unit of Hanoverian Grampian which changed from an eighteenth-century pattern of a small cluster of tenants and families that worked a rented acreage with a level of commonality but with a distinct notion of seniority to a more capitalist model. In the nineteenth century, this consisted of a primary tenant with direct control of the economic unit supported either by insecure labouring families or crofter-small holders who supplemented income with work on the big farm. Farmtouns often had a further family dedicated to a craft, smith, shoemaker, grocer, a large estate having a diverse range of such families scattered over its farmtouns.
Gynocentric - refers to a dominant or exclusive focus on women in theory or practice;
Matrifocal - focused or centred on the mother,
Matrifocality – relationship connections anchored through female actors
Matrilineal - relating to or based on the relationship to the mother or descent through the female line.
Patrifocal - focused or centred on the father.
Patrilineal - relating to or based on the relationship to the father or descent through the male line.
*Quoad Sacra* – an arrangement of the established Church of Scotland to apportion territory from a traditional parish area to associate the population to a church building better placed to service their needs; without disturbing the wider structures
Stem - any direct blood relative, parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren great-grandparents
Chapter 1 Introduction

1a. Kinship rediscovered

Peter Laslett, the ‘father’ of British kinship studies, would likely be stunned by the sheer volume of material amassed and displayed by amateur genealogical sleuths on the relationships between past people at various levels of society. Genealogically connected material on a mass-scale, has created a resource base that would have been unachievable by prior scholars and requires theoretical consideration as a new form of data. The thesis, therefore, works with the newly accumulated resource to contribute to academic theories of kinship in British society through the nineteenth century, and to apply these theoretical methods to the context of Scottish kinship.

In 2003 Andrej Plakans and Charles Wetherell reminded the readership of Continuity and Change of Laslett’s basic position on kinship in British society. ‘… the evidence for the study of kin relations outside co-resident domestic groups in past time does not yet exist for England, nor in any complete form for any other country known to me.’¹ By quoting his 1972 work Household and family in past time, they established their review point for a discussion as to the potential of kinship studies. Plakans and Wetherell for their conclusion three decades later stated,

By coupling what is known about both kinship and domestic groups in historic Europe, a network-analytic perspective makes sense because it can not only help to explain the interaction visible in common records, but also to postulate connections that remain to be systematically documented.

The debates that have emerged from the dominance of Laslett’s theories and the challenges to them that have arisen from within anthropology and the European academy drive the

backdrop to the contributions of the thesis which are methodological and theoretical as well as thematic and analytical. The developments in methodological and theoretical approaches to the role of kinship will be evidenced and put into practice through case studies rooted in Scotland’s Grampian region that draw on gynocentric analysis, political development and migration. The thesis takes note that the functions of kinship may be reduced in western societies, but both that reduction trend and the residual function are worthy of examination. Elements of this are found in the work of Martine Segalen and Rosemary O’Day.2

In 2003 Plakans and Wetherell were writing in the opening period of an explosion in availability, assignment and alignment of individual genealogical records into vast online, publicly available, rapidly verifiable webs of related people. The changes wrought by these new capabilities and possibilities on the record base are discussed in this thesis as enablers of new methods of handling large data about societal relationships. The drive and capability to create vast globe-spanning, century covering networks of servants, miners, sailors, labourers, prisoners, peers, senators, administrators, and laundry workers, have lain with an ongoing genealogical interest in different societies.3 Hannah Little turned to the genealogist, Sir Anthony R. Wagner for encapsulation of this trend.

…but those once bitten are apt to find that the fever of the chase leads them on. Their appetite for pedigree grows with the eating. The detective instinct is stimulated, the collector’s passion for completeness roused.

Which may well explain the accumulation of the raw data for this thesis over twelve years; the process began as an activity to stimulate a grandmother diagnosed with early signs of dementia. Within just a day a family surprises had emerged; the classic Alice in Wonderland ‘rabbit hole’ that creates the amateur genealogist. Many years later having followed false leads, poor assumptions and being berated by fellow users of genealogy websites, I had strayed far from my pedigrees.

Instead, a web of thousands of interconnected people had emerged. These individuals continually merged into, de-merged from and calved from domestic family groups, with

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levels of retained connection over time and distance. Maternally a southern England highly mobile, hidden Catholic rural working-class network, had butted against a solidly Somerset farm-labouring dynasty with elements spread into the South Wales industrialisation. While paternally, the employment in the mid-1930s of a young Aberdeenshire formal garden journeyman by the Ogilvy, Earls of Airlie at Cortachy Castle, Perthshire meant he could randomly meet the estate supervisor’s housemaid who at age thirteen had migrated from Castle Milk, Dumfriesshire in 1932. In response to the raw data collected by amateur and professional genealogy sleuths, there is a deal of excitement and emotion caused by individual stories like these. Such is observable in popular culture programming like ‘Who do you think you are?’ and in numerous books including Alison Light’s *Common people: The history of an English family* which captured the attention of the national media upon publication.\(^4\) Notably, Light’s work has been cited eight times in academic articles but as of yet has not been reviewed by an academic journal.

This introductory chapter continues with an overview of the state of historical kinship studies firstly as practised within and regarding Britain; secondly, as developed by anthropological and continental European scholars in the last four decades and thirdly, as it manifests within the Scottish historiography. The chapter argues that the UK school of history lacks a conceptual theory of kinship and therefore has no tools to study it. This tripartite review sets the stages to discuss the purpose and intent of the thesis’s contribution to methodology and theory of historical kinship of British influenced cultures to restart wider academic discourses as the first part of the thesis. The second half of the thesis, from chapter five, applies the learning and developed methods, within the Scottish historical context of nineteenth-century Grampian.

**1b. British writing on kinship**

Kinship has featured within British sociological and historical studies pre and post the development of modern academia. In common with the broader European scholarly traditions, much theoretical work on the subject was informed by the encounter with other world cultures and a consequential drive to differentiate European, Western European, north-west European societies from others. Eventually, much of this work was placed in the school of Anthropology which sought to define other sociocultural systems from a European perspective. Within this broader trend, Naomi Tadmor has discussed how European scholars

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\(^4\) Alison Light, *Common People: The History of An English Family* (Fig Tree, 2014).
across many centuries, defined their socio-cultural heritage of kinship, as being a process of contraction to small nuclear family units.\(^5\)

When the British school of history as part of the wider Anglo-American culture returned to kinship in the post-war decades as a component of the study of family, it did so with an acceptance of the small nuclear household-family as the basic and significant societal unit. The work of Laslett stands within and defines this historiographical trend, particularly through his work with demographic resources, and his influence remains pervasive within the British approaches. Mark Rothery in his recent work acknowledged the stranglehold of the Laslett stance ‘the idea of the modern nuclear-privatised household’ derived from the assessment of agnatic surnames in the 1821 census and the weakness of the British internal challenge to it through reliance on the arguments made by Di Cooper and Moira Donald in the 1990s.\(^6\) As Laslett’s core theory specified the contraction of socio-biological related people to the family, his school has been part of the de-emphasising of wider kin forms and the intermingling, inter-changeability of terminologies. This process is apparent through his key canon works in which he discussed the essentialness of the western family, kinship as defined through blood and marriage relationships, and earmarked co-residing domestic households as the foundations of the nuclear family.\(^7\) For Laslett, the dominance of the nuclear family was an essential expression of modernity and fundamental to the nature of the nation-state and the self-expression of individuals enabled through the decline of reliance upon trust within a coterie of relations. The impact of Laslett has been profound, and this section explores how it has contributed to a stalled British perception of kinship as his leadership in the words of Steve King has suppressed scholarly explorations of the societal networks that extended family, belonging from the household into the wider community.\(^8\)

The core assertion going forward in this section is that the work of Cooper and Donald marks the internal stall point in British historiographical explorations of kinship as

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\(^6\) Mark Rothery, 'Communities of kin and English landed gentry families of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.', *Family & Community History.*, (2018), pp.1463-1180., p.1464.


responses to their work sought to sideline their findings. As a side product of a wider project Cooper and Donald worked with a narrow set of households and assembled the genealogical connections of all residents. Their late Hanoverian suburban start point recovered sprawling connectivity between the socioeconomically stratified people within the household, the resulting queries they raised has remained undeveloped. Part of the explanation for the stall is an earlier divergence in the 1980s from the methodological and theoretical insights of Anthropology and European scholarly approaches. Such developments marked and challenged the limited perspectives of the Laslett-Hammel 1974 criterions of location, functionality and kinship for blocks of interlocutory people. This section looks at eight key thematic developments that run through and alongside the British historiography. The themes, serve to summarise and contextualise the divergence and stall points. Appendix I illustrates the argument with a case study while this section concludes with the last major review of British kinship studies, conducted in a Special edition of Continuity and Change in 2010.

The first theme to consider is that British approaches to kinship cannot be separated from the broader cultural-academic traditions that emerged from the participation of the British Isles in the European encounter with the non-European world in what became colonisation and imperialisation. The need to understand the rise of western European cultures to globe-straddling superpowers generated themes of western exceptionalism. British thinkers such as Adam Smith, as well as European scholars (reflected on, in the following section) contributed to this with their thoughts on topics such as family and the household. In the twentieth century, a British culture of exceptionalism remained firm with an emphasis on the importance of state institutions for the benefit of the individual who therefore was less reliant on social structures such as their kinfolk. The essential contention up to the closing decades of the century was whether the English responded to the growth of the Renaissance, Enlightenment and modern bureaucratic state with a reduction in social connectedness, the master narrative of kinship. Or whether these developments were caused

10 Pankaj Mishra, From the Ruins of Empire: The revolt against the West and the remaking of Asia (Allen Lane, 2012), p.19-20.
by a cultural shift that had pre-weakened relationships such as kinship with a focus on the family, the revisionist narrative of kinship.\textsuperscript{13}

The ongoing tussle between the two positions can be seen in Gerald Cradock’s review of Arland Thornton’s work. Thornton is convinced that the concept of the ‘master narrative’ itself had its roots further back into the early modern period, and has been and continues to be, exported globally as a determining feature of modernity. Thus there is a strong cultural assumption that the emergent modern world was and is marked by the assertion of individuality and nuclear families.\textsuperscript{14} Cradock though noted that Thornton was frustrated by the ongoing ‘master narrative’ dominance in that the ‘academic, governmental, and cultural spheres throughout the world’ held to the belief that families had shrunk from extended to nuclear as a consequence of modernity and industrialisation in a rigid and inevitable process.\textsuperscript{15} Cradock further stressed that nuclear-family ideas and theories captured by the master and revisionists narrative might only have relevance for England and northern France holding little nuanced relevance in other parts of the UK let alone within a wider Euroamerican context, a standpoint taken up by Siegfried Gruber and Mikołaj Szoltyskek.\textsuperscript{16}

The second theme for consideration is that exceptionalism cannot be separated from the culture of Britishness as a unifying state project and that the notion of a dominant family form somehow exemplified the character of Britain. Lutz Berkner in 1975 directed attention to Laslett’s starting point, the census as a source and that what mattered was the dominant family form, and this is what needed to be established and studied. Berkner considered this a narrow perspective and that despite Laslett’s claims to study kinship, he and his school failed to do so. ‘He Laslett is careful to point out that he is only talking about the family in the narrowest sense as the residential kinship group, yet he draws conclusions about the family in the broadest sense as a social institution.’\textsuperscript{17} Therefore, with the enduring dominance of the Laslett school, now known as the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social

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Structure, now under the label Campop, the importance of which lies in the influence of Laslett, his team and approaches to the orthodoxy of British thought on kinship.\textsuperscript{18}

It cannot be overlooked that Szołtysek and Radosław Poniat in 2018 noted that much of these combined themes has been untested, as kinship theorisation has received little interest from British scholarship since the 1990s.\textsuperscript{19} The unifying cultural approach has had many consequences such as a lack of appreciation for diversity, for instance, a heavy focus on the cultural identities of the forming middle classes.\textsuperscript{20} Stephen Caunce and John Gillis have argued that the family transformed into a closed, self-sufficient, self-creating form independent of older social, communal entities.\textsuperscript{21} This transformation was illustrated during the High Victorian period with a withdrawal of individuated nuclear families from a cultural association with the wider cousin networks. Gillis also focused in on the consequences of individuality and the family. He laid out in 1996 that the late Georgian period saw a strengthening of kinship dynamics from the preceding period, but the Victorian cultural changes reduced kin-relationships further. In contrast, demographically Ruggles has pointed to a late Victorian flourishing of co-residency kinship, especially amongst the middle-classes.\textsuperscript{22} Each of these studies has fallen prey to the desire to make a statement about Britain and Britons with limited regard for geographical, cultural and economic variety.

The impact of fuzzy language is the third theme. The narrowness of linguistics underpins and complicates research as English has a dearth of words that capture degrees of relatedness. The assumptive argument being that if a type of relationship had cultural value, then the language would retain a descriptive term. Instead, beyond the language of the core family, siblings, parents, there are no strong, distinctive terms. Rosemary O’Day in her 1980s

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\item \textsuperscript{19} Mikolaj Szołtysek and Radosław Poniat, 'Historical family systems and contemporary developmental outcomes: what is to be gained from the historical census microdata revolution?', \textit{The History of the Family}, (2018), pp.1-27.; p.2-3.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid.p.174.; Steven Ruggles, \textit{Prolonged connections: The rise of the extended family in nineteenth-century England and America} (University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).
\end{itemize}
studies of historical family behaviours drew attention to the trend of European languages to have lost firm language definers of family, relatedness and kinship. Cousin describes all levels and types, and aunt makes no distinction between a mother’s sister or father’s brother’s wife. The lack of such descriptions and their inconsistent use led, in the last years of the twentieth century, the likes of Davidoff et al. to acceptance that kinship had formed only a minor part of an individual’s identity. From their analysis, they suggested that nineteenth-century English thought and historical praxis had a deep historical bias to the male, the fourth theme, and promoted patriarchal biological relationships, resulting in even the affinal (e.g. in-law) relationship being suspect and assuredly second-tier. In turn, these first four themes have their basis within the established orthodox approaches to British kinship encapsulated in Katherine Lynch’s summation of Continuity and Change’s special edition on kinship which opened with an emphasis on ‘the ongoing appeal of well-known approaches to the history of the family’. The development and persistence of the orthodox approaches have to be understood through the types, organisation and preservation of materials with a consequence for the challenger approaches that have on occasion arisen.

The fifth to eighth themes emerge from these sporadic challenges in recent decades that have stood outside of the orthodoxy and include Tadmor’s challenge from within the kinship special edition. Her assertion was, that language is not stable, with individual words transforming in meaning over time, which is why the fifth theme is the intervention of literary analysis into kinship. Tadmor has been an exponent of this regarding actor-generated artefacts while Steve King, another of the challengers, has focused on the recovery of the voices of the poorest from documents generally-produced by others about them. King’s methodology stressed that documents need to be unpicked for small commentary that indicates otherwise unmentioned or unrecorded connectivity. The sixth theme derives from Tadmor and King as their research identified that related people of different socioeconomic situations were able and interested in retaining connections to their relatives over distance. Tadmor reminded the researcher that of course, it is not just the capacity to produce or have produced documentation in which the clues of kinship can be uncovered; such documents

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needed to be received with value and cherished as significant to survive the passage of time, both of which are indicative of kinship alignment. Such a perception directly contradicts that of Adam Smith but has gained little traction within the British historiography that has continued to be focused on the family, kinship limited to the household and researched through the records of parishes. Orthodox approaches have had no means to track beyond the borders of the parish as actors migrated, but the records themselves in a quantitative analysis revealed the impact of the movement. Therefore, scholars outside of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, the successors to the Laslett school, like Steve King, have postulated that local ought to be replaced by regional or walking-locales; as his work on pauper letters revealed that the poorest maintained kinship relationships that were both outside of the immediate nuclear family and in many cases extra-locality.

The seventh theme, analysis from a sideways perception, must also be regarded as marginal to the Laslettian orthodoxy in academia. The ability to look sides ways at the data means all the cultural underpinnings of the first four themes must be questioned. For example, Cradock questioned in the round, the significance of the dominance of the family, a shared experience of co-residency as kin;

If the nuclear family was prevalent prior to the industrial revolution, and if changes in families are capable of being motivating forces in history, as Thornton claims, why did the European working class family need so much intervention through tutelary and coercive mechanisms controlled by the newly ascendant middle class? Equally, Michael Grieco captured the importance and controversy around kinship in the British historiographical sphere in 1982 as he felt he was challenging the orthodoxy to talk

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27 Naomi Tadmor, ‘Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change’, pp.15-48
about the connection between working-class kin networks and the gaining of employment.\textsuperscript{31} Grieco described the established theory as being that kinship had no role in employment seeking and employee recruitment as the market was regarded as dealing efficiently with the placement of individuals. It is important to note that the sideways perspective is applied disjointedly, there has not been a concerted scholarly endeavour to sweep aside all components of the orthodox scholarly culture. Instead, singular researchers have pushed against an element of the established position, for example, John Langton, in the decades after Grieco, used the integration of Lancashire parish-based records and business records to show the importance of kinship amongst the coalfield proletariat. However, his observations were constrained to patrilineal assumptive connectivity.\textsuperscript{32}

The important work of Cooper and Donald and its failure to shift the orthodoxy captures what has happened to the challenger approaches, wider scholarly inertia, and highlights the failure of British historiography to develop theories of kinship as a distinct discipline and a cohesive theory based reposit to the Laslettian establishment. For example, Cooper and Donald were able to note the interaction of distant relatives but were locked into the domestic setting and the concept of regular interactions within a local bureaucratic zone. Consequently, while Cooper and Donald challenged the orthodoxy via an awareness of distant relatives being interlocked into relationships as employer and servant, which they achieved through the rediscovery of genealogical linkages, they simultaneously reinforced the pre-eminence of co-residency.

These decisions were driven by the researchers’ objective which were not to theoretically consider kinship. The detailed examination of all household residents by placing them into reconstructed networks of relatives without privileging gender or socioeconomic status revealed a series of questions around women in service roles, training, welfare support and connectivity. Cooper and Donald noted that the examples generated from four households


would not have come to light in a purely statistical analysis of the census returns, nor even in conclusions drawn from a detailed study of census material alone. They are based on a combination of using the census and a prosopographical approach.\textsuperscript{33}

The effort required to assemble the networks of those four households in the early 1990s was a major undertaking. To other researchers such an approach would have presented barriers of time, cost and resource identification, this is no longer the case and therefore, the final eighth theme must thus be addressed which is technological developments.

The explosion of technology, through the culture of public genealogical engagement, has been fundamental. Bernard Deacon presented the barrier-breaking developments of digitisation of records post-1841, in that it is now possible to rapidly yet accurately track an individual, a family, a kinship web through both time and locations. He noted from the perspective of 2007 how ‘This potentially frees the study of migration based on the CEBs from the confines formerly imposed by a necessary focus on one or a few places and, because of the difficulties regarding time and resources in tracking out-migrants, to in-migration only.’ Deacon by the use of a tracing method starting from 1851 was able to conclude that family connections had eased migratory patterns through to the end of the nineteenth century and therefore that decisions about timings and locations which could have been taken at a family level needed investigation. Therefore, technology has enabled new scholarly processes; but counterintuitively the public appetite for genealogy its outputs of information and data management, and the skill-based process methodologies have failed to become absorbed into the academic envelope. Notably, Deacon did not engage with a definition of the meaning of family let alone kinship, which is a common gap through many British studies that reference kinship behaviours and of course a theory of kinship takes us beyond the recovery of networks of relatives as undertaken by Cooper and Donald.\textsuperscript{34} Indeed, it is fundamental to recognise that the bulk of studies referenced here are not in their concept studies of kinship, but studies of the family or other subjects such as the development of urban communities, e.g., the Cooper and Donald study.\textsuperscript{35} In contrast, Iain Riddell both here


\textsuperscript{34} Bernard Deacon, ‘Communities, families and migration: some evidence from Cornwall’, \textit{Family & Community History}, 10, (2007), pp.49-60.

\textsuperscript{35} In contrast, anthropologists and continental European scholars have pursued a specific theoretical consideration as to the meaning of kinship within the European culture. This is a crucial gap when understood in tandem with the other themes. The consequences and interplay of the eight themes well be woven through the thesis as a whole and can be observed in a short illustrative case study in appendix i.
and in other works has sought to theorise British kinship as a social force that can be placed to the foreground and therefore examined for its impact on individual behaviours and societal structures.  

Before the chapter turns to a review of the developments which have diverged from British historiography, it would be inappropriate to close this section without direct consideration of the last overview of the state of British kinship studies. Tadmor’s 2010 British-sphere kinship assessment captured the development of these intellectual strands over centuries that have formed not just the general cloth of western Eurocentric thought but also how that cloth has dressed the scholarship that has emerged from within the Euroamerican sphere. From this broad context, she identified three approaches to the understanding of historical kinship patterns that had emerged since the 1950s: One the master narrative; Two the revisionist narrative and three the neo-revisionist. The master narrative stresses modernity as a factor in the decline of kinship patterns by individuals and their sublimation by modern liberal capitalist practices. Tadmor’s exploration of revisionist kinship noted the role of Laslett and Macfarlane as they used demography and anthropology to stress continuity over the change in western European behaviours. This 1960s movement pushed that modernity was enabled by a late medieval social preference for nuclear-family individuality.

Tadmor highlighted that the Cambridge Group as part of the revisionist challenge, took as their basis analysis ‘recognition that in England the conjugal or nuclear family had been the standard form for the co-residential domestic group over the whole period in question, that is from the late sixteenth century.’ Neo-revisionist approaches were extolled through her work in the 2000s based upon a literary critique of diaries and letters, Tadmor’s method and similar deconstruction of institutional records to distil actor voices as elucidated by King and Langton. What has to be noted though is that Tadmor’s review was tied to kinship as relatedness through biology and legal structure. Ultimately this is where the continental European and American anthropological approaches had diverged into new appreciations of what kinship is, as discussed below. In 2010, Tadmor said of more recent kinship work from historians as

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Rather than discussing the ways in which kinship was shaped by the forces of modernity; or, conversely, rather than emphasizing the limited role of kinship in social and economic life, recent research thus highlights the merits of kinship for mobilizing social and economic capital and for facilitating or promoting social, economic, and political exchanges of various sorts. The impact of this statement is felt through both halves of the thesis; the following three chapters stress the importance to understand what kinship is so that it can be studied and how the British record base can be encouraged to reveal the indicators of kin behaviour. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters, then apply the results of theorisation and methodological development to identify the interaction of the social force of kinship with those of gender, economic development, democratic growth and individual social power. This section has identified that kinship perspectives have stalled in the last thirty years; the next section will identify the Euroamerican developments that have kept continental and anthropological insights moving forward and diverging from the British academy.

1c. European and anthropological writing on kinship

In the preceding section, it was suggested that European scholars have in recent decades asked searching questions against the twentieth-century theories developed in Britain that impinge on the subject of kinship. The divergence between British and continental approaches is captured well in the bibliography of the latest work of Mikołaj Szóstyk and Radosław Poniat which references no British works since 1990. Consequently, there is much to explore, about the methodological, theoretical and practical advances of continental European kinship studies which have added depth and understanding to the definition and the impact of kinship on society.

There is capacity here to review chronologically the divergence line that commenced in American anthropology with David Schneider and then examine how it was taken up by investigators of European kinship patterns. The section will consider the reactions both initial and long-term to Schneider and then the innovations that gradually emerged. As most of the discourse on Schneider’s new approaches to kinship as a European cultural construct imposed on other societies occurred in anthropology, this section will make an occasional comment on the resistance that was generated. The core of the paradigm shift begun by Schneider was that

39 Naomi Tadmor, 'Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change', pp.15-48, p.16
40 Mikołaj Szóstyk and Radosław Poniat, 'Historical family systems and contemporary developmental outcomes: what is to be gained from the historical census microdata revolution?', pp.1-27
the treatment of biological kinship as an inherently special social relationship was both misleading and missed its importance.\textsuperscript{41} Frederick Damon in an early reflection on Schneider’s table-turning position posited that the essential heart of the message was that generations of anthropology’s luminaries had fallen:

back on the assumption, that a real biological connection is at the heart of kinship and human societies. Schneider believes that this set of ideas is just Western ideology. And that, therefore, nobody has justified kinship as a domain of studies with a real content to it. Kinship is thus like our categories "religion," "politics," and "economics," products of our own culture and not suitable for use as an analytical category for investigating other cultures.\textsuperscript{42}

The significant challenge to the universality of the western concept of biological kinship was not meant by Schneider to ‘throw the baby out with the bathwater’ but instead was to force a re-evaluation based upon the notion that it is the observer who defines kinship.\textsuperscript{43}

In response to the Schneiderian shift, Howard de Nike argued that the value of fictive relationship was not to be overlooked. His description of the post-Schneider understanding of fictive kinships and its practical applications guided the researcher through a series of didactic points regarding ‘fictive’ sociocultural relationships referenced with genus terminology that may be contextually stronger than actual biological networks.\textsuperscript{44} In summary, a man referred to as an uncle may not biologically be the sibling of one of the identifier’s parents, but the reciprocity and obligation of the two individuals’ relationship are as or more functionally fulfilling than that of an actual biological uncle-niece/nephew.

Peter Schweitzer generated reflections on the impact of Schneiderian anthropology in the late 1990s.\textsuperscript{45} Schweitzer urged recognition that kinship networks in western societies not only survived industrialisation but are a part of contemporary Euroamerican cultures. He stressed that individuals within European-sphere societies did not become inoculated to

\textsuperscript{43} Iain Riddell, ‘What was the Impact of Kinship on Social Formation Amongst the Farm Tenantry of the Ellon Hinterland? A Contribution to Understanding Nineteenth Century Social Formation in North-East Scotland’ (unpublished MA, The Open University, 2014), p.6
\textsuperscript{44} Howard De Nike J., \textit{German Unification and the Jurists of East Germany: An Anthropology of Law} (Scheblitz, 1997), p.39-40
\textsuperscript{45} Peter Schweitzer (ed.), ‘Dividends of Kinship: Means and uses of social relatedness’, European Association of Social Anthropologists (Routledge, 2000).
kinship patterns during the modernisation and compelled awareness that cultures created a romanticised narrative around the consequences of economic forces. Schweitzer drew attention to the importance of the gender and kinship overlap in his assessment of changes brought on by Schneiderian anthropology. In particular, he emphasised how a series of supposed dichotomies such as the public-private sphere of women and the domestic environment could be re-examined with an awareness of the interconnectivity across thresholds anchored to female kinship behaviours. Schweitzer also catalogued the impact of the Schneiderian challenge through a reflection upon the need to discover what the local meaning and symbols of kinship were; and how feminist insights have positioned kinship as instrumental to gender, reproduction and sexuality’s influence of societal forms. Schweitzer’s also discussed the function of kinship as both personal agency and social force. He drew renewed attention to Pierre Bourdieu’s research from the late 1980s in which cultural accretion was exposed. The example being locally lionised kinship exchange marriages in Western Algeria, a custom held up as an ideal but analysis revealed the tradition as the cheapest means to secure spousal partnerships.\(^{46}\) In turn, Schweitzer repeated Schneider’s call for understanding the social forces that impacted people’s social networking constructs, which Susan McKinnon noted as an important contribution made by Maynes et al. McKinnon, who has worked explicitly from within the Schneiderian approaches to ‘draw into plain view the often unspoken, limiting assumptions about the place and significance of kinship’ across her scholarly career, highlighted the research of Ortmayr and Nazzari, the former for exploring the impact of exploitative economics on illegitimacy rates and the latter for her juxta-positioning of class and race constructs onto kinship behaviours.\(^{47}\)

Writing in 2000 Robert Nye summed up the Euroamerican learning within kinship studies of the importance of interdisciplinary approaches. He regarded cross-disciplinary research as vital to avoid a socio-cultural distortion effect. He iterated this strongly within kinship studies as the process of kinship research is to map aspects of societies’ power relationships, assets and support networks.\(^{48}\) The entry of very modern constructions such as feminism and queer perspectives into this discourse can be captured as the impact and necessity to understand individual agency within constructs such as kinship that one commonly conceived of as being extra-individual, encompassing and subduing personal

\(^{46}\) Ibid., p.9


agency. Schweitzer’s observations around power, history and big picture concluded with historiographical approaches to kinship in the last decades of the twentieth century that brought ‘issues of social and gender inequality, production, reproduction and historical change’ into the schema of thinking.49

de Nike has continued to be clear in his objection to the ejection of biological connections from kinship studies.50 He was certain that the functionality of the relationship between biologically linked individuals especially that of physical, emotional and mental health care ought to be given recognition and regard as a core part of kinship study. Such a line of thought is important, as the debates over it ask fundamental questions as to the nature of society and its building blocks. In what context did actors of nineteenth-century western Europe make their decisions, individualistic, the nuclear family or as part of broader networks. As a counterpoint, Marshal Sahlin has pushed both the divergent line and the theorisation of European kinship further in recent years with the postulation that kinship is mutuality of being not biology.51 The uncoupling of biological connection and kinship concepts is not entirely settled, as the likes of Warren Shapiro have stressed their resistance to theories that move away from the pre-eminence of the west European nuclear-family model.52

Although there have been contentious discourses, scholars of European historical societies have continued to move forward with the application of Schneiderian anthropology into their studies. For instance, Hanne van Baelen and Koen Matthijs laid out how kinship study needs to seek beyond the extent of kinship-relatedness into the depth of the network. They reiterated the agreement that depth of kinship is measured by ‘combination of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services. 53 Indeed, the re-worked theories of kinship found in Schneiderian anthropology stress that kinship is not a standalone subject. Thus, Matteo Manfredini and Marco Breschi sought to understand how complex households of Italian sharecroppers contrasted to the nuclear family units of the day labourers

49 Peter Schweitzer (ed.), 'Dividends of Kinship: Means and uses of social relatedness', pp. 7-13
with links to non-co-resident family as different manifestations of kinship within the same locality.\textsuperscript{54} For her study of Esslingen’s political society Carola Lipp was explicit that she was not using kinship as a means to understand families, nor family-households, but instead was focused on kinship and community.\textsuperscript{55} Consequently, Continental European kinship studies since the 1990s had been pushing back against the notion that kinship had held no place in societies that had moved from status to contract based socio-economic, legal systems. Moreover, they have taken a stance that an overarch ing culture of kinship even at the local level could very well make no sense. Echoes of this can be found in Hilde Bras, Frans van Poppel and Kees Mandemakers’s work on marriage patterns in the Netherlands and also by Manfredini and Breschi’s consideration of economic variances on kin behaviours in Italy.\textsuperscript{56} It is then unsurprising that Bras and van Tilburg in 2007 were determined that historical research could benefit from the approaches taken by anthropologists and sociologists in the preceding years.\textsuperscript{57} In the decades since Schneider’s anthropological intervention, it has become best practice amongst European scholars to establish what is being observed. Bras and van Tilburg noted that they were exploring a biologically based social network for their 2007 study which grappled with how actor notions of kinship impacted networks and relationships of individual's. For her kinship and politics study, Carola Lipp stressed her disinterest in ego-ego based studies.

It follows from this discussion that that three significant theoretical innovations derived from Schneiderian anthropology which inform the study of European cultural sphere kinship are of importance to British historiography that has lagged. The first innovation is simply that Schneiderian anthropology recognises that kinship is both an important tool and perspective point from which to examine societies. Elements of the approach can also be discovered in research undertaken by, emanating from and regarding North America, which has included Gwen Neville’s examination of century-spanning American-Scots kin-reunions.\textsuperscript{58} Neville took as a theme the tension between belonging, as summed up by both

\textsuperscript{54} Matteo Manfredini and Marco Breschi, Coresident and non-coreident kin in a nineteenth-century Italian rural community, Annales de démographie historique, (Belin, 2005).
\textsuperscript{56} Hilde Bras, Frans van Poppel and Kees Mandemakers, ”Relatives as spouses: Preferences and opportunities for kin marriage in a Western society.”, American Journal of Human Biology, 21, (2009), pp.793-804., Matteo Manfredini and Marco Breschi, Coresident and non-coreident kin in a nineteenth-century Italian rural community.
biological kinship reinforced by faith kinship, and aspiration, which she labelled as a pilgrimage, and the urge to depart to seek one's fortune. 59 She confidently rooted these tensioned themes in various Protestant forms in the post-Reformation centuries. Thus, she treated ritual as a means to explore the constructedness of the kin. The lack of engagement of the wider British historiography with such approaches to kinship is notable and explains in part moribund debates on the nature and importance of British kinship.

The diversity of kinship patterns and behaviours is the second of the three innovations; non-universality was stressed by Daniel Smith in his 1989 paper on the transformation of New England’s kinship patterns. He illustrated how kinship historiography had moved forward and the benefits of further research in different localities and cultures.60 His article highlighted that universal application of theoretical concepts had limited understanding even when comparing two notionally culturally similar societies. Thus, the functionality of biological kinship as seen by James Henretta in eighteenth-century Maine made no sense within the Pennsylvanian part of eighteenth-century New England as shown by James Lemon, yet neither were in error. The latter society had limited foundations to engender biological kinship or sustain it as a social model, whereas the north-eastern seaboard societies of eighteenth-century Maine had been shown to use biological kin networks as the mainstay of social cohesion. Smith’s acceptance of non-inherency allowed him to re-examine what he regarded as a bitter divide between Lemon and Henretta; Smith allowed in effect both studies to stand as correct each within their contexts and rejected firm stratified hierarchies of kinship. Smith concluded his reflections on Lemon and Henretta with the notion that ‘… it is conceivable that there was no such thing as "northern" society. Instead, there could have been at least two quite distinct regions.’ The lack of this perspective in the British kinship literature matter because the underpinning assumption is of a dominant form that typifies Britain and Britishness, this not only marginalises the expression of society being developed from the impact of mass migration but reduces the awareness of non-middle class, southern English patterns of community as noted by Cradock.

A third innovation is to take account of the interaction of kinship with other social behaviours and economic factors. Neville’s intersection of the social impact of faith and kinship is one of many cultural discourses noted in the literature outside of the British

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59 Gwen Kennedy Neville, *Kinship and Pilgrimage: Rituals of Reunion In American Protestant Culture*, p.1
60 Daniel Scott Smith, "All in Some Degree Related to Each Other": A Demographic and Comparative Resolution of the Anomaly of New England Kinship, pp.44-79, p50.
historiography. Similarly, the late 1980s work of Tom Ericson was built upon use of kinship as a means to explore Swedish urban shopkeepers, while Bras’s work has brought into question the existence of a European, north-western European or even northern French and southern Britain kinship, monolithic culture of societal developmentalism.\textsuperscript{61} The narrowness of British appreciation of these three innovations is best evidenced from the footnotes of Richard Wall’s 2010 contribution to Continuity and Change’s special edition on kinship in which he responded to Cooper and Donald’s non-quantitative approach to the population records.

4 Some servants were in fact related to the householder although their relationship was not recorded by the census enumerators. See D. Cooper and M. Donald, ‘Households and “hidden” kin in early-nineteenth-century England: four case studies in suburban Exeter, 1821–1861’, Continuity and Change 10 (1995), 257–78. However, it is unlikely that most servants in English households were related to their employers, given that in pre-industrial England 30 per cent of all males and 40 per cent of females aged 20–4 were in service at any one time and given the frequency with which they moved from one service post to another. See Peter Laslett, Family life and illicit love in earlier generations (Cambridge, 1977), 34, 72–3.\textsuperscript{62}

Wall notably responds to the prosopographical method with reliance upon numbers. Moreover, he skips Cooper and Donald’s assessment that the presence of kin-servants has broader implications for social debates than the quantification of biological connectedness and finally indicates how he continues to privilege the higher status, the employing head of household, individuals. The innovative approach begins instead with the question how many of the non-statused individuals were related to each other and how many individuals of the ever-changing staff teams in one household were related to each other over time, \textit{i.e.}, the cook moved on but the maid that was engaged two years later was her aunt’s son’s niece-in-law.


During this short discussion, it has been clear that developments in kinship studies have primarily been within the domain of Anthropology which has not filtered into British-sphere historiography of kinship but have been adopted into scholarly approaches focused on the historical manifestations of kinship on the continent. On a wider scale, East European scholars have pushed back heavily on the very foundations of the British-sphere investigation of kinship by unpicking the monolithic theories of Laslett. The lack of coherence between the two scholarly bodies is the divergence point driver of this thesis. It is crucial to appreciate that the key difference that has opened up between British and continental European approaches is that in the latter kinship has been developed as a discipline and concept, supported by theoretical approaches and process. Whereas in the former kinship has remained an amorphous catch-all terminology and the census family has remained the keystone of societal analysis with all its inherent flaws as a bureaucratic state device.

As the chapter moves forward to explore the literature of Scottish kinship studies, it is important to note that both Euroamerican anthropology and continental European kinship studies have had to engage with the heritage of western exceptionalism. Schneiderian anthropology has been part of that struggle. The power of western-thought, about its societal evolution away from kinship and its imposition of analysis on other cultures formed the background to Rose Stremlau’s consideration of the forces exerted upon Indian, First Nation, families in the decades after the American Civil War. Her research notably relied heavily on sources drawn from elite and governmental approaches towards marginalised communities. Stremlau’s introduction illustrated the impact of the imposition of a ‘modern’ nuclear, individualistic social model as the appropriate and idolised model that would bring ‘freedom’ from archaic ‘primitive’ practices such as kinship networking. Pockets of European populations were subjected to similar marginalisation by mainstream European developmental liberalism, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Americas. As parts of Scotland’s population were so treated, therefore to understand British kinship behaviours attention should be given to the diverse socioeconomic populations of nineteenth-century Northern Britain.

1d. Scottish writing on kinship

It is inescapable that Scotland is a component of western Europe, with links to the northern European culture, and has played in prior centuries a vital part of the British imperial project. Therefore, all that has been noted about British historiography runs through into the Scottish historiography inclusive of the identification of a stall point and divergence from the developments in kinship studies driven by European and American scholarship. Such a general observation must be set against an acknowledgement of the presence of a marginalised and othered European culture, the Highlanders, with their distinct clan forms. With the cultural presence of the clan, Scottish society does not neatly fit into the English dominated assessment of developed British culture which is mostly, excised. As noted above the heritage of generalised individualism includes the canon of Scottish eighteen-century thought yet Cradock stated ‘The purported generalized individualism, gender equality, choice in marriage and so forth may be supported by Macfarlane, Laslett, and others for England, but it is by no means as straightforward for France or even elsewhere in the British Isles.’ 65

In this section the review will consider, firstly the clan, secondly, the wider subsumption of Scottish historiography beneath an English dominated analysis and thirdly, how Scottish thought which impinges on kinship has been constrained in similar fashions to scholarly work of southern Britain. This pathway will emphasise that the supposed British historiography on kinship, in addition to its other weakness, has failed to incorporate, or theorise in a fashion that recognises, local forms, diverse socioeconomic situations, symbols and formulas, as identified in the European divergence.

Firstly, the clan, which for the Highlanders was an essential form of kinship, is an important part of a British expression of kinship. It need hardly be acknowledged that Scottish historiography is laden with the clan legacy which continues to form the basis of narrative studies, but itself is not captured in the official general record.66 The antiquarian roots of post-Georgian clan networks leave a significant body of information on the elite families directly and indirectly associated with clan leadership.67 In modern times the likes of The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs and the Scottish Government have recognised the continuing value to Scotland’s tourism of the diaspora and clan. Clan identity has formed

what Little, writing from an archivists perspective, considered a ‘belonging’ felt by those intrigued by their Scottish roots. Neither the clan nor its features appear in southern Britain, indeed, in reality, the cultural territory is recognised as essentially the Highlands and Islands, but should be investigated as only one form of kinship present in the Scottish socioeconomic diversity.

Kinship awareness has been applied to the clan as a means of studying the agency of the individual through the perception of the actor within their network. Using longitudinal and long-distance networks, Maureen Molloy, drawing on a data set constructed from clan cultural localities, challenged a lack of focus on individuals in kinship studies in the opening to her article on Highland migrants to New Zealand via Cape Breton. Molloy made it clear that she wanted to break from MacPherson and Omner’s interest in the collective ‘clan’ to tackle the forces at play on individuals and how that impacted their kinship social networking patterns. In her conclusion, she drew attention to the economic stresses of displacement and migration. The analysis being that these contributed to the colonial Scottish Highlanders’ identification as ‘clannish’ and in turn, this networking pattern contributed to economic success once settled into a more permanent environment.

Neville’s work upon similar diaspora Scottish kinship groups in the southern parts of the USA has identified ‘kin-religious gatherings’ for extended networks. For her, these large-collateral descended kinships are best described as ‘imagined’ families against a contemporary standard western vision. These kinships involved not just a summer community in the 1970s but a year-round system of rituals and a ‘bard’ like figure who held the history of linkages, ritual was Neville’s primary method of grasping the purpose, construct and stability of these kin networks. In contrast, Stana Nenadic’s study, influenced by class and clan, of Highland gentry during the Georgian period reconstructed a multi-generational kinship to explore how the values, wealth, relationships and behaviours of individuals within the kinship were impacted over an extended period by the needs of the British military.

Riddell has also explored similar long distance, multi-generational, decades-long migrations from lowlands Grampian into Ontario and then into Manitoba. The evidence for which was not drawn from a localised clan-kin group but from an extended blacksmith craft kin group intially spread across

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Aberdeenshire. Such approaches push back on the foundational heart of the Master Narrative of kinship built on Adam Smith’s assertion of the necessity for direct, regular social interaction. It is important to state that the modern clan system lacks the reciprocity of services that would mark it as a kinship network as understood through the continental and anthropological lens used by this project.

Secondly, it is not entirely unusual that the parts of the UK outside of England are subsumed unthinkingly under the labels of Britain and the UK. Examples abound of the subsumption and marginalisation of the Scottish, and by extension, Welsh, and Irish, components of the British kinship experience, whether by scholarly dismissal, state suppression, political assimilation or cultural romanticisation. William Walker Knox’s critique of Gleadle’s work on nineteenth-century women, captures the impact of these forces, as they present ‘an essentially Anglicised version of Britain’s past’.

Similarly, the admittance of Bottero et al. that their use of England records to extrapolate across Britain let alone the wider the United Kingdom was problematic. Long and Ferrie’s comparison of inter-generational occupational mobility between the USA and UK from 1850 was undermined by its exclusive use of English records for a British analysis. These examples both capture the wider issues around supposed British historiography in general, and they note the wide-ranging impact of a misunderstood model of kinship. The discussion of the Scottish practice of kinship suffers from the wider malaise identified above, that kinship is not a discipline in its own right; consequently, no theoretical models and discourses have been developed except for when kinship manifests in co-residency and some form of clan claim. Calls have been made that could have triggered a re-boot, David Moody in his guide to Scottish Local History noted that the accumulation of family history should be a framework for a wider understanding of past societies.

The practice in southern Britain of an approach to the parish and then general record base to

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71 Iain Riddell, ‘Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship’, 72 Daniel Scott Smith, ‘“All in Some Degree Related to Each Other”: A Demographic and Comparative Resolution of the Anomaly of New England Kinship’, pp.44–79, p.47
75 Jason Long and Joseph Ferrie, ““Everything in Common . . . [But] Language”?: Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Britain and the U.S. Since 1850”, (Colby College and Northwestern University, 2007).
construct a series of forming and de-merging nuclear family units as discussed by Sam Barrett is problematic to the different Scottish bureaucratic arrangements. It must not be overlooked that the choice of who counted as kin, *(i.e. how to break up the list of names)* is as contentious within the Scottish record as no clear specification of kin and family emerges in the linguistics. The linguistic features of Scots-English dialects, in part frame such issues as they also have no active language of relatedness beyond the core of cousins, aunts, uncles, parents, child which in southern Britain has guided the likes of Barret and Katherine Lack to be restrictive as to kinship. This linguistic restriction makes the study of kinship on a network basis complex, but just as Tadmor showed with English records, the language deficits can be overcome in the Scottish records.

As it is hard to deny that the Scottish-sphere research in common with the British historiography has been compromised by a focus on and limitation to an unspecified family, this section thirdly considers the de-emphasis of kinship and its study without theoretical models. Significantly as a key Scottish historian, Devine in his three-century study of the Scottish nation had nothing to say about kinship, instead deciding to focus upon the family-household as the constituent body of society. When he approached the history of the Scottish family, 1700-2007 Devine constructed a narrative of the family as female dominated and domestic. This decision confined the discourse within the household-family, eliminating other notions of family within kinship. He only breaks out of this model to consider pre-WWII poor Irish families of Glasgow’s Blackhill estate; in response to grinding poverty the women and families collectivised their economic resources for food and essential products.

Eleanor Gordon, in her contribution to *People and Society*, discussed, family, marriage and sexuality, themes that have marked her scholarly work; the discourse was framed by the notion of ‘motherhood’, training for it and experience of it. While Gordon, on the one hand, recognised the distorting dominance of the middle-class family vision she developed neither a discussion about the alternative practices and models of the family. Nor did she tackle the

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81 Ibid. pp.523-533
82 It is worth noting that Eleanor Gordon has been leading on <http://workingclassmarriage.gla.ac.uk> in recent years
status given to women, who were not mothers. An observation from Gordon does note that the marriage records alone give no indications about motivations, ‘whether … for love, money or social mobility.’

In the 1990s Gordon in combination with Gwyneth Nair sought to understand kinship patterns of a transitory urban community the results of the cross-decades survey of a single neighbourhood revealing that there were strong indicators of kinship that may be class specific. Their finding that a quarter of middle-class families lacked the totemic male wage earning head lanced assumptions about middle-class households and contrasted to the theories of kinship derived from the ‘Master Narrative’ and ‘Revisionism’ of British orthodoxy. It must though be acknowledged that they skipped over extra-household reciprocity as they were committed to a demographic method.

Their approaches and findings stand inside a wider Scottish tradition. Hamish Fraser and Robert Morris’s edited work People and Society in Scotland, Volume II 1830-1914 raised numerous questions about the nature of society yet as the intellectual framework remained focused upon the family, and the middle-class vision of the family, key societal concepts were not addressed. Lynn Abrams writing in 2001 noted orthodox historiography which traced the impact of the limited nuclear-family social culture that is considered too have formed amongst the emerging middle classes as early as 1864. Although Abrams identified the cultural imagery of the middle-class Scottish family as fictional-aspiration rather than a reality, this social narrative was used to justify the regulation of, intervention in and the breakup of poor people’s families, through the promotion of out-boarding and fostering of pauper children. Abrams’ thoughts should be placed alongside Cradock’s challenge that if the development of European civilization away from broader kin to nuclear-families was so inevitable and profound, why did it have to be imposed upon the poor.

This short review of the Scottish historiography suggests that despite the presence of the clan, a wider appreciation and approach to the theories of kinship are as much lacking as within the supposedly overarching British perspectives. There is a need to unlock regional and local Scottish kin patterns and behaviours as part of the development of an approach that

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83 W. Hamish Fraser, People and Society in Scotland: 1830-1914, 2 (John Donald, 1992)., p.218
can un-stall the British scholarly practice and draw it closer to the theorisation and practice methodologies that have been applied by continental European academics.

1e. Intent and purpose
The thesis is the presentation, and illustrative application of a toolkit and approach called kinship collation that can be used with British-sphere records; the need for a new toolkit to discuss kinship as a discreet, multidisciplinary topic is derived from the assertion that British approaches and theories have stalled and diverged from continental European understanding. For insights into British kinship, the thesis will synergise European theoretical models and approaches with the Scottish and US historical records to reveal the practice and meaning of kinship as a deliberate social, economic, communal and individual activity. This introductory chapter has ranged over the outputs of scholars such as Bras, Cooper and Donald, King, Laslett, Lipp, O’Day, Sahlin, Schweitzer, Segalen, Szoltysek and Tadmor the works are drawn from diverse disciplines and schools of thought within them. The contributions of some are multi-faceted; for some their work makes at times a theoretical advance, a challenging observation, or their contribution while limited has in retrospect marked a profound moment. These scholars and their outputs will appear throughout the thesis examined for different elements and perspectives on how to define British kinship and build a methodological process to extract indicators out of the historical record base.

Moreover, this chapter through an overview of British, European and anthropological, and Scottish considerations of kinship identified an orthodoxy of thought and orthopraxis of method embedded deeply into the British perspective, that skews socioeconomic and socio-cultural historical analysis and has four structural weaknesses. The four structural issues are first, the presentation of an overarching patina derived from English sources. Secondly, there have been only limited attempts to build up detailed case studies and that those undertaken have been narrow in scope. Thirdly, that there has been a failure to re-approach and evaluate the potential of the record base in response to technological developments while fourthly, the European moves towards inter-disciplinary research inspired by sociology, anthropology, history, data studies and genealogy have been overlooked. The rationale of the PhD project was to build a coherent challenge to the established thoughts on British kinship as they have curtailed the development of studies; the chapter has identified the need for a theorised and comprehensive argument as the previous disputations have focused only on a portion of the established practice.
Consequently, the thesis, firstly responds to a perspective of British kinship that is rooted in either historical demography, which privileges dominant forms or family history drawn from archives which overemphasise the socioeconomic niches most enabled to bestow a legacy of actor generated letters and diaries. Both approaches have contributed to the gap in British historiography as they have remained firmly bound within the domestic and co-resident family structures. This chapter has identified the enduring impact of that bondage and how a new methodological process might unpick them. Part of that methodology is to appreciate the existence in plain sight of a record base that captures those least equipped to leave residual evidence such as letters and diaries, with the recognition that much has been obscured by the construction of a kinship inimical record base. Further to this, a poor sociocultural dialogue has dominated, which has sought homogenisation of the British experience as an ideal, rather than a research method that seeks to build a theory and practice that can identify variations of kinship in action.

Case studies are the second gap in the British historiographical tradition which have contributed to the stall and divergence. The role of case studies in the stall of kinship can be summed up in three points. One, previously undertaken studies have had poor representation of societal diversity, and the small number of kinship investigations have been hampered by kinship not being the essential purpose of the research. Two the imposition of the assumption that kinship was limited to the core family group and the shared experience of co-residency, and three, the boundaries imposed by the record base have undermined the theoretical value of the studies produced. These three issues are all evident in the important work of Cooper and Donald; the team were not dedicated to a research project on kinship, despite which they identified that kinship was a hidden social force between distant relatives who shared domestic environments. In addition, their study was highly localised and restricted by resources and sources. As the record base was constructed by a society that privileged the male gender one of the faults of the sources is the loss of female connectivity, which can now be addressed by nuanced use of technology to build a more rounded female inclusive record base. To achieve the ambition of gynocentric perspective recovery the thesis considers how kinship studies from within the British record base requires a rapprochement with the source materials which otherwise are deeply embedded in a patrilineal culture.

A need for a renewed engagement and perception of the British sources is the third structural issue that the thesis emphasises. The project’s offering of kinship collation to re-energise British kinship studies to be successful engages with five approaches to the sources. One, consider and contextualise what is being observed, then two, draw upon the cross or
multi-disciplinary insights and techniques. Three, analyse from both the individual and group perspective for a rounder assessment of the kin behaviours and the social impact, each being expanded below. Four, draw upon large, sprawling networks of related people, with each actor’s life-arc informed by the basic population records. Five, understand the continual growth of data its management and visualisation for its research potential. The five approaches find form in large-scale genealogical reconstructions. These have been used by continental European scholars to cut across many of the limits such as locality, class, migration between jurisdictions, gender differentials in the record, and the socio-cultural assumptions that informed the record creation. Once the webs of relatedness are mapped against geography, business, politics, faith, social activity and migration, the potential of the method of kinship collation becomes apparent. The process can be summarised as the accumulation and assignment of the evidence, a quality assessment of what is created and the investigation of alternatives. From these steps, it is possible to build a web of relatives. Reconstructed genealogies function as source material to reveal the structure of the community and are not a usurpation of either established models but instead a response to the calls of Laslett, Plakans and Wetherell. As the work to reconstruct genealogies has been transformed in the last two decades by the gradual digitisation of government records and newspapers the thesis has explored how these technologies have created new resources, information and inspired new societal observations.

By using small news clippings and contextualising them through the webs of relatedness multiple perspectives of past actors can be brought forth recovering details of past societies. In this way, the elusive, constantly shifting nature of kinship as relationships of mutuality will be brought forth to identify how a layer of connectedness based upon relatedness was a factor in financial decisions, political formation and economic stability within Grampian’s rural society. This approach responds directly to Plakans and Wetherell’s conviction that ‘kin are socially significant genealogical relationships,’ by meeting their challenge that ‘the essential matter is identifying the kin component of those past personal networks that sustained and supported individuals within the domestic domain.’87 But rather than stopping at the house door it expands the evidence of support beyond the household into the public arena across a range of socioeconomic niches.

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87 Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell, 'Households and kinship networks: the costs and benefits of contextualization', pp.49-76, p.67
The fourth structural issue that the doctoral project has identified is the lack of theory of kinship within British historiography; in contrast, the adoption of a theory has enabled continental European studies to move forward significantly through new methodological processes. The thesis places the failure of a kinship theory to emerge within the broad cultural limitations placed upon notions of European kinship that have accumulated over many centuries. As discussed in the previous section the current phase of European thought on the nature of kinship in European society is Sahlin’s mutuality of being within a culture that privileges relatedness; kinship is not biology. The thesis has not had to theorise from within a vacuum to address the inherent deficit as European scholars, have had to contend with similar cultural impediments which have shaped the record base of the nineteenth century. As the record base was designed to gain a picture of family households rather than other kinship patterns, scholars have had to theorise about the basic methods they have deployed as well as the stances and assumptions that informed perceptions. With a concentration on the theoretical insights from Schneiderian anthropology and European scholarly studies of kinship, the thesis develops theoretical stances required in British studies to identify and grapple with the importance of kinship between the domestic threshold and society.

Hilda Bras and Theo van Tilburg in their review of kinship studies highlighted that kinship research has tended to pick over residency sharing and economically more comfortable kin networks. Overall, they felt that methodological and theoretical approaches to understanding wider kin networks were under-developed and thus a substantial barrier to the development of significant numbers of studies that could be cross-referenced. Their assessment was echoed by the Belgian researchers, Hanne Van Baelen and Koen Matthijs. Also writing in 2007 they focused on the amount of time and effort required to realise and analyse data through a systematic process as an obstacle to studies on historical populations and their kinship network patterns. Despite these limitations over the last three decades European and American scholars have pushed forward theoretical and process methodologies and have consistently moved forward kinship studies as a discrete discipline. In his introduction to *Dividends of Kinship: Means and Uses of Social Relatedness* Schweitzer guided the reader through the long-term impact of Schneider’s cracking of traditional patrilineal kinship constructs. These are captured in the debates amongst Feminist kinship

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89 Hanne Van Baelen and Koen Matthijs, 'Comparing Two Methods to Reconstruct the Kin Network Outside the Household With Nineteenth-Century Antwerp Data', pp.149-159.
researchers and attempts to merge the praxis and doxa of kinship and gender. Schweitzer described the impact of Maynes et al. in 1996 as not only challenging the dominance of reproductive facts but also shaping the tools to disrupt the concept of the study of male dominance without reference to the impact of women. Susan McKinnon in her review of Maynes et al. critiques the unquestioning construct of how the editors approached kinship. This critique focused on Euroamerican fascinations with ‘descent, kinship and gender’. 90 For a rounded evaluation of the themes, McKinnon wanted to have read more about how the fascinations interacted with alternate social networks such as ‘marriage, residence and inheritance’, to formulate a broader understanding of societies.

The approach taken by European historical-sociologists cannot be separated from anthropological theoretical developments. Consequently, the project has also sought insights from that field. Nitya Rao’s kinship study of women’s stake and status within an active kinship culture of north-eastern India responded directly to McKinnon’s concerns. 91 Rao articulated that the theoretical expectation that a combination of the rise of the modern state and a focus upon individual equal rights ought to see both an erosion of kinship and the male power base, with a rise in female liberation and independence. Instead, she observed within the local context, that kinship exhibited fluid behaviours responding to a variety of stimuli, which included the formation of the modern state of India and the influx of outsiders. She, therefore, concluded that ‘rather than withering away, social structures of kinship and caste have re-fashioned’. One of the forces shown to be a factor by Rao was the ability of women to agitate against patriarchal kinship patterns yet remain within them rather than without. She acknowledged that theoretically kinship patterns based within patriarchal forms an oppressing mechanism on women, but Rao identified that they persisted as a basic social security system. And, further that, within their patrkin women could find advocates as well as adversaries.

The impact of patriarchal privilege has also cut into the very basic levels of kinship investigation, van Baelen and Matthijs critiqued past practice used in the twentieth century such as the marking of a patronym within a local jurisdiction as an indicator of kin-levels. They rightly highlighted the three core weaknesses of this past approach. Not all kin share a specific patronymic, not all people with a shared patronymic would be kin nor would all kin


be within a specific local jurisdiction. To break these limits, kinship collation follows relatedness linkages far beyond the central actors of the case studies. Kinship collation as a toolkit draws together the theories as to the nature of kinship taken from European scholarship and adapts the methodological process to synergise with the British records.

The potential of the toolkit of kinship collation is exposed in the thesis by its application within a region that is amongst the least explored within the UK, Scotland’s Grampian. This decision not only enables new case studies to be unearthed but does so with data on the fringe of the Highland territories yet without recourse to the singular manifestation of kinship, beyond the domestic kin-family, that has been studied, the clan. Instead, the thesis will look at British and Scottish kinship as part of the European expression, of mutual reciprocity that involves dynamics of relatedness, a mutuality that emerges from, contributes to, sustains and in time is marked by decisions to be in legal or biological relationships. To achieve this, the thesis will present many Grampian case studies that augment and expand neo-revisionist approaches identified by Tadmor and evident in the work of Cooper and Donald. The creation of new case studies is also a direct response to O’Day’s two-decade call for more longitudinal, inter-generational family studies, but they will not be used to discuss families of co-residency but instead will be studies of kinship that is identified through micro-evidence of networks of mutual interest.

This thesis’s evidence is extracted from sprawling networks anchored to the Grampian region which stretch from the lowland sub-region of Buchan, into the urban centre of Aberdeen as well as the Highland parishes to the west. Consequently, the thesis takes as its subjects, individuals from various niches of the Scottish agricultural socio-economy giving attention to those that remained localised to their places of birth as well as those who settled across the country, the British Empire and the United States. The case studies uncover kinship patterns which illuminate reciprocity between related people. With its core body of data drawing upon Buchan records these studies will also be the first socially contextualised reconsideration of Aberdeenshire’s farming social structures since Carter’s 1970s usage of Marxist models to analyse the county’s agricultural socio-economic history. Placed within reconstructed genealogical networks the case studies illustrate the reproduction, formation and transformation of kinship by individuals and families with consideration of consequent

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outcomes. The thesis is, therefore, able to illustrate that kinship collation’s abilities to synergise the British record with European theories can get beyond descriptions of relatedness to explore wider themes such as social mobility, the development of local governance, economic patterns, the interaction of women within their familial networks.

Whereas studies using French, English and North America resources, undertaken by O’Day and Segalen in the final part of the twentieth century looked for kinship as part of the history of the family, this study will present kinship as the intentionality for reciprocity of service and mutuality of obligation within the fluid community engagements of individuals. It is important to emphasise that this thesis is not concerned with a particular lineage or family name, nor indeed is about the family as a domestic group. In the case of the latter, this is a decision that sits within the trend observed by Plakans and Wetherell in that it was clear to them fifteen years ago that the research of the domestic was a different domain to the investigation of kinship. The case studies therefore also integrate gender and impact of women into kinship studies. The focus of the thesis upon kinship as a social dynamic fits well with the stated position of European scholarship, that to be valued the work involved has to present more than the reconstruction and description of a web of relatedness. In taking such a position, Lipp drew inspiration from the developments within the anthropology academy. The modern American genealogy professional Elizabeth Shown Mills has placed a different emphasis as she identified genealogical projects as, plucking

…individuals from the nameless masses that historians paint with a broad brush. We learn their names. We follow them from birth to death. We see the actual effect upon human lives of the grand world events that historians write about—wars, economic depressions, plagues, politics, and persecutions. We see how one humble person and his or her neighbors can reshape a community, a state, or a country.

The thesis responds to these positions, as individual stories are used to illustrate how the dynamic of kinship influenced and in turn interacted with a slew of other socioeconomic factors across the nineteenth century. Through an uncovering of multiple endeavours between individuals and their household groups, biological, affinal and legal based relational webs

95 Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell, "Households and kinship networks: the costs and benefits of contextualization", pp.49-76, p.68
will be narrowed down into active kinship relationships whether in a close locality, extended across a region or stretching between continents.

While one of the outcomes of the doctoral project is the recognition that massive reconstructed genealogies are a data source on past societies, the thesis is not a presentation of the creation of them. The adaption of new processes supports well-established sources such as the census and the general population records to yield new results once they have been data processed in new ways made possible by technological developments. Case studies of kinship emerge from an appreciation of large-scale social network reconstructions that sprawl across large geo-spatial territories. The awareness of different patterns of behaviour in regions, within localities based on socioeconomic factors and an appreciation of both the individual and society highlight the narrowness of the British historiography. Theoretically, the reconstructions should be regarded as a third resource alongside mass demography and historical family-household studies. While not meant to displace the work of historical demographers and historians of the family, the thesis will challenge the assessment of kinship derived from those disciplines as a declining social factor. The thesis is configured to do so through an early assertion that British-sphere demography and family histories have been influenced by western individualism developmental theory which had directed their research toward the nuclear family-household unit.

If. Structure and Scope

The six substantive chapters of the thesis fall into two halves; chapters two, three and four are dedicated to the development of a new methodological process underpinned by new theories that respond to the increased availability and manipulation of data through genealogical reconstruction. The second chapter initially unpacks the critiques of the British record base as being inimical for kinship studies. The chapter will then explore further methods and resources that have been used previously with special reference to genealogy as a tool to repurpose the official records of the State. As the genealogical endeavour has undergone another of its periodic upsurges with ease of access to the resources the second chapter will examine how this socioeconomically diffuse genealogy period has been refreshed yet remains a flawed means to recover past kinship behaviours in the British-sphere.

The third chapter will pick up the challenges produced by the Scottish census enumeration (a key resource) regarding kinship. In doing so, chapter three approaches the limitations placed on the investigation of kinship by the terminology, the cultures in which resources were created and discourses as to the nature of society. Insights derived from
multiple disciplines, historical, sociological, anthropological, genealogical and literary traditions will illustrate that even the basic keywords; family, household, nuclear, domestic, kinship and clan have muddled meanings. A significant aspect of the third chapter is to de-emphasise the established culture of kinship which imposes kinship as mere relatedness and obscures its identification through the obfuscation of female connectivity. This pattern must be understood as part of societal patriarchy and contributes to an important query as to whether kinship was detrimental to women.

The fourth chapter continues the development of kinship collation as a theoretical method through an assessment of the resources and tools required to get beyond mere relatedness to the significance of kinship. In doing so Chapter four examines digital resources and data tools as products of the established scholarly and popular cultures manifests in Euroamerican ethos as described by Schneiderian anthropology and describes how they maybe widen through new assessments.

The first half of the thesis, conducted in chapters two to four, will establish and described, the methodology and process of Kinship Collation as a dynamic process that illuminates varied social, economic, gender and political topics as they occurred in communities. The remaining chapters put this theory and method in to practice, chapters, five to seven, tackle in turn a substantial theme in synergy with kinship. In order to retrieve the presence and impact of female connectivity, chapter five generates new perspectives on women's use of kinship as social capital. Chapter six examines mutuality and reciprocity in the public-sphere contextualising the development of local democracy as an expression of accumulated kin-based alliances. Thereafter, chapter seven reflects on the sociopsychology of kin benefiting mutuality in contrast to an established socioeconomic discourse built on the experiences of an elite individual male achievement. The predominantly rural based case studies will be contextualised within the discourse as to the general nature of nineteenth-century European rural society summated by Michael Oris, who evoked Vassbég to assert that the assessment was ‘“nothing but a mirage, a myth”’ based upon the outflow of people from the countryside. 97 Consequently, the thesis impinges on both the migratory and non-migratory experience and builds on Tadmor’s assessment that kinship was sustained far beyond the domestic setting.98

98 Iain Riddell, 'Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship',
The question of the interaction of kinship and women is tackled in chapter five the central debate being whether kinship as re-understood by this thesis, was patriarchal communalism that undermined the role of women as individuals in society or was a force more nuanced. The intersect of kinship and gender as it impacts women and their power within a patriarchal society features through the thesis. It only takes a few days of working with the British record base to achieve genealogical reconstructions to be confronted by the loss of women's identity and matrikin. An awareness of feminist approaches to research highlights the complexity of recovering the relationships between women and the social capital they can produce.

Just as the fifth chapter works with concepts of matrikin-ship and matrilineage; the sixth chapter draws inspiration from microhistory and the Annals school of history to investigate power structures at multiple levels through the nineteenth century. The case studies further highlight kinship behaviours present within the Scottish and therefore British-sphere. Chapters five and six investigate how kinship behaviours functioned in forms such as local clusters with significant interconnectivity, and broader social connexions in which actors affirm their connectivity for important endeavours. These chapters present the importance of data visualisation for kin marker investigations and analysis. The sixth chapter uses longitudinal awareness to perceived economic stability, soft social power and the impact of both on the extension of democracy in the region. The seventh chapter follows Grampian people as they migrated over decades to North America through a kin-group who rapidly exchanged the socioeconomic niche of stable, comfortable tenant farmer for national elite status marked by holding high political office and the accumulation of wealth. The seventh chapter illustrates that kinship collation as a methodological process is not confined to mainland Britain but can be extended across the core British-sphere of the Old Commonwealth and the US. The theories drawn together under kinship collation can then be exploited to extract kin markers from the webs of relatives who were separated by oceans or moved between jurisdictions. The chapter will draw together both ends of an extensive kin network of mutual endeavour between Grampian and the Great Lakes region to ask questions about the rising educated middle classes of the nineteenth century and their business practices to perceive kinship as a communal social force and individual social capital.

The final chapter of the thesis will draw out conclusions from the project as to the possibilities of a methodology of collating large genealogical reconstructions to identify kinship behaviours in British influenced cultures. The core assessment made through the eighth chapter being that cultural, boundary and social limits, both historical and current from
various parts of the British academy has reduced the capacity of researchers to grapple with kinship beyond the household. The conclusion, the eighth chapter will emphasise the flexibility of kinship as understood through Schneiderian anthropology which unhooks genealogical relationships of biology and legality as strictly describable and quantifiable from a theorisation of kinship built around mutuality and reciprocity between actors who are or become related to each other. In so doing, chapter eight will demonstrate the need for kinship collation as a tool that can extract new information as to the shape of British societies from the British record base and validate the importance of re-engaging British awareness of what kinship is and is not, through the interlocking of theory and methods that exploit the cutting edge of technological advancement.
Chapter 2 Kinship-centric study

2a. Introduction

British historiography has granted a preeminent status to the co-resident domestic family experience, and chapter one has identified four gaps that can be closed through kinship collation. In short, these gaps are that there has been no work towards a historical theory of kinship. The cultural prominence of the nuclear family has lasted for centuries, and therefore no deliberate record base has been built up to capture kinship. There have been no enduring endeavours to build distinctive and kin-centric case studies separate to closed notions of family, other than the clan, meaning that there is a dearth of data and insight. Consequently, British research has been slow to conceptualise the potential of technological developments in data management, accessibility and visualisation to re-purpose well-established data for new purposes, despite the ongoing public engagement with genealogical reconstructions for all socioeconomic niches.

As the chief hypothesis in this part of the thesis is that British investigations of kinship are stalled and lack a theoretical method separate from the family, attention must be given to how kinship collation can modernise the toolkits for the praxis of investigations that seek to understand kinship. This chapter will thus, consider the established practice of British-sphere historical kinship studies and challenge the ossified notions of kin-family, the nuclear family domestic bound group that have become embedded into social historiographical outlooks. To do so the chapter further unpacks the observation that the British record base is unhelpful for the study of kinship as identified in Plakans and Wetherell’s fifteen-year-old study and that the linkages retrieved from records can assist in the reconstruction of connectivity between people.

The chapter commences with an exploration of the established methods for examining the society that impinges on kinship perspectives. The research methodologies and sources will be contextualised by broader debates of the Anglo-American and European academies. The first half of the chapter argues that the established approaches to British-sphere kinship are incomplete and based upon un-theorised approaches. The second half of the chapter will then engage with how genealogy, a significant tool for the investigation of British-sphere kinship, ought to be theorised. Consequently, the chapter moves beyond the boundaries of a purist historical approach and into a multidisciplinary arena. This space has proven attractive to historical-sociologists such as Leonore Davidoff and generational historians like Elizabeth
Shown Mills. Arnon Herskovitz has identified it as an area that has proved useful to data scientists, visualisation researchers, linguistics, geographers, literature and communications experts.\(^1\) Therefore, this chapter, complemented by chapter three, builds the foundations of kinship collation as a tool informed by the European methods of historical kinship studies.

### 2b. Historiographical orthopraxis of British kinship research

As discussed in chapter one most British investigations of kinship have been limited to the experience of the family or were designed to investigate a theme such as migration, the experience of poverty, or gynocentric perceptions. What they encountered though was the impact of relatedness; which the researchers chose to describe as kinship. As British historiography has failed to develop a theory of kinship, this section will discuss the contrary observations derived from the piecemeal studies that have produced kinship findings. Without a concept of kinship beyond the immediacy of the co-residency family established patterns of research have produced commentary only about the kin-family. While these results should not be discarded as the kin-family is part of the overall pattern. Across the field there has been general agreement to the assessment that the dearth of useful resources have limited British kin studies. In addition to Plakans and Laslett, Steve King considered that English studies of society ‘has fallen somewhat behind that in many continental countries. Constrained by inadequate sources and historiographical literature’.\(^2\) In response, this section will firstly, grapple with the historical-demography, secondly, sociological insights and thirdly, textual analysis; following which the section, fourthly, considers how British historical resources have remained constrained by the cultural emphasis of the nuclear-family within their bureaucratic localities; registration districts, sub-districts and parishes, despite the emergence of new data handling technology.

Through his career Laslett as primarily a demographer was content to acknowledge the impact of other approaches on the study of the family, therefore, the section considers the impact of demography firstly.\(^3\) Influenced by Laslett, studies of the nineteenth-century British kinship-family have drawn heavily upon the census as a means to examine at the demographic level manifestations of the family; people of close biological relationships, with a shared heritage of domestic household arrangements. Of course, such an approach builds

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2 Steven King, 'The English protoindustrial family: old and new perspectives', pp.21-43.
upon established population studies traced back through the likes of Michael Anderson and indeed to the Victorian statisticians working with each fresh enumeration. Substantial endeavours have also been given over to a variety of local parish level resources both at the national demographic level and to establish a record base so that parishes as territorial units can be sampled.

Campop’s, the school of study descended from Laslett, demographic approach to bureaucratic sources is captured by their reflections on their heritage in which they emphasised the combination of ‘inverse population projection and family reconstitution’. But David Levine, another Campop associate critiqued the results, ‘their narrow, purely demographic approach to the subject is disappointing.’ Levine built his critique around their use of resources, their overstatement of definitiveness, especially as their data was only samples. The impact of this set framework of presenting and understanding of society can be seen even in modern projects such as visionofbritain.org.uk

We let you look at total population in two ways. Firstly, population density: which areas had the most people? Density is calculated as the number of people per hectare, and we have measured areas from a modern digital map of the local authorities rather than relying on the doubtful acreages given in historical reports. Secondly, growth rates: where was population rising fastest, or declining? We also look at the ratio of men to women.

What should not be ignored is that demography has moved forward with technology but still has only a limited capacity to illuminate the lived expression of the family let alone the impact of kinship as a social force. The possibilities created by increased digitisation of records and their data management supported innovative projects that benefited from the merging of the available sources such as a social reconstruction of Kingston and a study of Middlesbrough’s population growth. Despite such developments, demography has a

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7 <http://visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10383584/theme/POP >
dependency on a record base that by design emphasises the domestic unit; consequently, the approach has no means to identify or theorise upon non-domestic kinship of reciprocity.

Therefore, the section turns secondly to British historical-sociology and anthropological techniques that have informed an approach to sources used by studies which have offered an awareness of British-sphere kinship. A leading scholar of this approach was Leonore Davidoff, whose research, drawn from the letters, diaries, keepsakes of a narrow-band of middle-class families, noted how the nuclear family as an ideal has ‘lingered on’. Her scholarly outputs, framed by work on the English Middling Classes undertaken in the 1980s, and the final major work on English sibling relationships point to an instinctive usage and acknowledgement of kinship. Davidoff’s work took note of the impact of other forces, social economic, demographic fertility levels on the actuality and perception of the family. Intriguingly, her last major work in 2011, captures the piecemeal nature of British kinship praxis. Davidoff acknowledged that her study of siblings was ‘the story of sibling and the kinship circles they created within one stratum of one society in one period.’ The response to which must be first, whether resources such as letter and diaries, items that must be acknowledged as actor-self-generated and therefore self-actualising and mostly descriptive of one side of a relationship, are neutral or need critique. Secondly, whether the middle-class socioeconomic niches are representative enough to be the bedrock of British experience.

Other sociological work, for instance, Jean Robin’s consideration of elder care in the nineteenth century has a different activity and socioeconomic basis rather the more privileged families inspected by Davidoff. Robin’s as a colleague of Laslett built her arguments from a demographic reading of the general population record resources of birth, marriage, deaths and enumeration. Her theorised approaches are important as they highlight the orthodox British position, dominance of the English record experience, an uncertainty as to what kinship is, except, that to have or be progeny is a special state against other forms of kin, i.e. the assertion of the nuclear unit. Robin’s was also greatly influenced by the domestic threshold; therefore, she was able to point to a reduction in the role of kin, in elder care due to the lack

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of co-residence, an assumption heavily critique by Steven Ruggles through statistical analysis.\(^{12}\)

Will Coster has taken through his work a wider view of kinship through an examination of concepts such as spiritual kinship. His work has inspired others to consider the contradictions and non-alignment of popular interpretations and official dogmas as to the meaning of kin.\(^{13}\) Unfortunately, Coster’s work is entrenched in the Early Modern period and like Tadmor he has limited impact on the study of nineteenth-century society. Like Davidoff, O’Day also made use of archival material contextualised by limited, expensive genealogical work through which she was able to identify potential resources that linked different generations of relatives who had experienced co-residency. Her study aim was to look at discreet domestic units and the relationships that sprung from them. From this focus, she challenged that the history of the family so recovered produced a different model of the family to that of the demographers. As her key work was undertaken prior to the technological abilities of the current period, her genealogy work was curtailed leaving her analysis heavily reliant on one actor perspectives as recorded in letters and diaries, actor-generated artefacts.

The resource of actor-generated artefacts can be used to build a sociological context when subjected to textual analysis. This approach an established method deployed by British scholarship and its consideration is the third element of this section as in recent times textual analysis has also been fundamental to the observation of challenger appreciations of British kinship. In particular, Tadmor must be singled out with a renewed analysis of well-trawled letters, diaries and novels that identified the ambiguous nature of even core terms such as mother. Appreciative acknowledgment and theorisation of records was a cornerstone of Tadmor’s findings; she observed that the dispatch and receipt of communications along with the claims that were asserted and accepted deserved reflection. An assessment that benefits from juxtapositioning with a key assertion of Steve King.

an analysis of pauper letters suggests that the households formed by the dependent poor may have been financially and residentially fragile, requiring support from

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parents, neighbours and ‘friends’ and above all from the poor law. Without extensive linkage between family reconstitutions and poor law data, it is impossible to document the extent of such dependence, but pauper letters suggest it to have been substantial.14

King’s work on sources related to the poorest of people in society, in particular involves materials written by other people on behalf of them or about them. This resource base contrasts to the bulk of the history of the family materials which engage with letters and diaries produced by the actors themselves.15 King’s engagement with official records of local government about the poor shared an approach with Gary Howells, in that the documents had to be deconstructed to extract the voice and experience of people who were being written off by officials.16 In this, they recognised that the official documents carried the official voice, but the actions and feelings of those most subjected to power could be discerned. Thus, other local sources such as the poor law records have also been used to produce research on the nature of kinship in Britain, and the records of non-governmental bodies such as charities and migration programs have also revealed details of families particularly as people depart Britain.17

Similar textual approaches are echoed in the European scholarly work of Cancian and Wegge. The pair applied literary criticism to past letters extracted from archives, the numbers examined were small and linked to a singular actor of the family group, yet made important observations about language and identity. The researcher, though, must be aware that these are only fragments of materials produced for the main part by the literate and time rich.

O’Day recognised a similar drawback in her use of letters and diaries and insisted that many

more family groups should be extracted from the record base. A concrete and compelling theorisation of British kinship ought to be built on the experiences of the broad range of the people rather than being weighted to the experiences of niche groups. The nineteenth-century growth of population records offers an opportunity to examine the mass of the populace through the paperwork they created or caused to be written down, as bureaucratic equals. Significantly, the general population record needs to be recognised as being formed by a cultural perspective that privileged the nuclear-domestic family, rather than a source that gathered data on kin-connections.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that little systematic work has been done specifically to identify connected family-household groups from the archive in response to the pattern modelled by O’Day, as the record base does not naturally support such. Consequently, the description of society and its base unit the family have remained within the purview of historical demography. The constraints created by the lockstep of nuclear-family within bureaucratic territories is the sections fourth discussion and is captured in the methodology of Gordon and Nair. In the late 1990s, this pairing recognised that there was much to gain from actor-generated archived resources which would reveal details about family and kinship beyond the household, but they returned to the census, demography, to understand a middle-class suburb not through a single enumeration but with the use of consecutive returns. Gordon and Nair, achieved a powerful assessment that the middle-class dogma of family as domestic, nuclear and male-led was for many of that socioeconomic niche a myth. But it must be reacknowledged that they relied upon a long-standing but flawed means of using demography to discuss kinship as their sampling within localities was unable to identify interhousehold connectivity. Sampling with its core limitation, an inability to detect female connectivity between households or between individual women, is reliant solely on patrilineal constructions and assumptions based upon the family head. Sampling has nonetheless, been used across the British-sphere to support the determination of a western ideal.18

The work of Cooper and Donald, Gordon and Nair, Garret and Reid, and Reay, all used variants of these sources but had in common the bounded locality as established by the demographers. All of them relied upon a record base limited to a specific set of houses, streets, parish or sample of parishes. Therefore their focus was upon the community as defined by jurisdictional locus; this choice sits well regarding the nature of the British-sphere

sources which were conceived as and gathered within alignment to local jurisdictions but limited the connectivity observed by the textual analysts and historical-sociologists of relationships that stretched geospatially.\textsuperscript{19} As argued by O’Day and Segalen demography, with nil regard for relationships-connectivity cannot consider the essentials of humanity as a social animal, and therefore, the family of the census indeed does not reflect the family of experience.\textsuperscript{20} Gordon and Nair, in particular, had to acknowledge this as their chosen middle-class suburb had a high turnover of residents across the enumerations, which undermined the ability to discuss family beyond the domestic.

Overall, the prevalent approach to considerations of the family within the British-sphere remains demographic-led with challenger approaches having emerged from textual analysis and historical-sociology. The challenger methods though are also limited as they lack enough breadth; middle-class artefacts have a high propensity to be manufactured and survive, and the official documents from which the voices of the voiceless can be retrieved are mere shadows. Therefore, if the purpose of a research project is to identify patterns of kinship or the interaction of kinship with other social factors all three approaches are flawed. Demography is hamstrung as people, and their relatives do not organise their lives within jurisdictional boundaries. Textual analysis by the lack of resources. While historical-sociology is skewed through the over-representation of certain socioeconomic niches whose self-characterised manifestations are already culturally dominant. The thesis does not seek to overturn the models discussed, despite the observation that methods such as sampling providing only limited information on kinship beyond the household setting; but instead to insert a methodology that can observe the presence of kinship ties that stretched between families. This approach requires a theoretical stance that goes beyond the assumption of familial familiarness built from a period of shared domestic co-residency, as assumed by shared parentage or captured by enumeration. This chapter and the preceding have noted the piecemeal challenges and the need for a concerted, theorised attempt to shift the established British position that has fallen behind other academies. Kinship collation is being presented as a means to identify the nuclear family as locked orthodoxy that informs the bulk of historiographical approaches and move forward the debate.


\textsuperscript{20} Rosemary O’Day, \textit{The Family and Family History 1500-1900}, Martine Segalen, \textit{Historical Anthropology of the Family}.,
The key to kinship collation’s methodology is the continued recognition of the census and other population as premier resources but not just as demographic tools to examine synergistically large socioeconomic themes such as the care of the aged.\textsuperscript{21} Instead, it is crucial to understand that records underwent immediate processing into statistical data for use by officials and it is these that have been used by historical demographers ever since to understand the population at a gross-level with the imposition of analysis at the community level. Riddell has written of the limitations of this process as the lived culture of family groups and kin have had the nuclear family construct superimposed on them by bureaucracy.\textsuperscript{22} The next section identifies how genealogy can complement historical-demography, sociology and textual analysis as discussed above, by rearranging the record base, reconstructing and reconstruing it to correct for the biases of the state culture and widen the pool of socioeconomic niches that can be recovered for kinship behaviour analysis.

\textbf{2c. Genealogy as a kinship studies medium}

Kinship collation as a methodological process has two support pillars as it mines the original enumeration and population records; firstly it works with the original documents to reconstruct longitudinal stories following actors as they move and connect, in contrast to the bureaucratic demographic analysis of a prescribed locality. Secondly, it views the record base as a mass scale oral history exercise, as every domestic group was asked the same core questions on the same night, the census, or in response to similar events, births, marriages and deaths it does not directly privilege any specific socioeconomic group. Elements of genealogical research have long leached into various academic projects, for instance, Davidoff and Catherine Hall appreciated discreet pedigrees of inter-generational domestic households, the Gladstones the Freuds, the Wilberforces \textit{etc.} within archive materials. As this section will argue, however, such engagement has only been in a limited fashion. Davidoff’s methodology was socially restricted, often patrilineally defined and like O’Day’s focused on the material accessible in archives. Genealogy for them required no theoretical discourse as it was merely a thread between letter and diaries. In contrast, this section will argue that the use of genealogy is the core innovation required to drive forward studies of British kinship. Firstly, then this section assesses British-sphere genealogy, which is essential considering the thesis’s argument that the rejection and dismissal of Cooper and Donald’s observations on

\begin{itemize}
\item Steven Ruggles, 'Reconsidering the Northwest European Family System: Living Arrangements of the Aged in Comparative Historical Perspective', pp.249-273
\item Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever', \textit{Genealogy}, 2, (2018).
\end{itemize}
kinship marked the internal stall point of British historiography. Secondly, some consideration of European genealogical endeavours is required for contrast before thirdly theorising on how genealogical digitisation, data management and tools can be harnessed for effective engagement with British kinship patterns and experience. Fourthly, the section closes with illustrations of how the broader doctoral project has implemented processes out of the theorisation which will add to the Scottish kinship literature.

Firstly then, it would seem natural that genealogical endeavour would have some role in the history of the family and the demographic reconstruction of sample parishes and villages. Indeed the one team that gained early access to the enumeration materials was the Cambridge Group. This Laslettian school which had already spent time assembling early parishes resources into familial households groups were committed to family reconstitution as a task to reassemble the basic mother-father-children groups as co-residents, In reality, and as chapter one began to argue, genealogical input into the British historiography has only occurred in small-scale. Two factors have ensured the ongoing displacement; the inability to access the enumeration records and the dominance of theoretical stance that favoured nuclear-family domestic groups. The former caused the task of reliable genealogical reconstructions of people from a wide range of socioeconomic situations to be unrecoverable with any level of certainty. The latter, despite challenges outlined in chapter one and noted above, has remained culturally dominant.

Thus the archive based teams did not place any direct significance upon genealogy when they deployed it as a methodological construct. Even though work derived from archives allowed multi-generational examinations of change and continuity of family structures, behaviours and appearance the observed experienced remained that of the domestic group. The most obvious examples of this would be O’Day’s work on the Haxell-Nelson lineage across three generations, anchored in Ipswich, King’s work on the Pretty family of Ipswich, and the Davidoff contribution of the Howgego bakers of the same town. With a heritage focus on patrilineal lineages, a narrow socioeconomic focus and the lack of access to the actual census returns under the hundred year rules it should not surprise that

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23 Superficially, feminist history, history from below, urban or migration history had little to gain from genealogy and Marxist history deliberately de-centralised kinship as part of the social supra-structure did not need to consider what genealogy had to offer.

genealogy was held at arm's length by varied historiographical movements of the twentieth century.  

Each of these prior case studies, nonetheless can have fresh light thrown on them by genealogical reconstructions, as significantly, but unrealised by the researchers these case study families, shared commonality through kin-connections which was not pursuable at the time. To do so requires an appreciation of research breakthroughs in data handling. When, in the 1990s, Cooper and Donald synergised a range of parish records and the 1841-1861 census returns, their research approach of reconstructed genealogies highlighted what was going to become more viable in the following decades. Their genealogical samples were limited both in size and in scope as at the time the potential to build large complex networks that stretched and sprawled was limited. Since then technology has expanded the size of databases that can be handled through a system called ged.coms (explained in the appendix) which also enable better display. The developments have been driven by the creation of a genealogy consumer base, participants of which are sold access to digitised records. The core companies that service the clientele have purchased the rights to digitise vast amounts of records from national and local collections and their customers have been busy for a decade teaching algorithmic systems which records are likely linked to which actors. The resulting mass record base can be assessed to identify that the Pretty and Howgego families shared relatives, the Woolards, with whom they interacted with in Ipswich. The key barrier to this has been the inability to systematically recover gyno-connectivity. In current circumstances, with a careful and rigorous examination of records, female linkages in many guises can be recovered. Indeed, the ability to recover women’s relationships with each other and men are foundational material for the next two chapters. To achieve gynocentric connectives requires engagement with many past actors whose life courses can be retrieved from the base government records. This activity generates a vast amount of data, which requires data management and visualisation, illustrated in this section and later chapters; interlocutor relationships can be hard to spot through traditional means of demography and actor-generated artefacts. In contrast to the costly process that O’Day followed it is now a relatively affordable task to firm up the wider Nelson-Haxell family units as they consolidated and dispersed across the south-east and east of England with both solitary and shared economic


activity. The results of which generate clues as to shared faith and socio-economic practices, such as an ability to build and retain long-term networks into London that link individuals from the Nelson-Haxell group to actors from the Pretty-Woolard-Howgego. The underlying research is recognisable as the genealogical pursuit while the deployment of the results is more than a construction of lineages, family groups and actor lists; these being the core accusations cast at the feet of genealogy. As the enduring displacement of genealogy from academia has been covered in detail by the likes of Elizabeth Shown Mills and Hannah Little as a consequence of the professionalisation of the practice of nineteenth-century history; and as Riddell has discussed elsewhere the potential of the resources if the culture was upturned, it remains, merely here to note the interest in genealogical analysis that has emerged in other disciplines. Indeed the field of genealogy as a multi-disciplinary space has proven a fertile ground for varied academic groups.

There have been many attempts by computing researchers to grapple with the vast data that has been produced by those with a genealogical interest. Scholars from technological fields, influenced or advised by diverse thinkers, have begun to spot historical trends that can be drawn from large-scale genealogical reconstructions, for instance, Robert Ball and Patrick Beck have sought through their 2016 prototypes to 'Shows relatives that are normally ignored in traditional visualisations to understand entire families.', Which presents a clear challenge to the British orthodoxy. Indeed, Cathy Day et al. have captured the potential of the multi-disciplinary approaches around genealogy and its applications.

Since we cannot construct an experiment spanning several generations of humans and live to write about our own research, the use of longitudinal data spanning past

28 Elizabeth Shown Mills, 'Genealogy in the “Information Age”: History’s New Frontier?', pp.260-277, Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever'.
29 Arnon Herskovitz, 'A suggested taxonomy of genealogy as a multidisciplinary academic research field', pp.5, Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever'.
31 Robert Ball and Patrick Beck, Automatically Recreating Probabilistic History through Genealogy (BRingham Young University, 2017)., Arnon Herskovitz, 'A suggested taxonomy of genealogy as a multidisciplinary academic research field', pp.5-6.
generations is the best way to gauge the long-term effects of individual biobehaviour on a whole population.32

The conceptualisation of marriage provides a clear example of Day’s assertion, as a social function it is well recorded across jurisdictions, a biobehaviour, often a behaviour with legal ramifications and has been studied as an indicator of kinship. Marriage facilitates the section to move to its second observation, the development of European approaches to kinship in contrast to a stalled British praxis. The development of European approaches in recent decades can be discussed through the works of a variety of scholars, some continental European historians other North American historical-anthropologists with interest in continental cultures. The thesis from the outset has noted that orthodox assessments have declared that these scholars have benefited from an evidence base that is more benign for kinship investigations, yet marriage has long been recorded in the British record base. The discourse here will be short and serve as background with more detail of European studies being extracted in the thesis’s second half against themes that the doctoral project has noted from British genealogical reconstructions.

The team of Bras, van Poppel and Mandemakers, worked with one million marriage records from the 1812-1922 period that covered half of the Netherlands provinces out of which they identified eleven forms of kin marriages. For which they were able to draw on similar resources to a British historical survey. The Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) is now nearly three decades old and has begun oversampling against its target of 78,000 reconstructed life cycles of actors born 1812-1922. The HSN is just one large-scale project providing scholars of Dutch society a spread of data over two centuries. From such a record base Bras et al., noted that attitudes across-West European cultures to cousin-marriage practises had been well described yet the causes and consequences remained utterly opaque through lack of exploration.33 In response, they micro-categorised the variations of consanguineous marriages as well as the marriages between in-law families for a more nuanced understanding.

Similarly, Lipp’s team reconstructed the entirety of Esslingen’s population 1800-1860, which reached a mid-century population height of 13,000, and mapped kin networks

33 Hilde Bras, Frans van Poppel and Kees Mandemakers, “Relatives as spouses: Preferences and opportunities for kin marriage in a Western society.”, pp.793-804, p. 793.
against evidence of socio-political activity. The exercise also drew in surrounding village populations. The familial reconstructions involved an awareness of ego to ego connectivity, *i.e.* a father to a son to the son’s wife to the wife’s mother to the son’s mother’s brother, *etc. etc.;* and these provided a framework to understand how social webs based on biological-affinal connectedness influenced political society. Hilda Bras and colleagues had a similar approach toward their study of nineteenth-century European cousin marriages but applied it to cultural attitudes formed through religious observance.

Both the Lipp and Bras research team’s deployed statistical modelling to their large data sets, to better explore the resources, out of which the former group agreed with prior studies that there was a hotbed of kinship in late nineteenth-century Europe, but it was located not in consanguinity, but affinity derived relationships. As to the latter’s conclusion; Esslingen’s socio-political structures had been aligned to weaken direct patrilineal power exchanges the identification of indirect political capital through in-laws was enabled through identification of the town’s sprawling network of relationships.

Lipp began her article regarding the town of Esslingen by emphasising that western kinship notions are clearly and demonstrably linked to that of the wider community. She did consider that much was disguised by an over emphasises upon kin relationships. Such disguisement resulted in studies that offered ‘detailed descriptions of descent lineages and individual kinship relations using complicated drawings of genealogical family trees.’

Lipp’s study of the impact of kinship began from an interest in the revolutionary politics leading to the 1848 uprisings across Europe.

Lipp set out to put into practice Schneider and Schweitzer’s push to get beyond genealogical reconstruction and instead explore the functional impact meaning of kinship. Thus, she worked with thousands of individuals reconstructed into the consanguine and connubial networks and then cross-reference against the archived voting intentions of the town electorate to map the networks of the changing generations of Esslingen’s civic leadership. It is crucial to observe that she did not seek to reconstruct individual family stories instead she sought to observe and describe the social pattern of networks and then to establish whether kinship played any role in those patterns and behaviours. Her study by considering people within their networks of relatives was able then to determine socio-economic differences and discern the impact of kinship upon the politics of Esslingen’s

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society. By building up the entire towns, social networks based upon blood and marriage
Lipp was able to then contextualise the politics and power of the council’s political elite.
Lipp’s data management system was able to concentrate upon the seventy-two councilmen
between 1803 and 1849 of which forty-one had a familial based relationship, and a further
fifteen had relationships based upon socio-economic affinity, economic activity, *etc.* From
this work, Lipp assessed that western kinship functioned during the early Modern period on
two social levels ‘dispersion of kinspeople and family ties throughout the community’ and
kinships tendency to ‘concentrate wealth and power by linking kin in marriages with close
relatives and thus reproduced oligarchical structures of power.’

A range of scholars have pursued the extraction of evidence of kinship functions in
tandem with other social factors, capital and trends in recent years both as practical exercises
such as the previously mentioned Ball and Beck and from a theoretical perspective with the
application, most notable being Arnon Hershkovitz. The former pairing with a background in
computer technologies has used genealogical data to examine the mass movement of families
over time, a theme that chapter six will takeup. Hershkovitz from a maths and education
background has presented the need to develop a multi-disciplinary approach to genealogy,;
‘we at this moment suggest a systematic way of organising the field of academic genealogy,
treating it as a truly multidisciplinary domain. The main purpose of this taxonomy is to
highlight the multifaceted research directions of genealogy’; His essential argument, that the
academic use of genealogy opens up opportunities for many perspectives and approaches to
begin collaborating; is taken into kinship collation.

The interrogative query has to be what does any collaboration set out to achieve and
have the right tools been put into place. As noted Lipp’s study of Esslingen, supported by
data management and visualisation technology was aimed at exploring social networks. The
purpose was to harness networks of related people and extract from them reciprocity to
theorise on political change in response to kin networks and kin responses to political
restructuring.

Scholars intrigued by European kinship patterns have identified how despite
challenges the methodological trend inspired by Laslett and the Cambridge group, of family

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37 Carola Lipp and Lothar Krempel, ‘Petitions and the social context of political mobilization in the revolution of
history studies conducted through the perspective of co-residency had remained solid.\textsuperscript{38} Such solidity reduced testing and exploration of the data and required a challenge. The US group of D.I. Kertzer \textit{et al.}, in the 1990s like Matteo Manfredini, geneticist, and Marco Breschi, statistician, hoped to make progress against the Laslett paradox. The former group concluded that ‘relatives outside the household... might well have been of more consequence to individuals in Western European societies' with their nuclear family households, than to those who lived in multi-nuclear households.’\textsuperscript{39} The Italian scholars with interest in the circulation of people through households over their lifetimes identified the inability to reconstruct broader social networks had forced the scholarly lens to over-expose the domestic family.\textsuperscript{40} From the perspective of 2005, Manfredini and Breschi concluded that more work was required to retrieve Italian communities and individual’s networks from the record base for deeper analysis.

This foray into European scholarship frames has noted that despite the claims of a more benign set of European data resources for the study of communities, households, individuals and kinship; key record systems are alike and that the benefits of technology are still unfolding on the continent just as they are for the British-sphere records. What stands out instead is a different perspective and approach to the subject of kinship as a topic wider than the family of the domestic unit.

Such an assertion enables this section to thirdly discuss how Britain’s record bases of enumerations and general population records are harness through genealogical reconstructions to leverage an enhanced discussion of British-sphere kinship. To start with genealogical reconstruction should be recognised as a process that makes use of the same record base as demography, supplemented by actor-generated letters and diaries, news clippings \textit{etc.}, but with dramatically new results. Only a generation ago the basic tools of capturing the data, pencil and paper, were essentially unchanged for a millennium. Meanwhile, the records required to undertake a genealogical reconstruction were scattered across numerous collections which entailed exhaustive and expensive sojourns across and between nations. In the modern era, it is possible to combine records from England to those from Scotland, Australia and the US or Wales, India and Canada to assemble the life movements, choices and interactions of an individual. In contrast, O’Day’s research facilities

\textsuperscript{38} David I. Kertzer, Dennis P. Hogan and Nancy Karweit, 'Kinship beyond the household in a nineteenth-century Italian town', \textit{Continuity and Change}, 7, (1992), pp.103-121., p.104.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p.106.
\textsuperscript{40} Matteo Manfredini and Marco Breschi, \textit{Coresident and non-coresident kin in a nineteenth-century Italian rural community}.
struggled to connect data from the Home Counties to fully assemble the Haxell descent group over three generations.

In the early days of the internet professional genealogists struggled to persuade programmers of the market and purpose of a range of tools to support their work. In the last decade, however, this barrier has been swept away. Not only have a small number of commercial entities tightened their grip on and extended their offer to a large consumer base; the genealogical endeavour has become a cultural activity of the British-sphere, and a range of information management specialists have sought to make additional tools available.\footnote{Joseph Amato, ‘Rethinking Family History’, \textit{Minnesota History}, 60, 8., (2008), pp.326-333., Anastasia Bezerianos et al., ‘GeneaQuilts: A System for Exploring Large Genealogies.’, pp.1073-1081, Jerome de Groot, ‘Empathy and enfranchisement: Popular histories’, \textit{Rethinking History}, 10, (2006), pp.391-413., Amy Holdsworth, \textit{Television, memory, and nostalgia} (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2011),, Yuhua Liu et al., ‘GenealogyVis: A System for Visual Analysis of Multidimensional Genealogical Data’; Gregory Rodriguez, \textit{How Genealogy Became Almost as Popular as Porn},.}

The work of volunteers with Free UK Genealogy CIO is currently increasing the percentage of records from the national and parish registers, that are digitally reported on with excellent coverage of the nineteenth century.\footnote{With three caveats to note. 1. British endeavours are a less organised and systemic process than what has taken place with the state records of other jurisdictions Gerrit Bloothoof, \textit{Data mining in the (historic) Civil Registration of The Netherlands from 1811-present} CNRS-INSHS Workshop, (MNHN, 2010). 2. The potential information recovery and analysis from the data management of register content is far removed from that provided by direct digital access to the certificates. <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/progressB.shtml> 3. The costs of access to the certificates, is a major hurdle for any British project of massive network reconstruction even within the benign Scottish regime of population records.} The ability to assess, construct and verify individual life-arcs marked by general population records, therefore, is enhanced through the public realm production by individuals of their family trees. The ever-increasing volume of materials and the sheer mass of collaborative users of genealogical websites and tools arguably makes a snapshot assessment of the reliability and efficacy of the public produced data-to-actor attachment.\footnote{Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Is Family History 'Real' History?', \textit{History Ireland}, 21, 5, (2013), pp.49., Kate Friday, 'Learning from e-family history: online research behaviour and strategies of family historians and implications for local studies collections' (Robert Gordon University, 2012).} In practice, this means that large, socioeconomically diverse webs of related people can be examined and thematic evidence extracted through a scholarly lens.

It is clear that British research over the last three decades has remained heavily influenced by the older traditions of genealogy with an emphasis on lineages and domestic setups, alongside the formula of the classic family tree for representation, \textit{i.e.} relatedness. The ossification of mere relationship is observable in \textit{Kindred Britain} with its ego-ego-ego-ego presentation of relationships and concepts of degrees of relatedness.\footnote{Nicholas Jenkins, \textit{Originating Kindred Britain}, [accessed 24 July 2017].} The bespoke resource \textit{Kindred Britain} in common with other attempts to visualise genealogical networks can reveal
the sprawl, for instance, that Mary 1561-1621, Countess of Pembroke was treated on at least one occasion by Matthew Lester 1571-1656 and that her sibling’s fourth-generation descendant married his nephew’s third-generation step-descendant is informative but not analytical of kinship behaviours. Consequently, this doctoral project has not made use of any of the bespoke technological programs, developed by data scientists as noted in the prior section, to hold genealogical reconstructions.45 Despite which the public desire to undertake their genealogical reconstructions must be acknowledged and understood as the driver of the technological developments so that the cultural exchange which automatically privileges specific forms of relationships; sibling, progeny, patrilineal lineages, degrees of relatedness, can be understood.46 In contrast, the anthropological influenced European scholars, such as Lipp have de-emphasised such constructs as

Peter Schweitzer once remarked that “what kinship does” might be important, not only the meaning of kinship. In light of an actor-centred theory of practice, it might be more precise to ask “what do kin do together?” Kinship relations are practised in daily living and social life as well as in the larger context of politics. The “culture of relatedness” should be observed in every form of social exchange and interaction.47

It is the existence of large webs that have been put to work within the European scholarly studies influenced by Schneider against which the British record base has been compared and found wanting. Therefore, this section finishes with its fourth objective, an illustration of how that assessment can be overturned. To address this gap, large reconstructed networks of relatives derived from the British record base, processed into actor-linked data collections, require theorisation.48 The demonstration of kinship collation works through both the volume of records gathered to support the thesis proposition of a new tool and a worked example that identifies the practice and theory needed to harness the networks of related people.

The background data of the doctoral project was built from 2007 and is augmented periodically. Over the decade the technology and digitised records offered by commercial


websites such as ancestry.com/.co.uk have vastly increased as have the skills of research required to track, identify, evaluate and lay aside records so that to the best of probabilities the lifespan records of an individual are attached to them. As potentially this is a never complete task it is possible to report that in August 2018 the research base that has underpinned the development of kinship collation is split across six ged.coms, which are the data management records used for family tree structures. Each ged.com serves a specific research purpose for the thesis outlined in the table below along with metadata details.

Table 2-1 captures the volume of data collected on over 13,000 mostly past individuals, while Figure 2-1, below, presents the standard family tree gained from genealogical reconstruction without analysis. Both are derived from the morass of records that have been examined for details on individuals, their connectivity to others and the shape of community networks. In addition, to the standard digitised general records that encompass the enumeration, birth, marriages and death notes, other attached records include newspaper clippings, images of grave markers, microstories extracted from rare books, family legends and the like. The bulk of these and the general record are linked to only a minority of the 13,000 while the final column highlights the number of basic records yet to be applied to most of the individuals captured into the reconstructions.

### Table 2-1 Summary of the data volumes gathered in ged.coms for the doctoral project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ged.com identity and Purpose</th>
<th># People</th>
<th># Digitised general record details</th>
<th># Other attached records</th>
<th># Hints for future expansion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core and original build; data that underpins the PhD thesis</td>
<td>10,986</td>
<td>19,744</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>57,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British social elites; data that enables study of Anglicanism and the gentry</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>2,582</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire democratic participants; gathered data on actors who had run for local office</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire heritors; data on actors around the local and regional landowners</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>1,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellon Hinterland serving as a working ged.com for actors as of yet unconnected to the Grampian core</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>1.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconnected England a working investigative ged.com with multiple disconnected lines to test theorising</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>2,321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 Appendix ii includes an example ged.com with explanation of content.
Riddell has discussed both the background and scholarly processes that are necessary to elevate genealogy into a multi-disciplinary academic field, tool and structure with an assertion that

Unresolved is the challenge to genealogists of how to reconcile that on the one hand their work is derided as unimportant aggrandisement while simultaneously being lifted by other scholastic professionals. Instead of making genealogists more acceptable to historians, academia ought to have a focus on more equitable and collegiate relationships with the lineage-makers/commercial genealogists and generational scholars. This requires the genealogy establishments to have a firm sense of the outputs and outcomes of all layers of genealogical endeavour so that the fever of genealogy is elevated.51
As the assemblage of data is the function of genealogy at its basic level, with its own literature, at this point, it is important to identify and illustrate how the use of visualisations and theorisation of perspective contribute to the uplift of mass genealogy, as undertaken by the public into inter-disciplinary scholarship.

The visualisation of kinship as genealogical families, the classic family tree, inevitably reinforces a perspective of progenitor, siblinghood, cousinship and lineage, as having importance. This emphasis is especially true when additional weight is given to male connectivity, the privileging of the patriarchal and when the status of women is distilled to their relationships with others, their father, their husband, their progeny, as noted in chapter one. Therefore, alternative visualising is required to assemble, analyse and present kinship indicators. Figure 2-2, below, in contrast to visualisation by a family tree, which risks the imposition of significance based on connectedness, as discussed through Kindred Britain, illustrate a typical process of record discovery and analytical queries based upon Dr Herbert Johnston 1876-1955, whose family features conventionally, in Figure 2-1.\(^{52}\)

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52 Two further examples of record assignment, 1. a short-lived child and 2. a cross-border migrant are included in appendix ii., along with the raw data.
Figure 2-2 captures the need and type of questions that are required to move from the connectedness. A significant component of the theorisation that drives such visualisation and querying is derived from the Schneiderian theory, as discussed in chapter one, that kinship relationships assertion must lie with the observed and not the observer. Therefore, arbitrary ideas that a first cousin is a kinswoman, but a second cousin is not, are abandoned. In its place must come postulations backed up by an assortment of connections. Indicators of this are found in the case study of Dr Herbert Johnston. Herbert’s maternal grandfather being an accountant at one time-based in Westminster and paternal relatives, a great-aunt, Mary Strachan, 1822-1881 Mrs William Watkins being the *mater* in 1871 of a 270-acre tenancy, and a great-uncle, James Strachan in 1871 held 136 acres in the parish of Llanvetherine, part of the Abergavenny hinterland. Therefore, both Herbert’s London born mother and Buchan born father both had connections, he indirectly, she directly to Abergavenny the local town market. Furthermore, both families were of an economic niche that would have encouraged social interaction,

The section’s argument, in summary, is that genealogy has now been developed significantly technologically, as a practice and as a resource to underpin the research of British kinship study, but further theorisation is required so that the recovered resources can be deployed effectively. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that the task of genealogical reconstruction of webs of relatives for kinship collation is not mindless clicking of links offered up by the commercial AI of genealogical providers such as ancestry.com. Nor is the genealogical work a neutral mechanistic task, as practised by prior generations of scholars to assemble details of related actors, instead it is an activity that asks questions as to sense the community networks held by individuals as it enables the scholar to place the individual into their wider context. The section while arguing that genealogical endeavour must be combined with theoretical insights as to the nature of kinship to become a tool called kinship collation has emphasised the volume of records that the doctoral project has examined and processed.

2d. Conclusion

Through an analysis of the orthodoxy of British approaches that have stultified the use of kinship and a presentation of theoretical methods developed from anthropological and European historical scholarship, this chapter has laid out how kinship collation contributes to the investigation of past British-sphere societies. Consequently, the chapter has exposed how the demands from Laslett, to find a means to recover the knowledge of which relatives were alive and when, so that society can be better understood can now be achieved.

To recap the two underpinnings of kinship collation, firstly, it is important to re-acknowledge that Lipp was pushing forward the late twentieth-century anthropological insights of Schneider and Schweitzer, arguably bringing them into historical anthropology. This late-twentieth century theoretical model is not uncontentious, Warren Shapiro, in particular, stressed in response, how it is unrealistic to separate kinship from basic biological facts of the family.\(^{54}\) Additionally, the methodological process of kinship collation that is being illuminated is only possible thanks to the emergence of the digital age with its dual capabilities of mass digitisation of records and data systems for handling masses of data. Moreover, at the theoretic level, Marshal Sahlin’s emphasis on kinship as culture and not biology is also a development of David Schneider and Peter Schweitzer’s querying of anthropology.\(^{55}\) Secondly, the usefulness and importance of genealogy within the kinship collation methodological-process as noted in the chapter are inescapable. Genealogical reconstructions of the records, which involve the linking of an actors lifetime records, commencing with a note of their birth and finishing with a record of their death, most often with the addition of enumerations and potentially a marriage in addition to the birth of their progeny, reprocesses the record base from snapshot demographics to longitudinal life-arcs of nearly the entire nineteenth-century population. The advantages of this can be illustrated through the ability to recover gynocentric, female based, relationships which have been marginalised from academia. Kinship collation recognises that genealogies cultural resurgence has prepared British sources to inform historical kinship with a new synergy of theory about kinship with a resource base that can be mined to reveal hidden patterns of kinship behaviour which fills the void, observed by prior scholarship.

It is not just that modern European schools have grappled with their data differently to that of Ruggles and certainly Laslett, it is that they have been less influenced by a

\(^{54}\) Warren Shapiro, ‘Why Schneiderian Kinship Studies Have It All Wrong’.

\(^{55}\) Marshal Sahlins, What Kinship Is-And Is Not.
developmental societal mindset that emphasised the nuclear family as a unique and necessary component of modern society. This mindset has permeated the British bureaucratic culture for centuries and informed the construction of the very record base itself so that patriarchal-led co-resident family was privileged and imposed into the record. Kinship collation, therefore, must look beyond centrality of the nuclear-domestic unit to British societies to how the record attests to kinship outside the limits of the household. The chapter has indicated that large-scale genealogical reconstructions are the key facet as they reprocess and repurpose the British-sphere records.

The demographic level record base and function of historical demography have an absolute role in the description of the aggregate, but just as it cannot adequately capture the lived experience of the family, it cannot describe the behaviours and patterns of community that sits beyond the domestic threshold within general society. The thesis moves forward to illustrate how kinship collation as a methodological process can through large-scale genealogical reconstructions build a data source from which those community patterns and behaviours can be identified, queried and analysed. The chapter, therefore, has clarified the why and how of kinship collation’s use of a huge range of British-sphere primary resources, separated from their original format and restructured back to the individual actor they referenced.

The chapter took as its inspiration Plakans, and Wetherell’s fifteen-year-old observation that the linkages retrieved from records can assist in the reconstruction of links between people but also set the groundwork for postulations as to the impact and significance of those connections. They were writing in an early wave of digitisation, a process that has continued to swell and grow both in the volume of accessible records and users of commercial genealogy resources who are collectively processing these records. There are two broad conclusions to be made from the perspective of 2018 as the technological ability to discover, reconstruct, assign and visualise the British record base has advanced substantially. Firstly, the scholarly perspective has failed to keep pace with the change that has reconfigured the record base from inimical to amicable to kinship studies. Secondly, the scholarly wariness, particularly of historians has inhibited theorisation, conceptualisation and skill development of researchers. Therefore, the chapter has brought the Plakans and Wetherell observation up to date in a fast-changing digital environment and by doing so has shown the redundancy of Laslett’s early analysis that the record base did not exist with which to explore notions of kinship in British culture. The chapter has gone a step further and illustrated that it is possible to identify who was alive when and mutual relationships with
others. Finally, the chapter pushes higher through an assertion that much can be unlocked through the application of European theories of kinship, derived from Euroamerican anthropology to the re-envisioned resource of genealogical results.

The cross-UK case study anchored to Herbert Johnston, adds recognition of kinship traceability over decades and through the varied collections of the UK jurisdictions and sets the stage for chapter three to exemplify how kinship collation can be used to interrogate and theorise from large-scale webs of relatives. Chapter four then closes the first half of the thesis with a discussion of the theoretical, conceptual and cultural barriers that hem in the resources available to British-sphere historical kinship studies. By the conclusion of the fourth chapter, the methodological-theory and process of kinship collation will be evident so that chapters five through to seven can then implement the tool to tackle important social themes.
Chapter 3 In plain sight

3a. Introduction

In response to the gaps in the academic appreciation of British kin behaviours identified in chapter one; an over-dependence on English studies to present an overarching unified narrative, the truncated and undirected scope of studies, the lack of a reassessment of sources and the lack of inter-disciplinary approaches, chapter two continued the general argument of the thesis. The hypothesis is that the study of kinship within Britain of British kinship has stalled and been left behind by the theoretical advances used by other European scholarly networks. Chapter two simply contended that the record base needed to reinvigorate the study of kinship was hidden in plain sight and merely required recognition. The ability to use the enumeration and general population records on a mass scale required both the development of data management, which has been rapidly enhanced and theoretical insight, which has been restricted and dampened.

It has been noted that the weakness of British historical kinship research is the assumption of a lack of a suitable record base for its exploration. This chapter will acknowledge the problems with the Scottish record base and also assert that the data for kinship investigations is available but has not been accessible due to the lack of technology to prise it out and requires a sideways examination in order to tease it lose. The chapter continues to draw inspiration from and discuss the application of continental European scholastic approaches that have been influenced by Schneiderian anthropology. The purpose of the chapter is to examine at further depth how the abundant record base bequeathed from the Victorian era bureaucracy can be re-interrogated notwithstanding an awareness of its deficiencies as outlined in chapters one and two. Three core problems with the enumeration will be unpicked as they have directly impeded recognition of kinship beyond the household context. Firstly, the constraints of imposed localities. Secondly, the assumptions of the importance of the male-led nuclear family unit, and thirdly analytical constrictions built into the record collection through complications of language.

The following section will focus on the three impediments noted above as they relate to the census records to discuss the limitations of the source material, and then also the opportunities that can be recovered. Kinship collation makes use of the opportunities through the reconstitution of the enumerations and general population records into actor-identified life arc materials made possible by genealogical endeavour. This chapter’s third section then
illustrates the discussion through an extensive case study drawn from the Grampian region. Chapter three is, therefore, moving forward threads from the earlier chapters.

The examination of the enumeration is designed to elucidate that these household returns reveal that kinship was a connecting capital between domestic units and individuals who may or may not have ever co-resided. This approach is in line with the long-standing commentary of European scholars such as Segalen ‘studying the domestic group from the point of size and structure is not enough…the family, therefore, demands an analysis of the relationships between domestic groups’, and builds the case for the analysis of reconstructed genealogies as social networks.\(^1\) The case study, the Cardno descent group adds to the Scottish discourse on kinship without the structures of the clan, and therefore develops perceptions of the broader British patterns. The Cardno’s economic base was linked to mill tenancies; a distinct part of the rural economy often overlooked in favour of the more numerous labouring and farming socioeconomic niches. Consequently, the application of assumptive analysis of a locality is diversified and Scottish kinship perspectives widen.\(^2\)

### 3b. Limitations of the Scottish-British records for kinship studies

The purpose of this section is to challenge the perception, deeply embedded into the scholarly culture, that the British record is inimical to the study of kinship, as discussed in the last chapter. This section will firstly, consider more closely the three impediments that hold back an appreciation of the census as a resource tool for kinship. Second, it will indicate the opportunities that await once the census has been re-theorised and purposed as a kinship resource, despite its design flaws. In this fashion, the section paves the way for the second half of the chapter to illuminate the issues through an extensive case study of the kinships of Margaret Stott and Peter Cardno, derived from the 1841, 1851 and 1861 enumerations.

As discussed above and in chapter two the census must be recognised as an output and tool of demography. What must be continually acknowledged is the cultural-ideological world in which the resources of the general population record and census were designed. This late Hanoverian world already lacked a language that could capture and define connectivity between cousins of cousins, or compound expressions, such as, half-step-great-aunts. The influential cultural blocks of British society had also encountered cultures with more overt

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\(^1\) Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, p.40.

\(^2\) A similar status family based around George Mitchell, master shoemaker and crofter existed at Mill of Fortree, Ellon and lasted for almost four enumerations. As will be seen amongst the close neighbours were the farming Mitchell family-household from which Congressman Mitchell of Wisconsin was drawn. The shoe maker’s descendants drifted to Aberdeen and farm labouring roles, the descendants tended to make marriages with other labouring families with kin-connections into small peasant farm tenants.
kin expression against which they sought to self-define uniqueness. Such knowledge formed the backdrop to Adam Smith’s thoughts on kinship. Smith’s considered opinion stressed that as family moved physically apart, their sense of commonality and obligation would dwindle. Therefore he proposed that kinship was constructed through regular emotional encounter, bureaucratically his views found expression in the limited language of relatedness applied and accepted by enumerators.

The design of the census was not random, but specific. Robert Morris and Edward Higgs are clear that the nineteenth century State’s need for factual data to assess population, military capability and quantify poverty created the need for a process of applied uniformity upon the data collected. The state’s needs are part of a wider pattern as noted by Segalen.

It is impossible to tax kindred groups and close relatives or to produce figures for scattered kinship groups, and the state has had to single out individual domestic groups within their kinship networks for its purposes of possession and manipulation.

What must be observed is the interplay of social forces, the majority of which, the popular and unrecorded and therefore infrequently examined are little understood. In contrast, the social forces that surround, empower and embolden the state’s bureaucracy are well recorded, avidly scrutinised and theorised. Firstly then, the section must consider the imposition of locality and its impact. The early enumeration process recognised instinctively the need for a certain level of cross-comparison between diverse economic zones balanced against the desire for effective administration. These dual, balanced concerns resulted in pre-determined enumeration zones and districts that often related to older boundaries such as parishes but not in every locale. In combination with a pre-determined assessment of the importance of the domestic unit and assumptions as to its manifestation as a male-led nuclear family unit the choice of census pattern automatically severed any systemic collection of kin-data. The enumerator was simply not interested in whether you were related to the people next-door, shared resources with them or that your daughter, aged eleven, was a resident ‘maid’ to her great-aunt around the corner; as they resided in a different collection district. Consequently, the census as a tool of demography means that scholarship is notably tilted

3 omniglot.com; Rose Stremlau, ““To Domesticate and Civilize Wild Indians”: Allotment and the Campaign to Reform Indian Families, 1875-1887”, pp.265-286.
4 Daniel Scott Smith, ““All in Some Degree Related to Each Other”: A Demographic and Comparative Resolution of the Anomaly of New England Kinship”, pp.44-79.
5 Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family, p.103.
towards community within the bounds of distinct reporting districts. An alternative form can be found through the theories of Ferdinand Tönnies who postulated communities as ‘a grouping based on feelings of togetherness and on mutual links; the goal of the community is to maintain these feelings and links, and the community members are the means for this goal.’ The challenge then is can the census as a resource be reconstituted and transformed to reveal a fundamentally different form of community record? The importance of a response to such a challenge was captured by Gordon and Nair’s research on Scottish urban family-households which picked up the wider discussion around ‘extended living arrangements,’ i.e. reciprocating relatives outside of a nuclear conjugal family grouping, but did not tackle it, in favour of exposing myths around patriarchal anchor of the Victorian domestic unit.

The section must consider secondly, the legacy of patri-privilege. This concept was flagged in the previous chapter as the instinctive overemphasis of the actions of men, an inherent application of status to men, the connectedness of men through the cultural transmission of family names and the subsumption of women as adjutants of their fathers, husbands and progeny. This sociological awareness cannot be over asserted as a patri-privileging culture that has undermined both the potency of the census as a resource and as explored below affected the demographic analysis. The pernicious impact of the male dominant culture is effectively illustrated in two ways, firstly, the bureaucratic impulse to assign headship in the enumerated household to the male; secondly, the truncated presence of mothers’ on their progenies marriage certificates which continues in southern Britain to today.

The foundational scholarship of current British kinship studies had its roots in a period before the impact of feminist-sociological critiques that highlight constructs such as patri-privilege were felt. Therefore, the legacy of male supposed prominence was inducted into Laslett’s legacy of CAMPOPS which had by the 1980s established a powerful discourse around the family. Which despite the challenges of O’Day and Davidoff et al., has remained the basis for an analysis of the later Victorian enumerations of household families and other living arrangements. But it is essential to note the instability of the family household. Tadmor’s study of Thomas Turner in the eighteenth century and, King’s studies of different socioeconomic niches have shown that individuals slipped in and out of families. Razi has made the same observations of medieval English family-households. She concluded that a

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7 Arnon Herskovitz, 'A suggested taxonomy of genealogy as a multidisciplinary academic research field', pp.5
snapshot of society would throw-up a variety of family-household forms in a given place.\(^9\) Manfredini and Breschi made similar observations of nineteenth-century rural Italy, a trend also observable in nineteenth-century Grampian.\(^10\)

In combination with gender biases, the Western European cultural paradigm which produced the nuclear-family orientated census creates great confusion in the academy, particularly on the history of women, Cooper, Donald, Higgs and Laslett all have recognised that some women’s kin relationship to heads of a household has been lost in the enumeration language. The resource was predicated around the identification of an ideally male head which then forged distortions within the domestic unit. In response to this, Gordon and Nair directed that ‘As Levi and others have argued, co-residence is not a particularly sensitive or accurate measure of the extent of kinship relations.’ \(^11\)

As the cultural presence of patriarchal preference is deeply embedded in the documentation and been absorbed into older research, it is essential to remember that the census was crafted out of the worldview of western developmental advancement. To rectify these bias-based misperceptions, Cooper and Donald critiqued patriarchal assumptive studies of preceding scholarly generations including Laslett as having missed significant layers of kinship. This critique must be hardened as the systemic oversights have further de-emphasis kinship and promote nuclear-family units. The development of appropriate and common language across the enumeration, like all aspects of the census, was from the outset of the national project incremental. For instance, the 1841 enumerators were left to their own devices to consider family within their instructions to draw up lists of the local populace by 1851 there were centrally issued definitions.\(^12\)

Assumptions as to linguistic uniformity cannot be ignored and forms the third impediment to British kinship research. Cooper and Donald’s research indicated that camouflages were drawn over the census record through the enumeration encounter at the threshold that disguised the nature of significant relationships.\(^13\) The distortions in the record

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are not uniform; the enumeration does not capture that two servants are cousins nor does it note that the lodger is the wife’s illegitimate step-brother or that the nephew is actually a cousin, that the visitors were second cousins and so on. The state bureaucracy’s need for information as evidenced by the census as exercised must be recognised as being in tension with how the public decided to have their perspectives recorded. A basic temptation to accept the centrally issued uniformity should be resisted to recover more effectively the actuality of peoples lived experience an approach captured in Lasser’s 1988 work on nineteenth-century female friendship in which she focused discussion upon families of birth and procreation, rather than the family of the census. To summarise, there are multiple languages and discourses at play within the enumeration returns that represent varied perspectives, yet the British orthopraxis has overly concentrated on the language and perspective of the state structures.

Stephanie Coontz has considered the problems of language as millennium-long and the fields of anthropology of kinship and history of the family have further developed subject-specific language. The results of which have enabled Razi, a late Anglo-Medievalist to write of ‘intra-familial interactions’, the networks maintained, activated and important between relatives beyond what is consider the nuclear-co-residing core. Meanwhile, O’Day and Segalen have placed importance on a longstanding cultural trend of north-western cultures to lose both kin-defining words and muddle together the remaining lexicon. In her review of English kinship patterns through the Early Modern period, Tadmor illustrated how even the six basic nuclear relation terms: mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, could draw in a surprising number of people into connection with an individual. Her subject Ralph Josselin wrote in such a way that ‘mother, stepmother, and mother-in-law, for example, were all recognised by him as ‘mothers’ marking even definitive terms as both looser and more complex than imagined. Tadmor in a later article was clear that both historians and their historical subjects within the English culture used kinship / familial language both

16 Rosemary O'Day, The Family and Family History 1500-1900, p.25-26., Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family..
unsystematically and in complex ways. Gillis said of her work on Eighteenth-century kinship linguistics,

‘She shows how the use of modern terms by historians of family has had an enormously distorting effect on our understanding of the past. The old debates about the continuity of the nuclear family or the existence of extended families are shown to have been based on linguistically anachronistic grounds’. 19

Therefore, it is clear that any distinction between family and kinship and the nuance of the extended family is lost for the modern researcher, leaving the challenge of perceiving it without clarity of cousinhood or differentials between blood and conjugal uncles. Consequently, this section asserts that there was a deliberatively bureaucratic fuzziness of language used by enumerators in the nineteenth century, driven by being at the fulcrum of the bureaucratic and popular cultures that played into the census. Census-takers were primed to filter the information they garnered to conform to the pattern they were expected to present yet enumerators encountered situations where this was not a simple task. The arrangement of individuals as assigned to Domus units reflected as argued by Cradock what the Victorian socially influential groups expected to find as culturally British signals, i.e., the idealised nuclear family. These were the issues encountered by the truncated Cooper and Donald’s research undertaken before mass digitisation and data management systems and will be discussed further in chapter four.

The section has now explored how the census functioned as a demographic tool and identified the significant impediments to its utility as a resource that informs kinship studies. Alternatively, large-scale genealogical webs reveal instead that, one, domestic settings, both rural and urban, could contain many co-resident groups who had to be actively divided into male-led nuclear family units, Riddell has exemplified this through the Skilmafilly Smithy and farmtoun complex. Two that any relationships that did not pass through the ego of the head of household were utterly ignored such as a servant being visited by his uncle, an apprentice by his grandmother, two cousins being in service within the same household. 21

20 ‘The census AN ENUMERATOR’. The Times (London, England), Thursday, Apr 11, 1861; pg. 9; Iain Riddell, 'Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship'; Ibid.
21 Ancestry.com, ‘1891 Scotland Census’, Ellon; ED: 3; Page: 4; Line: 2; Roll: CSSCT1891_61, David Laing and Charles Bowman; ‘1891 Census of Canada’, Uxbridge, Ontario West, Ontario; Roll: T-6359; Family No: 25, James Fowlie’s household inclusive of John Whyte who matches James’s sisters son who was born before
Therefore, it is important to consider the opportunities that can be brought forth if it is reconstituted into actor life-arc records. Demography as a tool does not capture or illuminate the individual, but it does produce records that through genealogy can be re-attached to a specific person. Once the data of birth and death, which hopefully for most people is padded out with enumeration snapshots, marriages, the birth of progeny, the death of parents and siblings, their ongoing life networks of significant and occasional relationships is retrieved, their life-arc is available for interrogation. As part of the task of analysis, the opportunities created by a reformatted approach to the census requires interrogative suspicion; the scholarly researcher cannot simply say, person X was described by person Y in this fashion and this date to person V. Instead, the scholar must consider the power relationships between those three people, their cultural contexts and what if any, negotiation occurred. This suspicion is particularly important when considering visitors and staff.

The case study below with over 120 individuals encapsulates and illustrates what is possible from a sprawling and multi-generational framework; it will show that the ability to cross-reference more than co-resident close relatedness releases the record base to reveal much about reciprocity in society between distantly related people. Additionally, it will reveal that the certainty of enumerations official definitions did not capture the lived experience of past people and indeed the official effort could be undone by individual actors.\(^\text{22}\) The study teases apart the enumeration record with an awareness of other records furnished through the reconstruction of sprawling webs of relatives to bring to light what has been disguised. These disguises resulted in an abiding and redoubtable locating of the core of society within the patriarchal nuclear family-household as both a moral and inevitable manifestation. The importance of challenging a social-historical analysis dominated by patri-privilege is at the very heart of modern historiography, and the rest of the thesis will continue to understand the intersect of kinship behaviours with gender, socioeconomic and geographic-economic considerations.

### 3c. Collation of the Cardno enterprise-household kinship

The previous section asserted that contrary to earlier scholarly assessments the British population general record base is more than capable of revealing how kinship patterns functioned in nineteenth-century societies. The barrier has been the inability to work with the

records in a fashion on large enough scale to release the detail. Further, the inability to assemble, manage and visualise the data has had long-term implications for British scholarship.

This section, an analysis of an extended Scottish case study identifies at various stages how the record of enumeration was shaped by longstanding cultural forces to disguise the kinship behaviours of essential rural crafters. The approach moves forward the four contributions of the thesis through the production of Scottish kinship case studies, new propositions as to the nature of British kinship behaviours, the presentation of a methodological theory of kinship built on continental European approaches and a methodological process that synergises that theory with the British record base to reveal kin-connectivity. The case study is built from the 1861 census with an awareness of the preceding and following enumerations, one will, general population records and a smattering of news clippings. Thus, the Mill of Kinharrichie enumeration taken in 1861 is contextualised into a wider set of data. The analysis is constrained by length to the mid-nineteenth century; the kinships wider story has been addressed by Riddell in other project outputs.23 The section proceeds with a broad introduction to the Mill of Kinharrichie complex, which sat on the border of the Ellon and Methlic parishes see appendix vii and figure 3-1 below, in which the Cardno kin group was enumerated in 1861, it then concludes with an analysis that draws out their hidden kinship behaviours.

The enumerator assigned by the local registrar, John Davidson to undertake the task of the census in the micro-locality of Kinharrichie, west of the Aberdeenshire village of Ellon, should be expected to have been briefed on the acceptable definitions of the relationship between individuals and heads of households and the basis of a residential household. The inhabitants, some or all the adults, at the Mill of Kinharrichie and the enumerator would have sat down on the day after census night to make official the paperwork. The results of that meeting are below in the first three columns of table 4-1, with the enumeration assigned Head of Households marked with an asterisk. As the enumerator and family units were forced to divide the mill into separate households with no external connection to each other. But as all households apart from Forsyth, contained interrelated people, interrogation is required. Consequently, the fourth column, informed by genealogical

23 Iain Riddell, 'Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship’, in Carol Beardmore and Cara Dobbings (eds), Living the Family: A Study of Domestic Life, c.1650-1950’ (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
reconstruction, builds a sense of the mill as a living community of kinship of three generations in a co-dependent socioeconomic setup.

Figure 3-1 Map of Mill of Kinharrichie 1858 within Turnerhall estate, on the boundary of the parish of Ellon

Table 3-1 The 1861 enumeration of the Mill of Kinharrichie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age &amp; Occupation</th>
<th>1861 Dwelling ID</th>
<th>Their assigned 1861 Familial Grouping (Relationships)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Cardno* Margaret (Stott) Cardno</td>
<td>77 Miller 71</td>
<td>Mill of Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Peter and Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Cardno</td>
<td>42 Millwright</td>
<td>Mill of Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Peter and Margaret (son of Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret (Cardno Jr.) Mrs W Robb</td>
<td>38 Domestic</td>
<td>Mill of Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Peter and Margaret (dau. Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Michie Margaret Robb</td>
<td>12 Agri.Lab 4</td>
<td>Mill of Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Peter and Margaret (child. M. Cardno Jr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Smith* Jane Cardno</td>
<td>38 Miller 28</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>William and Jane (dau. Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William, Jane, James, Mary, John, Sarah</td>
<td>Ten months - 10 years</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>William and Jane (child. William &amp; Jane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Bowman</td>
<td>23 Domestic</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>William and Jane (her aunt) (g.dau. Peter &amp; Marg)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 Alexander Gibb 1804-1867, *Map of the north eastern districts of Aberdeenshire* (Aberdeen : Keith & Gibb, 1858, )., 'Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland'.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Relationship to Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Forsyth*</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Robert Forsyth (employee of Peter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha, Robert, James</td>
<td>12,11,5</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Robert Forsyth (Robert’s children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Findlater</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Robert Forsyth (Robert’s step-daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Ronald</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Miller's House</td>
<td>Robert Forsyth (stepson, Robert)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Urquhart*</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ploughman</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Labourer's House</td>
<td>William and Barbara (dau. Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret, James,</td>
<td>9,6,5,2</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Labourer's House</td>
<td>William and Barbara (child. Will &amp; Barbara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert, Charles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urquhart</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth McBain</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Rail lab</td>
<td>Kinhanachy Labourer’s House, Lodger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Branders</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Agri lab</td>
<td>Kinhanachy House</td>
<td>James and Christian (dau. Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian (Cardno)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branders,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reid</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Rail lab</td>
<td>Kinhanachy House, boarder</td>
<td>James and Christian (son of C. Cardno)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The addition of the fourth column reveals two significant facts, firstly almost all the residents of the complex were descendants of the miller, Peter Cardno and his wife, Margaret Stott. Secondly, there was only the one economic activity at the complex, the mill with a 20 acres smallholding. As the legal tenant, Peter was the authorised controller of the economic means. Consequently, the postulation is that each adult and working child was primarily occupied and drawing benefit from the mill complex, bar McBain and Reid, who as boarder and lodger would have potentially, produced additional monies. The enumeration of Reid is significant as other records, parish baptisms and the 1851 census, show that he was the illegitimate son of Christian, Mrs Branders, yet the Brander couple chooses not to emphasise the relatedness to the head of household his step-father. William Michie was also illegitimate and in 1861 was referenced as a grandson of the head of household as had been the case with his cousin Reid in 1851. This illustrates the language limitations as there is not a distinctive term for children of sons as against children of daughters nor is there an official signifier of regular vs irregular children.
Therefore, the researcher must look to a detail like the surname and then reconstruct to establish the facts. The discovered arrangements can be complex. For instance, the twenty-three-year-old Elizabeth Bowman, domestic at Kinhanachy Miller’s House is the only credible mother for the three-year-old David Laing at Townhead recorded in table 3-2 below. These circumstances being uncaptured by the enumeration, un-noted by traditional insights distort the certainties of statistical analysis. The mere notation of Laing’s presence with his grandparents Bowman could easily be assumed to denote either abandonment, some embarrassment about his irregular birth or even see the toddler marked up as orphaned, but his mother was a thirty-five-minute walk away, close enough for a daily visit.

Figure 3-2 Kinharrichie area showing distances from the Mill to dwelling places of the extended Cardno kinship-cluster

The core families and households must be regarded as a kin-cluster even though the enumerator was obliged to impose a pre-defined model of family-households, rather than acknowledge that the group were a group. The local nature of the selection of enumerators makes it highly probable that the lived kinship at the mill was likely known to the enumerator.
along with the details of illegitimacy within the Cardno family. Such recognition means that we must ask serious questions of the historical analysis of the 1861 census which states that the parish of Ellon contained 682 families.\(^{25}\) What stands out is that neither our current use of language nor that of the mid-Victorians adequately captures the reality of what was occurring in real peoples’ living arrangements.

In addition to the compounded family units at Kinharichie, there were three other locations within an easy walking distance where the children of Margaret and Peter were established, Townhead and Michealmuir, Methlic and Nethermill, Ellon; the last of which was probably the complex next visited after Kinharichie by the enumerator. The wider accumulation of data from Townhead, Methlic brings to bear information not only from a different enumeration zone but also a different parish and a different estate holding structure. A wider assessment of inter-connectivity comes from this data which under a strict boundary analysis would be lost. The extended family had decided to operate neighbouring mills, while at Townhead, the family had a corn dealer who could handle the outputs at the mill. Such an arrangement must be suggestive of inter-linked economic interests which were matched by the role of female family members to provide social care. By 1861 the Cardno matriarch and patriarch were well into their seventies and shared space with multiple groupings of young children. The complex as a place should be assessed as an environment where there was plenty of social care required, but there were no non-family domestic servants. Elizabeth Bowman’s choices and position as a female family member who provided social care are thrown into high relief once it is recognised that her young son was with her parents at Michealmuir. Nuanced questions about expectations and priorities created by kin-arrangement as they impacted kinswomen will thus be examined in chapter five.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age &amp; Occupation</th>
<th>1861 Dwelling ID</th>
<th>Their assigned 1861 Familial Grouping (Relationships)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al’der Bowman*</td>
<td>56 Crofter</td>
<td>Michaelmuir, Methlic</td>
<td>Alex and Elizabeth (dau. Peter &amp; Margaret)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Cardno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter, George,</td>
<td>14, 10, 8</td>
<td>Michaelmuir, Methlic</td>
<td>Alex and Elizabeth (child. Alex &amp; Elizabeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Laing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Michaelmuir, Methlic</td>
<td>Alex and Elizabeth (grandson. Alex &amp; Elizabeth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

William Moir 61 Michaelmuir, Methlic, Lodger Alex and Elizabeth

George Cardno* Margaret Arthur 46 Miller House, Ellon 34 Nethermill Miller's House, Ellon George and Margaret (son of Peter & Margaret)

Mary Cardno 1 Nethermill Miller's House, Ellon George and Margaret (dau. George & Margaret)

Charles Rait Elizabeth Walker 21 Plougher & carter House, Ellon, Servants Nethermill Miller's House, Ellon, Servants George and Margaret (ser. George & Margaret)

John Mckenzie 18 Rail Lab Nethermill Miller's House, Ellon, Boarder George and Margaret (Lodger)

William Imray* Isobel Cardno 34 Corn Merc Townhead, Methlic William and Isobel (dau. Peter & Margaret)

Margaret, Isabella, William, Christina, Mary, James 1yrs – 11 Townhead, Methlic William and Isobel (child. Will & Isobel)

Overall it is sensible to consider these people as being part of an extended enterprise-holding rather than seven individuated nuclear family-households with two competing milling businesses.26 Without written records of business accounts, personal diaries and exchanged letters, prior generations of researchers would not have been able to take note of this probable socioeconomic arrangement. The researcher no longer must accept individual household returns as formulated by the enumerator in response to the cultural and systemic writs they were subject to. Consequently, new understandings and probabilities can be extracted. The mill operation at Kinharrichie should not be identified as a singular operation as Peter Cardno’s son George 1816-1894 had expanded the family’s enterprise during the 1840s when he took on the Mill of Waterton, four miles to the east of Kinharrichie on the east bounds of Ellon parish on the main Ellon Castle estate, supported by his sister Margaret. By 1855 he had returned to the core Turnerhall estate of which Kinharrichie was part, as the operator of the Nethermill mill only three kilometres north on the Ebrie Burn from his parents. This consolidation of the milling enterprise to the neighbouring mill site brought George and his bride within the cluster, despite the thirty-minute walking distance. His sister Margaret returned to the main complex as recorded in 1861 following marriage, a second child and widowhood. Taking consideration of Nenadic’s observation of small family

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26 Whilst studying Banff fishing villages, Blaikie noted the importance of skills predominately practiced by women to the fishing enterprises, were the Cardno daughters similarly at adept at milling specific skills just as their brothers, spouses and father were and to which the census gathered no data upon. James Branders, Robert Forsyth, William Imray, Peter, Charles and George Cardno all had milling backgrounds which could be taken as a stalling of social mobility under Long and Ferie’s methodology.
enterprises avoiding familial competition, this must be indicative of the family’s ability to make a success from the milling operations and have a substantial customer base.27

It would be easy to overlook that an in-law William Imray, previously a corn miller, was registered as a Corn and meal dealer in 1861. His base of operations, thirty minutes from both mills while another in-law Alexander Bowman, had a croft holding in Michealmuir, which was essentially a small hamlet of craftspeople and shopkeepers near the heart of Earl of Aberdeen’s core demesne estate. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to propose that the males associated with the Cardno kin-cluster functioned in some form of cooperative. The skills of the men covered the management and practice of milling, the handling of horses, essential for the transport of goods, the selling and storage of corn and the maintenance of mill infrastructure. As a group, they controlled over 40 acres which would have offered employment to the agricultural labourers through the year, and it is worth noting that James Branders was registered as such a labourer but in 1851 had been declared as an apprentice miller.28 The Cardno daughters’ marriages, therefore, should be considered as arrangements that benefited the family enterprise, drawing in or solidifying existing connections with skilled staff. The marriage patterns are also important as they reveal no marriages and shared bloodlines with the neighbouring tenancy holders through 1841-1861. Charles undertook the only attempt at marriage alliances with the farm-tenancy social group following his father’s death.

A consideration of the whole group made possible by kinship collation enables a further consideration of socioeconomic niche beyond the status of Peter and George as mill operators. The Kinharrichie mill required the presence of a family outsider, Forsyth with additional mill skills, and the income of either individual family units or the cluster as a whole was boosted with non-family lodgers. The decision to not incorporate John Reid, a grandson, into the miller craft also stands out. A longitudinal appreciation of the group notes that none of the illegitimate grandsons through daughters received miller training. Also, the lack of acknowledgement of him in 1861 as a step-son suggests a complicated relationship with James Branders who was only ten years older.

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27 The Glashaen or Glashan or Galatian family of Mill of Birness were another nineteenth-century milling-household, originally based at Mill of Towie, the Arnage estate’s mill on the Ebrie and related to the Johnston ‘clan’, were of equal interest as were the potential related McGlashan grouping involved in milling and brewing on the edges of Peterhead, whose scion James McGlashan 1819-1897 died in post as the postmaster at Toll of Birness.

28 Ancestry.co.uk, ‘1851 Scotland Census’, New Deer; ED: 7; Page: 26; Line: 16; Roll: CSSCT1851_49; Year: 1851.
The evidence of the Cardno kin-cluster around the mill tenancies also throws light on the role and status of women at Kinharrichie, i.e., Christian Cardno could not get her relationship to her eldest son acknowledged by the enumerator and her husband. In light of the daughters’ marriages being of benefit to the business, Peter Cardno’s exercise of personal leadership over his descendants comes into focus. To uncover this for the individual history of the Cardno, Kinharrichie mill would require letters and diaries, the discovery of which would be unlikely. Indeed the lack of death documentation, a final testament and inventory for Peter Cardno, the Mill of Kinharrie and Pater further reduces the sources to discover if he culturally manifested as a dominant patriarch or whether the cluster functioned with goods and income held in common, reflective of a classic anthropological peasant household of an older era.  

The 1861 census captured multiple individual nuclear-families with some stem and collateral facets, but, they formed one large biological-legal family unit most likely living in a single large building, the mill and in surrounding smaller dwelling builds as part of a complex household of clustered kin. The individual census is just a snapshot, and therefore the above analysis is also snapshot but based upon an assessment with nearly two hundred years-worth of records. With the death of Peter months after the census in 1861, the signifiers are that this enterprise-household and its surrounding cluster, the Bowmans and George Cardno at Nethermill began to disperse, but kin-connectivity did not collapse. Riddell has discussed elsewhere the broad lessons as to the significance that can be derived from the totality of the century-long perspective. The process of genealogical reconstruction was able to identify how some of the female line descendants of Peter and Margaret re-clustered in Aberdeen city that was kin-enhanced by the enumeration of individuals from different descent groups in households of other branches.

There are further questions that cannot be answered but only acknowledged because of the periodic nature of the record. For instance, the family pattern was heavily dependent on family labour. Did George Cardno, Nethermill, therefore, replace his non-family young servants as further nieces and nephews came of working age? Queries like this are part of the identification of behaviour patterns that enables consideration of the purpose and impact of kinship as social capital and individual benefit, which is not possible from the basic family unit reconstruction. With a dearth of documentation, other kin-clusters based on essential

29 Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*,

30 Iain Riddell, 'Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship',.
rural economic activity have to be consulted. Therefore, Riddell has written of the Cardno family in combination with the Fraser, blacksmith at Skilmafilly. Families such as Craig, Waterton, blacksmiths and the Glashan, millers on the north-east edge of Ellon and the Low family, Skilmafilly hill’s shoemakers, would all have been excellent foils. The Glashan family were another multi-generational mill family, based in the late Hanoverian period at the Mill of Towie, further north on the Ebrie and marriage allies of the key Johnston farmer dynasty whose tenancies surrounded them. In 1851 George Cardno and his sister Margaret neighboured the Craig family who had been smiths at Waterton for decades, intriguingly, sixty years later George’s Canadian born nephew married in Ontario to a Canadian born great-granddaughter of the Craig family. The Low family shoemakers, exhibited attributes of cross-county networks, incorporation of skills through marriage and forms of kin marriage systems, which can be noted as an essential tool for the Fraser blacksmith network.

This section has made use of a new extensive case study derived from data that has been processed through genealogical lenses into a new resource. The case study was extracted from a vastly more extensive social network, crossing jurisdictional boundaries and cross-referenced against maps and imposed boundaries such as land ownership. In consequence, it has exposed the potential for kinship-community to be used as a tool and construct for historical studies of British society which encompasses most socio-economic niches. The purpose of the study was to elucidate the opportunities that can be extruded from the census once it is unlocked from demography. Awareness of further potential is an important contribution as the scholarly assessment has been that the British record has been inimical to the discovery of kinship. The section has explored the assertion with an acknowledgement that the census in its foundational form as demography is indeed unhelpful, but theoretical insights into the constrictions enable the census to be explored for small indicators that accrete into larger trends. Later chapters will explore further how kinship collation as a methodological process in practice overcomes the structural barriers within the British record structure that have acted as a barrier to generations of British scholars.

3d. Conclusion
This chapter has engaged with the census produced in Victorian Scotland, to support and address the assertion that the Scottish component of the British historical record base is not intrinsically inimical to the study of kinship. The chapter’s wider purpose has been to illustrate that Scottish and wider British approaches to kinship have fallen far behind those
being used by continental European scholars because of the limited theorising as to how sources such as the census can be used in new methods. In chapter two there was an exploration of how inter-relatedness was lost in the British census gathering process and enumeration culture which could be rediscovered through genealogical reconstructions and data analysis. The chapter has built on this foundation by illustrating that the Scottish census was not designed to enumerate kin in different neighbouring households and has tackled the deadening impact of language. In response, the chapter, to advance kinship collation as a methodological theory and process, has examined the enumeration as a key primary source that captured the lives of Scottish and British people in general if contextualised and examined in new ways.

This conclusion will draw attention to three core points, firstly that the kinship pattern rediscovered was not the clan form of kinship nor was it the kin-family of a restricted nuclear family. Consequently, the chapter has continued to explore the long-standing scholarly-culture that has contributed to the British-sphere approaches which lock the record base into processes that favour the capture of nuclear family behaviours. Thus, while the British academic investigation of kinship-family has accumulated specialised language, observable above; conjugal, nuclear, extended, co-residential etc., the perception of kinship as understood in the wider Euroamerican Schneiderian school has been stifled. In the Scottish context, the clan is a key cultural manifestation but is a separate realm of study from the family, the wider British social structures and is not integrated into a perception of British kin behaviours.

In contrast, this chapter has presented that the resources exist to undertake kin-centric studies that incorporate both the kin-family of nuclear families and the Highland’s clan culture but can also perceive other forms of behaviour. The case study illustrated that by laying to one side expectations of relatedness as defined by a set language of relationship, and implemented by endeavours such as the census, much can be released. Any set expectation arising from such assumptions undermines the guidance from Schweitzer as to the role of the observer; which is not to impose but to perceive kinship. Without expectation, the re-organisation of the census into actor life-arc collections allowed the arrangements of past people and their interlocutor engagements to speak for themselves.

The implications of this observation are wide-ranging, as it forces the recognition that the British record base, as example by the Scottish component, is not a problem for the study of kinship. Instead, the problem for prior scholars was that they did not have the tool base or theoretical outlook to unlock the kin patterns hidden in the record. Part of the
discovery that the case study made was that a type of behaviour, kin-clustering, could be identified as underpinning the socioeconomic arrangements of the Cardno mill at Kinharrichie.

Secondly, that individual relationships matter, the chapter, therefore, has indicated that the study of kinship intersects with an awareness of interpersonal relationships. The case study highlighted that the interlocutor engagements could be glimpsed through probabilistic perception derived from genealogical reconstruction which places the family of the demographic census into the wider reconstructed community of their lived locality. This result challenges the Scottish-British scholarly process which has not developed a specific theorisation of kinship. Instead, it has merely noted its absence. In contrast, Schneiderian anthropology regards Euroamerican kinship as being focused on relatives but goes beyond relatedness as a social construct. This chapter has identified Scottish-British kinship behaviours beyond the bounds of the domestic. Accordingly, it has found kinship as an active force in the wider locality community. This important relocation is a decision in line with the anthropologist Segalen and enables kinship collation as a methodological-theory and process tool to study historical-sociological themes; the application of kinship collation in this fashion being the third way that this chapter advances the thesis.

Accordingly, the chapter has thirdly, promoted kinship collation, the tool that this thesis presents, as a powerful means to engage with classic themes of historical-sociology. What this chapter has explored would not surprise those in European and American anthropological circles who draw inspiration from the Tönnies and Schneiderian approach, but British-sphere scholars such as McNay, as noted in chapter one, are locked into the nuclear-family assumptions, and they do not perceive that the late twentieth-century onwards move to patchwork families is a return to the older pattern. It is essential not to assume that the Cardno expression in the early Victorian decades of kinship-clustering was the total story of kinship in the Kinharrichie micro-locality. As Manfredini and Breschi’s observations of an Italian parish indicated that local socioeconomic variance caused diverse expressions of kinship behaviour at the parish level, the patterns evident at the mill should be collated against the neighbours just as it has been compared to other types of craftspeople.

What has been observed at Kinharrichie can be described as tight cluster behaviour. More than one set of close relative relationships was recorded in mutual relationships of reciprocity once the bureaucratic manufactured idea of a head of the household was removed. The cluster was also wider than absolute proximity as units of the kin-group lived at a greater but not insurmountable daily distances at no financial costs. The case study needs to be
understood as only a segment of the overall story of the actors reported on; the observation being that people entered into, maintained, changed, reduced, renewed and broke their varied social relationships with others. For example, Elizabeth Bowman prioritised a role with her aunt’s family as against proximity to her toddler.

The case studies identify that the approaches taken by the likes of Lipp resonate in Scotland’s North-East. The application of the theory and process of kinship collation enables an acknowledgement that in the past there were a vast variety of families, households and family-households into and out of which individuals moved over time. The residency decisions of Elizabeth Bowman as a young unmarried mother draw the chapter to a close and prepares for chapter four which further implements kinship collation. Bowman stands as an exemplar for complex residency choices as her circumstances in 1861 speak to important themes around female independence, the impact of patriarchal control, socioeconomic reliance. An analysis of her decisions is best done within the network of her relatives as almost all of Peter Cardno’s daughters, her mother and aunts, entered into marriages with men who added skills and economic contacts that supported the core business. Therefore, kinship as a social force engaged with and impinging on other social forces forms has implications for how a family business might be better understood. Such an assertion of the potential of kinship collation for thematic exploration, is the substance of the second half of the thesis, before which chapter four, formally introduces kinship collation as a tool for historical-sociology.
Chapter 4 Introducing kinship collation

4a. Introduction

Earlier chapters have created a baseline assertion that British insights into the function of kinship in nineteenth-century societies have been dampened by a combination of an over-focus on the nuclear family and an inability to recognise and work with data sources that contain evidence of the level, function and impact of kinship beyond the domestic setting. Consequently, the study of the kin-family has been dominant and caused a lack of theoretical consideration as to the nature of kinship in a wider sense.

The move to online genealogy has produced the circumstances for a radical reconstruction of the resources of population record and enumeration. Driven by hints supplied by other users of ancestry and other commercial sites, a common culture of genealogy community has emerged, that without direction or plan has built a data system that links actors to the breadth of their lifetime government records with ever-improving reliability. Regina Poertner has raised awareness of that commonality within the genealogical community.

there appears to be a core constituency of users, or perhaps we should say customers, who are defined by age (55+), gender (predominantly female), ethnicity (white), and, given that much of these services are commercial ventures and require surplus funds and leisure time, it seems plausible to assume that there is a class aspect as well. The presence of a predominant type must give pause as to how that affects the end product, with necessary compensations made.

The previous chapter exposed the ability of kinship collation to function as a tool to reorganise the British record sources and subject them to new theoretical approaches and processes. This functionality was illuminated through a Scottish case study that pointed to layers of mutuality between inter-related actors beyond the imposed and recorded model of domestic nuclear households. The case study was enabled by theorisation, as to the nature of

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kinship as a topic in its own right and by technological advancements that release Victorian data in new fashions. The theorisations were extrapolated from European studies of historical societies that have engaged with kinship as a societal force and employed such concepts at a theoretical level much deeper than mere relatedness.

In this chapter, the thesis will introduce the methodological theories and practices of kinship collation as a means to exploit the mass cultural endeavours of genealogical pursuit which has granted a full understanding of who was alive when and in what sort of socio-economic condition. In the introductory chapter, it was indicated that studies of British-sphere societies could be enhanced through the four contributions of this thesis. One the supplementation of British historical kinship studies. Two engagement with the Scottish context without the clan. Three a new theoretical methodology and four a new methodological process. What follows, therefore, is the application of the four, as the practice of kinship collation that begins in the section below with a justification of why the tool’s theoretical backbone is derived from the theories that can be traced from David Schneider onto Peter Schweitzer and most recently Marshal Sahlin. The earlier chapters have argued that kinship collation can analyse reconstructed genealogies to explore past societies through an understanding of kinship as reciprocity and shared endeavour between individuals. To better understand how individuals emphasised some of their biological, legal and affinial connections with others has required the chapters to challenge the established position as summatied by Maggie Loughran, of the Federation of Family History Societies, for history.ac.uk’s ‘Making History’ series, in which she conflated genealogy and family history.

In this chapter, there will be an exploration of how the doctoral project sought a way to split kinship collation’s methodology from the history of family and family history in an environment which has firm views of what genealogy is about and produces. It is essential to delineate kinship collation from British genealogical culture so that the reprocessed and repurposed national record base can be constructed and considered to analyse themes other than relatedness. To achieve this task, ideas and practices found in some American and continental European research projects were synergised with the British record base. Such a synergy being the core of kinship collation as the chapter will illustrate.

3 Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever'..
The chapter continues to apply an alternative form of community, made of relationships that stretch across registration zones and local borders, as influenced by Ferdinand Tönnies definition, ‘a grouping based on feelings of togetherness and mutual links’ rather than that formed around bureaucratic boundaries. Therefore, the chapter, from micro-local illustrations, will show that to undertake historical kinship research at the community level, a large set of lineages stretching back and forth over generations needs to be reconstructed to form the pool of potential relationships. From this pool, the challenge is to evidence that individuals chose to be in community with their relatives.

For ease of introduction of the practicalities of the kinship collation process, this chapter restricts to a small geographic zone. Cooper and Donald have illustrated the need, effort and impact of such an approach within the context of a single, middle-class Exeter Street of the late Georgian period without coming close to the size and extent of reconstructions undertaken by continental scholars or this project. The chapter concentrates on a second Grampian micro-locality, a few miles north of Kinharrichie, with reference to surnames particularly associated to Scotland’s north-east, the choice of which sets the stage for later chapters and allow ease of replication by other researchers. This evidence base enables the chapter to develop two features from chapter three. Firstly, that the Scottish-British record base contains when freed from orthodox historical demographic methods an abundance of kinship data that was never meant to be captured and became hidden. Secondly, how these materials can then be re-purposed through kinship collation to reveal kinship as a social factor. The second half of the chapter describes the practice of kinship collation as the record base is progressed from a web of relatives into a complex network of social relationships ready for analysis through worked examples. The case studies that emerge make use of the census and other resources such as data management systems and maps to reveal the methodological process.

4b. Collation methodology

Kinship collation as a toolkit makes use of the well-established source materials, the census, maps, newspaper clippings, in a recognisable fashion as genealogical reconstruction but with a different intention and theoretical outlook. The purpose of the methodology is to gain

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5 Arnon Herskovitz, 'A suggested taxonomy of genealogy as a multidisciplinary academic research field', pp.5, p.9.
insight not into the family, domestic setting, the jurisdictional locality or even a lineage. Instead, it is to expose kinship, mutuality of being, and reciprocity with a bias towards relatedness as a crucial and impactful force within British societies. Therefore, this section, firstly, discusses the importance of the Schneider-Schweitzer-Sahlin backbone to kinship collation and acknowledge the implications of the use of their work. Secondly, reviews key historical-sociology themes into which orthopraxis British kinship assessments have been added to illustrate how sources and debates dovetail. Thirdly, through short case studies, the section explores the kinship collation methodological approach to sources with a theorised concept of kinship behaviour in play.

The first half of the thesis has established the need for a re-theorisation of British-sphere kinship and established the multitude of scholarly perspectives that have intruded into the multi-disciplinary space in an uncoordinated accretion. Kinship collation as a tool of theory and practice endeavours to draw out and assemble the often-contradictory analysis, methodology and assumption into a suite of insights from which nineteenth-century kinship patterns of British societies can be discussed. The methodological underpinnings of the effort have been influenced heavily by the development of what opponents have dubbed, Schneiderian anthropology. Schneiderian anthropology cannot be squared with a Laslettian assessments that British society had abandoned kinship behaviours during the period 1450 through to 1750, in correlation to the described consolidation of the early modern western European world, or as Cradock has emphasised that of the English Channel hinterlands. At this point, it behoves the thesis, chapter and section to firstly make the argument for the use of Schneiderian anthropology as the core of kinship collation.

The impact of David Murray Schneider’s 1984 ‘A Critique of the Study of Kinship’ should not be underestimated. Damon began his immediate review with the phrase ‘This important book is an attack on kinship studies as practiced by British and American anthropologists.’\(^7\) Schweitzer’s reflections after fifteen years used similar potent language and traced the background of the assault to the 1960s.\(^8\) Intent and impact though may not be so simply aligned, therefore, Schneider’s intent, noted in chapter one, as not wishing to throw out both the baby and bathwater of kinship studies, is best placed firmly in sight.

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The ideas of kinship, the kin-based society, the idiom of kinship, and the content of kinship are the received wisdom of today, as they have been almost from the beginnings of anthropology. This wisdom is entrenched in our thinking and especially in our theory.9

These opening remarks levelled squarely at the school of anthropology are echoed in this thesis’s commentary upon the orthodoxy of the British school of history’s stance. The orthodox position being that, it is clear and evident that British society loosened kinship ties between related people in order to strength those between closer nuclear family relationships in correlation to the strengthening of the State’s ability to act as social and economic arbiter of choice. Schweitzer curated the entrenched assumptive wisdom that had settled within the anthropological culture as defined by western European men from its ‘invention’ in the 1860s to the structural-functionalism ‘doing of kinship’ as practiced by the British school of the inter-war years which sought to expose and evaluate primitive societies.10 In contrast, Schneider’s categorisation of kinship based upon investigations of the US population, the product of a modern western society, focused upon signs and symbols rather than descent and alliance, as noted in chapter one. It must be noted that Schneider and his contemporary supporters such as Schweitzer and Sahlin were and continued over the last three decades to challenge not just entrenched viewpoints within anthropology but the wider humanities academic culture that lay behind it.

The culture of western scholarship has been omnipresent through the social sciences since their inception as part of the drive to intellectualise the perceived exceptionalism of colonising European states, as discussed by Tadmor, noted in chapter one. The classic mainstream theoretical models of the humanities and social sciences, liberalism, Marxism, Great man readings of history and elements of feminism are descended from the notion of the incremental advancement of civilisation. The term developmentalism has been offered as a collective nomenclature of the worldview, especially by those who have offered critiques of it which stress its hegemonic roots and ethnocentric approaches that force and bend other cultures around those of the western Euro-sphere.11 As acknowledged in chapter one Cradock perceived Thornton as being caught in the developmentalism ideology. McKinnon

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and Cannel similar observed its presence in the work of numerous contemporary scholars who sought to reassert western exceptionalism through the projection of US power.12 The power of developmentalism is felt in the enduring popular impact of Francis Fukuyama’s ‘End of History?’.13 The University of Cambridge’s recent acknowledgement that its scholarly outputs had contributed to the justification and maintenance of the British Slave Trade can be noted as an indicator of the ongoing challenges to the ideology.14 Indeed the current wave of resistance to the pernicious qualities of developmentalism can be found in a range of arts and humanities scholarship, for instance, the archaeologist Timothy Insoll’s reinvestigation of the Tallensi of Ghana has countered the developmentalism trope of primitive unchanging African religions and cultures propagated by British Edwardian archaeology.15 Similarly, Sebastian Fink’s philosophical engagement with the latest cuneiform artefacts of the Near East challenges a vast range of orthodox scholarship that formed from and persists from developmentalism perspectives.16

The Schneider-Schweitzer-Sahlin assault on established anthropology can be aligned to this alternative scholarly culture that has and continues to seek a less Euro-sphere centric and exceptional worldview, to the chagrin of many, as epitomised by Shapiro’s counter-resistance.

I am quite certain that Schneider sought such Gemeinschaften-people who, like him, assumed liberationist poses in fact firmly protected by an academic establishment they have come to dominate. From here they have launched an uncritical and in many circles uncriticizable assault on "biology," "traditional" families, "traditional"


masculinity, and the West itself, and, accordingly, the very ideas of civilized scholarly exchange and intellectual synthesis.\(^{17}\)

From Shapiro’s repot, it is hard not to conclude that an entrenched culture war around developmentalism perspectives has been played out for some time. Whether or not, this thesis wishes to take a stance within that culture war it is likely to be posited as taking one. From the literature of not just anthropological stances but from across the fields of historical literary critique, history, sociology and beyond that have fed into the first three chapters, the identification of what is traditional regarding families, masculinity and western values becomes problematic. Indeed, the problems with established British orthodoxy on kinship based upon Laslett’s access and interpretation of the data, is that it has failed to appreciate the longitudinal cultural trends that shaped the society that created the data from which these traditions are observed hegemonically. In contrast, the Schneider-Schweitzer-Sahlin triumvirate approach to kinship is of a flexible framework that allows the traditions of different British societies, geographical, class, economic and community derived to be observed each in their contexts. Furthermore, such an approach does not exclude or prohibit a discourse on individuals, families and societies that did exhibit, a propensity to biology and the fostering of traditional values, for indeed these were the cultural tropes that were imposed into the record base and requiring in-depth consideration. Laslett’s 1988 essay on the nuclear-hardship hypothesis, for example, encapsulates many of the issues with the primary sources, the underlying core query of which was the availability of relatives to an individual at any given time.\(^{18}\) The only true way to answer this he acknowledged was the time and resource intensive task of family tree reconstruction, in the absence of which Laslett’s demographic work postulated that kinship networking was irrelevant to the marginalised poor as a social group, a view challenged through a textual analysis by the likes of King.\(^{19}\)

As per chapter one, the second segment of this section, a review of orthopraxis British kinship in action, must return to Laslett who stated correctly how complex a task the reconstruction of family-household / kinship groups was. Without the ability to undertake the depth of investigation he relied heavily on sampling methods. The task load of reconstruction


was elucidated on recently by Eilidh Garrett and Alice Reid, who have benefited somewhat from digitisation, who noted that the task was complicated as a single event, birth or marriage, could be recorded multiple times within the same locality or across parishes. Working from census releases of the mid-nineteenth-century Gordon and Nair found a significant level of kin co-residency in their chosen middle-class neighbourhood, particularly finding collateral kinship forms, such as siblings, uncle-nephew, aunt-nieces and cousins. With a form of sampling applied to their small-scale Glasgow study, they tracked every household within a restricted reporting area over five census collections seeking to establish extended family co-residency levels. They identified a relatively high turnover of the population over the decades which when combined with their methodology meant that an overall trend regarding middle-class kinship behaviours was difficult to claim. Their research acknowledged Reay’s stance that the capture of a nuclear family unit in a given moment may not be reflective of a fixed social stance or pattern in the long-term. The Victorian bureaucratic development of national registration must also be observed as born from a culture that privileged the better-off but with a new agenda of demographic science. As Pamela Sharp noted, parish records need to be contextualised through an appreciation of descent of wealth and status, to notice that the likes of the gentry were better recorded. Descent lines, parentage and close relatives of blood were of great import, in a cultural system that set out to determine succession. The transmission of wealth and status was not a purpose of the implementation of a general population record, but those who devised the systems were inculcated into a culture that recognised hierarchy, patri-preferment and the needs of the State above other concerns such as community functionality.

Alongside the birth, marriage and death records built up and maintained by the Established churches, and then as a State activity with almost universal capture, the key resource for reconstructing kinships is, the decennary census collections. Data gathered for enumerations unlike the earlier parish records was always designed for wider analysis. The information procured from the early enumerations went through a process of being broken down, re-crafted and interpreted by the State bureaucrats and academics. The results provided the base material for enhanced enumerations from 1841 onwards and guidance to

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22 Pamela Sharpe, 'The total reconstitution method: A tool for class-specific study', pp.41-51, p.43.
enumerators in successive decades as we saw in the last chapter. The enumeration collections are now well-recognised as both an immense boon and hazard. Robert Morris in 2005 noted that the census had successively both changed a cultural notion of household-family and then framed that changed interpretation as the absolute manifestation. Over time, the enumerated would receive from the census-taker a model of what a household was expected to conform to, as noted by Riddell when discussing the use of reconstructed genealogy. The manufacturing of the census data and a belief in its factuality is the first of two issues arising from the census as a source that stalled kinship studies. The interaction of the cultural values and State needs could be considered as acting together as a deus ex machina on the information offered up by the people about their social relationships.

The statisticians of the Victorian period were only the first of many researchers to use, divide, extrapolate and fathom from the British general records and the preceding parish datasets. Sharp in the 1980s was still working with index card-based systems, which were then incorporated into successive waves of data management. The technology gradually enabled new methods and questions. In 2003 Ruggles exposed, through his re-examination of the housing choices of the aged, how the use of sampling of the large data collections for family-household structures in isolation from other factors was a major flaw. Ruggles challenged a key demographic orthodoxy on aged individuals housing choices when he applied varied population factors into the research. The three core statistics he used showed that with sampling it is easy to forget that in many cases an aged parent had multiple households in which to choose to reside. Additionally, birth and death rates conspired to create long generations meaning that many middle-aged adults had no living parents and a fifth of aged adults had never had or had ceased to have any living descendants.

Ruggles’ 2003 article also illustrated how the 1960’s revisionist position on kinship typified by Laslett had become such orthodoxy that it had locked researchers’ perspectives even in the face of their research. O’Day pushed at this dominance two decades ago, ‘historical demographers tend to confuse the household of the census with the family of experience. This identification is not self-evident. Historians must not allow themselves to

24 Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever',.
assume that it is.\textsuperscript{27} The consequences for theoretical and methodological process development caused by the (in)ability of researchers to make use of large data collections are profound. Daniel Smith writing in 1989 highlighted the key method of kin assessment then available, the sampling and tabulation of surnames, to establish the pool of potential kinship within any given government recording district.\textsuperscript{28} Smith recognised the crudeness of sampling as against its overall efficiency while also acknowledging that it missed all the female based connectivity in societies where surnames locked to the male identity. The restriction of sampling within a given governmental recording territory created theoretical limits as it constructed the perception of kinship at the locality level.

Seeking kinship in this fashion drew upon and reinforced a cultural assessment that kinship required regular social interaction in person to be sustained, which Daniel Smith drew attention to in the eighteenth-century work of Adam Smith. Similar observations and descriptions of the workload and barriers to it have been made by Reid and Garrett, from their work processing the Isle of Skye records, into a locality community and then tackling the additional task of tracing migrants.\textsuperscript{29} In particular, Reid and Garrett when they reported upon their hunt for Skye emigrants, which came thirteen years after their initial community reconstruction, noted the complications of a narrow ‘name’ pool. Reid and Garrett's stated

\ldots we could not identify their true birth in the register, unless there were only one possible option, all other owners of that name having been identified. The situation became more complex as children grew older and their ages became more ‘fluid’. In some cases the person filling in the census form may not have been sure of a person’s age, and sometimes the ages of several children within a family were all ‘adjusted’ by the same amount, suggesting that at least one parent had lost track of their offspring’s ages. It is also possible that when seeking employment or somewhere to live young people may have ‘massaged’ their ages to be eligible.

The ongoing endeavour to make effective use of the released enumeration records, with their varied micro-inconsistencies and variations adds to the challenges that researchers

\begin{footnotes}
\item[27] Rosemary O'Day, \textit{The Family and Family History 1500-1900}, p.25.
\item[29] Eilidh Garrett and Alice Reid, 'Introducing ‘Movers’ into Community Reconstructions: Linking Civil Registers of Vital Events to Local and National Census Data: A Scottish Experiment', pp.263-283., Alice Reid, Ros Davies and Eilidh Garrett, 'Nineteenth-century Scottish demography from linked censuses and civil registers: A ‘sets of related individuals’ approach', pp.61-86.
\end{footnotes}
encounter. The problems are eased and complicated by the insights made available by technology; consequently, there is a need to keep abreast of the advances. The impact of data management is captured by reflections on the reconstitution of the Netherlands’s national record.\textsuperscript{30} Gerrit \textit{et al.}, indicate the workload required to achieve this.

Since the early nineties of the 20th century, in The Netherlands hundreds of volunteers are working on the digitization of all names and dates from the historical registers of birth, marriage and decease. The civil registration system started in 1811 and was based on Napoleonic law. Registers are public with a delay, today are available: registers of birth until 1909, marriage registers until 1934 and registers of decease until 1959. All digitized data are publicly accessible through www.genlias.nl. Currently about half of the job is done. There are now over 16 million registers digitized, containing information on about 70 million (not unique) persons.

A similar project is being conducted with the British records through the \textit{freecen.org.uk, freebmd.org.uk} and \textit{freereg.org.uk} projects but there is a dearth of academic reflection.\textsuperscript{31} The pace of change and scale of available networks that sprawl across locations reveals that the piecemeal work with British records, such as Peter Tilley’s recovery of the London suburb of Kingston and Minoru Yasumoto’s study of Middlesbrough, is quickly reduced in efficacy.\textsuperscript{32} While Tilley and Christopher French’s work on a single London suburban section, like many of the projects referenced through the thesis, falls outside this current stage of digitisation of records it does lay out the efforts put into tracking a localised population over a fifty year period. New technologies have produced an environment from which vast genealogy reconstructions can be made yet it remains complex, time-consuming and expensive meaning that older archive dependent methodologies remain popular.

Consequently, it is crucial that a case is made for the potential of kinship collation as a social history tool. To do so, this section turns thirdly then to illustrate with two short case studies how sociological themes of inter-generational relationships and partner selection within socioeconomic alliances, can be extracted and studied from a record base that can be data-mined for evidence of kinship, reciprocity.

\textsuperscript{30} Gerrit Bloothooft, \textit{Data mining in the (historic) Civil Registration of The Netherlands from 1811-present.},

\textsuperscript{31} Cathy Day, Rebecca Kippen and David Lucas, ‘Historical Demography’, Rose Holley, \textit{Crowdsourcing and social engagement: potential, power and freedom for libraries and users} (Australia National University, 2009).

\textsuperscript{32} Peter Tilley and Christopher French, ‘From local history towards total history’: Recreating local communities in the 19th century’, pp.139-149., Minoru Yasumoto, \textit{The rise of a Victorian Ironopolis: Middlesbrough and regional industrialization.}
On census day 1901, May Riddel, Mrs Alexander Leslie 1827-1902, was enumerated at Ythan Bank Mains, Ellon as a visitor to the household of Mr and Mrs James Ligertwood, near neighbours of the Bowman family. Mrs Leslie being the sister of Mrs Charles Cardno. Mr Cardno and the Bowman nuclear family were part of the milling kinship, referenced in chapter three. May was significantly listed above both the resident serving girls and boys who were apprenticed to Ligertwood. This enumeration ordering requires contextualisation from the genealogical reconstruction that reveals May Riddel was the maternal aunt of James Ligertwood. May died the following January at her son’s tenancy of Montforthie on Skelmuir Hill, Ardallie, seven miles distance as the crow flies, which had been the Leslie family’s home since the 1850s. Amongst the Ligertwood enterprise-household apprentices was May’s grandson John Leslie, second cousin to the sons of James Ligertwood. It is only through the detailed reconstruction of the family tree that the innocuous ‘visitor’ description is forced to bear fruit. Nothing in the census suggested this intricate web of relationships. The household to the casual glance was reducible to a conjugal-family of the L Ligertwood’s and their sons with resident servants for the house and the business; the staff had originated from parishes near and far within the county complimented by an older visitor.

The general population record can also hold potent nuggets of information. The official witnesses for the marriage of Urquhart Fraser and Charlotte Smith (see appendix iii, FHFCW7) in 1870 were George Johnston and George Knox. Theirs was a United Presybertian (UP) wedding held at the Drumwhindle farmtoun complex. The single data point generates either an uncle of the groom, George Johnston 1803-1893 or his son George Jr., the groom’s first cousins as the most likely signatories. An outside possibility being that Dr George Warrack Johnston, father of Herbert and cousin of the groom, whose own father was a prime local mover behind the UP church foundations in the 1840s had travelled from Lancashire to bear witness. The wedding location indicates that a more distant set of Johnston cousins must have hosted the wedding as they were the farm tenants at Drumwhindle. The former case study was constructed from a 1901 census return taken in a

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33 May Riddel was part of a potentially similar enterprise-household in 1841 enumerated at Fordmouth, Ellon, which held two Riddle households, the fathers’ John Riddle, the farmer and John Riddle, blacksmith and Chelsea pensioner, probably being related but certainly close and trusted confidants, the mothers notable both being Robertson’s by birth and both of their mothers’ surnamed Daniel but from different couples indicate cousinship.
34 Ancestry.com, 1901 Scotland Census, ‘Reels 1-446. Genera;,
35 Scotlandspeoplegov.uk, ‘Statutory Marriages’, 192/000013 Urquhart Fraser was part of the Fraser blacksmiths based at Skilmafilly who exhibit similar clustering traits to the Cardno millers; Iain Riddell, 'Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship'.
36 George Warrack being the father of Dr Herbert Johnston who featured in chapter two.
small cluster of homes that were a rural commerce hub. The latter was derived from a single wedding certificate that has been contextualised against the web of relatives and a longitudinal oversight. Awareness of the web of relatives enables the switching of perspectives to focus on the bride Charlotte. With Ms Smith as the central actor, new relationships come to the fore as she had a nineteen-year-old nephew, George Knox who was already forging opportunities that would see him become the parish registrar and substantial farm tenant before he was thirty. Both George’s sister’s and daughter’s marriages were, like his aunt’s, socially advantageous within the Ebrieside / Ellon farming networks to their male relatives.37

The identification of these vignette studies, the aggregation of them, appreciation and analysis is reliant on vast genealogical reconstructions. For this thesis a general body of data encompassing eleven thousand individuals, as noted in chapter two relies on nearly twenty thousand records, which have been double checked, to identify and eliminate potential alternative linkages and duplications. The cultural history of Grampian presents an advantage to the reconstruction of kinship-families over a long period. The region splits geographically into eastern and western zones, eventually replicated by parliamentary bounds, is often reflected in family names. A late Victorian anthropological study of East Aberdeenshire noted that 7,280 school children shared 12.5% of surnames, 50% of the area’s total children, a further 950 children shared 376 surnames, 50% of the area’s surnames.38 These numbers mark the feasibility of reconstructing an extensive number of families over numerous generations. Garret and Reid’s reconstruction of society upon the Isle of Skye has shown that even when a parish has a concentration of surnames, it is possible with intensive work to gain an outline of families spanning an extended period. Garret and Reid’s commitment to an established method of nuclear-family reconstruction sums up and stresses the dominance within British approaches of the model, this being despite the decades of critique.

Kinship collation is a response to what was noted in the earlier chapters; a pause in British theoretical development and bridges the gap that has opened with European scholarly work as it synergises the anthropological theorisation of kinship with the British record base as opened up by technological advancements. The section, therefore, has presented the possibilities for new levels and types of insight that can be harnessed for social history

37 The sister married a cousin of the Chivas, Nether Inver familial unit (see below) and the daughter married the Skilmafilly farmtoun lease heir the elder brother of Maitland Mackie, first of the five Maitland Mackies.
research supported by kinship collation, which applies a theorised awareness of kinship into the mix and acknowledges the potential of the British record base as packed with hidden data on kinship. To illustrate the impact of these insights, the section has added further studies which were deliberately chosen for socioeconomic diversity and sociological theme. The chapter turns now to the functionality of kinship as a social force; which is achieved through a consideration of how the sources are tools that generate both conundrums and queries that need to be worked through to recover the social dynamics of the observed people in their historical contexts rather than having community models imposed upon them.

4c. Collation process

This section continues to explore kinship collation as a methodological process that differentiates between people who were related as against those who had mutuality of being, based upon shared endeavours. Furthermore, the section explores how networks of actors need to be understood within their geography and community with appreciation being given to socioeconomic resources that shape the individual and their society. Firstly the section expands on the abilities of kinship collation, showcased in chapter three, to observe the shape of a community without reliance on a bureaucratic arrangement of space. Complexity and nuance are increased with a natural community spread over the juncture of three parishes and handles the presence of longstanding families alongside newcomers with a diversity of socioeconomic situations. Secondly, the various ways a dynamic community and an individual’s sense of society can be mapped and then thirdly looks at analytical possibilities that emerge from kinship collation as it reveals the lived experience of the everyday. Throughout this journey, the case studies will add further to the knowledge of kinship behaviours in north-east Scotland and will exemplify the complications of working with resources that were not designed or instructed to collect evidence of kinship. As Riddell has argued elsewhere, kinship collation goes beyond the genealogical reconstruction of records to past individuals and construction of nuclear family units. Consequently, the section firstly looks more closely at the notion of community space separate to bureaucratic bonds. Kinship collation is a social history tool that reveals the space between the domestic threshold and the amorphousness of society in which reciprocity between actors who culturally value relatedness created social force and personal social capital. Kinship collation as a methodological process identifies and unravels this geographic and socioeconomic space.

39 Iain Riddell, 'To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever'.
As a functional process tool, kinship collation generates queries in diverse forms which interrogate a variety of data management and digitisation systems. For example, the information below was built up from various databases that have brought the original records into digital formats.

Table 4-1 Exemplar information extractable from Britishsurnames.co.uk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Tier</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>1881 Fact</th>
<th>Smith most occurring 6,070 recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County of Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>1,005 occurrences 47th most occurring surname</td>
<td>52.66 times more likely to encounter this name in Aberdeenshire against other British counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>Riddel</td>
<td>around 1881 an additional ‘l’ was added by some branches</td>
<td>Ten times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellon Parish</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>30 occurrences 23rd most occurring</td>
<td>Ten times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Deer Parish</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>41 occurrences 24th most occurring</td>
<td>Ten times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methlick Parish</td>
<td>Johnston(-e)</td>
<td>Five occurrences, Not in top 50</td>
<td>Unrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellon Parish</td>
<td>Shand</td>
<td>Ten occurrences, Not in top 50</td>
<td>Five times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Deer Parish</td>
<td>Shand</td>
<td>23 occurrences, Not in top 50</td>
<td>Two times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methlick Parish</td>
<td>Shand</td>
<td>14 occurrences, Not in top 50</td>
<td>Two times more likely to be encountered here than elsewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-1 above captures the Johnston, Riddel and Shand surnames within the context of the wider traditional county of Aberdeenshire and in the specific southern Buchan parishes. The data is drawn from Britishsurnames.co.uk and is a breakdown of the 1881 census. It is based on the simple analysis at the parish and county tiers of surnames; the patrilineal family names remain a tool to gain a snapshot understanding of the basic spread of names. To achieve the data results of Britishsurnames.co.uk is a simple observation and count of the enumeration returns. In contrast the work of kinship collation to identify that a large number of families named Riddel in 1871 became Riddell in 1881 required extensive consideration of which families did so, the realisation that many of them were inter-related, male-siblings, progeny and cousins, alongside cross-referencing of records to affirm that the two sets of records could only refer to the same individuals. The Riddel and Shand names are
particularly associated with the county but rare. The Johnston name is significant to the Southern Buchan district, as major farm tenants since the Stuart period, explored in depth in chapters five and six.

In the Ellon hinterland Johnston families formed a long-standing web of cousin marriages between farms, amongst their inter-marriages are domestic groups surnamed Shand who over successive generations inter-married amongst themselves and other Johnston-matrilineal like Heatherwicks and Stephens as revealed by a plethora of birth, marriage and death records combined with census material. These resources are available through different agencies. The Scottish government has digitised their collection of the general and census record with commercial sites having access to parts of that record but not images of them. A further archive, familysearch.org, underpinned by the Church of the Latter Day Saints has a sampling mechanism that is particularly helpful for working with old parish records with greater flexibility than scotlandspeople.gov.uk the Scottish government portal to core records. The government site capacity to respond to a sampling of wills, inventories and testimonies in comparison is highly effective as it is possible to present terms based on names, locations or occupations and the results provide both birth and married names of women. Despite the impact of distortions, enumerators handwriting, degradation of the records, the OCR, variants of spellings, it is possible to integrate and interpret the large genealogies. The importance of commercial genealogy websites such as ancestry.co.uk rests in the ability to scour through genealogies made available by others for potential links to double check and interrogate for robustness; the key benefit of this is the discovery of the lost matrikin and matrilineal relationships. On occasion, small groups of users with similar or crossover lineal interests can form. This coalesced interest results in shared costs, as one user might be moved to purchase a marriage certificate, another a will and a third a death certificate, from the government site. Additionally, informal temporary collaborations can arise that assist in a radical reconfiguration of the relatedness web as well as affirmations.

Ancestry also offers a great many other resources, inclusive of the old parish records but presented less well that familysearch.org and is a cheap way of accessing the majority of the available census returns; it is not licenced though for OCR of the Scottish enumerations. These are only accessible from the government site, but alongside an OCR transcript from ancestry.freecen.org.uk volunteers have undertaken an eyeball transcript of these documents. Free UK Genealogy oversees freecen and sibling sites, caveats this eyeballing for accuracy as human work has the potential for error as does OCR. When completed in full, census registration districts as presented by freecen can be searched household by household moving
back and forth between neighbours; this enables an examination of sub-district
eighbourhoods or streets. Longitudinal perceptions are undermined by not just the
occasional shift in boundaries but the creation of entire new civic entities, for instance, the
Savoch combined registration area. This new zone took territory from all the surrounding
established parishes but the complications of analysis are illustrated as even its basic data
cannot be reported on by Britishsurnames.co.uk.

The emphasis through this chapter, and chapters two and three is that the system of
enumerations territories is a bureaucratic overlay to support quantification and that this does
not reflect the sense of community held by people who ignore the arbitrary bounds of parish
and town. The section, therefore, turns to its second theme, that the gathered data on
individuals, their network of reciprocity and relatives need to be mapped. The importance of
this process was captured in chapter three, with the Cardno daughters’ who lived across the
parish boundary. In this section, the case study extends this from an awareness of a singular
family to the living function of an entire community that operated across three parishes. The
impact of the lived experienced was felt across the socioeconomic culture; estate
management, church attendance, the market based encounter, access to transport and inter-
household networks. The lack of regard for female connectedness within the patri-privileging
bureaucracy of the nineteenth-century also has profound implications for the record base. The
lack of records about women is illustrated through the results of a sampling of Aberdeenshire
wills; a combination of ‘Johnston’ and ‘widow’ produces limited but fortunately revealing,
results.

Johnston, George, 7/8/1886, Jr, farmer, Aquhorthies, parish of Inverurie, d. 11/04/1886
at Aquhorthies, testate, widow is Mrs Jessie Cruickshank, Extract Inventory

Johnston, Isabella, 1/3/1886, Craighall Cottage, Ellon, widow of James Johnston,
residing there, d. 16/10/1885 at Craighall Cottage, testate, Extract Inventory

Johnston, Isabella, 22/3/1916, or Mitchell, Hillhead of Ironside, New Deer, widow of
William Johnston, New Deer, d. 03/01/1916 at Hillhead of Ironside, testate.

The cultural record behaviour in Scotland, as shown above, means that when married women
appear in the records, there are clues to their birth name. The record base includes
gravestones. Indeed, kinship collation could enable an investigation of the cultural behaviour
of Grampian women during 1841, and 1851 census as some married women asserted the birth family identity while others buried it entirely in their spouses.

For actors with a social presence that they wished to assert, newspapers have created an additional source material which can assist in breaching the patri-privileging culture. Digitised newspaper collections require complex considerations. The process of engagement with digital newspapers is best understood as sampling rather than searching.\(^{40}\) The different collections of papers, developed by different governments and commercial partners, make use of diverse algorithms, characterisations, technical processes and assignment of results. Thus, dozens of variations of queries have to be formulated and applied in multiple websites, the upshot of which generates thousands of potential results. Aayushee Gupta has written of the difficulties of finding influential people through historical news clippings; therefore when working with the core Australia, Trove data, the British, local and national paper collections and their US equivalents it is not as simple as enquiring for ‘Alexander Mitchell, ‘Milwaukee’.\(^{41}\) The project data for this thesis, though is littered with men, and a few women, of no significance beyond their micro-locality who made it into the local newspapers. The results of searches for ‘George Johnston’, ‘New Deer’, ‘School Board’ have to be methodically worked through to identify a pool of relevant newspaper clippings; a task made more awkward as multiple individuals shared common name formations. The pool of relevant news clippings that have emerged from such a complex process is in the thousands, of which a handful have been presented, with surprising details about local life in Aberdeenshire appearing in the newspapers that serviced the US Great Lakes region and vice versa.\(^{42}\) Consequently, further layers of geographic and socioeconomic mapping, are required from kinship collation to note the nuance of John Johnston, a Scottish-Milwaukeean financier hosting, Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General of Canada, not once but twice, as Johnston’s father, brother, uncle and cousins were tenants of the noble’s Grampian estates.\(^{43}\)

The work of Ball and Beck and Jenkins’s *KindredBritain* project captures the importance of mapping, with a focus on locations and movement, and has been shown in the

\(^{40}\) Nineteenth-century British Library Newspaper Collection; Nineteenth-century US Newspapers, Trove which has digitised much of Australia’s National Library collection; The Times Archive Digital Archive 1785-2011 are key examples.

\(^{41}\) Aayushee Gupta, ‘Finding influential people from a historical news repository’ (, Indraprastha Institute of Information Technology New Delhi, 2014).

\(^{42}\) ‘Death of a distinguished Aberdeenshire man in America’, *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland), Saturday, April 23, 1887.

\(^{43}\) ‘Visit from royalty’, *Milwaukee Daily Journal* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Saturday, July 09, 1887.
previous chapter. The importance of which cannot be overstressed within kinship collation as an awareness of place in relation to individual circumstances is highly illuminating, for example, the prior section referred to Mrs Leslie, visiting her grandson and nephews household on enumeration day 1901. Her presence seven miles from her usual place of residence for decades could have significance, given that she would die a few months later.

Mapping for kinship collation starts at the most basic level, maps. An awareness of maps, both current and historical is required. This assists an appreciation of the changes in names of farms but also combats the compartmentalisation created by bureaucratic boundaries. In the case of the Shand domestic units, the map below reveals that the bulk of the New Deer Shands lived within an easy distance of each other and their Ellon and Old Deer relatives as well as their Phillips cousins at Catcraig. The National Library of Scotland, maps collection has been a significant resource with older maps being used in conjunction with streetmap.co.uk, that presents a current generation of Ordnance Survey material. Further access to place name records through scotlandsplaces.gov.uk which record the early interactions between the OS and local people to establish placenames adds to the useful materials that were required to draw linkages between enumerated residences and location. The facilities of Googleearth should also be noted as they assist in an understanding of the landscapes. For instance how difficult was it to cross a landscape on foot?

Figure 4-1Map of Central Savoch, Buchan

Robert Ball and Patrick Beck, Automatically Recreating Probabilistic History through Genealogy, Nicholas Jenkins, Originating Kindred Britain.
To best understand networks across communities and landscapes is not simply a case of visualising the geography but requires an appreciation of the impact of transit connections, footpaths, bridges, gradients, land accessibility. In addition to geographical and topographical maps, further resources such as the memorial index provided by the Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society and the Scottish Horse Tax Rolls are valuable. The former because inscriptions identified women by their birth names, identifies cross-surname connections and the growth of local dynasties based on rarer surnames. The latter provides clues that can anchor eighteenth-century antecedents for the wealthier tenant farmers of the nineteenth-century; this is especially so when combined with wills, inventories and testimonies. Kinship collation as it maps the lived community in which actors functioned, therefore, considers various factors such as economic pull, to which market, train station or mill would a particular farm naturally look toward. What resources of time and status must be sacrificed by a middle-aged servant to visit a nephew, how likely are they to have remained in place between decennial enumerations? The depth of record assembly, assignment, assessment and analysis is consequently large to unravel or at best probabilistically assess the tangles around a single anomaly; and vast when it is used as in chapters five, six and seven to aide the identification of the longevity of social capital and force as in passed inter-
generationally, in the functional economic locality and its political space and transplanted to new places.

Before moving onto the third theme of the section, a consideration of the analytical possibilities of kinship collation as a stage-setter for the second half of the thesis, a worked example of an anomaly captures the essence of this section. A case study commencing with the Johnston tenant of Drumwhindle in 1797, assists in the illustration of the data resources being used in combination. This single tenant, due to uncertain connectivity, stands out amongst generations of Johnston farm tenants that inhabited the landscape and community in which Drumwhindle’s inhabitants participated. The Horse Tax Rolls captured the presence of a better-off Johnston tenant at the Drumwhindle farmtoun, yet the sheer number of Johnston lines makes an assertion of that tenant's identity dubious and requires further use of the digitisation capabilities.

Kinship collation as a longitudinal rather than snapshot method identifies that the Johnston domestic units emerged in the later Stuart period produced lineages that merged and intermeshed and began to disappeared from the landscape during the later Victorian decades as daughters carried the rights of a tenancy to other patrilineages. Their records include over a hundred baptisms from the old parish records of Ellon, New Deer and Methlick and early nineteenth century wills. The combination of which affirmed the identity of specific family groups and grand-children. A further impact of record cross-referencing is to identify orphan families and actors such as the Johnston tenant of Drumwhindle in 1797 whose relationship to the rest of the Johnston ‘clan’ is unclear without obvious antecedent nor descendant lineage.

An open sampling of freecen, with the street name ‘Drumwhindle’ against all British 1841 census records returns thirty-nine records all Ellon, Aberdeenshire. Unfortunately, a residence by residence examination of these, did not reveal any additional Johnston households; which is not to say that 1797 Drumwhindle Johnston did not have offspring, for instance, married daughters may have become unassociated. An obvious candidate as a sister or child would be Margaret Johnston, enumerated at nearby Ardland (Airdlin) aged 75 in 1841, as a member of the Martin domestic group, (see figure 6-6). Further, the querying of data systems produced by different providers includes the digital archive of ‘Wills and Testaments’ of scotlandspeople.gov.uk. A sampling for ‘Johnston*’ in collaboration with ‘New Deer’ or ‘Ellon’ or ‘Methli*’ produces thirteen wills, inventories and testaments; switching a location name for professional attribute ‘farmer’ delivers thirty results including the two examples below.
Johnston, William, 10/12/1867, Farmer in Mid-Greenbrae in the parish of Savoch, T. 10/12/1867 SC1/37/60/p1205 See Also SC1/36/61/, Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills

Johnston, George, 6/8/1850, Farmer in Mains of Inkhorn, Aberdeen Sheriff Court Inventories

These results produced by multiple interrogations of the digitised archive highlight the vagaries of the systems as they belong to the locality and network of study, but neither contains a parish name. Cooper and Donald for their study identified this sought of endeavour as prosopographical as they worked to identify hidden connectivity.\(^{45}\) Such efforts produced no conclusive assertable connection between the 1797 Johnston tenant at Drumwhindle and the larger ‘Johnston network’. Such a result is not a disappointment as the purpose of kinship collation is not to meld every actor into a singular web of relatives but to generate queries about historical society and the experience of individuals within it.

The above case study also illustrates that a single record or indeed an individual interrogation of databases can relate to or divulge information on more than one past actor. Expeditions to track down a new set of records, therefore, produces further records already incorporated into another person’s life arc. The pressure on the researcher is to be able to retain mental awareness of a vast array of locations and names to be actively considering the need to re-enquire the assembled reconstructed genealogies when a minor actor begins to emerge as a potentially pivotal point of connectedness. It is these cross-over incidents that produce the bulk of queries as to the structure of society and the role of kinship networks.

Kinship collation requires the regular and consistent use of the tools available for instance a full household by household trawl of freecen.org.uk 1841 produces results for a geographical community rather than just within a registration area means that another intergenerational community can be revealed. This activity is an intense labour exercise on top of the record scouring used by Reid, Davies and Garrett to link an individual to a range of records.\(^{46}\) Such a trawl identifies travel capacities for interactions, clusters of relatives who are also neighbours, circumstances such as where the resident housemaid is the step-daughter of the neighbouring family who is also cousins of cousins. Such a process releases the


\(^{46}\) Alice Reid, Ros Davies and Eilidh Garrett, ‘Nineteenth-century Scottish demography from linked censuses and civil registers: A ‘sets of related individuals’ approach’, pp.61-86.
Scottish record to reveal multiple interactions which are hidden by the standard British orthopraxis typified in Lack’s study of Herefordshire in which connectivity was restricted to that between Heads of Household. 47

There are practical implications that result from the abandonment of household-head centric studies, in that each must be examined extensively. Cooper and Donald acknowledged this, and their study was limited to a handful of houses. Equally, Gordon and Nair simply recognised the complications and costs of such and structured their research around isolated snapshot moments. The argument has been made across the first half of the chapter that technology has reduced the costs and complications which made lead to an impression of simplicity. While the individual search for lineages and successive family groups has been simplified the volumes of required lineages and family groups has grown extensively as noted in chapter two with the size of the ged.coms. Since the 1990s two further sets of enumeration data have been made available, adding a further generation of networks into the available data and the ability to track individuals beyond the shores of Britain adds further dimensions and challenges. The results of which can throw surprising light on the forms of kinship followed in the mid-nineteenth-century based upon longitudinal outcomes.

This level of intense record matches also involves the discarding of records. Work to capture the network of a longstanding servant or witness to a will could end up erroneous on deeper inspection or merely identify a relationship without kinship having rambled over decades, across jurisdiction and then globally. Fortunately, such work reconstructs another web of relatedness, which is why the doctoral project has accumulated multiple ged.coms of varying sizes, as recorded in chapter two.

This section has examined the potential of kinship collation through a discourse linked to the processes that the tool works through to extract information, queries and postulations from the British record base. The section turns now to its third objective, how the process builds analysis which is essential as the introduction to the thesis stipulated that the synergy of anthropological and European insights with the British records requires that kinship collation not merely discover relatedness. The analysis is derived from the mapping process itself and takes the shape of recovered lived communities to consider the intersect of varied forms of social and economic power status, through approaches such as prosopography. The prosopographical involves the amassing of vast amounts of data, which is assignable to more and more past actors. It is far removed from the household sampling

described by Daniel Smith based on surnames back in 1989 when he rightly highlighted how
time-consuming genealogical reconstruction is, what he did not stress was the twists and
turns and convolutions required.\textsuperscript{48}

The discussion thus far identifies that it is the intricacies of research to reconstruct
different webs of relatives that cover the varied socioeconomic niches of society that generate
the queries that kinship collation pursues to elevate genealogical reconstructions into a social,
historical network for analysis. Purpose, therefore is the key, the limited theoretical concepts
of kinship-family that underpin British orthodoxy has limited the purpose of studies. For
Cooper and Donald, the significant focus was the employer-employee dynamic within the
\textit{Domus}. While Reid and Garet set out to illustrate whether ‘movers’ could be traced rather
than to seek or perceive any pattern, theme or context, underlying the movement. In contrast,
kinship collation is very much about the discernment of ongoing encounters, evidenced
through multiple interactions as indicators of kinship and equally the collapse of
relationships, discernable through the absence of interactions or precedence of others, which
is why the report of the banalities of a tennis club formation in Ellon, Aberdeenshire
resonates as a precursor to relationships amongst the economic-power politics of Milwaukee,
Wisconsin.

A further worked example captures the creation of a query from the reconstruction of
webs of relatives. The example was extracted from a trawl of the 1841 enumeration of
households on Skilamfilly Hill in southern Buchan. The exercise was an extension of the
endeavour to understand the Drumwhindle Johnston tenants and identified an unknown trio
of Shands. Joseph 78, Barbra 67 and Jean 30 who had not emerged from a backtrack of the
two Shand lineages described above. The OCR of \textit{ancestry} had (mis-)identified their name as
Hanst, but both systems agreed their residence at Mill of Inkhorn. Consequently, they were
neighbours of Ann Cassie d.1878, Mrs John Shand, a widow-farmer who managed a tenancy
at Mill of Inkhorn until her eldest son John Shand took it over; he was still the tenant in 1881
as identified above. As a co-resident grandmother of her orphaned Hetherwick, Knoxhill, see
map above, descendants, Anne’s importance as a farmer reactivated from 1864 as well as a
link to her son at Mill of Inkhorn and nephews/nieces at Catcraig and Northseat.

The discovery of three new Shands as neighbours of other people surname Shand
potentially undermined parts of the web as Joseph and Barbra also had a son called John

\textsuperscript{48} Daniel Scott Smith, ""All in Some Degree Related to Each Other"": A Demographic and Comparative
Shand who was an alternative husband for Ann Cassie. Three immediate questions arose that required technical work and analysis; Was the husband of Ann Cassie associated to the wrong family? Were Joseph, Barbra and Jean related to the Northseat Shands? Was there significance to the 1841 cluster at Mill of Inkhorn as to how the Skilmafilly hill community should be understood?

Interrogation of the old parish records in both ancestry and familysearch identified a Joseph Shand and Barbara Goldsman or Goodsman, which could, in reality, be the regional surname Godsman, building a family in New Deer from 1794 til 1811. A son John b.1797 emerged as a potential alternative spouse for Ann Cassie. The ANEFHS Memorial Index revealed Ann Cassie’s immediate family unit on stone 29 in Kirkyard of Methlick, her daughter Ann Shand, Mrs William Heatherwick’s memorial is New Deer stone 492, and Shand returns no results for the Ellon kirkyard. Freecen identifies three John Shands in 1841 in their 40s. A weaver and carter in Aberdeen and a mason in northern Buchan.

A wider investigation of all the children of Joseph and Barbara, informed by the remote likelihood of encountering ‘Shand’ within the regional dataset identified children and grandchildren, their marriages and socioeconomic situations. Consequently, it is possible to assert that Ann Cassie was not the daughter-in-law of Barbara Goldsman. Barbara’s male-line descendants are identified as a carter in Strichen, the miller at Mill of Ebrick, on the map directly north of Burngrains. The youngest George Shand in 1851 held a large mill on the south-west fringe of Aberdeen adjacent to the fashionable developing quarter of Albyn. In 1841 George, a grain merchant and his younger sister Mary are co-resident with their older brother Joseph, a meal miller and his family at Carmelite Street, Aberdeen. The accumulated evidence indicates the high probability that John Shand the Aberdeen carter is likely to be the son of Barbara Goldsman and hence spouse of Elizabeth Sinclair. Therefore, the weight of recovered data affirms the initial linkage of Ann Cassie to John Shand of the Northseat Shands. Consequentially there is no immediate direct link between the two Shand domestic groups at Mill of Inkhorn in 1841, yet Old Parish Records indicate that Joseph, Mr Barbara Goldsman, was the son of a Joseph Shand b.1764 in Methlick, son of John Shand. So it could be that the connection is remote, related-stranger-neighbours yet with so few Shands living in the district, the notion of cousinship could well have permeated the attitudes of the Shands and their neighbours.

Overall it is possible to recreate the different Domus units of the Shands and their members across the nineteenth-century and place them into their lived experience of community. The interpretation reveals a narrow but integrated set of families around
Skilmafilly Hill, with likely two main branches that had not strengthened their patrilineal bonds for generations, but whose matrilineal connectivity was significant. This awareness deepens an understanding of the domestic groups within society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-2 Domestic groups in New Deer with Shand occurrences in 1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northseat of Inkhorn in New Deer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine members of the Shand domestic group, siblings with their widowed mother, headed by James, a farmer of 107 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mill of Inkhorn in New Deer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine members of the Shand domestic group, a nuclear family, headed by John, a farmer of 90 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>? New Deer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brown Shand, aged 21, a journeyman Slater, baptised at Savoch, birth registered Ellon, boarding probably in New Deer village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Deer summary for the Shand surname</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 out of 23 accounted for, The patrilineal ancestor John Shand was b.1745 in the parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two families account for 2/3rds of all the Shand occurrences in the parish. They lived on neighbouring tenancies; John was an older first cousin once removed of James. James and his siblings were Johnston descendants; as was their first cousin J B Shand the Slater. The Johnston tenancy at Catcraig close to the Inkhorns had passed through James and John Brown’s grandmother to their aunt’s husband, Alexander Phillip. Co-resident at Catcraig was Elizabeth Shand another of John Brown and James’s aunts who gave service to her sister Barbara Phillips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Auquhadlie in the Ellon part of Savoch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20% of the Ellon parish, Shand occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Shand, aged 18, servant to the Brown family and James Shand, aged 12, grandson of the Brown family. A brother and sister who were siblings to John Brown Shand the Slater</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two factors stand out from the case studies used in this section. First, both worked examples lie outside of the specific manufactured administrative area and second the observations and queries could not be achieved through the manufacture of singular nuclear household units nor demographic analysis of sequential enumerations. Instead, the queries are perceived with an appreciation of time and space, as this exposes the multiple junctures that stretch the possibilities of a coincidence to or near to breaking point. What this illustrates is that the technical aspect of kinship collation has not merely been an overlaying web of related people onto a geographical space but has required a discernment of social space, socioeconomic encounters and individual interests, in other words the functionality of kinship as a social force has been queried.

The evidence base of the doctoral project has relied upon the technical detail of genealogical reconstruction with the hypothesis being that this can be elevated beyond
reportage of webs of relatives into a tool for network analysis of societal relationships. Elizabeth Mills as a professional genealogist and others have stressed the importance of accuracy when genealogists are offering a service to the public. Extreme accuracy is less of a concern for kinship collation which only in certain circumstances may wish to know the exact birthdate or death date of an individual actor. Instead, the data required is who was present, who reported, what extra nuggets of incidental information had been inserted into the record.

Data scholars have made regular forays into genealogy as a means to develop programming that captures social networks and biographical concepts. The results of the TimeNets and GeneaQuilts teams, in particular, were examined as potential aids for this project to establish whether it could add to kinship collation. Unfortunately, the influence of relatedness as significant on the design parameters of the teams, was too deeply locked into the structures to utilise the tools to reveal kinship as mutuality of being.\(^49\) The process must be able though to handle and note the significance of four similar aged and named cousins and how that may plot the edges of the effective community.\(^50\) The approach requires not the total reconstruction of a locality as pursued by Barry Reay who was able to quantify 267 households which appeared in the 1841-1891 enumerations of three Kent parishes. Gordon and Nair, looked at 250 households in a narrower geographical space of eleven streets to reflect upon domestic kinship coresidence. The created civil parish of Savoch in 1871 had 359 separate households; this project has not sought to reconstruct each of these into lineages, family groups and networks, as that is not the purpose of kinship collation. Instead, the case studies that emerge from that territory are enabled to flow across time and space, into the wider sub-region of Buchan, the Grampian territory and across the globe, as individual actors’ sense of lived community was similarly unbounded. This assertion will be expounded further in the second half of the thesis.

Consequently, kinship collation also requires a profound and systematic appreciation of data to correlate, contrast, compare and query connectivity, expose hidden layers of relationship and pinpoint the lack of interpersonal relations. With data accumulated in excess of 23,000 records on over 13,000 individuals, the data management and data visualisation have been of particular importance. As most records connect two or more actors; not necessarily people of close biological or legal relationship to each other or the head of the

\(^{49}\) Anastasia Bezerianos et al., 'GeneaQuilts: A System for Exploring Large Genealogies.', , pp.1073-1081, Nam Wook Kim, Stuart K. Card and Jeffrey Heer, Tracing Genealogical Data with TimeNets.

\(^{50}\) Christian Michie, Mrs Charles Riddell, had three granddaughters all named Christina Riddel, 1882, 1887, 1888 in addition her brother-in-law, who had married late, named a younger daughter with the same formula in 1881, two born in Logie Buchan and one in Old Deer part of Savoch, the other in the New Deer part of Savoch.
household the requirements of material management have differed from professionalism rooted in accountability to a customer as promoted by the genealogical community.\textsuperscript{51} As the kinship collation methodological process is not built upon a particular family or lineage but the social network, it has been important to work thoroughly with records to identify non-viable individual-record matches; but having done so we can exploit a new landscape of kinship related questions of the type explored in chapters five, six and seven.

4d. Conclusion

Chapter four has introduced kinship collation through the implementation of its theoretical methodology as process and practice. It has clarified that the process is built on not just a large number of records but also the need to query effectively to get the most likely fit of sources to past actors so that false assumptions can be reduced. Moreover, under the imperatives of the European and American antecedents, the process of kinship collation has been shown to be more than a litany of relatedness that the tools and established processes of British praxis produce.

The chapter has set the stage for the second level of theoretical application that can examine kinship beyond the household, not just as interconnected familial units but as a social network with significance to society and impact on it. As a contribution to scholarly insight, further examples to supplement the small number of British studies that impinge on kinship have been presented but produced with a kinship-centric purpose from records not designed to record kin activity. In doing so, micro and substantial case studies drawn from the Scottish record have been presented which do not rely on constructs such as the kin-family and clan, but upon kinship within the community. These have been extracted via complementary examinations of a range of digitised databases to recover micro-evidence that accrete around individuals, family groups, lineages and across communities. Query production and probabilistic resolution is an essential part of kinship collation as it firstly builds rigour into the practice of record allocation and secondly, it establishes the context in which past actors made their choices about the significant relationships of blood and law that they were willing to drop, nurture or place into hiatus.

The thesis contends that while American and especially European researchers have for some time been more than willing to grapple with the possibilities of kinship as a functional capital in their societies, British theory and research has stalled. It has been shown

\textsuperscript{51} Iain Riddell, ‘To Alleviate or Elevate the Euroamerican Genealogy Fever’.
that the record base, as conceived by the Victorians, implemented for decades and analysed, has functioned to discover relatedness only within the setting of the domestic household.

The presentation of the potential of kinship collation as a social history tool has identified an important extension of the literature. For just as the census family does not reflect the lived experience of the family the chapter has stressed that the local community of demography does not represent the lived and dynamic community of experience. At the Scottish level the research of kinship is often mistaken as that of the clan and like the rest of the UK is dominated by limited and narrow socioeconomic groups with the greatest capacity to create and save records.

Also, it has been reinforced that the data on kinship has always existed within the British resources; it has merely been inaccessible and requires liberation through new theoretical insights. Consequently, kinship collation is not synergistic with Higg’s approach to community analysis based on aggregate population statistics within a defined territory that can be reassessed at time intervals. Instead, it is reliant on Tönnies understanding of community built on social networks, those relationship webs sitting between the domestic group, as a basic unit, and wider society. Even though the census is an important source of information for the macro-level assessment of society this chapter has iterated that it only captures a limited range of societal insights.

The abilities of kinship collation to feel out the community spaces in which actors functioned as individuals, as families and in networks, across and between multiple bureaucratic zones which cannot be captured through demographic approaches to the community have been noted. The chapter has continued to acknowledge and illustrate the constraints of the basic record resource as demographically created and emphasising tools despite which it has been shown that kinship collation can expose a range of sociological themes, such as the intersect of women, kinship, socioeconomic diversity and community presence. And as kinship collation is more than an accretion of records to past actors the possibilities of analysis have been flagged throughout.

As this is the juncture point of the thesis between justification and explanation of kinship collation and its application, a summary of key insights is required. Chapters two and three have presented the complications for kinship studies in British nineteenth-century societies created by the political-cultural and philosophical approaches of government and high-status society which have promoted the study of individualistic domestic nuclear families. The interests and needs of the State to single out domestic units is not the only force that has operated to disguise the ongoing function of kinship in British societies. Chapter
three picked up those themes in greater detail and therefore, captured the interaction of patriarchy and kinship as two sociocultural dynamics. Such dynamics prefigure important debates in the first of the thematic chapters, as to whether kinship was a refuge for women as postulated by Davidoff et al., the premise of which is that individuals with power and status usually men could abandon their networks of relatives and those without such social capitals could not. Of course, such an assessment was drawn from the British orthodoxy that correlates kinship with relatedness and informs a concern that kinship itself is inherently hostile to women's sociopolitical freedom, as individuality is downplayed.52

52 Leonore Davidoff et al., The family story: Blood, contract and intimacy., Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family.,
Chapter 5 Women, kinship and society

5a. Introduction

The second half of the thesis, applies the kinship collation history tool, as introduced in prior chapters to social themes of the nineteenth-century, the status of women in society, the extension of democratic participation, and the development of business practices. This chapter explores the societal impact and individual benefit of kinship behaviours through a consideration of the intersect of female identity within groups that were shaped by a patriarchal culture. Chapter One noted that Rao’s study of later modern and contemporary societies of Northern India generated data regarding the nuanced impact upon kinship of women’s agency and the complex interactions of women within their kinships which were identified as having patriarchal structures. This approach straddles the concerns and challenges articulated potently by Judith Bennett in 1989,

A deliberate decision on the part of some historians of women to focus less on women’s oppression and more on women’s agency. Despite these problems, I think that the historical study of patriarchy deserves our intense and careful scrutiny.¹

Uthara Soman in 2009 unpicked the varied feminist understandings of patriarchy and its dominant gendering of society with a preference for the male.² Such analysis reminds us that Marxist-feminist thinking is suspicious overall of even the family let alone the impact of wider linked social units such as kinship groups. Meanwhile, the liberal feminist tradition looks for an explanation in socio-cultural factors and radical feminists’ highlight specifically the role of men in establishing and perpetuating patriarchy for their benefit. Soman also highlighted that postmodern feminist thinking questioned the notion of the heterogeneity of women, instead, calling for recognition of difference based on factors such as sexuality, class and disability etc. Pulling upon these stands, Soman laid out that patriarchy was both a public and domestic phenomenon. Critically for this chapter it emerges that patriarchy is patrifocal in nature resulting, according to Namrata Gupta and Arun Sharma, in the

subordination of individual interests to the welfare of the family; gender differentiated family roles with females being associated with the private sphere; gender differentiated family authority structure (with authority of same generational males over socially equivalent females, such as husbands over wives, brothers over sisters); family control of marriage arrangements; patrilineal descent, inheritance and succession; patrifocal residence, with daughters shifting allegiance to husband's family after marriage; and an ideology of appropriate female behaviour that emphasises chastity, obedience and modesty.³

Such an analysis informs the basic struggle of feminist thought with kinship behaviours whether in the household or more broadly in the community. The struggle is a manifestation of the contentious connection between feminism and individualism. Shane Phelan and Claire Morgan both made contributions to this question in the early 1990s when they asked questions around liberalism as summed up by democracy and individualism and the feminist agenda which was oft times presented as radical communalism.⁴ Morgan, in particular, stressed, that while individualism had been a strong thread through feminism since inception but was not the sole or universally dominant thread. Phelan and Morgan separately argued that individualistic feminism had failed to thrive with external ignorance of liberalism and internal debates.

Feminism does not logically connote radical or gender feminism. Nor does it necessarily entail separatism or special treatment for women. Rather, it refers to the principle that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men.⁵

These are concepts that have divided feminism’s alternate propositions that women have been thwarted go-getters vs women as altruistic re-creators of society, Micaela di Leonardo had captured this second debate in the late 1980s she noted a drive to have theories around ‘elevation to visibility of women's nonmarket activities’ as well as

nonpejorative focus on women's domestic or kin-centered networks. We now see them as the products of conscious strategy, as crucial to the functioning of kinship systems, as sources of women's autonomous power and possible primary sites of emotional fulfillment.6

di Leonardo’s late twentieth-century sociological work theorised that there were contentions around power and self-worth at play in how women participated in kin-activities, envisaged as the domestic space and duties. These, of course, could not be separated from the public realm in which extracted labour from women without fair return or the apportionment of social power. This analysis was produced at a similar time to the historical-sociology of public vs domestic spheres debates, to which Davidoff and Hall contributed in *Family Fortunes.*7 It is essential to note that the feminist-inspired pairing drew upon the historical records of the middle-classes of Birmingham and Essex from which they were able to observe the early stages of a changed arrangement of involvement in kin-activities that generated wealth and status outside of the environs of the home, and involved the sequestering of wives and mothers with consequences for their kin-activity within the threshold. As the middle-class evidence builds a compelling structure of sisters’ as brothers’ helpers, widows and daughters bound to their husband / fathers *manus mortua*, through legal instruments of financial control, the privileges enjoyed by men, noted in earlier chapters, materialises as a social structure of patriarchy. The power of patriarchy is summed up in a simple remark by Davidoff et al., ‘A woman’s loss of her family name on marriage, which to many people’s surprise has never been a legal requirement but rather a customary practice’; which captures the challenge of recovering women's matrikin relationships.8

In this chapter the methodological processes of kinship collation are tested and used by extended female relatedness across the county, the country and then across the Atlantic; the challenges were not just the reconstruction of relatedness across different record cultures and the extraction of kinship based upon multiple joint endeavours but also how to display and consider the results. Through a new case study group which includes inter-related women from crofter families through to those with influence on national US politics, the chapter will

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7 Recognising the enduring contestations over the spheres that has continued for decades, but not wishing to reiterate.
8 Leonore Davidoff et al., *The family story: Blood, contract and intimacy*, as reprinted, p.62; The thesis has been responsive to this with the practice of identifying men, as well as women in reference to their spouses, where to do so adds clarity, or by stressing and reuniting married women with their birth-(father’s)- family name.
tackle the complexities of the female experience of society within and upon kinship. This study adds to the evidence of chapter three which exposed the close kinship-cluster in which the Cardno sisters and granddaughters had operated. The chapter had the choice from hundreds of women, each of whose web of relatives has been researched and analysed by kinship collation. Each potential central figure could have exemplified the complex interactions of gynocentric-kinship as social capital within their specific wider circumstances to exemplify that kinship collation does not seek to find a behaviour labelled as kinship but the range of kinship behaviours.

The chapter brings to bear in concert, two key theories, one that the existence of kinship bonds and relationships produced a form of Bourdieuean social capital. Two that matrifocality, connectedness between and through related women within the public space has been overlooked in the British-sphere.9 Consequently, it must be acknowledged that the social forces of kinship and patriarchy have a relationship that needs consideration. For such an investigation to be successful, it is important that patri-privilege is exposed and queried through the reconstruction of female-based networks. In this fashion kinship collation’s methodological processes and theory are used to explore kinship as a societal force as it impacted and intersected British-sphere female farmers. An awareness that the experiences of Scotland’s north-eastern women farmers have been overlooked, has as Scottish kinship behaviours, has informed the choice of the case study.10 The first section of the chapter sets out the platform of kinship collation as a social history tool that can inform on the network capital of women between the domestic threshold and general society. The second section will be dominated by a case study extracted from the early life arc of Jessie Cruickshank, Mrs George Johnston, which enquires whether Scottish kinship patterns are patriarchal and subordinating of female agency.

5b. Rural women, farms and feminist insights
The limited and contentious, work on women’s kin experiences cannot be separated from the general discussion of the problems with the record base, the scholarly culture and the limits of the family-kin construct. Therefore, perspectives and insights from studies conducted in the last twenty years amongst communities regarded as having stronger more visible kinship-bonds and in economic situations similar to nineteenth-century Aberdeenshire are useful.11

The economic situation of Scotland’s north-east through the nineteenth century could well be considered as a developing agricultural economy. Carter and Smout noted the late arrival of the agricultural revolution in the eighteenth century. At a local level changes to the basic economic units of the farmtouns, styles in estate management, the establishment of new villages and the later arrival of road improvements marked its progression, organisation and spread across the county. On a regional scale, the integration of Grampian into the imperial and global economies presented new challenges and new opportunities for people in Aberdeenshire. The displacement of some families from their traditional socioeconomic niches occurred alongside the expansion of opportunities for others as new wave capitalist farmers, while landownership essentially remained locked to a few core families. George Johnston husband of Ms Cruickshank, the central actor of the chapter’s case study, has been identified as an exemplar of the latter as he increased and diversified his holdings prior to his early demise. The movement of the female line descendants of the Cardno cluster into the city exemplifies the former.

To understand the tensions, pressures and opportunities that Jessie Cruickshank faced as a young woman of the stable tenantry socioeconomic background, this section applies Bourdieuan social capital and Matrifocality to further develop understandings of kinship collation as a social history tool. In chapter four it was stressed that kinship collation could map out the edges of undefinable communities and analyse the results, so the section firstly considers how case study data can be visualised to assist observation of community. Secondly, it discusses and intersects the two identified social theories, and thirdly, it justifies the socioeconomic niche and central actor of the case study. In combination, these three tasks will exemplify that kinship had a nuanced encounter with Aberdeenshire women that both built and undermined their social capitals.

The chapter’s agenda to grapple with the complexity and significance of women’s kinship patterns creates a presentational and discursive challenge the section turns firstly to

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15 Iain Riddell, ‘Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship’.,
how the masses of data may be visualised. The obvious solution is to make use of multiple family-tree groupings but with over half a century’s worth of connections and interlocutors, contextualised by the preceding half-century, and for context, such a display rapidly becomes self-defeating. Dyble et al. for their analysis of British gift-giving used the notion of nesting around a primary person. The material in appendix iii., is one attempt at data management for the women related to the central actor of this chapter’s case study. Ms Cruickshank’s female relatives are grouped, with micro-biographies, based upon their degree of relatedness to Jessie Cruickshank and identified amongst themselves as mothers-daughters-sisters, via a colour coding system. The underlying approach of nested data is drawn from Barry Wellman and Kenneth Frank’s sociological work on multi-level personal communities and been applied by Bras et al., but never in the British and Scottish contexts.18

The data on the tabulated women confirms and authenticates the findings from British family studies focused on the domestic unit, that many women would marry and form new households, that the census returns captured them in domestic framed roles as farmer’s wives, sometimes as widows in their progeny homes, or as independent but within a constrained domestic sphere. But the challenge from continental Europe is to look outwards from the family-household and give regard to the consequences of kinship to, and on wider society. The raw data is used through the following section to build new visualisations of clusters of relatives, through geographical and emotional proximity to Jessie Cruickshank over the first half of her lifetime and garner an impression of her sense of community. To further aid comprehension of that community as it manifests, a series of maps of key localities around Aberdeenshire are presented. As per chapter four, these ignore administrative boundaries but offer up individuals and familial units nested upon Jessie Cruickshank.

The reconstruction of matrikin around Jessie stands within the framework suggested by Davidoff et al., and Lipp, to gain a fuller understanding of the networks that operated between domestic groups. The visualisations will show that Jessie Cruickshank’s case study draws in domestic units that emerged from the settled, intergenerational, expanding and lower

17 Mark Dyble, Abram van Leeuwen and R. Dunbar, 'Gender Differences in Christmas Gift-Giving', Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences, 9, (2015), pp.140-144., p.141; the primary persons were those completing the research survey and relatedness based upon shared biological proximity.
peasantry farming socio-economic niches of the early nineteenth century. Women within the selected network diverge into numerous socio-economic situations; non-married women in low paid service work through to women participating in high-status socio-political activity while contracting expensive cross-oceanic commissions. By mid-century, the core families to which Jessie related had harnessed resources that sustained economic stability and social influence. Beyond her core, family units were others interlocked through relationships primarily held with her father and her maternal aunts were from broader socioeconomic situations. For instance, the descendants of Margaret Smith, (FFCW 1-4), Mrs Alexander Gray, who were clustered on crofter holdings around Peterhead, meanwhile the daughters’ of George Mitchell, Mr Barbara Jane Chivas (MBW 1-3) were often found with their mother’s people who were leading bank agents in the northern parts of Aberdeenshire. These diverse links have importance given the contested debates about the transition to a modern class-based society and social stratification and the lack of theorisation on the nature of Scottish kinship.

From Jessie’s birth in 1861, the network of relatives grew rapidly; this is unsurprising in a period of significant population growth. The increase in relatives does not necessarily indicate any, increased or decreased kin behaviour. Consequently, it has been important to consider the organisation and visualisation of the data produced by kinship collation so that a sense of community of interconnections can emerge. With an impression of how kinship collation gains an understanding of an actor’s community, it is possible to apply some analysis. In this chapter that analysis is exemplified through the intersection of matrifocality and Bourdieuan social capital, so the section turns secondly to these theories.

Kinship collation, with the use of modern technology benefits from the reconstruction of matrilineages of long-dead women, consequently matrifocality can also be observed as female connectivity can be rebuilt. While Soman emphasised that patrifocality ‘fluctuates in content and severity according to myriad social factors including region, caste, and class’, as

19 Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’.
a component of a complex cultural system of patriarchal dominance, in contrast, matrifocality is not about a matriarchal society. Indeed, there is not an opposite system built upon matriarchal dominance to explore. Matrifocality, the consideration of female linked relationship can exist in conjunction with other socio-cultural systems including, importantly, where men dominate in economic and political settings. Therefore, it is arguable that matrifocality underpinned the relationships between the clustered Cardno households examined in chapter three even though the economic and familial leadership is evidenced as being under male control. To achieve an understanding of women’s’ kinship situ it is necessary to acknowledge the patriarchal underpinnings to kinship networks and in what ways if any that women’s functional biological kinship position changed the culturally patriarchal nature of kinship behaviours across the century. The social history tool of kinship collation can contribute an answer to such a question as it is based in theorisations of kinship and is built from processes that can retrieve evidence of female connectivity from a record system constructed by a patri-privileging culture.

It should be recognised that the reconstruction of female-centric (matrilineal) and even female inclusive kin-networks is a particularly complicated task as tracking married female is inhibited by the loss of her birth family name which can then involve hit and miss searches through various records. The formation of new conjugal arrangements by daughters creates challenges to the researcher, as it involves significant sifting through census reports to look for indicators as to possible marriages to limit the field of search. With these barriers it has always been more efficient and less costly to focus on male-lineage patterns and connectedness; the relative ease of patrilineal reconstruction adds to the cultural significance of the male. The cultural envelope in which records on Grampian women were produced, was, as noted briefly in chapter four, flexible. Consequently, there are records of married women, grave markers, wills and testaments, death records and even some enumeration incidents that capture a woman’s birth family name.

Cecile Jackson in 2014 laid out a sociological understanding and application of matrifocality; her interpretation drew upon Tanner and Smith. Their 1970s definition emphasised matrifocality as ‘relatedness in societies where mothers are structurally,
culturally and effectively central.  

Matrifocality is not a theoretical approach often applied to European societies. Raymond Smith stated that the nuclear-family headed by a male is so deeply embedded into the Euroamerican mindset as inevitable, appropriate and proper that it essentially predefines.  

Nancie Solien has drawn attention to an ineffective attempt by Raymond Smith at a cross-cultural comparison of matrifocality, inclusive of a Scottish Highland study conducted in the 1950s. Her main thrust being that Smith never defined ‘woman-headed’. For Solien matrifocality in the 1960s was not defined by female headship. ‘A matrifocal family may quite well include a regularly present person in the role of husband-father.’

Matrifocality theory for Jackson went beyond the biological structural connectedness of matrilineal forms to probe the significance of relationship looking at changing levels and rates of reciprocity and mutuality between related women especially those reciprocal arrangements stretching out from the domestic setting. Jackson notes that even within her specialism of gender and development, the study of matrifocality often becomes focused on an examination of family and family-household, which is evocative of Lipp’s claims about historical kinship studies. She goes further to acknowledge that how ‘matrifocality exists within kinship systems formally designated as patrilineal and patriarchal, the broad direction of change in kinship or relatedness, and the implications of these for gender relations’ have been avoided, missed or passed over.  

In the late 1980s using evidence from developing rural economies, Deniz Kandiyoti discussed the notion of women operating within patriarchal constructs through a process of bargaining with men and societal institutions both formal and informal. Kandiyoti’s overall assessment is that women are not defenceless, passive or skill-less in the face of patrifocal patriarchy. Likewise, Judith Bennett stated ‘women have always been both victims and agents. To emphasize either one without the other creates an unbalanced history. Women have not been merely passive victims of patriarchy; they have also colluded in, undermined, and survived patriarchy.’  

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29 Judith M. Bennett, 'Feminism and history', *Gender & History*, 1, (1989), pp.251-272., p.262.
Goodman noted in 1999 that patriarchal forces in society were best studied in their historical contexts and in relation to other social tensions.\(^30\)

Jackson has also called attention to the impact of modernity upon kinship in economically developing nations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, as she had identified a trend in the last five decades of modernising societies becoming more matrifocal in behaviour. According to the anthropological literature, matrifocality investigation can be undertaken in Euroamerican societies if the researcher chooses to place aside the common sense of the nuclear-family model as definitive. If Jackson’s observation of recent cultural changes in parts of the developing world run true in cultures that historically experienced ‘modernisation’, then an underlying layer of matrifocal kinship maybe discovered. Plakans indeed saw an element of this in Sabean’s 1990s study of marriage alliances in rural Germany, evidenced from Neckarhaus. Sabean noted the change from a broad choice of alliances that linked varied socioeconomic situations to matronies that stratified economically and socially favoured male-networks. Plakans contextualised these observations to the public-private sphere debates that raged.\(^31\) As Schneider’s reformation of anthropology, as discussed in chapters one and two, stressed the need to consider local traditions and conditions, the presence of agnatic networks in nineteenth-century Germany cannot be simply read across to north-east Scotland; consequently, a matrifocal lens is worth deploying.

Matrifocality like Schneiderian kinship seeks to get beyond the mere coincidence of relatedness to both the quality of relatedness and its impact. For perspective on the synergy of marriage and agency, it would be possible to turn towards the bulk of work on marriage derived from diaries and letters. Such work has emphasised that the Hanoverian period had seen a decline in kin-influence on marriage and that there were ‘ingrained societal tendencies to create a female identity within marriage’.\(^32\) Alternatively, Tamas Bereczkei and Andras Csanaky placed evolutionary perspectives to the fore which remind us that the impact of patriarchy is such that women ‘are expected to secure maximal resources monopolised by men that are to be invested in children. They may be expected to value characteristics in


potential mates that show possession or likely acquisition of resources.\textsuperscript{33} Amongst the layers of theory and approaches that must be appreciated is the creation and exercise of selfhood, insight to which can be gained through the Bourdieuan social capital.

While Bourdieu’s theorisations have stimulated a diverse responses in varied academic fields, Peter Jackson has argued that his approaches to culture, which encompasses the creation and structures of patriarchies, forces conceptualisation.\textsuperscript{34} Such an approach is apparent from Bourdieu’s assertion that women within patriarchal structures are disadvantaged partly due to the internalisation of the patriarchal forms which raises ideas of individual agency. The historian must think through what it means to be a woman, whether she was a servant, an heiress, a farmer, a patchworker, \textit{etc.}, who dealt with a variety of men, all parties being encultured by the social forces around them. Consequently, George Steinmetz’s commentary on how Bourdieu has been perceived as not allowing for the human agency has clear pertinence. Steinmetz’s assessment was that Bourdieu’s emphasis on the ability of an actor to innovate within their context is where the agency is considered and theorised upon.\textsuperscript{35} Such a view being encapsulated by the Bourdieuan social capital idea that some women, with capital resources, can make cognitive breaks from parts of the patriarchal dominance, as their resources enable innovation. Erstwhile, Jackson, it is important to recognise, was persuaded that Bourdieu, examined in the round, had produced a toolkit that contextualises cultures, and that historians should be free to borrow components of it as and not feel obliged to apply it wholesale.

Agency and individuality cannot be considered without some acknowledgement of psychology, the work of Sarah-Jayne Blakemore with Trevor Robbins on adolescent decision-making and with Kathryn Mills on sociocultural processing has relevance when juxtapositioned with Bourdieu’s social capitals.\textsuperscript{36} The psychological heritage grafted and created for an individual, after all, ought to be regarded as a further form of social capital. For instance, whether or not the educational opportunities offered to young middle-class Aberdeenshire women in the nineteenth-century, reproduced patriarchal structures must be


balanced against the psychological impact of enforced movement endured by labouring families every year, as parents sought to secure employment opportunities up and down the county. Blake and Trevor’s work confirmed that during adolescence the influence of social peers rises while that of close adults declines which had a consequence for risk-taking. Blakemore’s work with Kathryn Mills is clear that:

Developmental improvements in executive functions likely influence—and are influenced by—social cognitive processing during adolescence. Developmental neuroimaging studies show correlations between the protracted development of the prefrontal cortex and maturing cognitive and behavioral abilities during adolescence.  

Therefore, the domestic and immediate social environment in which a person grows up matters to an understanding of their adult life-arc. A longitudinal perspective, reconstructed from genealogical approaches, will be tested and reported on in the following section, this one precedes with its third objective, the justification to present a case study built on Jessie Cruickshank, Mrs George Johnston, as the central actor. As she was translocated from a rural home and business in which her father had significant status into the densely populated city with her aunt, the smattering of records on Jessie’s early life can be used to construe thought as to her psychological development as a young woman. At the family farm her interaction with labouring and service families and young people, while likely culturally regulated would have been inevitable, in the middle-class suburbs of Aberdeen, as a young woman, under the auspices of her economically, comfortable aunt her opportunities to encounter, negotiate and mitigate social risk would have likely been reduced. Moreover, consideration will be placed on the awareness that Ms Cruickshank was removed from a setting that privileged her brothers as her father’s protégés to an environment in which female role models had held sway for generations. Such circumstances, which will be noted in the following section, as they mark the juncture point between the two theories matrifocality and social capital.

Many hundreds of women could have been chosen from the data to proffer insight into the impact of the melding of matrifocality and social capital within kinship collation through the contextualisation of socioeconomic situations. But it is impossible to reference

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most of the issues that affected women such as illegitimacy, identity, status, widowhood, non-marriage, familial succession, leadership, education, employment and training. The decision was made to select the theme of female farmers because as noted above this is a neglected component of rural Grampian’s society. Moreover, studies of Scotland’s agricultural and socioeconomic development have placed to one side the history of farming women as the tenancy holder, a pattern prevalent within farming historiography; the focus instead being on the gendered sociocultural roles of wife, mother and daughter. With a dearth of farming accounts produced by women and this situation is understandable. Kinship collation though revealed that Aberdeenshire’s general population record base supports a longitudinal analysis and appreciation of the kinswomen role model for female crofters, peasant and capitalist farmers.

Network analysis identifies the presence of women principal farmers within micro-localities and their ability to function as matrifocal reciprocal role models for their neighbours and relatives during and post their tenure. The reconstructed record base provides detail as to the motivation background and objectives of female farmers through assessment of the familial circumstances. Consequently, case studies informed by anthropological and continental European theories of kinship retrieve signals of mutuality of being across gynocentric networks and deepen an understanding of Grampian rural society and the experience of women farmers.

From the large genealogical reconstructions that resource the thesis and chapter, three women emerge as potential case studies. Mary Riddel, Mrs Charles Cardno whose birth family were small farmers and her affinal family, were millers would be continuity with chapter three. Helen Duguid 1852-1932 who was twice married, first as Mrs John Mess, Deep Heather, Logie Buchan and secondly as the second Mrs Peter Michie, Craigeford, Logie Buchan, Peter’s sister Christian being a sister-in-law of Mary Riddel, illustrates the fluidity and diversity of kin as noted by Tadmor in the eighteenth century.40 Jessie

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40 Re-marriage of widows and widowers is not that common, for this thesis purpose it was helpful to settle upon two re-marrying widows for the multiple examples it generates without having to introduce more base exemplar individuals; the two Mrs. James Kirtons’, Barbara Minty 1858-1892, Charlotte Minty 1865-1923 would also
Cruickshank 1861-1934 originally of Tassethills, Logie Buchan, Jessie briefly the doyenne of Auquhorthies, Inverurie as Mrs George Johnston, Jr., and the tenant of Overton of Auchnagatt during a long widowhood before a second marriage to Dr James Nicol. Her circumstances illuminate the rare but not unique manifestation as a woman farmer without children. Helen Duguid stood out as a prime example of the essentially never moved and widow-tenant with child, with the twist of no son by her first marriage. Jessie Cruickshank was an exemplar of consanguineous and affinal marriage partners, with the perception of ‘arranged-nuptials’ requiring consideration tempered by her second marriage. Mary Riddel exemplified the many individuals, who did not procreate.

The selection of Jessie Cruickshank, to explore kinship collation’s ability to observe and analyze an individual’s sense of community is more viable because small amounts of reportage on her as a female farmer can be recovered as newspaper clippings. This artefact situation is fairly typical of public documentation for instance, in the nineteenth century, women left vastly fewer wills, but women can feature fairly significantly within wills, as beneficiaries and subscribers. The reduced presence of women in the public realm should not surprise. Sarah Pedersen has investigated women in the Aberdeenshire’s Edwardian public space of the local Newspaper through letters to the editor, which she categorised as a mechanism through which women could express their ideas beyond their immediate, intimate circles. Pedersen’s stated that for; ‘For many of these women, the one or two Letters printed in a local newspaper may be the only printed inheritance we have of them.’

The chapter thus moves forward with the results of a large mapping exercise of the potential pool of Jessie Cruickshank’s matrifocal relationships both biological and affinal to expose active relationships and the spread of her community connections.

5c. Female-focused kin networks analytical approaches

Using kinship collation to assess the kinship experiences and behaviours of Grampian, Scottish and British women and grapple with contentions of whether kinship as a social force inhibited female agency; this section focuses on Jessie Cruickshank’s first marriage and its aftermath. Dominated by the long case study, the section is a substantial addition to Scottish insights into women’s experience of kinship. In addition, it contributes to a discourse on

been an interesting study as the younger sister was prohibited from marrying her brother-in-law in 1909 until a law change allowed it despite raising her sister’s motherless children, keeping house for James Kirton and bearing him three further children out of wedlock, see Mary Jane Corbett, ‘Husband, wife and sister: making and remaking the early Victorian family’, Victorian Literature and Culture, 35, (2007), pp.1-19.

British female kinship behaviours through important feminist issues on how society functioned; giving regard to the interplay of multiple forces that undermined and promoted female autonomy. The case study exemplifies how despite the patriarchal culture that constructed the nineteenth-century record base it is possible to extract a great deal of information as to the nature of female matrifocal kin network behaviours and then analyze them. The section, firstly, develops the sketch outline of Miss Cruickshank to her 1905 marriage. Secondly, it presents ways of mapping and visualising her sense of community. Thirdly, the section discusses the overview analysis that merges the individual, their community structure and the socioeconomic society and it fourthly grapples with specific analysis of agency and social capitals from Jessie’s situation as a female capitalist farmer within her kinships and rural society. The section concludes with reflections of how the case study informs and extends Scottish ideas of kinship as an encounter with feminist thought.

Firstly, then, it is important to flesh out the sketch outline of Jessie Cruickshank’s early life and appreciate the range of relationships that shaped her community and identity. Cruickshank presents through the general record as a woman with access to varied capital resources. An investigation of the 1881 enumeration when she was twenty and a few years from her marriage shows the capital resources and lays clues as to whether she applied them. Reflection drawn from Bourdieu’s overall theory of reflexive sociology, highlight that she was mired in kinship-based relationships and encountered systemic patriarchy; these factors inform a discussion of the nuance and complexity of the juncture of kinship, women’s experience of it and on it and patriarchy. Thus, the younger Jessie married a generationally older matrilineal first-cousin George Johnston 1840-1886. As well as being widowed at a young age, Jessie experienced a late-term stillbirth during this twenty-four-month marriage, (Appendix ii.) In widowhood, she reversed George’s extension of tenancies in the Inverurie hinterland to concentrate upon her husband’s family lease which has passed at least four times from father to son. Small newspaper items catch her participation in both the economic and social life of an Ebrieside kinship through activity linked to the agricultural association. For example, just four months into her widowhood, she entered horses into the Ebrieside Agricultural Show which were placed fourth. With the absence of local siblings-in-law,

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42 Inter-generational marriage is noteworthy, sitting somewhere between rare and uncommon, the most extreme age gap being between Ann Henderson b.1837 and Alexander Rettie b.1788 when she was sixteen her sisters-in-law were in their seventies. Younger sons who had waited to take on the family tenant farm often married younger women drawing consideration of the ability to support a secondary familial unit as well as negotiate internal familial dynamics.

Jessie met the obligation to her father-in-law/uncle-in-law George Johnston, Sr., who remained within the tenancy household until his 1893 death. In the eighteen years from the death of George Jr., Jessie maintained both the ancestral lease and a significant social presence in high-status suburban Aberdeen close to her aunt, Jessie Mitchell.\(^{44}\)

Having provided a secure home at various times for her older sister, and her uncle / father-in-law, George Johnston, Sr., and then her father, Jessie also hosted the wedding of her niece-in-law / maternal first cousin once removed, Edith May Johnston of Milwaukee to Dr Alexander Cruickshank who was Jessie’s paternal first-cousin. In late 1904 Jessie severed her own and the Johnston family’s two-century-long link to the Savoch-Inkhorn estate by relinquishing the Overton tenancy.\(^{45}\) In March 1905 she re-married going on to have a single child with Dr James Nicols. The cessation of her farming endeavours came within six months of her cousin/brother-in-law, John Johnston of Milwaukee’s death who had been the right-hand man of their shared uncle, Congressman Mitchell.\(^{46}\)

This outline of Jessie Cruickshank’s widowhood brings together a series of known facts about her and those around her with whom she had a significant relationship, from which, in the Schneiderian method, kinship can be extrapolated. The method developed from Schneider’s intervention in the anthropology of kinship requires not the label of relatedness but the observation of mutuality. Appendix iii has the detail of the women that Cruickshank was related to and could have interacted with during the first half of her life up to 1905. It involves the women of her mother, the women of her father and the women of her first husband. Within two generations the sheer number of potential individual relationships would be overwhelming to have meaningful interactions with all and would undermine the capacity to manipulate memorised information on her male relatives, labourers, house staff, contractors and suppliers.\(^{47}\) Thus the kinship collation strategy is used to work with the data to establish with which female relatives she had a meaningful relationship, speculate on why and decipher the consequent impact on local society.

\(^{44}\) Jane Davidson Phillip, Mrs William Wishart was another woman who met family obligations, widowed aged thirty-three after a year of marriage in 1889 with a sole babe in arms by 1891 she was surrounded by her relatives of her husband’s sisters, whilst the bulk of the Wishart who had been significant Johnston related tenant politicians had emigrated to Canada in the 1880s.; Iain Riddell, ‘What was the impact of kinship on social formation amongst the farm tenantry of the Ellon hinterland?A contribution to understanding Nineteenth Century social formation in North-East Scotland’ (unpublished MA, The Open University, 2014).), Scotlandpeople.go.uk, ‘Valuation Rolls’, 1895, VR87 / 89 / 603; 1905, VR86 / 55 / 573.

\(^{45}\) ‘Valuation Rolls’, 1905.

\(^{46}\) Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’, Neurosciences debates regard the social brain hypothesis also draw limits on the size of social cognitive groups, John T. Cacioppo, Foundations in social neuroscience (MIT Press, 2002)., p.79.
The second stage of the section uses kinship collation to feel out the edges of Cruickshank’s society through an application of mapping and visualisation as discussed in the previous chapter. A standard means of visualisation of the data would be a human geographic approach, the simple mapping of the census returns. Figure 5-1 could thus be interpreted to suggest that in her early decades, Jessie was not part of a kinship-cluster like the Cardno women of chapter three but was isolated with her nuclear-family at Tassithills, a part from a wider pool of stem and collateral relatives.

The series of diagrams below, which are new ways of visualising the relatedness by nesting, figure 5-2, while a geospatial presentation of the 1880s bracketed by the 1881 and 1891 census returns captured in figures, 5-3 and 5-4 — these break from the family tree and household sheet perspective. The nesting diagram captures the sheer number of female relatives, the linkages of relationships and the complex compound language required instead of specific relatedness-terms. The colour coding aids perception of the source of relatedness and is carried forward into figures 5-3 and 5-4. This form of presentation is an innovation produced through a consideration of how best to visualise the basic nest of related women.
The three figures support consideration of the kinship networks that Ms Cruickshank might have relied on amongst her female relatives. Figure 5-2 captures the potential pool of female relatives upon which Jessie could draw for reciprocity. A depth of knowledge is required on not only Jessie as the assigned central actor but also of each of the related women. For instance, it is essential to have a basic awareness of which of these women were alive during Jessie’s widowhood, who had a role in her childhood and the adolescent psychological formation stage. In addition there were further women who were able to leverage connectivity through their established relationship with Jessie’s husband. Figures 5-3 and 5-4 capture the linkages between those female relatives and are part of a series of five covering the period 1861 to 1902. The chosen diagrams capture the spread of women related to Ms Cruickshank during the years that Jessie changed from single womanhood ensconced in a privileged female-led urban household to being a wife of an entrepreneurial capitalist farmer and potential mother and into widowhood as a farmer with economic and social agency who supported her kin. By clustering the close relatives to each other without reference to Jessie which reminds us that hers was only one of many networks of relatives within which kinship could be activated and secondly, that a reciprocal link with one woman within a cluster could be leveraged into connectivity to others in the cluster. Figures 5-3 and 5-4 are also geospatial diagrams that place the female clusters into their local places. As through the 1880s and 1890s, Jessie had strong connections to multiple locations, due to her access to economic capital and the turn of events, the complexity of place and kinship is significant.

The Savoch area, which is discussed in more detail in chapter six, had been the natal territory of Jessie’s husband for at least five generations and the diagram illustrates that her settlement within that territory brought her close to women who were related to her father-in-law / uncle. Therefore, was she able to benefit from the obligations and sense of duties that those women felt to George Johnston Sr., and did she, therefore, produce mutuality of her own by supporting the old man until he died? These and similar queries, Bourdieuan in their nature, move this section forward to its third element.
Figure 5-2 Basic nesting of female relatives centred on Jessie Cruickshank

Figure 5-3 Geospatial spread of relative clusters and connexions in the 1880s
The broad socioeconomic analysis is this section’s third thread. An individual’s life-arc, network and therefore a sense of lived community needs to be observed within the wider society. Such an analysis could begin at any point in Jessie’s life-arc but as arguably her unexpected early widowhood was a fundamental moment not just for Jessie but also for other actors in her network, it presents as a strong analytical point. Kinship collation as a social history tool offers further insight into Jessie’s abandonment of her husband’s Inverurie endeavour via an examination and assessment of wider kin-connectivity exhibited through households that moved into the Alford valley from the 1860s through to the 1870s. Figure 5-5 below captures that translocation of households inter-related to Jessie’s mother, Rachel Mitchell. The figure captures the individual households within a large landscape, with the historical map clippings giving local context to the tenancies that were taken up by Rachel’s siblings, nephew and a more distant relative, in four different parishes. This process is an adaption of both the work of Ball and Beck and Jenkins’s *Kindred Britain*, discussed in the preceding chapter.
Any traditional analysis of the Alford valley in 1881, which encompassed numerous parishes, would be highly unlikely to pick up kinship-connection between the family households of Cruickshank, Drumnahive, Johnston, Aquhorthies, Chivas, Nether Inver and Gray, Tombeg. But it is the observation of the inter-household, cross-jurisdictional connects that not only reveals an extended kinship-connexion based upon the matrifocality of sisters but also then informs on Jessie’s Aberdeen experiences.

In the absence of traditional ego documents, letters and diaries, the movement of four inter-related family household units from one county sub-region to another, from multiple parish enumeration districts into multiple parish enumeration districts would be unnoticed; but it is precisely this type of arrangement that kinship collation can capture. Practice, drawn from the Bourdieuan and matrifocal literature, can draw attention to the markers of mutuality that suggest the moves were a kinship behaviour and analyse the socioeconomic impact and individual social capitals that the behaviours indicate. The section continues with an application of kinship collation as a social history tool synergised with the narrative of the Jessie Cruickshank’s matrifocal network migration into the Alford valley.

The consanguineous marriage of Jessie Cruickshank and George Johnston Jr. needs to be analysed with an awareness of these tenancy moves as it may have been in the planning as part of these geographic movements. From a perspective based within Johnston’s patrilineal

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48 Clippings taken from the NLS, OS Six Inch 1843-1882 Series, 'Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland'.
situation, Riddell has previously discussed how the marriage spoke to George’s need, as a member of a rising socio-economic group, to have a spousal partnership with a woman who was positioned to participate in the changing social environment. This perspective can be challenged and deepened with an exchange of the Johnston perspective to that of the Cruickshank and Mitchell, Jessie’s familial units. Rachel Mitchell, Mrs George Cruickshank it is safe to speculate had maintained relationships with her sisters, (Appendix iii.) and thus the marriage of her daughter to her dead sister’s son would have recreated relationships. The marriage arrangement may have reflected an uncertainty amongst the Cruickshank parents as to their long-term futures in the hands of their son(s). Their younger sons probably died young, and the eldest was captured last in the record as a commercial traveller in Aberdeen, unmarried in his forties while Jessie supported their father in his old age.49 Notably, Jessie’s brother, George Cruickshank, Jr., did formally notify the local registrar of his father’s death in 1903 but George Knox, the registrar did not mark him down as being present at the death.50 This observation reminds us of Ruggles contentions around the care of the elderly by kin and also the gendered role of carers.

The translocation to the Alford valley though had begun in the 1860s with the youngest of Jessie’s maternal uncles, Dr William Lendrum Mitchell 1822-1865 who established a medical practice in the valley area and convinced his sister Elizabeth 1816-1880 to move in support from Aberdeen. Before William Mitchell’s move into the valley, none of the families had socioeconomic connections to the sub-region, although in previous generations the Johnstons had made multiple consanguineous marriages with a farming family from the immediate hinterlands north of Aberdeen and south-east of Inverurie on which cattle could recover from droving.

A second sister, Christian Mitchell, Mrs W. Chivas, also then made the same move. She had initially married and raised her family in Aberdeen until her husband retired from the merchant marine in the 1870s to farm. A safe analysis would be that neither Christian or her husband had retained much farming knowledge from their pre-teens. The decision to invest in farming, therefore, was a risk, the postulation being that it was a risk mitigated by the co-option of support from their neighbour, Gray, Tombeg, who was steeped in farm skills. Jessie Cruickshank’s father George was a cousin of the Gray family. The Gray and Chivas families,

50 scotlandspeople.gov.uk, ‘Statutory Deaths’, 237/0B 0012.
affinal relatives, took up the neighbouring farm tenancies at a similar time and had multiple roots of relatedness.

Jessie’s parents had already made a move from Logie Buchan and taken the Drumnahive farm, in the upper reaches of the Alford valley on the Kildrummy estate, in 1872/1873; their sell up at Tassithills followed the establishment of the new economic activity.\(^{51}\) The translocation of the Cruickshank’s from Tassithills to Drumnahive is informative due to the sequence of events. In January 1873 the turnip fields at Tassithills were leased for harvest with interested parties directed to the overseer for Mr Cruickshank who resided at Drumnahive. Then in May 1873, there was a displenish sale all the goods, livestock, ploughs, servants bedding, dairy utensils at Tassithills. Such sales are generally associated with deaths and bankruptcies. But the newspaper cuttings make it clear that George and family were already ensconced at the new farm where they enumerated in 1881. This new tenancy would have had to be fully equipped and provisioned which would require a large financial outlay.\(^{52}\) It is not possible to accurately assess the capability of George and Rachel to fund this independently, but the pool of relatives who could contribute or solely fund this was large.

Jessie’s maternal cousin and future husband George Johnston Jr., son of the long-dead Margaret Mitchell joined the translocation into the valley in the late 1870s while retaining his hold on Overton of Auchnagatt, Savoch, part of the Ellon hinterland on mixed agricultural soils that supported young cattle raising.

From an analysis of data visualisations, the distribution of Jessie’s kin through the long Alford valley across multiple parishes looks isolated geographically and emotionally, from the kin-dense Ellon hinterlands, which would be argued as signs of independent, individualistic domestic units. The rail line running from Alford to Kintore where it intercepted the Inverurie – Aberdeen line is the crucial factor as the families under investigation, bar Gray, Tombeg had economic and time capitals that would have enabled the frequent use of the service. At the Aberdeen end of the line in 1881 were the two Jessies, Mitchell and Cruickshank, aunt and niece. At the rail juncture was George Johnston, near the terminus at Alford would have been Elizabeth with a small holding and connections to the local elite and on the good farmland for cattle breeding was Chivas and Gray, while out on

\(^{51}\) ‘Advertisements & Notices – To be Let’, *Aberdeen Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, January 8, 1873.

the edges of the Highlands were the Cruickshank’s with access to hunting lands and romantic ruins.

The economic analysis running through this narrative description is two-fold the rail line overcame distance and enabled fluidity especially for the women, and the additional tenancies were part of a wider and unified cattle project. This project involved breeding at Monymusk, finishing at Savoch, last minute recovery of the stock at Inverurie before transport to the market and butcheries in Aberdeen, all facilitated by the rail lines. This pattern of cross agricultural zone co-operation cemented by kin marriages being an update of a practice, noted by Riddell as followed by previous generations of the Johnston lineage. Therefore, the inter-generational consanguineous marriage of the Cruickshank-Johnston couple fits within a patriarchal kin-behaviour of marriage alliances in the countryside that could be placed alongside Sabean’s German findings, discussed in the prior section.

The arrival of four separate primarily farming familial tenant units into the Alford area looks both like individual choice, and easily attributable to the male head of household, instead, with the understanding of the close family connections the decision to move into an unknown part of Aberdeenshire looks more collective than individual. In other words, it involved mutuality and reciprocity in tandem with relatedness which fits the Schneiderian theory of kinship, outlined in chapters one and two. This kinship also has a socioeconomic impact as the endeavour mapped on the landscape has the hallmarks of a shared economic enterprise of cattle production outside of the framework of capitalist markets, auctioneers and other intermediaries. As the focus here, is on women’s experience of kinship, the more significant query is whether female social capital was suppressed and oppressed by the kinship needs or whether the women as typified by Jessie Cruickshank, Mrs George Johnston, Jr., was able to subvert and nuance the situation as increasingly claimed by feminist writers interested in kinship behaviours.

As a social history tool, kinship collation can consider such questions by shifting the analysis in a new direction. The discussion above has been an analysis of how kinship behaviours sat within a socioeconomic situation, each family unit illuminating the others, rather than discreet isolated events of one domestic unit. The section turns now to its fourth objective, a thematic analysis of actor agency, female ego and the tension of whether kinship was a patriarchal social force that reduced female capacity. The chosen case study enables

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53 Iain Riddell, 'What was the impact of kinship on social formation amongst the farm tenantry of the Ellon hinterland? A contribution to understanding Nineteenth Century social formation in North-East Scotland'.

analysis through the agency of Jessie Cruickshank as a past ego. As there is not space here to consider her whole-life story, the analysis will be truncated to the interaction of a young female with her kin-structures, which became denser with her late adolescence cousin marriage and obligations to relatives.

The argument pursued from the evidence of kinship collation is that the first half of Jessie’s life was kin focused, as she played a role in binding together various parts of the network around the tenancies at Auchnagatt, this was not unique. Her uncle, William Cruickshank’s marriage with the much younger May Cantlay whose aunt-in-law was sister to William Chivas, Nether Inver shows similar kin-binding functions, through the operation of marriage alliances. This section though must also consider what that kin role meant for Jessie and how that informs appreciation of matrifocality as a kin behaviour in British society.

It would be foolish to argue that Jessie like all her female and male contemporaries did not feel the impact of patriarchy; after all her cousin-husband took to the press to announce a still-born child, which could be interpreted as a flag of his virility. The patr-privileging culture, discussed in chapter two, was further as exampled at the death of George Johnston in 1886 when the newsclippings referenced Jessie only as her father’s daughter and husband’s widow. As kinship, when paired with patriarchal dominance, is a complex discussion consideration has to be given to whether Jessie was a passive ‘victim’, a debate tackled by feminist thinkers such as Bennett as discussed earlier in the chapter, of kinship behaviours that manifested through consanguineous marriages and societal reproduction through placements with older kinswomen. In response to Bourdieu’s social capital theory, the challenge was to consider whether Jessie could subvert the patriarchy that was an oppressive force upon her. The indicators are that she submitted to a kin-formed marriage with an older relative, this man even went to the extent of the public announcement of a miscarriage, such an announcement being suggestive of an issue with his cousin/wife’s fertility.

The literature discussion identified that an understanding of psychological formation adds to an awareness of an individual’s context and ability to innovate. Such awareness supports a consideration of the pre-marriage translocation of Jessie from the countryside to a wealthy suburban setting. As discussed in the prior section this change involved her removed

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54 ‘BMDO’, Aberdeen Weekly Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Saturday, July 1 1885.
from an age-based peer group dominated by people from varied socioeconomic niches to space more closely bound.\(^{57}\) The move could be assessed as an attempt to control and shape her, speculation rooted in an awareness of the cultural power of patriarchy as a social force operating on actors. The debates around Bourdieu though stressed that agency was not overwhelmed by social pressures, and those with capitals had a heightened capacity to innovate. Jessie was not the only woman impacted by her residency with an aunt in the city, and as noted in chapter two, Lipp insists that central actors must be exchanged. Consequently, Jessie’s mother may have been innovating to have her daughter placed in the city rather than educated in the distant parish of Kildrummy. Equally, the aunt, Jessie/Jannet Mitchell, whose sisters Mrs Chivas and Elizabeth Mitchell had benefited from the same choice in their adolescent, being sent from southern Buchan to their aunt in the city, may have wanted to extend the innovation of female self-leadership. As considered in chapters two and three the standard but limited resolution to such quandaries is the discovery of personal documents; of course, such orthopraxis leaves the bulk of women undiscovered.

This complex querying also highlights that kinship collation as a theory and process can recover indicators of role models. The younger Jessie was placed with a woman, who had lived in a frontier community of the Great Lakes, run the household of a member of the county elite and then run boarding houses in the city. The choice of co-residence, with an unmarried maternal aunt, to be influenced in youth by an independent female relative, who in her youth had likely similarly been shaped, encapsulates matrifocal kinship. With an understanding from genealogical reconstruction, Jessie’s matrifocal kin links and influences are clear, especially the lifelong bond with her namesake aunt with whom she co-resided in her teens, thus it is that matrilocality draws significance from Blakemore and Trevor.\(^{58}\) The indicators are that the young Jessie was not the only kinswoman placed with Miss Jessie/Jannet Mitchell, whom herself had exhibited the capacity to function and prosper within the constraints of patriarchy.

Working out whether Jessie innovated is complex; if the opinion is drawn that the families of the kin-network had decided upon the consanguineous marriage in the 1870s, questions arise as to whether she was mentally prepared, oppressed into acquiescence. Being aged twenty-three at the point of the marriage, she was amongst the younger brides within her

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\(^{57}\) Carter presented glimpses of the dangers that a well-connected capitalist farm tenantry family with influential networks would perceive in the countryside. Ian Carter, *Farm life in northeast Scotland 1840-1914: The poor man’s country (Paperback edition)*., pp.119-120 & 144-146.

\(^{58}\) Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills, SC1/37/119, Jessie Cruickshank, Mrs George Johnston is the key ego within Jessie Mitchell’s final testament.
kinship-network, but by no means amongst the youngest. While Jessie’s first marriage to her
generationally older cousin in the 1880s stands out, the first marriage of Ann Cantlay, sister
of May, Mrs William Cruickshank, does so even more. Ann, b.1847, wed David Gray,
b.1812, in October 1875. David Gray was a House Steward of Gordon’s Hospital and both
bride and groom, were within an extended kin-connexion, the indicators being that one of
Ann’s great-grandmothers was David’s mother. 59 Understandably, a marriage to an older man
brought more socioeconomic stability whether through his inheritance of a tenancy from
parents or gradual accrual of acres or accretion of opportunity. May Cantlay and Jessie were
more normative than Ann Cantlay amongst the one hundred plus women nested to Jessie as a
central actor.

It must be noted that Jessie, Mrs Johnston’s reconstructed experience of gynocentric
kinship speaks to her socioeconomic circumstances, the bulk of the women within her
network of relatives, unlike the Cardno sisters of chapter four, were embedded in the
agricultural tenancy culture. The tenancy culture had varied economic niches, crofter farms of
five acres, peasant level tenancies which required the exploitation of all the family and an
emerging capitalist tenant group who produced enough excess to fund education and secure
diversification. 60 Each situation has different forms of social capital and economic pressures
and marriages, yet across these subgroups marriage to older men were not unusual as
documented in appendix iii.

She and her family choices of kin and her kin-behaviours cannot be separated from
their economic situation as these provide context to Bourdieuaín social capital questioning.
Likewise, the assertion of Schneiderian kin theory says that the observer should not
presupposes her kinship relationships as being those to who she was closet genealogically,
siblings, uncles, aunts, parents. Consequently, the multiplicity of connectedness between
Jessie’s father’s Cruickshank relatives and the Grays is suggestive that their sense of kinship
was as strong as those between her mother’s Mitchell relatives and her husband’s Johnston
network. Therefore, choices were made by George and Rachel as to which kinship group they
would invest their social capitals into for a hoped return. Intriguingly, that decision was not a

59 Ancestry.com, ‘1881 Scotland Census’, Old Machar, 12,28;12; cssct1881_52; the well-connected David died shortly after the 1881 census, their daughter Annie, b.1877 married the Sheriff’s depute Clerk Thomas Mackie who had risen from a blacksmithing background, his family servicing the needs of the Cantlay kin-cluster, centred on Overton of Dudwick.
60 Ian Carter, Farm life in northeast Scotland 1840-1914: The poor man’s country (Paperback edition)
patrilineal choice but a matrifocal one; an economically informed one given that the Mitchell-Johnston kin group stretched across the Atlantic and enjoyed significant financial and opportune success, as discussed in chapter seven. Additionally, through the extended Mitchell kin, gifted from her aunt, Jessie had narrative and emotional access to multiple kinswomen such as Martha Reed, Mrs Alexander Mitchell, Jessie’s mother’s brother’s wife.61

Moreover, Ms Cruickshank’s residency in Aberdeen’s affluent suburbs as a teenager with her aunt Jessie Mitchell, a woman who had lived abroad, worked and operated an enterprise, is difficult to reconcile with a reproduction of a societal attitude of female obsequience to male dominance. Indeed the kin pattern of the interlinked families over the century notes that the two Jessies were a third generation manifestation of a female-focused, city-based social formation of young women from the nascent rural middle-classes. This finding is only discoverable in depth through the process methods and visualisations enabled by kinship collation.

Such an assertion brings the section to a point where it is worth summarising some of the complex issues that have emerged from the case study. A kinship system, reciprocity between people who valued relatedness, was extant in the later nineteenth-century hidden and obscured by a deep-rooted culture that valued and privileged the domestic family expression and patrilineal forms. With such patterns of cultural value holding sway, it becomes apparent why an earlier analysis leads to a conclusion that kinship is patriarchal and therefore an inhibitor to women yet even preliminary Grampian findings uncover a more complex picture.62 Therefore, no thorough assessment of British kinship behaviours can be undertaken without consideration of the impact of female actors on the structures of kin nor should the force of kinship on women be overlooked.

The case study has been built primarily around one woman, but the analysis draws in awareness of many of her matrifocal relatives who formed her sense of community even though they lived in different parts of the county, the country and even across the globe. The purpose of the case study was not to make a profound and singular assessment of what a British or Scottish rural woman’s kinship behaviour was in the late nineteenth century, a goal that has shaped much of the recent feminist literature, but of a single woman. Nor is it a

61 Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’, Jessie Mitchell left bequests to her sister-in-law in her will which as administered by Mrs Johnston.
62 Szoltysk gives a compelling description of how embedded and thought forming ideas can become, in his critique of Laslett’s legacy on Eastern European family-household forms, within just a short period, whilst Thornton exposition on kinship highlights the entrenchment of cultural normative thinking across centuries, both of which add value to this context.
mould that can be neatly lifted and imposed on other women who farmed. Rather, the purpose of the case study was to show that kinship beyond the domestic household, mutuality of being was a social factor that can be retrieved and then be analysed.

The retrieval from the Scottish record base of an extensive example of kinship behaviour separate from classic and modern notions of the clan adds to the appreciation of how British kinship functioned similarly to the wider European pattern. The process relied upon the methodologies that stem from Schneiderian anthropology regarding kinship, as discussed in chapters one and two, that has led to Marshal Sahlin’s determination that the culture of European kinship was mutuality of being, not biology. Amongst the skills and practices needed to implement such a process are the means to visualise the community that an actor lived in and experienced dynamically. The case study presented two new types of visualisation which added depth to the short-reconstructed biographies in appendix iii, and they exposed the importance of kinship studies of the inter-change of central actors.

Doing so has revealed why Jessie Cruickshank’s pattern cannot be simply imposed on Helen Duguid or Mary Riddell or Ann Cantlay, each of whose exact socioeconomic situation as farmers and reach of personal community, based on social capitals, is different. The case study has shown the skills required for research that enables the kin networks of the observed to emerge, rather than, the imposed pre-selected models derived from notions of relatedness, biology, parents, children, sibling, grandparents as kin. In addition, the section has analysed how Ms Cruickshank’s sense of kinship impacted her life-arc and those of her matrifocal relatives and also used the evidence base to juxtapose patriarchy and kinship to query whether kinship limited her agency. This topic is just one of many important social history themes to which kinship collation can contribute as the tool not only reveals kinship rather than relatedness but also the impact of kinship as a social force on society. In the specific case of kinship as a patriarchal constraint, the assessment is mixed and nuanced as per the observations of Rao that were drawn from a rural, farming community that was impacted by developing liberal democracy. Based on the literature discussed in the previous section three significant points stand out. Firstly, Grampian kinship was not restricted to patri-connectivity, Jessie Cruickshank’s life-arc was intimately entangled with her matrifocal female relatives, but the consanguineous marriage was significant, and required reflection on

63 Octavio Sacramento, Pedro Gabriel Silva and Hermania Goncalves, 'Women’s Burdens: Exploratory Analysis on Matrifocality,(re) Production and Social Protection in Douro Region, Portugal’, *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 161, (2014), pp.156-162., p.158., Important glimpses of this emerged in chapter three especially around the joint will of Charles Cardno and Mary Riddel and to which Mary’s distant relatives George Mitchell and Isabella Mitchell (MFC2) subscribed.
its ramifications. Secondly, Ms Cruickshank enjoyed a range of social capitals; she benefited from a more than basic education, she participated in a stable and influential cultural scene, much of which was leveraged from the Mitchell sisters, Jessie’s mother and maternal aunts. Thirdly, the kinships that became available through her cousin-marriage supported her retention of a major tenancy, an important means of economic production, as a widow without children. Her connectivity to John Johnston, Milwaukee, her cousin / brother-in-law, who will be discussed in chapter seven, in a finding informed by Rao’s work on the kinsmen of female farmers, likely had a role.

5d. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the importance of British kinship studies of female experiences and agency. In doing so kinship collation has been exposed as a social history tool that can make an analysis of actors who have left limited or no other records than their government certificates and enumerations. It has built on the preceding chapters with further Scottish case studies that are detached from established notions of the clan either ancient or modern and has added a further socioeconomic niche, the wealthier peasant farm tenants – later nineteenth-century capitalist farmer group into the discourse of British kinship. Also, it has re-emphasised, the theory and processes adapted from anthropology and continental European studies. The chapter has offered up possibilities and processes of visualising the reconstructed data to aid observation and analysis, once the record base is released from the constrictions of local jurisdictional bureaucracy. The results of kinship collation were combined through visualisation with social networking and nesting approaches as discussed by Wellman and Frank to create new forms of analysis from the data.

The chapter has achieved three goals; firstly it has considered how kinship, in, a matrifocal manifestation of it functioned to build social presence and capital for some women in society. Secondly, presented the complications that inhibit the reconstruction of matrifocal networks and thirdly, queried whether kinship subordinated female agency. The three goals intertwined as the historical resource base was built by a culture that was marked by a patri-privileging outlook, which has been analysed in fashions that further marginalises female connectivity in and across the community and often female agency has been located to the domestic setting.

In so doing it has noted the considerable difficulty of recovering women’s web of relatives but asserted that with the modern digitisation of the general record base, the task is possible. Consequently, secondly, the chapter has reported on the ability of kinship collation
to build an impression of women’s networks overlaid on a community of lived experience. Kinship collation in practice has been exposed as a complex social history tool that weaves together approaches such as Reflexive Sociology, Social Network Theory, Theories of Patriarchy and Matrifocality, alongside Human Geography and historical economic development.

The methodological abilities and theoretical approaches of kinship collation were used to narrow down the vast amount of gathered data to identify a woman and her female kin for close study as exemplars of kinship-community. The gathered data identified extended kin relationships that add to the kinship–cluster pattern noted at Kinharrichie; consequently, the movement of families into the Alford valley could be described as a middling-class form of kinship cluster as the core individuals were better-off regarding time and wealth capitals.

The chapter’s core case study involved the extraction of kinfolk and kin behaviour from amongst the matrifocal relatives of Jessie Cruickshank. The results have affirmed the broad array of established understandings of the varied forms of households and divergent life experiences of women, even closely related women, that have formed the basis of much discourse amongst the like of Davidoff, Gillis and Laslett. The data also re-emphasised the findings of Cooper and Donald along with that of Gordon and Ruggles that there is a greater significance to British kinship than is currently iterated.

In recognition of which the chapter, has firstly, looked to theory’s that could support a new approach that would unlock female kin behaviours from the British record base. Contemporary studies of societies with an acknowledged kinship element were consulted to gain an initial glimpse of the complexity if matrakin could be recovered. The lessons applied from the Indian sub-continent and parts of Africa are that women weave a sophisticated role within kin groups influenced by patriarchal culture for their benefit. Further, that where they can procure support from both kinswomen and men; individual social capital can emerge.

The case study, which has extended knowledge of Scottish kinship behaviours, has built upon chapter three’s observations regarding the Cardno siblings. Moving forward the tenancy at Overton of Auchnagatt will be explored further in chapter six as part of a long-standing, complex set of kin-controlled tenancies over a two-century timeframe. Chapter seven will then focus on Jessie’s Mitchell’s connection through the Mitchell-Johnston’s to a Trans-Atlantic kin-nexus, which absorbed wealth and people as it linked Grampian and Wisconsin. The tightly focused micro approaches of this chapter and chapter three will be
continued, but it is important to reconceive how they have been extracted and informed from a vast pool of potential central actors, kin clusters and kin-connexion groups.
Chapter 6 Kinship and farming networks

6a. Introduction

This chapter moves from a focus on the life events of a single person that underpinned chapter five to a multi-generational longitudinal display of kinship functionality. In addition, the historical theme of democratic growth and the sociological theme of community leadership are woven together with kinship through the tool of kinship collation, which the thesis is introducing. Kinship collation is a response to a stall in the British approaches to kinship both theoretically and methodologically, and a discussion that engages kinship with politics in the nineteenth-century contributes to revitalisation. Chapter two examined the theoretical developments that have moved forward continental European insights on kinship; currently, captured by Marshal Sahlin’s assertion that kinship is mutuality of being, not biology and that for European cultures mutuality gathers around and promotes relatedness. Furthermore, chapter two and three argued that the British resources for genealogy can be reconstrued and then synergised with such ideas to resource Scottish and southern British kinship research. As discussed in chapters three, four and five, the modern period study of past family and family-based relationships has been greatly influenced by the records available through the government bureaucracy. Moreover, the fifth chapter was the first in which the fullness of kinship collation as both a theoretical methodology and process methodology had been displayed; with reference to interchangeable central actors and their interlocutors, to explore kinship as social capital within society. The thesis has argued that the long-formed intellectual, cultural perspective engendered a record base that privileged the discovery of nuclear family forms, but those same records can be repurposed to recover a wider range of relationships between non-co-residential relatives. Kinship collation as a tool, though, is different from the genealogical process that Prevos’s applied to the Dutch village of Heugem with its thirty-nine village households. As discussed in chapter two, kinship collation is not locked to a comprehensive reconstruction of the genealogies of the entirety of

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1 This chapter in its earlier iterations was constructed around four case studies, in addition to the two that made this final version, a discourse on a community meal and the analysis of the first county council elections was a study of the disposition of the Church of Scotland Minister for Savoch in the 1870s and a community meal in 1901 that marked the retirement of cousin-spouse farmers. These four case studies were chosen from tens of potential examples from the southern Buchan parishes, New South Wales and Ontario. The decision was taken to focus on just two to ensure depth over scope as the former was the best method to show the potential of kinship collation and add significantly to Scottish kinship studies with thorough complex studies.

domestic groups within a bureaucratic or geospatial space. Instead, individuals and their relationships are acknowledged as the interconnects between domestic nodes, wherever they may be, especially as they move in and out of them over time. The doctoral project has not been led by the orthopraxis of British kinship assessment, statistical demographics. The project is about the analysis of actor focused social networks drawn from the broad spread of biological, connubial and affinal relationships. The thesis continues to identify and challenge gaps in British kinship analysis and promotes the tool of kinship collation.

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The chapter will continue to deploy the innovations in anthropology adopted by continental European scholars which have (as noted in chapters two and three), liberated researchers from the contentions of an all-encompassing definition of a national kin culture. Moreover, it will be challenging elements of anthropology, such as Martine Segalen’s assertion of stranger-cousin marriages within European peasant societies, noted in chapter one. Edward Baptist, who has explored Euroamerican kinship in nineteenth-century Florida, also sought to grapple with the different forms of relationships that linked individuals to each other in kinship. His endeavour to untangle the complexity of how an actor created inter-household connectivity was to highlight multiplicity rather than singular connects as significant; relationships for Baptist, therefore stretched from familial relatedness into joint enterprises of politics, agriculture and business. Baptist, it must be acknowledged worked with the diaries, letters and other personal records of an economically stable and politically influential kin-cluster who had the capacity to store knowledge but even in rarified circles, there are limits to the knowledge held by families of their heritage. This observation strengthens when a family lacks access to it basic heritage records.

As kinship collation is a tool, whose application moves forward British praxis and theory, it is important to acknowledge the standard approaches that will be challenged when kinship is considered as a social force active in communities. Barry Reay in his consideration of England’s rural society framed a discussion about family and kinship which exemplifies orthopraxis British kinship approaches.

…the nuclear family system has also been used by revisionist historians of nineteenth-century social welfare to argue for the extra-familial locus of assistance, that the

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community or state rather than family and kin was the main source of support for the needy…

Nor does his approach of total local reconstruction feature as per the learning in chapters four and five that noted that lived community experience was not constrained to bureaucratic zones. Reay, who studied from within villages rather than investigating villages developed a form of microhistories that was well fitted to southern England, for instance, rural Wiltshire as studied by Cathy Day and Michael Smith. Reay’s approach to the study of Kent’s rural life out of which he was able to remark upon kinship, drew heavily upon demographic methods and tackled questions such as, long-term outcomes for illegitimate children and was therefore constrained by the boundaries set by bureaucracy and was influenced by the presence of village communities. Kinship collation with its use of reconstructed genealogies is free of such limits, as it places the lived community experience of people at the fore rather than bureaucratic patterns. As Britain has had diverse rural histories, it should not surprise that the economic-community structures of Aberdeenshire differed to those of Kent, a clear distinction being a dearth of villages, while large landed estates were marked by farmtouns scattered over the landscape. The parish was selected by Victorian demographers and therefore their successors such as Michael Anderson, as the basic assessable unit, but the rural parish of Scotland has little in common with those of England. Scotland’s are far larger. Consequently, it is important to recognise in this chapter that English and British orthopraxis approaches, of total parish reconstructions and over-reliance on singular domestic units, are simply inadequate and not transferable to all parts of the British polity as different historical trends have created incomparable demographic territorial units. Kinship collation’s ability to contextualise community draws instead on European models descended from Ferdinand Tonnies, the interest here, not being the debates on whether Tonnies was a utopian or Marxist visionary. Instead, it is the application of a sociological sense of community and space that is about relationships and not defined geographical space. Consequently, kinship

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6 See glossary of terms for farmtouns.

collation looks for the connectivity that merges the domestic threshold and general society, without the restrictions of bureaucratic boundaries.\(^8\)

Therefore, this sixth chapter will continue to explore kinship collation not merely as a tool to identify kinfolk from within relative groups but also as a tool that can be utilised across the diversity of Britain’s social communities. Kinship collation’s freedom from boundaries allows the research to track the expanding, collapsing, fading and reinforcement of webs of kin connectedness as people moved about locally, regionally, nationally and globally into and out of different socioeconomic zones and jurisdictional bureaucratic approaches. Further Scottish examples of kinship behaviour will be presented that query the applicability of English methodological approaches the domestic unit constrained within a parish. Consequently, the universal applicability of English results as the British and British-sphere experience is exposed to examination. Therefore, the data for the case studies is a selection of the farm tenants, but not a presentation of all of the area’s farmers, of what became the western half of the Savoch Quoad Sacra and the wider Ellon hinterland (see below for details). The actor-based networks are supplemented by a reconstruction of the networks of others, such as the landowners, ministers and crafters, whose presence was noted at specific times and places.\(^9\) The depth of the case studies and the topics explored, leadership, androcentrism and democracy add significantly to the body of Scottish kinship studies.

The chapter is structured around two sections each of which are case study dominated, the first of which combines socio-political structures, longitudinal awareness and the Annales approach to micro-evidence to reveal layers of details about social power and interactions in Savoch. Section 6b. below, draws on a community dinner for the tenants of a landed estate, through which it explores how kinship behaviours functioned as a pattern beneath the society of eastern Aberdeenshire. The identification of the case study, an event of the 1840s, contextualised by awareness of relationships and lives that span the period 1780-1910 and perception of its importance are both anchored in a longitudinal awareness. The study is informed by documents that emerged between 1690 and 1911, which capture social


\(^9\) Quoad Sacra’s were technically a Church of Scotland device, of the late Hanoverian period, to create new churches without disturbing the established parish boundaries. As such they were supposed to not have any civil impacts yet the Savoch territory created due to the distance from the surrounding parish churches, also became a population registration territory and was identified in the census from 1861, 1861 Scotland Census, <search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1861scotland&h=2261<br/>640&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt<br/>. 
connectedness and density of relatedness. Section 6c’s core study as evidenced from what was Aberdeenshire’s eastern parliamentary constituency 1868-1918, built with the same techniques is offered as a counter-point to chapter five, with an analysis of androcentric connectedness, that contributed to the development of local democratic culture and therefore contextualised, socio-political power and influence.\(^\text{10}\) The focus on a thematic structure such as democracy also sets the stage for kinship collation to contribute from a British perspective to the discourse championed by Susan McKinnon as to why kinship has been forced out of the western cultural evaluation of modernity.\(^\text{11}\)

**6b. Power and longevity in Mid-Victorian Ebrieside**

This section continues to develop the potential of kinship collation as a social history tool that commenced in chapters four and five. The section firstly applies the discussions from chapters two, three and four regarding the historical trends that create the bureaucratic record and observes the structure of these in Aberdeenshire and how that contrasts with Reay’s classic study in Kent. Secondly, the section, through the presentations of large networks of both people and geographical-economic blocks, contextualises kinship collation’s ability to reconstruct the lived experience of community, to a specific place. Thirdly, deploys the accumulated insights to query the reportage of a community meal; insights derived from a knowledge of who was related to who at the meal, being used to perceive the function of kinship as a social force. The section offers further visualisations of connectivity of lineage and tenancy over two centuries, within the Ellon hinterland, see appendix vii. These are a spatial and social mapping of genealogical reconstructions inspired by classic studies of rural Britain but without the limitations of imposed jurisdictional boundaries.

The purpose of this structure is to examine how a genuinely British approach to kinship needs a toolkit of theory and process that has the flexibility to capture the diversity of British experiences, which then critiques the British standards. The current British

\(^{10}\) The case study for section 6b was selected as it illustrates how two small news clippings can be deconstructed holistically through knowledge of a community’s social networks that upends top down perceptions built into the record base. Many tens of clippings from the region were optional, the ones chosen though had the particular contrast of the traditional elite and the rising political class that would contend for power. The evidence for 6c was derived from a cross county consideration of the local elections but the resources, time and finances were not available, to start from scratch to unravel the webs of relatives and kin-networks of the new political class that emerged in Aberdeenshire’s Marr and Garioch sub-divisions, while northern Formartine and southern-central Buchan’s new political class were present for the most part in the ged.coms and were descendant kin to the men central to 6b’s study.

orthopraxis being scattered techniques, demographic, demographically confined microhistory, family history contextualised in specific community studies, lineage history incomplete through patri-privilege restriction to male connectivity etc., developed in response to a record base that was not designed for the task of kinship study.

The section case study is framed by an awareness that not every biological let alone affinal relationship was of equal importance. As perceived in the previous chapter, an individual, maybe more reciprocal with her aunts than her brothers whom she co-resided with as a child, therefore, connectivity will not be tracked as a record of co-residency and close relatedness, a primary output of genealogy, but will be sought beyond the threshold in the community. The approach taken in this section is to present the domestic household as a node within these wider networks of the time.¹² Such an approach is informed by Stephanie Coontz’s observation that notions across time and cultures of ‘households and groupings of relatives were so disparate that a single meaning for family could not be discerned’ (which echoes the discourse of chapter three in this thesis), and a great entanglement should be expected, which will be unravelled through further visualisations, that layer relationships and the community space.¹³ Henry French’s interest in a variety of social groups from the aristocratic through to the middling farmers of England has highlighted that it is important to recognise that the majority of people worked with a knowledge envelope extracted from their lived experience. Thus it is that the firm limits of exact kinship connections could be as limited as three generations.¹⁴ Indeed with the early death of a parent combined with distance or a poor affinal relationship between the surviving spouse and their parents-in-law, kin knowledge could well be further truncated. Kinship collation, a synergy of the British record with the Schneiderian version of kinship unlocks the means to analyse networks, which includes the consideration of where knowledge could flow or be interrupted as it places individuals back into their web of relatives.

Therefore, the flexibility of kinship collation as a tool is evidenced. This attribute being essential as different regions of Britain have wildly different underlying historical structures of socioeconomic and bureaucratic construct. While in localities, people’s socioeconomic-niche could impact their construct of kin from relatives and experience of kinship as a social force, as discussed in relation to the European literature in chapter three.

Kinship collation as a historical research tool has been developed to synergise the Euromerican insights of Schneiderian anthropology and European explorations of kinship as reciprocity with the British record base. This requires the ability to observe the indicators left by past actors, of who they were reciprocal with and how that supported or engendered patterns of relatedness.

In the absence of written materials that clearly state that person X was close with person Y further endorsed by corresponding notes from person Y that they exhibited their mutual care for X, the section captures and interprets small events and actions for such indicators. This approach takes Day’s comment, above, on the use of reconstructed genealogical awareness as a longitudinal study to another level and adds to it French’s caution as to the knowledge base people worked with, so as not to be carried away by coincidences. Comprehensive knowledge of the webs of relatedness, explored in the light of local contexts and cultural norms, are used to map the edge markers of lived and experienced communities within southern Buchan, the focus being on the interlinks between the farmtouns of Skilmafilly Hill, Savoch. These connections inform us across the nineteenth-century as to the knowledge people had of their connections, their cultural perspectives and the interaction of two male social power networks, landowners and tenants.

Firstly, then, to exhibit, at gross level why kinship collations flexibility enables its application in both Aberdeenshire and Kent which had markedly different socioeconomic historical trends and bureaucratic arrangements. Ceremonial, Kent’s 3,762 square kilometre territory was divided into nearly 350 parishes while the historic county of Aberdeenshire 5,112 square kilometres held only some 80 parishes. These differences arose from centuries’ worth of complex factors with an impact on the geographic areas assigned to enumeration analysis.

**Table 6-1 Comparison of Kent and Aberdeenshire parishes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data extracted from visionofbritian.org.uk</th>
<th>Parent parishes of Savoch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reay’s Kent parishes</td>
<td>Dunkirk 4,620 acres or 7.2 sq.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernhill 2,816 acres or 4.4 sq.m</td>
<td>Methlick 14,912 or 23 sq.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blean 2,260 acres or 3.5 sq.m</td>
<td>Ellon 22,339 or 35 sq.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Deer 26,765 or 42. sq.m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overall shapes of parishes were influenced in part by estate acquisitions and consolidations which influenced the parish governance structures under a sole or multiple heritors. For instance, the parishes of Tarves, Ellon and Logie Buchan breach the natural Formartine –Buchan boundary of the Ythan, Tarves parish being overlaid on the core holdings around Haddo House.\textsuperscript{15}

Figure 6-1 Map of the parishes of Logie Buchan and Ellon at the mouth of the Ythan\textsuperscript{16}

Geographical and historical realities require an awareness of how people functioned within them to create cultural context. For case studies of lived communities, the culture and circumstances could be ultra-local in manifestation. For example, the parish of Ellon with an 1851 population of 3,324, whose northwestern corner covered part of Skilmafilly Hill also contained the anciently recorded place of Ellon. The census analysis of 1851 does not give special notice to the village of Ellon while it did give such regard to the village of New Deer in the parish of New Deer; parish population 3,973 and included the northern flank of Skilmafilly Hill (see figure 6-5 below).\textsuperscript{17} In contrast Reay’s case study parishes of Hernhill,

\textsuperscript{15} The junior title in the 1682 creation of the Earldom of Aberdeen, Lord Haddo, Methlick, Tarves and Kellie, reflected the core estate; as such the Earl of Aberdeen was the only land owner, heritor, in the parish.
\textsuperscript{16} Alexander Gibb 1804-1867, Map of the north eastern districts of Aberdeenshire , ‘Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland’.
Dunkirk and Boughton (under Blean) in 1861 recorded populations of 701, 721, and 1,624 respectively.\textsuperscript{18} Reay, therefore, through his demographically formed microhistory was working with a more contained population, whose records were in a tighter area and with less population than this study. The 1881 Scottish census reports began to pick out further village communities as statistical units, Ellon was one of thirty-two selected Aberdeen communities, its 964 inhabitants, separated from the wider Ellon parish which rated it amongst, the larger villages.\textsuperscript{19} In contrast, the Savoch registration district of which Skilmafilly Hill formed a significant portion after 1861 recorded an 1871 population of 1,877.\textsuperscript{20}

The Buchan and Formartine regions of Aberdeenshire produce evidence of the practice of inheritable tenures with the 1696 Aberdeen Poll book as a starting point; it is possible to pick out likely ancestors despite the fuzziness of the records, with certainty solidifying from 1750. For instance, the Shethin farm in Taves was leased by a Hay in 1696, and the record of parish births and marriages links a succession of Hay families, which from the 1730s can be genealogically connected, to that tenancy and the surrounding farmtouns (see glossary of terms) until the twentieth century.

From an appreciation of kinship collation’s flexibility, the sections second purpose is to report on the toolkit’s abilities to weave people and places together. Through visualisations, and analytical models that appreciate how locations, with their histories and circumstantial structures, the lived experience of a community and its culture can be recovered as they relate to individuals kinship behaviours. As the evidence base for the thesis, chapter and section are primarily derived from people who were based in rural locations; it is pertinent to remember that Martine Segalen, identified a peasant society operating in western Europe, in which kinship was understood horizontally amongst a generation. The consequences of which, as noted in chapters one and four was the phenomenon of cousin-stranger marriages; \textit{i.e.}, enhanced connectivity between relatives by coincidence, which in turn redraws attention to French’s warning, as outlined above.

The application of kinship collation’s methods of process and theorisation about kinship can identify in the context of southern Buchan, the depth of interconnectivity between people and places, that belies Segalen’s assessment and can assuage French’s concerns about

knowledge. The example location is as indicated above Skilmafilly Hill, a location still partitioned between traditional parishes at the point of Victoria’s succession to the throne.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Figure 6-2 Map of mid-nineteenth century Skilmafilly Hill}\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} The relatively flat lands around the Hill of Ythsie, in which the farmtoun of Shethin sat, just to the south-west of figure 6-1, and south of chapter three’s Mill of Kinharrichie could have been chosen, likewise the farms around the Hill of Dudwick just on the northern edge of figure 6-1, were alternative case study locales.\textsuperscript{22} Details assembled from 1858 Alexander Gibb \textit{Map of the north eastern districts of Aberdeenshire}. ‘Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland’.
Skilmafilly reinforces the lessons of chapter three regarding the imposition of community boundaries, as a barrier to kinship studies. Additionally, Skilmafilly Hill is a contrast to the suburban studies of Exeter and Glasgow, widely referenced in the first half of the thesis and it also presents a different demographic context to the English rural studies of Wiltshire and Kent.

The map, figure 6-2, above, drawn up in the 1850s gives context as these sources provide names of significant locations on the hill, while the 1696 Aberdeenshire tax rolls, the 1796 horse tax rolls and a newspaper article (a truncated transcript of which forms Appendix VI) marking the migration of a son of the influential Aberdeenshire landowning and legal family, Irvine of Drum, indicate the names of key tenants at different points of time, who can then be genealogically contextualised.23 From the landowning perspective, the Auchnagatt and Schivas estates in the New Deer parishes which covered much of Skilmafilly hill was in the hands of the Irvine of Drum family in the 1840s. Through marriage alliances and contracts, they had gained control, during the Napoleonic Wars, of these lands at the expense of another potential heiress.24 Following a 1840s agreement between the Earl of Aberdeen and the Laird of Drum, the Schivas House and estates passed into the hands of Gordon of Aberdeen, managed from nearby Haddo House this unified the hill and the tenants under one structure. The ownership transitions of estates on the hill are captured in figures 6-3 and 6-4 below. The three figures are a network map that connects, estate management and ownership to individual farmtoun tenancy locations. The visualisations capture the earliest appearance, in the mentioned sources, of a tenancy. The geographical proximity of farms being reflected in the layout. Figure 6-5 captures the complications of this process and the easily unnoticed detail. The tenancy of Quelquax 1840 is undoubtedly the same place as Quilquax in the 1790s and Quilraxe in 1698, and the spelling differences merely reflect linguistic drift. Quilquax is twice noted as Taylor and Ironside as the location supported not one but two tenancy families whose economic position entered them into the Horse tax rolls.25

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23 ‘Testimonial to J.H.Irvine, esq., Schivas’, Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, October 21, 1840; see appendix V.
25 Upper Auchnagatt, figure 1840 is the same tenancy and house, Overton of Auchnagatt, that was later occupied by Jessie Cruickshank in the 1880s, see chapter five, she was the widow of the grandson of the 1840s occupant who had been the tenant since the 1790s.
Figure 6-3 Skilmafilly Hill farms associated with the Lands of Auchnagate,

Which became combined with the Barony of Schivas in the hands of Irvine of Drum

Figure 6-4 Skilmafilly Hill farms associated with Savock estate

Held by Gordon of Aberdeen since the seventeenth century

The alternative perspective that can be taken is that of the farming tenants, who leased farmtouns across the hill and developed its agricultural capacity.\(^{26}\) Viewed from this lens, much of the hill’s acres were in the hands of the Johnston kinship, which can be traced as a self-reinforcing, realigning group that emerged from a cluster of tenancies around Maynes of

\(^{26}\) Agricultural expansion was achieved through the clearing of new land further and further up the hillsides and can be noted in the figures with the addition over time in the records of new tenancies worth naming in the sources; Skilmafilly Hill shares socioeconomic characteristics with Bennachie hill in Monymusk studied by Jeff Oliver et al., crucial differentials being Skilmafilly’s earlier agricultural development which was reflected in a structured socioeconomic situation versus the unauthorised society on Bennachie. Jeff Oliver et al., ‘The Bennachie Colony: A Nineteenth-Century Informal Community in Northeast Scotland’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 20, (2016), pp.341-377.
Savoch and likely descended from Johnston men born in the decades after 1696 (see figure 6-5 below).

Figure 6-5 Two centuries of farming expansion on Skilmafilly Hill, south Buchan

The farms associated with the Barony of Schivas that eventually passed to the Earl of Aberdeen

A two-century oversight of the hill offers an awareness of a Johnston lineage interwoven across multiple tenancies on and around the geographical feature. To recover the entire hill population over five generations would require substantial resources, despite this the centrality of the Johnson lineage binding together geographically scattered farms into a network, reflects on and queries the peasant society described by Segalen, as people were living or had lived in the same houses occupied by their great-grandparents. These homes contained items that had emotional links for their aunts and great-uncles who lived elsewhere or were experienced by grandchildren who visited for dinners, weddings and funerals. The accrual of shared emotional ownership of a place, an object and even persons, not only would have linked the living generations but solidified knowledge of past generations.\footnote{27 As example, John Johnston was noted as having in his possession in the 1900s his family’s original lease documents for the Upper or Overton of Auchnagatt tenancy, \textit{Men of Progress. Wisconsin}, Andrew Aikens and Lewis Proctor (eds) (Evening Wisconsin Company, 1897). He may indeed have been able to show it to his father’s landlord the Earl of Aberdeen when he hosted the Canadian Governor-General in 1887 ‘Visit from Royalty’, \textit{Milwaukee Daily Journal} (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Saturday, July 09, 1887.} Within the cultural context of the hill, any event, exchange of residences, or contract, amongst the farm tenancy socioeconomic niche, would involve men and women who were related in some way.
or another. Indeed, in a limited fashion, figures 6-5 and 6-6 below, captures this as it maps the relationships across two centuries between the Johnston lineages, their tenancies and the wider community as created by marriages and familial unit occupations.

**Figure 6-6 Two centuries of the Johnston farming dynasties on Skilmafilly Hill, south Buchan**

The farm tenancies of the early Hanoverian period associated with Johnston families area circled in black on map detail is taken from *The Shires of Banff* [i.e. Banff] and Aberdeen, Moll, Herman, d. 1732

The figures are limited as they only fully map the patrilineage of Johnston, as to include both male and female lines would obscure the diagrams, and as stated above, an objective of this chapter is to gain an insight into the patterns and social forces produced by androcentric kinship, chapter five having previously consider matrifocal kin-links. The map

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28 'Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland', <https://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/240>, western Savoch, Skilmafilly Hill is circled.
extracts aim to assist a sense of place, while the network visualisation is of farm tenancies linked to their tenants.

**Figure 6-7 Johnston farming dynasties on the Savock estate**

Savock tenancies circled in black, Drumwhindle outlined in a black rectangle on map detail is taken from, a Topographical and military map of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine, Robertson, James, fl. 1810-1829.

29 'Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland', <https://maps.nls.uk/joins/570.html>.
Tenants, with just a first name, for instance, Mill of Inkhorn, George b.1726, figure 6-7, are all surnamed Johnston, whereas Knoxhill Savoch, J Hetherwick 1771-1860, was the husband of a Johnston woman. Hetherwick’s wife was the daughter of John (Johnston) 1712-1810 Mains of Inkhorn, both John and George b.1726 were the likely sons of Robert (Johnston) who was mentioned in the Aberdeen Poll Book 1696, aged six at Savock, son of the chief tenant, Walter Johnston. The figures, 6-6, to 6-8 capture a different and slightly, overlapping part of a larger web.

As noted in chapter four reconstructions on this scale are not simply a case of data review and linkages. The process involves selection, determination of probabilities, attempts at actor and record linkages for longitudinal comparison, then the elimination of potential matches, and the narrowing down of the pool of possibilities. In the case of the Johnston surname in southern Buchan, the long-term success of multiple, interlinked and interlinking families required significant levels of record and actor sifting to establish the most likely and accurate record to actor attachments. This exercise has not only been applied during the course of the doctoral project to Skilmafilly Hill, but also to the farms of central Cruden, Skelmuir Hill, Hill of Dudwick, the coastal farms of lower Slaines each with their own equivalent longstanding farming dynasties, which indicates that Skilmafilly and the Johnston farmers are not an anomaly. Notably, the web is incomplete, partly as not every Johnston male and female are traceable. Indeed some nuclear family units are stubbornly resistant to reconstruction. Despite which the recovery of active relationships between related people that stretch across boundaries to create a lived community of reciprocity is an important achievement as against a bureaucratically constrained community of the census.

For the second of this section’s purposes, the illustration of kinship collation’s capacity to reconstruct a sense of community relationships and set the stage to discuss the consequent forces they produced the presence and dominance of the Johnston lineage is paramount. This importance is apparent even in the limited patrilineal composite, of key tenants all surnamed Johnston and all related and becomes more pronounced when the marriages of sisters and daughters into other surnames associated to the hill are considered, which will be exemplified below in the third section, which follows one final diagram. Figure 6-8 is worthy of note as it captures that Johnston kin-group was not completely restricted to a relationship with the landowners of Skilmafilly Hill as scions and marriages connected the kin group to northern New Deer, the attached map putting into context the size of the parishes in Buchan as discussed above. A fuller network more inclusive of the Johnston matrifocality would capture the tenancies occupied be matrilineal nephews, nieces and cousins that lay
between the extremes of the Johnston kin in the parish, which would include in 1841 an offshoot of the Fraser, Skilmafilly and Smithy family unit who were just across the parish border to the north-west.\textsuperscript{30}

Figure 6-8 Johnston farming dynasties northern expansion

Tenancy areas marked onto the parish of New Deer as recorded, Northern Part of Aberdeen & Banff Shires., 1832, Thomson, John, 1777- ca. 1840 and Johnson, William, fl. 1806-1840\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30} Iain Riddell, ‘Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship’,.
\textsuperscript{31} ‘Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland’, <https://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/523.html>.
The third purpose of the section is to illustrate the ability of kinship collation to build new lens and perspectives on the record of community events. Whether, social, riotous, economic, religious, democratic, criminal etc. For most occasions at least, some of the people can be placed back into their web of relatives, out of which their active kinship connections can be extracted, and the potential of the social force of that kin behaviour can be analysed. To evidence this claim, the section deconstructs and contextualises a newspaper report on a meal that was held in 1840 attended by a landed estate’s tenantry, management and local worthies. The initiative is a response to Carola Lipp’s use of community genealogical awareness to assess the democratic political trends of a small German town in the same period, which was noted in chapter one; and it must be remembered that the British orthopraxis asserts that such a study is not possible from British sources. French’s guidance, discussed above, as to the knowledge envelope that an individual had functional access to, no more than five past generations, under ideal conditions, has been used to query whether there was any possibility of accretion in the awareness of past actors of these details.

Before engaging further with the news clipping, ‘Testimonial to J.H.Irvine, esq., Schivas’, Aberdeen Journal (see Appendix VI. for truncated transcript) it is essential to establish its nature as an uncredited piece, its author unnamed and produced in a newspaper culture that pre-dated any of the contested points for the professionalisation of journalism. It is most likely then that this article is the product of a person present at the dinner not in a journalistic capacity but as a passive or active actor in the event itself. Many of the people present would have been literate to a standard; not just the lairds and their sons and the kirk ministers.

For kinship collation to be applied, broader historical contextualisation is needed. For instance, this community event, occurred eight years after the democratic enfranchisement of the wealthiest farmers in the county, in addition, agricultural change had in recent decades accelerated as discussed by Carter and migration, fueled in part by the departure of actors from the more stable and socially stable tiers of society was underway. This lens,

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32 ‘Testimonial to J.H. Irvine, esq., Schivas’, Aberdeen Journal; see transcript in Appendix VI.
34 Rab Houston has estimated 65% of the Lowland male population would have had at minimum basic literacy, W. B. Stephens, ‘Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500–1900’, History of Education Quarterly, 30, (1990), pp.545-571., p.556.
somewhat, echoes Reay who focused upon the discovery of the history of the non-elites by seeking to understand the wider socio-political and economic environment in which people expressed themselves. Although it is difficult to pinpoint individual electors under the new franchise, an emerging political culture and power of the farmer tenants are recoverable and understandable.\textsuperscript{36} In addition to such broad contextualisation is the need for local awareness. Which for this case study is that the Schivas estate ownership was in transition. The owner in 1840 Alexander Irvine of Schivas, was laird as the heir of his mother, who had died in 1786 but was also the heir of his still living father the ancient lawyer Alexander Irving of Drum, an estate much further south in the county. It is likely that plans were also underway for the Schivas estate to pass to the Earl of Aberdeen in exchange for lands adjacent to Drum held by Gordon of Aberdeen.\textsuperscript{37}

In light of the context, the testimonial dinner held in 1840 serves as a singular event to discuss socio-political power and longevity of presence on Skilmafilly Hill, a methodology that draws inspiration from the mentalities approach of the Annales School.\textsuperscript{38} The core assertion is that kinship collation can identify awareness at the meal of two distinct kinships each of which produced social force, one had been and was stated explicitly, which had caused the other to be implied and applied in reaction. At a previous occasion, the tenantry had been lectured by the Minister of Tarves as to the significance of the patrilineage of Irvine of Drum.\textsuperscript{39} The first explicit social force was that of the landowners, whose political authority was gradually being undercut by democratisation, the second implicit social force was that of the farmer tenantry, formed around the connectedness of the Johnston bloodlines as identified earlier in the section. The 1840 meal, therefore, offered an opportunity for the kin network of farmers to make their own assertions, a response that was dressed in the necessary social niceties of social class interactions.

Kinship collation can make these, and similar assertions as the tool enables the researcher to analyse, the connectivity of the men who were in leadership as organisers of the

\textsuperscript{36} The socio-political changes produced by a large increase in the electorate after 1832 is visible in other newspaper clippings such as ‘Advertisements and Notice’,\textit{Aberdeen Journal} (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, November 21, 1832, which captured popular and public electioneering under the new system.

\textsuperscript{37} The outcome of which is visible in the Alexander Gibb map compiled for release in 1850, clippings from which appear throughout the chapter.

\textsuperscript{38} Jim Sharpe, ‘History from below’, \textit{New Perspectives on Historical Writing}, 2, (1991)., p.3.1

\textsuperscript{39} The last major event on the hill was ‘DINNER AND BALL AT SCHIVAS’. \textit{Caledonian Mercury} (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, March 4, 1839, which marked the Irvine heir’s majority.
event; furthermore, it becomes possible to interrogate for nuance the verbatim reportage of the event in light of a wider understanding of the lived community of Skilmafilly Hill. Firstly, then, who were the men in leadership. Leaders can be perceived as those with prominence, those at the high table which overall was organised to give prominence to the departing youngman’s landowning peers most of those present were his relatives with a shared lineage to the Schivas inheritance. Many of those peers were Gordon of Nethermuir males, cousins of Irvine through a Forbes of Schivas daughter who was displaced by younger half-siblings and under normal circumstances could have expected to have had taken a half-share with her sister Mrs Irvine of Drum. Another form of leadership is those who take responsibility, the organising committee, whose connectivity is notable. Indeed, the power of the networked tenantry is apparent only through observation of numerous members. Hetherwick, Mill of Auchnagatt, wife Mrs Christian Johnston was an aunt of Mains of Inkhorn, was amongst the organisers. The Hetherwicks’ daughter was the mater of the Taylor, Cloverickford tenancy in 1841. Hetherwick was also through his wife an uncle of John Johnston, Touxhill. Touxhill’s brother-in-law Rev Mair was the croupier’s assistant, husband of a younger Christian Johnston; this was a consanguineous couple. Rev James Mair, himself a matrilineal Johnston scion, oversaw the local school, as following a university education he had returned to the hill. In 1841 he was educating the next generation of children, many of the pupils were his children or his nephews, nieces and cousins. Apart from the organising group, another significant figure was the religious outsider; Rev Hunter, a minister of a minor Presbyterian sect, who would be drawn into the kin web when his daughter married 1861 a grandson of William Johnston, Upper Auchnagatt, nephew of both James Mair and Touxhill. Similarly, a generation later two Taylor daughters would go on to marry two sons of the Symmers, Oldtownleys tenancy.

Under these assessments of leadership, prominence and responsibility, the high table contained an anomalously diner; as sitting alongside the Schivas Laird and the heirs of Irvine of Drum, surrounding landowners and the kirk leaders was the twenty-eight-year-old George

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40 Hugh Forbes for his second marriage in the 1750s married a sister of the influential judge, Troup of Gardenston and it appears a complex will and entail was applied that displaced Margaret, Mrs Gordon and indeed Margaret Forbes, daughter of Hugh’s only son with Catherine Garden was also superseded by Jane the wife of Irvine of Drum; Ancestry.co.uk, ‘England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858’, Hugh Forbes, Will Registers; Class: PROB 11; Piece: 1301; John Malcolm Bulloch, The Gordons of Nethermuir (Peterhead: Privately, 1913), p.46.

41 Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’, Miss Hunter’s groom, John Johnston 1836-1904, was mentioned briefly in chapter five, the couple were the parents of Edith Johnston of Milwaukee who married at Overton of Auchnagatt under the auspices of Mrs Jessie Cruickshank, John Johnston will feature further in the chapter seven case studies.
Johnston, a tenant not of the Schivas, Auchnagatt and Cairncummer estates but the Earl of Aberdeen’s Savock estate. It seems unlikely that Mains of Inkhorn was present as a representative of the Earl of Aberdeen as Haddo house with the official estate factors was only a short ride away. Nor was the young Johnston, likely to be prominent for his experience, as the Mains of Inkhorn farm is likely to have been run by his mother from 1817 through to 1837 as a widow. The tenant of Mains of Inkhorn who sat at the high table, therefore, was amongst the least experienced and the youngest men present yet still had status. It is possible to propose that in this highly formal situation, that Johnston, Mains of Inkhorn had a high table seat because he was the successor tenant to the original 1696 Johnston chief tenant, an *imprecis* on Skilmafilly Hill, as discussed and illustrated earlier in the section.\(^{42}\) Such consideration requires only four generations of knowledge to reach back to a Robert Johnston born around 1690 and associated by the record to Inkhorn. The only other tenant at the high table was Taylor, Cloverirkford who chaired the dinner, the other senior Johnston mentioned was Mains of Inkhorn’s older cousin John Johnston, Touxhill, an Auchnagatt estate holding. Touxhill’s elderly father, William Johnston tenant, Upper (Over then Overton) of Auchnagatt was also present. He would have been the eldest Johnston from within the Irvine tenantry with added status as third generation leasor (see figure 6-5), yet this did not get him seated at the high table.\(^{43}\)

So, the young Johnston tenant, Mains of Inkhorn sat at the high table, had few obvious signs of status that gained him this seat above the other one hundred plus guests. Furthermore, his tenancy, from another landowner, was of no greater value than any of the other men mentioned as displaying leadership for the event. Therefore, why was he granted the status, which is a postulation that kinship collation can assist with, as a display of the tools abilities to create new perspectives. It must be acknowledged he was gifted the seat by the organising committee, his peers as tenants, his relatives by blood and marriage, his associates through a lifetime of community events. By placing Johnston, Mains of Inkhorn at the high table a statement was made by the organisers that emphasised their inter-generational association to the hills development and the estate structures. The choice of his inclusion follows the previous community meal in 1839.\(^{44}\) Which lauded the interloping

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\(^{42}\) The toast of Mrs Forbes of Schivas, points to an historical awareness, as this was to a woman who was either the heiress who brought the combined estates to Irvine of Drum who had died in 1786 or the widow of her relative Alexander Forbes of Schivas who died in 1803 but was more aligned to her birth family of Burnett of Leys and Ramsay of Balmain.

\(^{43}\) Notably, William Johnston’s social capital was exercised by his son, Touxhill at the dinner.

\(^{44}\) ‘DINNER AND BALL AT SCHIVAS’. *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), notably the Earl of Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary-in-waiting had appended the surname Hamilton to his patrimony of Gordon.
Irvine of Drum patrilineage, which in 1840 Taylor, Cloverirckford countered with an emphasis on the more prestigious lineages of Hamilton and Douglas brought to Irvine of Drum through the blood of Mrs A F Irvine of Schivas, wife of the heir to Drum. Taken as a whole and with recognition that the tenantry knew and understood history as shaped through bloodlines, genealogy and revived ideas of clan (as noted in chapter one), this supports an assertion that the tenants sought to project social power at the testimonial dinner via the placement of the young Mains of Inkhorn tenant at the high table.

The awareness of interconnectivity produced by kinship collation has been used to identify two social forces at work, the local elites of landowners backed by elements of the Established clergy and the estate tenantry, both of which over successive community events have exerted their status within a changing political, social and economic climate. The tenantry of Schivas, Auchnagatt and Cairncummer in 1840 indicated through their actions that they like the heritors were aware of their heritage, and while respectful of the landowner they were not afraid to stress their status as a kinship based on the hill. For those with an ear for nuance, it was the toast offered up to Mrs Forbes of Schivas, that likely rang loud and clear as to the nature of the interaction between the two social forces, both of which drew upon genealogical awareness, as the decision to grant prominence to Mrs Forbes was powerful. Mrs Forbes of Schivas was either Catherine Burnett, Burnett of Leys, whose husband Alexander Forbes, the last male Forbes of Schivas had died in 1803. Least likely it was his half-sister Margaret Forbes, Mrs Gordon of Nethermuir, her Gordon grandchildren being seated on the high table, as she was essentially disinherited. Most likely it was Jean Forbes, Alexander’s full-sister, wife of the 18th Laird of Drum, on the basis that she was recorded as Mrs Forbes, spouse of Alexander Irvine on the baptismal records of her children. Mrs Forbes of Schivas had died in 1786, her son and heir in 1840 being Irvine of Schivas. A distinct point was made in a public fashion, but in a fashion that would be awkward to complain about.

This section as an extended case study has shown the flexibility of kinship collation to create a new analytical lens to understand the social forces at play in communities. In particular, it has focused on the analysis that is possible when the longitudinal perceptions available through genealogy are acknowledged. The section contextualised the abilities of kinship collation to flexibly intersect with types of communities that established praxis could not handle, it then reconstructed a broad awareness of a community Skilmafilly Hill over a one hundred fifty-year period 1690 – 1840 centred on the farm tenantry class and discussed the tools and processes needed to achieve such a construction. Following which the section,
unravelled through visualisations the networks that can be meshed such as inter-generational connectivity of people and also people with places. The assertion is that it is important to unlock knowledge of how people relate to multiple locations and the structures that sustain relationships and socioeconomic environments, which combine in varied types of capital, whether economic based, knowledge-based, or socially derived. With an understanding of the structures of capital on Skilmafilly Hill through visualisations, the section then deployed the knowledge accumulated through kinship collation to interrogate a very specific moment in time, a singular event, a community meal. The purpose of this interrogation was to example how kinship collation could be utilised not just as a broad social environment tool but as a research razor that can lever apart materials to display in new ways data that is otherwise hidden.

These abilities can be contrasted to the range of standard approaches on which British kinship studies have relied, as discussed in the first half of the thesis. The fixation on the family of the census, rather than the family of the lived experience, leading to a demographic based contextualisation that only work well in the parts of England with small parish and registration districts and the imposition of a community shaped by the boundaries of such bureaucratic creations. Equally, the history of family and family history methodologies that link into one lineage and rely heavily on a limited range of documents, diaries and letters with their limited perspectives to make all-encompassing evaluations. While occasion’s such as the Testimonial dinner would never be recorded in detail, there is much to be extracted from a multiplicity of perspectives from the smattering of documentation.

Accordingly, as kinship collation practices a more flexible method, the section enables the claim to be made that the accumulation of small details of information drawn over time from different sources builds up evidence of awareness of relatedness, which is vital if the substance and purpose of British and Scottish kinship studies are to move forward. Furthermore, the tool of kinship collation does not subsume individuals within their networks. Instead, it has the ability to bring forth different actor-centric perspectives that unlocks the dynamics of society and illuminates the social capital capacity of past people, their kin as a communal entity and communities in general. Therefore, the tool has the capacity to build awareness of social capital as a force in society and can seek to understand the impact of capital through small indicative events. With such analytical abilities, kinship collation builds an appreciation of reciprocity, an exchange that sustains and engenders kinship.
In the specific case of Skilmafilly Hill, reciprocity and kinship are evident in the clustering of interconnected families that controlled the farm tenancies. This essentially fits with Segalen’s assessment of the peasant orientating their understanding of society around their collateral relationships, but the depth of those collateral connections when taken as a whole web, remembering that the network diagrams were pruned to just Johnston lineages, challenges her assertion that the cousin-marriages would be accidental, the bride and groom being strangers. While Skilmafilly hill was sprawling and lacked population density, the sheer number of occasions on which the community gathered discounts any notion that the ongoing reinforcement of links between households could be stranger-kin marriages. Furthermore, as genealogy itself was a factor at the testimonial dinner in 1840, at both an elite tier and a local level, it would be unreasonable to suggest that farmers were ignorant of their family lines, when their aunt came to visit the house she was raised in, or an aged uncle-in-law told you stories of your great-grandfather and how he worked the land that you worked. It can, therefore, be firmly claimed that kinship collation as a tool is firmly aware of French’s imperative to consider how much people knew of their family past.

The visualisations used to capture the interconnectedness have added to the hypothesis that the inadequacy of the English lexicon to capture kinship has disguised the actuality of kin behaviour from the orthodox scholarly culture. Additionally, the section’s investigation of the social force of kinship as an instrument of local leadership, status and influence, has further displayed kinship collation’s ability to discuss themes that range far from the likes of social care that the British orthopraxis specifies. Moreover, in reference to Scottish kinship behaviour, contextualised through both the landowning elite and the stable farm tenantry of Grampian, an awareness of kinship sheds new light on the events. Clearly, when the community of Skilmafilly gathered, it would have been hard to be unaware of being in the presence of relatives. The second half of the chapter returns to this theme with a consideration of the juncture of male social capital drawn from their male connectivity as it played out in the development of community leaders into the democratic engagement.

6c. Male Individualism vs Male Connectivity
The preceding section has explored the kinship collation tool’s ability to contextualise societal structures through a reconstruction of the networks of people that were maintained in the community. Additionally, the flexibility of the tool to interrogate very specific events in light of the awareness of the social forces was displayed. Both attributes were examined through male base connectivity and identified male individuals within the context of kin-
group. The chosen case study of Skilmafilly Hill, therefore, was a contrast to the gynocentric emphasis of chapter five. That choice and its continuation in this section are deliberate as the British orthopraxis, and the discourse that follows from it is centred, as discussed in chapters one and two, on the domestic, residential family setting. Not only has that method led to theorisation dominated by the nuclear-family unit, but also limited the range of debates to issues such as social care rather than topics like democracy. It would not be controversial to note that a discourse that fused kinship with social care would resonate more with the experiences of nineteenth-century women who would have shouldered, such ‘domestic’ responsibilities and poorer families for whom the provision of social care was an ongoing challenge; hence the researchers referenced in earlier chapters as exemplars of the current British orthopraxis focus on the reproduction of society, regularised heterosexual relationships (marriage as defined and recorded by the state) and of course, social care.\(^45\) In contrast the lack of fusion of kinship with the development of democracy has resulted in an excision of the men with economic capital and social capitals, from the discourse on kinship, which is why chapter five drew attention to the assessment that kinship survived as a tool for those more vulnerable in society and that kinship’s role beyond the domestic had withered. As intimated in chapters one and two, such issues are intractably interwoven with the Euroamerican cultural sphere’s insight into individuality and identity, for instance, McKinnon notes that writers of developmental theory, discussed within chapter one, such as Kurtz and Teirney advocate that societies with consanguineous inbreeding lack individual agency and are prone to clientelism, cronyism and nepotism.\(^46\)

Building on the observations of the preceding section that nineteenth-century men from well-resourced backgrounds were aware of their connectivity and that the men who were benefiting from an extension of political power, generated social force, based on their relatedness this section sets out to rebalance the debates, through a discussion of kinship in the public realm of leadership. The section will illustrate how a kinship collation approach to networks of relatives can be used to explore inter-generational transference of social power in an age that had a sociopolitical trend of democratic expansion. Insight built upon a six-decade awareness of community connections provides a background of informal leadership behaviours rooted in kinship, from the generations that ate together in 1840, as discussed

\(^{45}\) Ruggles, Hareven, Laslett, Davidoff, King etc...

\(^{46}\) Susan McKinnon et al., Vital relations: Modernity and the persistent life of kinship, 13% kindle.
above, through to those who were active in county-level politics, and became formal county leaders.

The broader understanding of kinship that kinship collation brings to Scottish and British political history is rooted in the ability to reconstruct from relatedness the kinship networks that produced individual social capital and created a social force that interacted with other political-economy trends. The section explores elements of this not through the national political scene of Westminster but instead through local politics of the developing parish, sub-county and county structures. The long-term importance of understanding county-level politics and the role of farmers as politicians were raised by Flynn et al. who worked on farming and politics within England. Although direct comparison between Aberdeenshire and Suffolk or Devon is unhelpful; some lines of thought can be extracted from the Flynn et al. study. These include the need to understand the socio-economics of the first cohort of county council candidates and winners under the modern system as they laid down a culture.

The standard British orthopraxis analysis has been unable to take note of these networks due to the lack of kinship theory and lack of awareness of how the record base can be reconfigured. Susan McKinnon and Fanella Canell’s recent work on anthropological insights on kinship has also stressed that for the;

past 150 years, at least, theories of social evolution, development, and modernity have been unanimous in their assumption that kinship organizes simpler, “traditional,” prestate societies but not complex, “modern,” state societies.

As there is a dearth of British studies that apply a theorised notion of kinship to general historiography, the search for useful approaches requires as in chapter five an appreciation of literature applied outside of Europe, such as research on clientelism and a wider appreciation of mutual endeavour between related people, such as family business that can then be applied to political endeavour. The section offers an important contribution to Scottish and British kinship understanding as it brings together mutuality of benefit with a key attribute of the emerging modern state, namely, democratic control. The section, firstly, turns towards such theorisation and secondly identifies the presence of further farming and political dynasties, that span across kinship-connexions and nexus, in the Ellon hinterland of Aberdeenshire and

48 Susan McKinnon et al., *Vital relations: Modernity and the persistent life of kinship* 2% kindle.
thirdly considers the impact of these on the emergent political culture of Scotland and how they illuminate the nature of British kinship behaviours of the nineteenth century.

Firstly, then, the theoretical models needed to capture the juncture of kinship and democracy are very much focused on non-European cultures and touch upon nepotism, familial advantage and kin influence. Critically, the issue is whether the presence of cultural kin connectivity and the democratic arrangement supported a political economy that amounted to an environment of political clientelism which, has been defined as 'the distribution of resources (or promise of) by political office holders or political candidates in exchange for political support, primarily-although not exclusively-in the form of the vote.'

To delve further into this requires a discreet investigation based on ideas of clientelism. Alice Baldwin opened her recent work with the observation that scholars and democratic activists alike are troubled by the prospect of elites controlling how other individuals vote. The secret ballot was developed precisely to prevent this type of coercion, yet in many modern elections, local elites are thought to influence the electoral decisions of other voters.

Baldwin immediately noted how this is a topic for Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the assumptions about its non-applicability to Euramerica situations stand out. The lack of consideration of kinship comes through in an underlying assumption as to the entrance of the otherness of kinship into British electoral traditions.

If, as the research for this section will illustrate, there are indicators of kinship being at play in the development of local democracy in the Scottish context, then other themes of joint enterprise can also be useful. Edward Baptiste examined a similar phenomenon of dense inter-related socio-economic groups in Antebellum Florida, which was able to extend kinship into political power and further economic leverage. He stated that;

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52 Maria Sobolewska et al., *Understanding electoral fraud vulnerability in Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin communities in England. A view of local political activists* (Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity, 2015).
In the theater of politics, warriors like John Branch and son-in-law Leigh Read carried their kinfolds’ banner into battle, winning for all the rewards of wealth and status.\textsuperscript{53}

To do so, he also had to understand the challenge of individual agency, noting that

\[\ldots\text{one could always find in the house one or two other relatives like the "drones" mentioned by Ellen Call Long. These were male kinfolk who failed to make their way in the Old South. They came to rest at the homes of relatives…}\textsuperscript{54}\]

By regarding political activity as a mutual endeavor, there is a need to question the nature of connectivity and individuality. Neri Karra \textit{et al.}, for instance, inspired discussion from their study of late twentieth-century family firms, showing,

\[
\text{that in the early stages of family businesses, altruistic behavior has the potential to align the interests of family and kin and to help build a competitive advantage.}\textsuperscript{55}
\]

This stance is helpful in the British context as kinship collation is not interested in mere relatedness but in kinship that can emerge from relatedness and lead to relatedness. The Karra team observed that notions of the family went far wider than family and bloodline to understand the changing levels of altruism and agency that an individual offered a family enterprise over time. Only a highly resourced study would have the potential to reveal (using kinship collation) whether clientelism, altruism, nepotism and agency could be exposed and what it would look like in the Grampian context. This doctoral project through an intensive data-mining of resources such as newspaper clippings, re-printed historical documents, society papers and church histories has laid the groundwork for such a study.

Considering which the section moves to secondly, the impact of dense and longstanding networks of relatives acting as kin in joint endeavor on politics, consequently, kinship as a social force is discussed in conjunction with a theme of modernity outside of the domestic sphere and therefore exposes the presence and impact of androcentric kin behaviours. The case study zone of southern Buchan, which the thesis has identified to showcase kinship collations abilities, as noted in chapters, three, four, five and six has a

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p.539.
plethora of kinship patterns and some of which such as the farm tenantry networks in the prior section encompassed cousin-marriages, and other kin-formed matrimonial arrangements, sibling exchange and cross-cousin arrangements; a bride and groom will be pre-related as cousins of cousins.

The presence of a kinship dynamic is observable as the transference of social power through generations and the density of interactions particularly in the political economy as it was enriched by democratic reform. As has been demonstrated in chapters four and five these have gone unrecorded in detail, disguised by culture and gone unconsidered. Therefore, the section uses kinship collation as a tool of recovery. Table 6-2 below, captures the ongoing longevity and in some case interconnectivity of the key tenancies on Skilmafilly Hill through the decades after the consolidation of the tenancies under the management of Haddo House, the Earl of Aberdeen’s land holdings, which occurred as noted in the prior section, during the 1840s.

Table 6-2 Transference of Skilmafilly Hill tenancies during the latter Victorian decades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenancy</th>
<th>Established family’s outcomes</th>
<th>Successor family’s background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mains of Auchnagatt</td>
<td>Bankruptcy and possible lack of interest by the sons (Heatherwick)</td>
<td>George Knox, nephew-in-law of the Skilmafilly Hill blacksmiths, cousin-in-law of Taylor, Cloverickford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilmafilly</td>
<td>End of male line (Leask)</td>
<td>Namesake grandson – William Leask Mackie, son of Mains of Elrick, son-in-law of George Knox, Mains of Auchnagatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton of Auchnagatt</td>
<td>End of the local male line, widow-farmer remarries 1904 (Johnston)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill of Inkhorn</td>
<td>Shifts to Mains of Drumwhindle / enters professions (Johnston)</td>
<td>John Shand, brother-in-law of Heatherwick, Knoxhill, cousin of Shand, Northseat of Inkhorn and Hillhead Savoch, Phillip, Catcraig of Auchnagatt (Johnston collaterals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mains of Inkhorn</td>
<td>Eldest son disappears / younger enters the professions under a widow-farmer (Johnston)</td>
<td>Alexander Stephens translated from Mill of Fortree, his wife a Brebner, Greens of Savoch (Johnston collaterals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orthodox interpretations of the census and tenancy records would note the presence of new families and the decline and loss of established ones. Indeed, by the Edwardian period, the disappearance of the Johnston ‘clan’ from the geoscape was noted. What was overlooked was the loss of the patrilineal name but the daughter’s carried the tenancy to their established consanguineous relatives through marriage and inheritance.

Furthermore, where nominally new tenancy holders entered the space, the new tenure families were part of the web of relatives that spanned the society. Most clearly this arises with George Knox, as a local official within the bureaucratic hierarchy. He would be a typical figure to study regarding community power given his socioeconomic background. Grandson of a crofter, son of a merchant-grocer with an additional 88 acres who transferred to a more established holding at Little Annochie, Savoch. George himself added the parish registrar-ship to his portfolio along with the important Mains of Auchnagatt tenancy. Significantly, George was no stranger to the hill as the nephew-in-law of Urquhart Fraser, the third-generation blacksmith, Urquhart’s mother was a Johnston, Overton of Auchnagatt, and his cousin was the second tenant at Skilmafilly. Knox’s daughter would marry into the equally rising Mackie, Mains of Elrick lineage.

Therefore, there is an important discussion to be had, with an awareness of the overall dense and longstanding network of kin-relatives, of whether the political and social arrangements advantaged them. That is, could the grocer’s son on the economic uplift, but on the social fringe of the farming network, also gain political traction. To consider such a query it is essential, just as in the prior section, to contextualize at the micro-level, i.e. what did an election day look and feel like towards the end of the nineteenth century in rural Aberdeenshire. The 1868 electoral act created an East Aberdeenshire Westminster seat with eight district polling stations while school board elections reports impress a single polling location per parish. Under these circumstances, it is important to calibrate an understanding

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56 Aberdeen Epitaphs and Inscriptions, Aberdeen Daily Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, March 07, 1906; pg. 4.
57 Iain Riddell, ‘Family beyond the household: Constituting and re-constituting kinship’.
58 Knox’s cousin was the mater at Tombeg discussed in chapter four; the Mackie family are publicly represented by the fifth Maitland Mackie of Mackie’s ice cream fame, the mid-twentieth century saw three Mackie brother’s sat in parliament.
that people came to vote at a limited number of places within each county council ward. It is likely then that the presence of the candidates and their surrogates could be brought to bear even with the safety of the secret ballot that was instituted in 1872, as in reality there were still only limited polling stations to be covered.

Consequently, as they involved for many travelling and gathering in community, election days would involve a flavour of the socio-cultural event discussed in the previous section. The varied social groups would gather, talk, eat and commune together. In that gathering would be a high number of individuals with cross-connecting kin relationships to the candidates and each other and bonds could be reinforced and rehearsed for new generations. Beyond kinship, there are a plethora of factors at play in the local political-economy that simply cannot be ignored. For instance, a hallmark of liberal democracy is the presence of self-organising political parties, affinity to which could reduce the allegiance to kin. The news coverage in the centre-right Aberdeen Journal is notable in not ascribing a party-political position to the early county council elections of 1890 and 1893. An awareness of the party-political backgrounds can be garnered, from other press articles, for some of these candidates, (see table 6-3 below). For instance, Ainslie, the factor for three large estates around Mintlaw was unsurprisingly linked to the Conservative persuasion. In lieu then of outright political affiliation it has to be recognised that some of these candidates were associated with the Earl of Aberdeen as tenants; Hay, Marshal, Leask and Brebner which reflects the spread of the Haddo House estates. That the two seats overwhelming dominated by the Haddo estate were uncontested cannot be overlooked (see table 6-3 below), yet two Haddo House tenants contested New Deer South.

The newspaper reports of the 1890 election provide the data necessary to separate out landowners from tenants and those of professional or skilled labour backgrounds at the moment of the election. A county-level split between the eastern seats that tended towards tenants and western seats that tended towards landowners is obvious. Table 6-3 below presents the winners of the core seats around the Ellon and wider Ythanside area and where the seat was contested the defeated opposition are included.

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# Table 6-3 Aberdeen Council election 1890 selected seats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council Seat</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Kin-background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tarves</td>
<td>James Hay, Shethin</td>
<td>Multi-generational tenant; part of Mair-Garland-Hay cross-related; brother-in-law of Provost Rae of Ellon; nephew of Sir John Hay, President of NSW’s upper house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udny</td>
<td>W Thomson, 1832-1920 Miltown of Dumbreck</td>
<td>Large tenancy held from Robert Gordon Hospital, Dumbreck estate tenanted by many Thomson domestic groups; affinal kin to a major tenant of Esslemont House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defeated: Alexander Milne Leslie of Auchinhieve 1859-1937</td>
<td>Minor-landowner, family arose from the Hector, Scotstown and Milne, Mains of Grandhome farming families, Close relative to three EC parish ministers 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slains &amp; Logie Buchan</td>
<td>Andrew Ruxton, 1823-1907, South Artrochie</td>
<td>Brother/uncle of the Aberdeen advocates, Thomas and Charles Ruxton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Deer, South-west</td>
<td>William Ainslie, Taitswell</td>
<td>Pitfour estate factor; arrived in the county in 1883 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defeated: W Findlay, auctioneer and cattleman Robert Wilson retired schoolmaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Deer, South</td>
<td>William Leask, 1818-1892, Skilmafilly,</td>
<td>Leading member of the Savoch Established Kirk; multi-generational tenant, Johnston cadet line; father-in-law Mackie, Mains of Elrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defeated: James Brebner b.1850, Greens of Savoch</td>
<td>Multi-generational tenant, Johnston cadet line; multiple Brebner domestic groups, 2nd cousin of Congressman, David B Henderson, Iowa, Mr Speaker US House 1900 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methlic</td>
<td>Thomas Marshal, 1837-1900, Skelmonae,</td>
<td>A neighbour of William Leask; many Marshal domestic groups in the parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foveran</td>
<td>John H Udny of Udny</td>
<td>The landowner of Udny Castle, centuries-old patrilineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defeated James G Rae 1856-1905</td>
<td>Brother of Provost Rae of Ellon; brother-in-law Hay, Shethin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62 ‘District and General news’ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland), Saturday, December 1, 188.,; as the Pitfour estate factor he joined the Banffshire Commission of Supply, the traditional county authority.
The table has been informed through the application of kinship collation to each of the candidates for election to represent the communities of the Ellon hinterland on the newly created county council. This chapter is not the place to fully unpack the findings of those explorations and evaluate them. Thus the table offers up a general contextualisation of the candidates through kinship collations ability to place the men back into the networks of people and places. Furthermore, the table captures that the level of competition varied from seat to seat; the analysis of which must be why was Methlic and Tarves uncontested while Cruden had a multiplicity of candidates. Similarly, how did the candidates for the Ellon seat which covered parish and village, speak to the different interests, landowners, village residents and rural tenants. Unfortunately, in-depth work on this would have to be part of the postulated well-resourced follow on study, mentioned above, what is obvious though is that a clear political agenda based on party affiliations, was not offered to the electorate. Instead, individual men were candidates, a typical analysis of western modernity would unpack the biographies of those men, which for the vast majority would be implausible due to the dearth
of records, diaries, letters, autobiography. Kinship collation instead understands these men as individuals through their networks, as it treats kinship not as relatedness but as a series of indicators of mutuality and reciprocity. As an alternative to the importance of party and economic control, this section, based on an examination of the early county council contests, therefore, inserts kinship through the mutual political endeavour. Two kin focused groupings emerge. Group A, made up of Rae, Rae and Hay, who were part of a wider Mair-Hay-Garland connexion of domestic families with long roots in the area. Group B, being Mackie and Leask who are connected through John Mackie, brother of the one candidate, son-in-law of the other.

The Rae family were a firmly entrenched commercial presence in Ellon village throughout the century. Their marriages had forged links amongst the farming families with the longevity of tenancy.64 The Rae and Hay links would be further strengthened in the 1880s by, a dual marriage of two Rae sisters’ and two Hay brothers one couple of which became at least the fourth successive generation holding the Shethin tenancy from the Earl of Aberdeen. The overall kinship combination of relationships, friendships, commercial debts and transaction easily indicates why John Rae won the election as Rae and Hay in combination reflected a broader interest of voters than the obvious economic power that the landowners could bring to bear. Indeed, the electoral victory of John Rae for the county council over Gordon of Esslemont needs to be considered against the tussles of the Ellon parish school board in the mid-1870s which had been marked by a struggle between the villagers, who wanted school places close to them and the rural communities, who wanted school places spread across the large parish, into which the landowners had entered as a third force, as the elected board members stalemated the debate.65 From the latter group, Thomas Mackie had made some attempts at political participation in Cruden, in order arguably to develop a presence there, since taking a tenancy there with his wife, Ann Minty. Both husband and wife notably were newcomers to Cruden parish.66 In contrast, his postulated ally, Leask was an old hand having represented the farmers of south New Deer on the joint Roads Committee in prior decades, Leask being a cousin of the many Johnston farmers noted in the section above. The well-entrenched Leask emerged as a winner, against a candidate, James Brebner, with a good spread of relatives in Savoch and whose father had worked 200 acres, a substantial

65 Ellon School Board, Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, August 19, 1874; Ellon School Board, Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, June 28, 1876.
66 Ann Minty’s sister had in 1889 become the widow-farmer of the Johnston, Loanhead of Savoch tenancy.
holding; Leask though had better dispersal of relations across the wider electoral territory, was older and had the political track record. Leask in Cruden had the ambition for political leadership, but kinship collation notices that he was isolated in the electoral territory.

An acknowledgement of which prompts the section’s third consideration, the analytical space created by the application of kinship collation to the development of a democratic culture in nineteenth-century Scotland. On one level, such consideration is vast and can only come out of a broader study that might consider change and continuity of political kinship behaviour, from the 1780s benchmarked by a report into the connectivity of the limited high-status electors, through to the construct of the modern party political machine in the 1920s. This section, is able to respond to the consideration at a more individual level as the analysis of the impact of kinship on democracy can be answered with a reflection on why it was that Robert Moir, Tarty aged thirty in 1890 remained out of the political limelight not challenging Ruxton, South Artrochie for Slains and Logie Buchan.

Why was Moir different from his cousin Brebner, Greens of Savoch, who lost to Leask; or his sister’s husband Rae, the electoral victor at Ellon or his wife's uncle, Congressman Mitchell. Equally, why did George Knox, the registrar and new blood tenant at Mains of Auchnagatt, not push, further into the sociopolitical forum as an electoral candidate. As there is limited data in the form of letters and diaries, such queries are impossible to clarify. What kinship collation enables though through the reinsertion of individual politicians back into their individual lived community experiences is a broad oversight of society. Men who ran for office can be placed alongside men who did not; they can be compared and considered not in isolation but in community.

The shared common experiences of the renewed democratic county leadership, whether farm tenants such as Hay, Mackie, Marshal and Leask, landowning heritors, Udny of Udny and Turner of Turnerhall and merchant-lawyers like Rae stretched beyond the economics of farm and enterprise to include kirk duties and generations of accrued relationships, all of which added capital. These men and families may have lacked exact specifics and detail as to their lineages beyond four or five generations but could hardly miss the linkage between, family and tenure, name and estate or indeed name and parish.

67 Leask.
68 Charles Elphinstone Adam, View of the political state of Scotland in the last century: a confidential report, this book printed in 1887 a manuscript of a 1788 political intelligence investigation of the Scottish electorate. Its entries for Grampian, pitch the landed interest reach of the Duke of Gordon estates against the extensive kin connections of Lord Garden of Troup, through aunts, nephews, nieces, step-sisters, step-aunts, daughter, cousins to the rest of the electorate in 1788 which included the father of Mrs Forbes of Schivas.
The rise of a grocer’s son, Knox, to a significant tenancy, revealed him to be an individual actor who benefited with social mobility and could negotiate local structures, yet he chose not to enter the new layer of political power created by democratic extensions. Was his lack of centrality to the interlinked, inter-related longstanding power network the cause? This is not to dismiss individual agency or to suggest that it was subsumed within a broader kin identification; instead, it is to ask whether an underlying sense of kin-based connectivity enhanced the political agency of some actors.

The local political class that was gradually empowered by the development of democracy when mapped against kinship connections emerges as a narrow band of individuals, admittedly, with the occasional outrider from a non-tenancy background such as Mr Ainslie, the factor from Lothian (see table 6-2) as a contrast to the bulk of this new socio-political group being from well-established families.

This section has presented how kinship collation as a tool can leverage the British record base with its hidden data on kinship to pries open debates about the development of Scottish local democracy. The kinship collation tool’s reconfiguration of the data has revealed not only the presence of webs of related people but evidence of those inter-related actors functioning beyond the individual and domestic unit level, as a force within institutions linked to democratic voice. The results suggest that in line with other historical, anthropological reflections on the endurance of kinship in Eurocentric societies that there is a slew of a challenge to European exceptionalism that regards kinship as foreign, redundant and to be, resisted as other. Instead, just as with the intersect of female status inside kinship patterns, the progression towards democracy involved the growth of a culture that retained the impact of European behaviours of reciprocity that privileged relatedness.

6d. Conclusion

This chapter at a basic level has been an investigation of economically secure and socially stable men as they practised leadership in their community and bulwarked their status through kin behaviours. The investigation is important to British kinship studies as the men from the gentry ranks and men, who were benefiting from the economic uplifts of Victorian innovation, are considered to have set aside kinship for individuality. The application of kinship collation as a process has revealed the density of kinship, extracted from those who were inter-related biologically and legally in the community. The kinship collation process in this chapter was a synergy of place, the farms and estates with the web of relatives, people and activity, and revealed kinship as a component of community leadership that did not
weaken with the extension of the democratic franchise. Just as in chapters three, four and five bureaucratic boundaries have been shown to disguise kinship.

In addition, the chapter through the data visualisations has stressed the sheer abundance of linkages active in the community; which reduced the ability of people to remain ignorant of their relatedness especially as long-lived close relatives can be identified who would hold the inter-generational knowledge required to be more than strangers. Moreover, the visualisations have laid out the multiplicity of relationships between the tenancies even across civic and estate boundaries creating a highly stable socio-economic structure. Such stability offered a clear scenario, a community meal held in 1840, to explore Sahlin’s kinship concept of mutuality of being. The meal revealed a group of male farmers with a range of relatedness connections between them, acting together in a fashion that generated a pointed statement aimed at another group of men, who had more advantageous, economic and social capitals, and likewise were bound by kinship. Notably, the theory of mutuality of being, which is a theorisation of kinship, has been applied within kinship collation not at the domestic group level but at the inter-domestic group level, observable in special and routine gatherings and events, such as polling days and semi-feudal occasions. It is the ability of kinship collation to observe communities as a series of relationships that means that unlike the small parish approach of village-based microhistory, kinship collation can unravel the nuances of Skilmafilly Hill and move forward British kinship studies.

The wider findings of this chapter, generated by kinship collation, have numerous implications at theoretical, methodological and thematic aspects of Scottish and British social history. For instance, to advance the theory that British-sphere kinship was a social factor that interacted with other socioeconomic drivers the chapter has combined Sahlin’s anthropological idea of kinship with Reay’s historical demography method of microhistory. As captured by his statement, ‘researching within villages, not researching villages’. The chapter has also evidenced how kinship collation has a great deal of flexibility for use in the different regions of the UK. Consequently, an adaption of Reay’s statement on his village research can be offered as an output. Kinship collation is not genealogical research, but research from within genealogies. As kinship collation tracks, as shown in depth the webs of relatedness to then extract indicators of kinship reciprocity, both French and Segalen’s concerns that knowledge of ancestors and of the specifics of current relatives should not be assumed. In response, what the chapter has shown is that if people were ignorant of their relatedness, they would not remain so for long due to the interactions of society. To reflect such results, kinship-connexion as proposed in the last chapter, captures the inter-connected,
mutually engaged relatives spread across a locality and kinship-nexus the sustained and reinforced links, carried by different people through their irregular encounters.

The assessment of people, place and networks, through kinship collation, has advanced knowledge of the response to enfranchisement and local democracy. The social dynamics between kinfolk which functioned to assert place and status can be extrapolated to polling days for county council seats. Men like Leask, Mackie and Johnston could position themselves as the political voices of the farming tenantry, many of whom were either their kin through, blood, marriage or law to their fellow tenants. The small number of voting places favoured those candidates who boasted such connectivity, despite the secret ballot, mutuality through relatedness, even boosted the electoral appeal of men like Rae, a non-farmer, villager, as he could draw upon his farming kin. Such a finding has a profound impact on the literature as it links the impact and presence of kinship in society not to matters of the domestic space but to the public space, and British orthopraxis has avoided discussion of kinship in the public sphere dominated by socioeconomically enabled men.

As acknowledged in the footnotes to this chapter’s introduction, the two case studies presented above were two of four that were originally selected from tens of potential examples, each with a contribution to make about kinship as a societal force. Kinship collation’s ability to overlay networks of mutuality onto landed estate holdings and examine the impact on tenant-land owner relationships or assess the coalition of farmers engrossed in the land disputes debates of the 1880s would reveal new perspectives on social power and economic relationships that have been overlooked by orthopraxis approaches. The ability to datamine the vast webs of relatives produced by the genealogical public and interrogate them for kinship means that kinship collation as an approach has an endless supply of potential case studies, which deepen the understanding of the Scottish countryside, the Welsh city, the English elite society.

In addition to addressing the macro-level gaps of British orthodox approaches to kinship the chapter through its case studies and development of further data handling approaches to extract vital clues has made three key contributions to the observation of British kinship behaviours as a social force amongst men usually regarded as being individual actors. Firstly, that kinship amongst the better of farmer promoted stability in the community of privilege and power; secondly, that kinship could support men of the middling but economically vulnerable socioeconomic niches to exercise informal power and thirdly, that these patterns were not laid aside in the developmental transition to democracy of the secret ballot. As a dominant theorisation within British orthopraxis has been as noted, that in
response to modernity the more educated, socially powerful and economically secure could reduce their reliance on kinship, the findings above are significant. Chapter seven builds on this as it draws data from a rapidly urbanising community, Milwaukee, on the Great Lakes. Kinship collation as a social history tool will be stretched further as the evidence exhibits the tools with the ability to track people, their connectivity and indicators of their kinship between data sets, established under different authorities with varied purposes. The recovered case studies whose roots connect back to Overton of Auchnagatt and the matrifocal relatives of Jessie Cruickshank (chapter five) based in the Alford valley will take notice of how the most powerful man in southern Wisconsin supported his Aberdeenshire kin to aid his control of the levers of a modern society, its business, financial and political levers.

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Chapter 7 Trans-Atlantic British-sphere kinship collation

7a. Introduction

The position of the thesis that British orthopraxis of kinship studies has stalled and can be revitalised through a tool called kinship collation has been developed across the preceding chapters. During which it has been intimated that there are longstanding debates about the decline of kinship in the modern societies of the Euroamerican sphere, the US, Australia, France, Germany, the Scandinavian kingdoms and the ilk. The roots of which can be found in the work of western European philosophy and the social history research spearheaded by Laslett that theorised that European development was connected to the rise of the individual as identified in chapter one. Through the application of kinship collation, prior chapters have made clear, that active kinship can be discovered, defined and explored through the linkages of joint enterprise within multiple biological, affinal and connubial ties. The complications of such an approach have been discussed in chapters two and three as the cultural space in which the record base was designed and analysed, already believed itself to be beyond the needs of kinship and therefore did not record it. Furthermore, those chapters suggested that a range of British scholarship, historical demography, historical sociology, history of the family continue to theorise kinship from within and only through the lens of co-residency and the nuclear family unit. It was noted that there had been attempts to tackle elements of this orthopraxis, but no overarching challenge, chapter four in response laid out a practice of working with the British record to reconfigure the data. Chapters five and six have then applied that process as part of a broader methodology that can juxtaposition kinship as a social force alongside key themes in society, such as the condition of women and the exercise of male leadership.

For this chapter, Schneiderian kinship approaches, as discussed in chapter one, that kinship is more than relatedness, that it is marked by signs and symbols, and should be examined in relation to local socioeconomic forces are once again at the centre of the

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discourse. Under the influence of Susan McKinnon and Fanella Canell, whose conviction, that kinship had endured in the institutions of the modern world, introduced in chapter five, Schneiderian approaches are placed alongside the themes that define the modern world, transnational finance, entrepreneurial recruitment and democratic politics, to reveal the endurance of kinship which has been overlooked or hidden. In addition, Carola Lipp’s demand, which has been applied in every case study so far, that the actor at the centre of an investigation, must be exchanged for other individuals to gain perspective and clarity will be retained.

Beyond the practicalities of processes that undergird kinship collation, that has been presented throughout, this chapter will make use of three unexpected novelties that are worthy of explanation. Firstly, to build an appreciation of Scottish kinship behaviours, the chapter will follow a longitudinal migration from Aberdeenshire to Wisconsin, US of people related to Jessie Cruickshank, the central actor of chapter five. In chapter six it was noted that migration was a theme for the county and it ought to be observed that Scottishness and history of the Scots does not stop at Scotland’s shoreline. Indeed, emigration is an important component of nineteenth-century Scottish history with the outflow of its population, a behaviour captured and recorded by the doctoral projects data discovery, and to ignore the emigrant is to overlook the experience of a significant proportion of the population. Consequently, Gwen Neville’s postulation that kinship relied upon a ‘bard’ an actor (chapter one) who understood the inter-connections that went between domestic units and individuals will be tested at a Trans-Atlantic level. The case study used is thoroughly atypical and unreflective of the types of migrants captured in the works of Erickson, Harper, Deacon, Cancian and Wegge, and Howells. It is important, to be clear that this chapter is not a consideration of British emigration nor of Scottish migration into the US. Instead, it is a reflection on how migration policy, as an instrument of the state, informs on the culture that permeated decision making of a nation that would be considered as an essential unit of the modern world of the nineteenth century, the US. US scholarly work on the experience and

3 David Murray Schneider, A Critique of the Study of Kinship..
6 Gwen Neville’s study of kinship culture in the southern US through the twentieth-century is an example of this, Gwen Kennedy Neville, Kinship and Pilgrimage: Rituals of Reunion In American Protestant Culture
importance of emigrants also has its particular features, which include why people came, their assimilation and acculturation or separateness.\(^8\)

Secondly, as the chapter seeks to developed chapter six’s observation that male kinship has been understudied as kinship has been focused on the domestic sphere, the literature of family businesses will be drawn in and expanded to encompass mutuality of being. Thirdly, as kinship collation as a tool, does not subsume individuals into collectives, but recovers them as more rounded historical figures through an understanding of their social relationships, the chapter will delve into a consideration of the psychology of a man, Alexander Mitchell 1817-1887 who oversaw the migration over five decades of his kin to Milwaukee. Mitchell’s biographical detail, gathered by David Blake, invites the kinship collation tool to illuminate his character as connected to the needs of those he had privileged.\(^9\) Such an approach being essential, as inter-actor relationships are complex psychosocial transactions driven by experience, conditions, and how a person contextualised them. Chapter five, confronted these issues through the lens of Jessie Cruickshank and her translocation from the countryside into Aberdeen itself and her agreement to marry a much older cousin which drew upon the psychology of the developing adolescent brain.

As a significant figure in politics and business Alexander Mitchell produced an extra layer of documentation, business paperwork, a record of his words and doings in the newspapers, and his own correspondence which have been used since by biographers and scholars, to evaluate his historical contribution, and give insight into his character. Such materials can be reassessed through kinship collation which places him more firmly back into the context of his relationships, and his choice of relationship also gives insight into his psychology. Taken in combination, a new perspective on Mitchell, a Scottish-migrant to the US and his attitudes as a member of the Great Lakes elite, alongside migrants from New England, like the Becker and Merrill families through his actions as a successful financier-entrepreneur can be interrogated. An examination of Mitchell that acknowledges that he has a sense of kinship, backed up by evidence of his reciprocity within networks of relatedness produces a lens to perceive a nineteenth-century society that discerned itself as modern, developed and exceptional to other cultures. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of engagement

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The intention of this chapter is to use kinship collation to affirm and unpack the McKinnon and Canell’s assertion, that kinship behaviours have been retained into the structures of the developed modern state, such as the UK and USA, rather than having been discarded in response to modernity or as the prelude of progress.\footnote{\textit{Vital relations: modernity and the persistent life of kinship}, kindle edition, \textit{The Idea of Modernity in the Social Sciences and the Problem of Domains.}} The ability to track Scottish kin behaviour as it was created, sustained and influenced actors on two sides of the Atlantic, who operated in two different jurisdictional systems creates a complex space to discern the dissonance of belief and behaviour, that has created an environment in which male kinship has been hidden. Moreover, the chapter will identify how a poor understanding of kinship that has been trapped in the domestic setting and excised from the public-sphere has created deficiencies across the scholarship of the Euromerican society. In fulfilling its intentions, the chapter will continue to showcase the abilities of kinship collation as a social history tool that can extract hidden kinship from British-sphere records that were not designed to collect evidence of kin.

This final substantive chapter continues to exploit kinship collation as a social history tool to examine the impact of kinship as a social network or social force that integrates with other socioeconomic capitals. In doing so, it presents further case studies of kinship that commenced from Scotland and were carried into the wider British-sphere and illuminates the centrality of kinship behaviours even when socioeconomic circumstances created disrupted societies.\footnote{\textit{"All in Some Degree Related to Each Other": A Demographic and Comparative Resolution of the Anomaly of New England Kinship}, pp.44-79.} Its first half uses the social history theme, important to Scotland, of migration, as a cultural lens with a framework derived from the US government response to migration, the US jurisdiction, being heavily influenced by British structures and Scottish enlightenment philosophy, staffed and peopled by actors whose lifes began in the British-sphere, offers continuity of experience. Initially the chapter explores the cultural messages of modernity that were expressed by the US’s approach to immigration and then evidences how the flow of
relatives summoned by Congressman Alexander Mitchell, cut across them. Mitchell evidences the endurance of the kin culture presented in chapter six.

Secondly, the chapter considers how kinship was at the heart of Mitchell’s commercial strategies to dominate the Great Lakes markets for banking and railways. This is achieved by extrapolating theories from family business studies, applying kinship collation to a specific Trans-Atlantic finance farrago, the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank, and undertaking a character analysis based upon Lipp’s insistence that kinship studies should alternate the central actor under investigation. Moreover, as the latter half of the chapter will be focused on kinship within the financial structures of the US and Scotland, it supports McKinnon and Cannell’s challenge to the assumption that; modern people of the developed west reduced their kin to the domestic.

7b. Reconstituted Kinship of elite Europeanisation
This section’s analysis showcases kinship collations ability to work with recovered evidence of relatedness to disclose functional kinship in the most stable, affluent and influential tiers of western society. Through the recovered history of how Congressman Mitchell directly summoned and indirectly drew relatives to his success in Milwaukee from 1839 through to the 1880s. His sister, Jessie Mitchell (who co-resided with her niece Jessie Cruickshank in 1881, see chapter five) was the first to go and then return. His nephew John Johnston, Overton of Auchnagatt (grandson of the aged Johnston, Overton of Auchnagatt, chapter six) was summoned in 1856 as he approached the age of twenty. Two Chivas nephews (Nether Inver, chapter five) followed in the 1860s. A large party of young people, Mitchell nephews and nieces, journeyed in 1877 joined through the 1880s by people in their social circles. Some stayed in Milwaukee; some returned to Aberdeen, others moved on to other parts of North America. Many gathered at crucial moments. The identification of Mitchell and his kin have been driven by an assumption that arises from developmental analysis of society, in that the most socioeconomically privileged in a society were least reliant on the connectivity to relatives and the residual safety nets of kinship, as noted in chapter one. From a British perspective, Alexander Mitchell, son of a minor farm tenant, on a middling holding, who worked for a banker is a truly marginal figure.

In contrast, the Hon. Alexander Mitchell of Milwaukee, US Representative, State leader, city father, rail king and banking magnate is a well-understood figure of the Great

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Lakes region where he settled, who stands as an exemplar of the self-made man. Popular US history places the congressman into a lineage with his son, the US Senator John Lendrum Mitchell, and grandson, General Billy Mitchell, a key visionary of the USAF. The son was gifted a gilded path in life from his father’s connections. In his youth a member of the Wisconsin State Senate, in his middle years a potential candidate for the US Vice-Presidency and US Senator for his home state, in between which his first marriage ended in divorce with public approbation and a new relationship formed with a bride drawn from Milwaukee’s elite circle. The new couple spent the early years of their married life, living in Europe, visiting fashionable places. The case study widens from Mitchell’s stem lineage to consider a wider pool of relatives that orbited the socioeconomic gravity produced by Alexander. His interactions with the wider pool of relatives and his construction of relationships, the patterns of which fall within reciprocal kinship observations that are the Schneiderian approach.

The section, therefore, firstly, interrogates how the western European culture manifested itself in its belief in the importance of modernity through individuality and the closed nuclear family, and secondly, exposes how an elite cadre in Milwaukee operated a lived experience of kin behaviour. The section follows the dictates of European Schneider influenced kinship studies by shifting the perspective between actors so as to gain multi-faceted insights. The amassed detail of viewpoints and factual interpretation enables the use of kinship collation as a theoretical methodology to better understand the Trans-Atlantic activities of a kin nexus that connected Grampian and Wisconsin. The Grampian component of this was discussed in chapter five through the kin-cluster movement into the Alford valley; the Wisconsin end being identifiable in an urban cluster in Milwaukee that gravitated around Mitchell and his eldest nephew, John Johnston.

Firstly, then, insight into the cultural space of the Victorian era modernity with its growing emphasis on individuality and liberal values can be captured in the US approach to household family and migration. The cultural power of western European developmentalism at the time was captured by Rose Stremlau’s work upon the 1875-1887 campaign to reform Indian families into conformity.

…critics of federal Indian policy had reached a consensus on how to solve the “Indian problem,” the refusal or inability of Native people to assimilate into American society. Reformers concluded that kinship systems, especially as they manifested in gender roles, prevented acculturation by undermining individualism and social order, and they turned
to federal Indian policy to fracture these extended indigenous families into male-dominant, nuclear families, modeled after middleclass, Anglo-American households.\[14\]

This chimes well with an attitude of historians, identified by Oris that they ‘consider individuals in the past to have been less autonomous than they are in the contemporary western world’ reliance upon relatives, reciprocity being chained to lessened autonomy.\[15\] In the nineteenth-century, the ideal was to be a self-creating male, individual, with dominion over your household.\[16\] To this should be added Thomas and Znaniecki’s consideration that for a peasant, Polish, east not west European, society the family was not nuclear, ‘but extended outward to blood and affinal relatives, ultimately merging imperceptibly into the surrounding community.’\[17\] The British contribution to these debates, as discussed in chapter one, have stated that kinship as a social force had declined either in advance of the emergence of the Early modern culture or as a component of it.\[18\] Furthermore, the perspective lens has been the English middle classes.\[19\] Consequently, the discussion of the shape of a British peasant society has not involved a discussion of kinship beyond the domestic and the structural societal impact of kinship has been overlooked.\[20\]

To be part of the modern world, was an important component of the Anglo-sphere world that encompassed British and American exceptionalism, and drew upon the ideologies referred to in chapter one, resisted by Gerald Cradock, and that Arland Thornton, sought to contextualise as the foundation of our current western society. As Scotland, like England was considered to be an integral part with the Europeanised US of the Anglo-sphere, Mitchell and his ilk were not other. A further significant trend of US modernity, just as it was in Europe, was the disruption created by the drift to urban living. This switch captured by the

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\[14\] Rose Stremlau, “‘To Domesticate and Civilize Wild Indians’”: Allotment and the Campaign to Reform Indian Families, 1875-1887', pp.265-286.

\[15\] Michel Oris, 'The history of migration as a chapter in the history of the European rural family: An overview', , pp.187-215, p.188.

\[16\] Eleanor Gordon and Gweneth Nair, 'The myth of the Victorian patriarchal family', pp.125-138

\[17\] Eli Zaretsky, 'Modernization theory and the Family in Thomas and Znaniecki’s the Polish Peasant in Europe and America', pp.11-31, p.14., it is important to remember that Laslett had promulgated the Hajnal line to divide European practice of family.


\[19\] Mary Bouquet, Reclaiming English kinship: Portuguese refractions of British kinship theory (Manchester University Press, 1993).

bureaucracy of the census is considered to be part of the formation, of a culture more amiable to nuclear-families through social structures built around the implementation of laws that upheld individual rights. James Sheehan has captured ideas of the nineteenth-century city as modern,

In economic and cultural life, in representative institutions on every level, in the major organs of opinion making, indeed even certain sectors of the administrative and judicial bureaucracies, most progressive and vital elements seemed to identify with liberal idea.\(^\text{21}\)

For the purposes of this chapter, it is essential to recognise that as northern Europeans, the relatives of Alexander Mitchell benefited from a political culture that further privileged their ability to move across borders.

the role of race in a structuring of political rights and social and economic opportunity that assisted in the incorporation of white Europeans, while depressing the social position of Asians, Africans, Native Americans, and Latinos.\(^\text{22}\)

The importance of this increased during the progression of the nineteenth century as the United States attitude to migrants adapted and changed with an additional emphasis on family. Catherine Lee has considered the debates about the significance of this through the public discourse that began in 1882, which she asserted locked together ideas of the family as the basic unit of the state, and that the family had been advanced as an embodiment of the state as modern. In response, Kirstine Ajrouch identified the importance of the family as a narrative construct that formed debate contributions and policy of migration.\(^\text{23}\) Both thinkers came to a position now familiar to this thesis that ‘family’ itself is a constructed term and idea; Ajrouch importantly identified that racial bias was involved in the formation of ideas about fictive kinship and family. Aprilfaye Manalang also reflected upon Lee’s discussion about family reunification and how that linked to the macro debates of the production of


American identity for the USA.\textsuperscript{24} The cultural-believe in the centrality of the individual, nuclear-family, therefore, is clear as a driver of public discourse and national policy.

Scotland has long been recognised as providing the US as a nascent modern state both with influential people and foundational concepts of the modern state.\textsuperscript{25} Therefore, it is important to be aware that Adam Smith’s thoughts on kinship that it relied on ongoing physical-emotional encounter to have meaning, and would collapse once distance reduced the capacity of relatives to meet on a weekly basis (as noted in chapter one) will have influenced the US ideation of the family. Moreover, the Enlightenment connection between Scotland and the US as components of western Euroamerican modernity means that there is an obligation to observe if and how in practice, the Scottish kinship patterns, observed in the previous chapters were transferred to the US, as a means to discern the tensions between ideals and realities.\textsuperscript{26} Congressman Mitchell is an ideal vehicle for this task, as he was a national level US political representative of a region undergoing heavy Europeanisation. Moreover, as chapters five and six have illustrated he originated from within a culture, in which kinship played a role in the extended web of relatives that impacted the functions of society.

That the ideology held weight and force in the public realm affirms the importance of investigating the family, families, kin, fictive kin, and individuals that followed Alexander Mitchell to Milwaukee. This commenced with his sister Jessie Mitchell who later despatched the eldest nephew, John Johnston 1836-1904, brother-in-law of his cousin Jessie Cruickshank. Johnston at various times was proposed and approached to hold high office in the federal and state government structures. The case study discusses the uncle and nephew as a duality as their lives were interwoven. Thus immediately these two individuals are placed back into their relationships. The realisation of how these migrants connected through mutuality of being in joint endeavours; informs and illustrates the privileged yet ideologically counter-indicative migratory actions to which the section secondly turns.

Moreover, we can explore a kinship-connexion that gradually evolved over decades into a kin-cluster centred on the political and economic influencers of Milwaukee and an active kin-nexus that maintained its linkages between Buchan and Wisconsin. With a recognition that to do so builds on Molloy’s work on a Highlander kin-clan which


\textsuperscript{26} Consider how Gordon and Nair identified that the Victorian middle-class male lead nuclear family was a myth for many in the suburbs of Glasgow.
peregrinated (discussed in chapter one) through the Empire over generations, and overturns the essential assumptions of British orthopraxis, which claims that the record base does not contain evidence of kinship. A more detailed visualisation developed from those used in chapter five captures both the strengthened kin-cluster but also illustrates the fallout from the collapse of the marriage of the congressman’s son, John Mitchell. Attention must be given to the significance of John Mitchell’s choice to reside in Europe with his second bride but not to settle for any time with his Grampian relatives.

In many ways, Alexander Mitchell was an unconventional migrant, picked out from the rural offices of a Grampian plutocrat, Alexander Anderson, the future leader of Aberdeen city’s administration and knight of the realm. Mitchell was enlisted with four other young men mostly drawn from the Ellon hinterland to work with Anderson’s cousin the Grampian US financier George Smith 1808-1899 to funnel Aberdeen’s investment capital into the Great Lake region. In the early days of his placement in Milwaukee, a lifelong friendship was

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27 Maureen Molloy, “‘No Inclination to Mix With Strangers’: Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand, 1800-1916”, pp.221-243.
affirmed with fellow young Aberdonian David Ferguson a co-recruittee. Ferguson joined with Mitchell when both were in their early twenties to officiate over Smith’s ambitions for the new settlement and territory. What is less appreciated is that an older sister also spent a period in the emergent city as Mitchell’s hostess. Jessie/Janet Mitchell returned to their birth county presumably following Alexander’s marriage to Martha Read. Eventually Miss Mitchell was settled in the suburbs of Aberdeen as noted in chapter five.

Upon arrival, Mitchell and Ferguson were switched from the Illinois Company that had paid their passage to the brand-new entity of Wisconsin Fire and Marine Insurance. The original opportunity for Alexander Mitchell to migrate was of course opened by opportune employment in the right office at the right time with some contact with his ultimate employer Alexander Anderson. Understanding and evaluating this opportunity could involve a lengthy discourse of educational resources alongside geographic and class alignments with the Anderson-Smith kin-group.

Alexander’s move was followed by a further five decades of movement from Grampian to the Great Lakes which included the nephews, nieces, spouses, lovers, cousins, cousins of sibling’s children such as James Joyce Chivas and as Riddell has postulated, even tenuous acquaintances of cousins were able to solidify themselves into kin through the vehicle of constructed relatedness. The kin group retained links to Buchan until the 1940s, and their kin behaviour had a direct impact on financial, economic and political systems. Before unpacking the latter assertion based through a re-examination of the collapse of the Bank of Glasgow, longitudinal awareness supports consideration of the socioeconomic niches men like Alexander Mitchell and John Johnston moved through in their lifetimes.

Understandably, as a dominant figure of the establishment of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, the history of Alexander as a male migrant was well formed even before his demise in 1887 and developed further through his inclusion amongst the pioneering men of the State and the status garnered through his male descendants’ accomplishments. Within this historical biography there has been an acknowledgment of the role of his nephew John

31 Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’, p.57.
32 Men of Progress. Wisconsin.
Johnston and his niece Isabella Mitchell but unsurprisingly given both the prevailing emphasis of individualism and the American Dream, there has been no analysis of kinship as mutuality of being.

John Johnston in the 1890s reflected upon the summons he had received from Alexander. It came with a promise of opportunity; John’s widow talking decades later passed on his story of travelling from Aberdeenshire to London to meet with Martha Read in the early 1850s. Mitchell’s wife had crossed the Atlantic to order goods and chattels for the Mitchell mansion then being constructed at the heart of Milwaukee and was accompanied back by Johnston. Decades later, Isabella Mitchell responded to a summons to act as the northern hostess; she was initially accompanied by a party of relatives inclusive of her brothers George and Alexander. These young men were entrusted by the settled older relatives to manage a Wyoming ranching endeavour involving a $220,000 land purchase. They were accompanied by a cousin, Alexander ‘Canada Sandy’ Mitchell, the son of John Mitchell, a brother of the congressman who had settled in Canada. Sandy himself was born in Canada and educated in Aberdeenshire. Canada Sandy met an unfortunate end in 1890s Utah. The early report of his death in 1892 illustrates much of the confusion in the press as he is firstly confused with Isabella’s brother Alexander R Mitchell, who had left the Wyoming ranch and was acting as the rail agent at the Salt Lake transit juncture for the family’s Milwaukee focused rail enterprises. And as is quite common with paper reports the exact nature of John Johnston as a nephew of the congressman escaped the reporter.

Movement, for those with resources, as noted by Harper was not a one-way process. Indeed, at the individual level, it could be more complex; Alexander Mitchell’s Milwaukeean born great-niece, Edith Johnston like his son, had spent part of her adolescence in Britain, the former noticeably within Grampian which adds to an understanding of her marriage to her affinal kin Dr Cruickshank in 1899. These processes of kin supported translocation sit alongside a range of literature on the Scottish diaspora, for example, Tanja Bueltmann, has speculated that Thomas Haig, a mid-Victorian, Melrosian was drawn to New Zealand by kin

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33 Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’, ‘Banking in early days’, Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Monday, February 13, 1893; pg. 3.
34 ‘A big ranche’, Daily Republican-Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Thursday, July 06, 1882; pg. 3; ‘Shot at Salt Lake’, Milwaukee Journal (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Saturday, August 20, 1892; ‘Rail road news’, Rocky Mountain News (Denver, Colorado), Friday, May 23, 1884; pg. 6., ‘Death of George Mitchell’, Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Tuesday, February 02, 1892.
36 ‘A plea for reform’, Milwaukee Journal (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Saturday, August 06, 1892; pg.7; Jerome Anthony Watrous, Memoirs of Milwaukee County (Rarebooksclub Com, 1909)., p.129.
It should be observed that Bueltmann’s book about the diaspora Scots, only highlighted kinship five times and that most discussions on Scots kin behaviours in migration either focus on the Highlanders and Scots-Irish or have found a distinction between the Highlanders (clans) and the Lowlanders patterns. The Mitchell, Johnston and Chivas families as southern Buchan families were from the lowland zone, and Congressman Mitchell’s grandfather likely had English roots.

Other relatives temporarily translocated before returning to Scotland which fits with the wider analysis of migration. James Mitchell Chivas 1847-1902 displays a life arc that supports such an observation. Youngest son of the congressmen’s sister Christian and the retired Indian Ocean merchant marine captain William Chivas, Nether Inver, in the Alford valley (see chapter five) spent some time in Milwaukee. James possibly travelled with his middle brother Robert. Robert was a casualty of the civil war in which he participated alongside his cousin John Lendrum Mitchell. Robert was later lionised by the Mitchell family and as noted, in appendix I, when other patrilineal Chivas relatives arrived in Milwaukee, they were able to attach themselves to the fêted war casualty. In comparison to Robert Chivas’s honoured life arc view of his brother’s, James, contextualised by his father’s will creates the impression that he did not match the cultural expectations of independent masculinity but was upheld by the kinfolk. Baptist’s work on elite Floridian kinship identified a type of male, who failed to exhibit the cultural expectations of individual agency, these were labelled drones, and moved from household to household and could be deployed for certain tasks. James Chivas truncated relocation to Milwaukee could also be considered through a framework explored by Molloy that intersected kinship with parental influence and the transition to adulthood, in strong kinship-based social environments. Despite Molloy’s cultural restriction to Highlander descent, her conclusion that there was much to learn in regard to parental strategies, which have been assumed to be about self-protection, as a means to protect others, has merit and is captured by the lowlander Chivas family.

Upon his return to Aberdeenshire, James could well have landed at Nether Inver, Monymusk his parents’ retirement venture into farming in conjunction with their eldest son,

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as discussed in chapter five. Whatever the exact cause and circumstances, by 1881 he had established himself as a postmaster in the Newhills parish, at Sclattie, Bruxburn an Aberdeen suburb yet by 1891 he was retired aged forty-four, living on means. William Chivas’s 1886 will provide both the explanation for this early retirement and illustrates how involved William was with his Wisconsin kin. His three executors, his brother-in-law George Mitchell, St. John’s Wells, Fyvie and nephew-in-law George Johnston, Jr. Achnagatt were to act on the British end, while John Johnston, Milwaukee would have authority over the North American issues; was instructed to form a trust. Into this financial vehicle went bonds in the City of Milwaukee water company to produce a twice-yearly income payment for James Chivas.

Upon the eventual demise of his youngest son, William was content for the trust to be dissolved and the assets transferred to James legal heirs, the indication is that they would have to be heirs by blood or marriage. In comparison, James’s eldest brother received full control of the Nether Inver tenancy which had been held jointly by father and son, even though the former had since retired to a house in Ellon. Direct arrangements were also made for William and Christian’s grand-daughters through their eldest son. Under this body of evidence, it is permissible to declare that James’s migration to Milwaukee was an unsuccessful adventure even within the envelope of a high degree of kin-support. Intriguingly, James was amongst the people that Kate Kingsley, a Milwaukeean journalist, dropped in on her tour of the north-east. Which creates the query of who alerted her to the presence of a brother of Robert Chivas, in whose name one of the Wisconsin civil war remembrance societies had been raised by Senator Mitchell.

Thomas Croil b.1865, Buteshire, d. 1942, Vancouver, and his wife Christian Chivas Mitchell 1866-1951, niece of Congressman Mitchell presents an even more complex story of migration, identity, family construction and of course kinship through mutuality of being. The Croil couple crossed the Atlantic on numerous occasion, beginning shortly after their 1887 wedding when they joined the Milwaukee kin-cluster which included two of Christian’s sisters. Mrs and Mr Christian Mitchell, Thomas Croil, when they settled as a married couple in Milwaukee would have integrated not only with her childhood friends and relatives drawn

from the Moirs, Easter Auchterless and Tarty but also with companions of Thomas’s youth. These were also people from the Ellon hinterland despite his birth and origins being linked to Glasgow and Bute.\(^{44}\)

The records also indicate the Croils’ transferred their national identities on at least two occasions as when they returned to Scotland before the Great War; the British Home Office looked into their nationality issues.\(^{45}\) Their Wisconsin born, eldest son Thomas M Croil fought that war within the British Forces, while younger son George Mitchell Croil rose to the rank of General in the Canadian forces. George like his cousin, William Mitchell of the US armed forces was instrumental in the development of independent Air Force units in North America.\(^{46}\) With the success of their second son in Canadian society, it is maybe unsurprising that Thomas and Christian ended their days in that nation, but their decision to turn to Europe for educational opportunities for their children is part of a trend within the kin-cluster at Milwaukee.\(^{47}\)

As some of these educational arrangements involved a clear link back to Aberdeen, Edith Johnston, the Croil children and a generation earlier, Canada Sandy, they can be taken as a clear signal of the kinship-nexus being of significance. Retention and re-activation of the web of relatives into a kinship of reciprocity can be shown in that Sandy recrossed the Atlantic with his Mitchell cousin’s led by Isabella. Edith, a Milwaukeean, married a cousin of a cousin at Overton of Auchnagatt, the Johnston hereditary tenancy discussed in chapters five and six. Eventually, this couple Dr and Mrs Alexander Cruickshank settled in Cheshire.

As the Croil couple has been discussed in depth above a final figure to consider in the specific context of returning as members of a kin-nexus, is the congressman sister Jessie whose presence has permeated several of the chapters. The postulation throughout the thesis is that this Jessie had acted as the eyes and ears of Alexander within Aberdeenshire. Her devotion to her brother is marked by her decision to join him in the rustic, nascent Milwaukee

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\(^{44}\) ‘Ellon - Lawn Tennis Club’, *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland), Saturday, April 28, 1883., a social endeavour that involved Thomas Croil, John Rae the county councillor, George Ruxton, Kirton, Logie Buchan and the congressman’s nephew-in-law Robert Moir, Mr Barbara Mitchell.\(^{45}\)


\(^{47}\) Both Canada Sandy and Edith Johnston as noted above spent time in Aberdeen, her half-sister Hilda studied at the Sorbonne, Iain Riddell, ‘Change and continuity: Networking, newspaper, kinships and twentieth century elite women’., John I. Mitchell studied at Dresden, Munich and Geneva, ‘Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1771-Present’, Blake found evidence of the senator spending time in Chester, England in his youth, the home in later decades of his cousin Edith and from where the inaugural missives of Hilda Johnston, Lady Butterfields, letters for peace campaign were sent in the 1940s.
of the 1840s, whereas her sisters had got to enjoy life in Aberdeen with their maternal aunt or with their own families on viable farm tenancies. Her Milwaukeean visitor Kingsley towards the end of her life went away with a sense of Jessie’s alignment not only to her dead brother but also to her key nephew, John Johnston. Exact dates for her sojourn in Milwaukee, just like her niece Margaret Mitchell’s decades later are uncertain but is highly likely that Jessie was back in Scotland in 1851 having taken a role as a housekeeper for Benjamin Lumsden, Esq. of Kingsford House, Alford Parish.48

Her younger brother, Dr William Mitchell was positioned within Alford and mixed in the same social circles as the landowner Mr Lumsden.49 With the following enumerations of 1861, 1871 and 1881 it is possible to watch the economic stability and climb of Miss Mitchell as a single woman. Firstly keeping a lodging house south of Aberdeen rail station, then as an annuitant in a property closer to Union Street and then in the fashionable new suburb around Albert Terrace, where she was an owner-occupier.50 Her 1898 will, assigned Jessie Cruickshank, the widowed Mrs G Johnston as her lead executor, and the disbursement instructions began with attention to the US. Senator John L Mitchell, who received a gold chain that had belonged to Dr William Mitchell, an uncle he would barely remember. Martha Read, Mrs Alexander Mitchell gained a locket containing Miss Mitchell’s hair alongside her mother’s hair, while John Johnston was sent a silver cake basket. After two iterations of her will, it is clear that her nieces and grand-nieces were a priority to her as she sought to enrich them in their own right. It was also clear she had kept abreast of the locations of the extended family, inclusive of the awkward James Mitchell Chivas.51 In summation then the figure of Jessie Mitchell was a pair of steady hands who could act on behalf of her brother, to anchor his leadership of the kinship-connexion that was focused upon the success in Wisconsin and as a bard who held the kin-knowledge. It may not need stating, but it is important to acknowledge that Miss Mitchell is not being presented as a standard experience. Indeed logic and instinct suggest the reverse. The anomalous nature of the stories from the primary case study family is driven by the access to significant wealth, probably from the late 1860s but it is important to recognise that just three decades earlier these were farm tenancy families of not exceptional acreage.

49 ‘Dinner and ball at bridge of Alford’, Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, November 3, 1852.
50 Scotlandspeople.co.uk, ‘Valuation Rolls’, 1885, Old Machar, VR008600031-.
These observations could also be applied to John Johnston, would have only had limited awareness of his uncle prior to being summoned to Milwaukee, but would have been aware of the enhanced socioeconomic status that had been created. The other relatives that followed knew they were going to a greatly enhanced socioeconomic situation with certainty, the anomaly being Canada Sandy who had already been despatched by his parents in Canada back to Aberdeenshire.

An analysis through the social history tool of kinship collation, of these migratory individuals/couples/domestic groups over the nineteenth-century, has revealed kin-web families, a kin-cluster at Milwaukee that related to the connexion across the Alford valley with extensions into Aberdeen taken as a social network they formed a kin-nexus which had real emotional value and tangible individual social capital advantages derived from inclusion. The life-arcs of Congressman Mitchell and John Johnston both show the benefit of kinship links. Mitchell benefited initially not from his own but from association with the Smith-Anderson network while John’s move was the formation of the Mitchell-Johnston kin cluster in Milwaukee that then continued to grow as described. Alexander and Johnston favoured vaguely known relatives over neighbours and the children of those they worshipped with at chapel and church. The growth of clear kin attachments of great strength drew adults from Aberdeenshire to join joint endeavours. The most obvious statement to be made about the kin-nexus of Alexander Mitchell as it clustered around his success in southern Wisconsin was that it was not a series of individually striving achievers standing or falling upon their skills. Regarding family construction and reunification as well as notions of self-sustaining male individualism these migrating kinsfolk challenged the established ideologies of their period and provide evidence for understanding kinship as the connectivity between domestic groups. Alexander Mitchell presents three initial forms of kin construction. His arrangement with David Fergusson which forms part of the Milwaukee mythology, this would be an example of fictive kinship. The two men’s lives were intertwined for the next five decades without them being blood, sperm or legal relatives. Ferguson’s death report does though state that they had been friends even before migrating under the tutelage, of the Aberdonian-Great Lakes financier George Smith. Then, after Mitchell constructed a domestic unit with Martha Read through marriage; the census enumerated them not as a simple, nuclear unit but as members of more complex domestic setups, even after staff are discounted, which involved newly

arrived relatives from Grampian. Such an arrangement meets the criteria of mutuality, so these relatives were kinfolk. The presence of relatives in different household units even scattered over the different US states were bonded through the financial arrangements that wove through the business interests of Alexander Mitchell under the supervision of John Johnston. These arrangements will be examined in the following section through the lens of American scholarly interests, which in part are formed by the Scottish Enlightenment and will consider how the Congressman also had a kinship with his socioeconomic colleagues in Wisconsin. Kinship collation techniques will identify that this second arrangement of kin-based networks created Trans-Atlantic social power. In doing so, the chapter proffers kinship collation as an important social history tool that adds to the analysis of what has been described as the ‘Golden era’ of Milwaukee and further illustrates the penetration of kinship behaviours into the vehicles and structures that typify modernity which under developmental theories should be kin-construct free. 54

The challenges that the kin migration focused on the success of Congressman Alexander Mitchell creates for the Scottish, British and British-sphere literature on kinship are threefold. Firstly, at the grand narrative level, the Scots, the dominant lowland Scots, were and are grouped, because of the Scottish Enlightenment, with other western Euromericans, as part of the modern world, which had supposedly moved culturally away from the necessity of kinship. Yet, here were a group of economically stable and socially influential Aberdeenshire families, typical of that county’s emigrants, clearly exploiting kinship as a strategy. Which leads, secondly, to the typical approach of Scottish kinship studies, whose strategy has been to identify those on the economic margins, Highlanders and Islanders, Scots-Irish on the frontiers (of civilisation) whose drive to kinship was their economic vulnerability, and then to examine the domestic and private spheres of their lifestyles. It is little wonder, therefore that Scottish and British kinship has overlooked the continuity of kinship into the modern public-sphere of finance, liberalism and democracy.

Consequently, it is a surprise that small nuggets drawn from a broader history of Mitchell’s lived community open up facets of his character that can be discussed to flesh out the perception of a ruthless business figure who donated to charity and participated in the politics of society. Such characteristic fit well with a perception of the idealised Victorian era, male individual, self-creating his own world and it would be foolish to assert that he would

have conceived of himself outside of this modern individualistic culture, but the contention through the case study has been that his behaviour was still kin influenced. His long-standing relationship with Ferguson was part of this, as was the continual draw in of Grampian relatives. Through the decades when his Grampian kin arrived they could be found in his domestic household and they were all likely subsidised to a greater or lesser extent (see appendix i.) indeed it could be postulated that the movement of his sisters’ families into the Alford valley (chapter five) was also subsidised from him for the benefit of his kinship interests. The third weaknesses of British kinship studies, as exposed by the case study, is a rigidity of belief that people were defined by kinship behaviour or by individual behaviour, the all-encompassing universality, as discussed in chapter one, rather than being able to handle that people could have both individual behaviours and kinship patterns as important lifestyle factors. The lack of recognition of individual psychology encompassing multiple strands of identity creates one-dimensional historical characters, the recovery of complex actors with diverse behaviours, some of which sit contrary to stated positions sets the stage to ask wider questions about society. Having acknowledged that the educated, modern lowland Scot, Alexander Mitchell, retained kinship behaviours the chapter proceeds to explore the impact of those behaviours on the modern world of Great Lakes – Scotland capitalism.

7c. Kinship functionality within capitalism

The Mitchell financial interests in the Great Lakes region, insurance, banking and rail present many avenues to discuss the impact of kinship behaviour on functions of the capitalist culture. His very presence in the region was engineered through the kinship between George Smith and Alexander Anderson, cousins, who acted in Chicago and Aberdeen to invest Grampian wealth. As Mitchell supported by his long-time friend Fergusson prepared to take on George Smith’s Wisconsin assets Alexander could have turned to native-born sons of Wisconsin, from the families he worshipped with or traded with instead he had his sister, Jessie pick out a Scottish nephew, as discussed above and positioned him, John Johnston as a senior aide. Kinship over the determinants of the emerging capitalist market, a theme of Grieco’s mentioned in chapter one. The section will instead though use an incident from 1878, the collapse of the City of Glasgow bank to understand how Mitchell’s lowland

Scottish kinship behaviours impacted Trans-Atlantic capitalism. The case study adds to the evidence of Scottish kinship behaviours, for instance Nenadic’s studies of minor landowners and urban craftspeople, Gordon and Nair’s study of suburban co-residency and Riddell’s work on rural craftspeople. The resilience of kinship to survive over long distances and across extended periods, with intergenerational continuity is reaffirmed. Moreover, the study marks that the rural patterns of Scottish farmers as laid out in chapter six was not abandoned but adapted and applied to urban settings with an impact on the modern world of finance that emerged in the late nineteenth century.58

As Euroamerican kinship studies have struggled to identify intersectionality with modernity, based on the pillars of democracy, liberalism and capitalism, insight into kinship and business must be extracted from a range of disciplines; but an unclear definition between kinship and family has bled into the interdisciplinary space of family business studies. For example, James J. Chrisman’s review of twenty-five influential reports did not mention kinship, instead simply favouring family.59 Consequently, the suspicion is that family business studies have concentrated on the middle-class male-led nuclear-family domestic unit, as the exploration in chapter one was that this was the dominant lens applied to kinship studies. This model is socioeconomically limited as it skips over enterprises run by alternative family forms.60

Therefore, the literature on family companies provides some helpful insights, for instance, Steve Murdoch, and John Haggerty and Sheryllynne Haggerty have examined business networking practices in different eras and territories which included an awareness of kinship as relatedness.61 Murdoch’s research of Early Modern, Scottish mercantile kinship behaviours and business practices could well be cast into the transitionary period from pre-modernity to modern, liberal western practices; during which the abilities of law and state to create safe, secure systems either were enabled and advanced by collapsing kinship

connectivity or precipitated their collapse. Meanwhile, the Haggerty research noted that kinship-based trust could be abused and additionally that kinship ties do not uniformly dictate interactions with and within institutional structures. Such analysis should be balanced by Tim Crumplin’s comment that academia ought to consider the existence and consequence of opaque business networks in the round. His essential framing of opaque networks is worth quoting fully.

Informal networks are typical of close-knit communities, where shared business ethics and loyalties based on frequent personal interactions between businessmen promote trust. This value system is based upon reputation and co-operation, while unsophisticated business communities are self-governed by links of family, kinship, religion, and social and leisure associations. Anti-social behaviour is punishable by exclusion, in an environment of weak corporate governance when business is not always transacted within strict legal boundaries. Family and kinship connections are important in the regulation of commercial behaviour, when preservation of the family’s business reputation and name remain the responsibility of every individual member. Social, leisure and religious associations are borne out of the desire to extend these bonds of loyalty and obligation beyond family.

Alexander Mitchell’s application, likely, unconsciously, of his Scottish farming kinship culture into business and international capitalism is in line with Crumplin. The kinship links he pulled into Milwaukee and created, with his childhood friend Fergusson in Wisconsin are opaque as they are unexpected and would have been unfathomable to a stranger based in Glasgow. The bonds, once identified through kinship collation are significant and multiple and were brought into play as the City of Glasgow bank collapsed, the incident also highlights that the embarrassment caused by Mitchell’s son John’s divorce, referenced in the prior section, had been patched over through the exclusion of John from the US.

The case study is valuable as British kinship studies would not expose it as the praxis is limited to the domestic-sphere. Meanwhile, banking historians’ analyse the event without a wide enough awareness of Mitchell’s kin network and his biographers rarely explore Mitchell

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as a Scottish person, with interest in his homeland. Understandable, given the persistent belief being that Scots, particularly those from the lowland cultures easily merged into the cultural concerns of their new abode. ‘Whilst sharing a Scottish ancestry clearly mattered, the concerns and tribulations of the domestic country proved to be immediately arresting and primary loyalties were more readily redirected from the old to the new homeland.’

The prior section challenged such a perspective, as it noted that Scots migrants could and did move back and forth, consequently, the chapter, moreover, has argued that Mitchell’s Scottish rural kinship behaviours were transferred to his new urban, capitalist society. In addition, the summoning of relatives from the home country is clearly an indicator of continued interest in his people by birth and their welfare. Yet there is likely to be a truth to the popular conception, therefore, through the case study, this section explores how Alexander Mitchell, enhanced his social status, managed his integration into the Europeanised Milwaukee via the acquisition of new relatives through marriages and established the deeper connectivity of kinship with some of them. In doing so, his use of kinship behaviours, whether conscious or unconscious within American capitalism and Trans-National financial system are considered. Firstly, the section examines standard approaches and analysis to the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank and then secondly, re-examines it through an awareness of the kin-connexions that Mitchell was able to deploy and then thirdly, reflects on the character dilemmas presented by the contradictions of Mitchell’s behaviours verses his culture as discussed in the previous section.

With an appreciation of the literature the section turns to its first objective, an appreciation of the traditional analysis of the Scottish, City of Glasgow Bank collapse, as it captures much of the modern world that was built in the nineteenth-century; international trade and finance, conglomerates, the rule of law and frameworks developed by democratic states. There has been only limited academic attention given to Mitchell and City of Glasgow bank interactions; the key piece of research into the affair was undertaken by Saul Engelbourg as a part of his ‘great man’ focus on John Stewart Kennedy who contended with Mitchell and other luminaries of the Milwaukee establishment to settle the bank crash that was caused by bad speculation on US rail stock. While working to salvage value from the City of Glasgow bank in 1879, Kennedy exchanged millions of dollars of Wisconsin related

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business stocks. Engelbourg pointed to a softening in the Mitchell lead-position in the early summer. He had ‘received word from John W. Cary, president of the Racine Warehouse and Dock and, more important, counsel to the Milwaukee, and Sherburn S. Merrill, general manager of the railroad, that the Milwaukee proposed trade of its securities for those of the Western Union.’

Engelbourg pushed how Kennedy had bested Mitchell in the negotiations around the purchase of rail stocks. Explanations for a Mitchell failure could be explained by family events. 1879 was a year of multiple challenges and potential prefigurations of trouble for the congressman. While in Scotland his consigliere Johnston was fending off attempts to nominate the congressman for the Wisconsin gubernatorial contest. Royal Jennings, Ferguson’s brother-in-law and the long-term Treasurer of CM and StP, was falling into ill-health as was Mitchell’s sister Elizabeth who died in February 1880. It would be simple therefore to focus in upon a winner and loser in a contest between two characters and search for an understanding of business and history through the clash of individuals.

Further insight then is needed as either Mitchell’s business acumen failed him in 1879, but Mitchell; as a result, consolidated control over the Great Lake regions transit system servicing travellers, agriculture and industry or Engelbourg did not have access to some vital information. The 1879 talks with Kennedy some of which could have been in person as Mitchell was in Scotland for parts of that year were prefigured by the original deal with City of Glasgow in 1869 and the bitter fight of 1875 when Mitchell seized full control of Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul rail. The importance of securing the stock exchanges in 1879 becomes clear when Mitchell’s next moves are considered. Corporate interchanges passed control over the rail services for the Dakotas, into Mitchell’s hands. In doing so his rivals at Chicago and North Western, the employer of Cary’s son-in-law, were defeated.

Two theorisations, therefore, arise from a survey wider than the business characters of two individuals contending over a single issue. One it is apparent that Mitchell had wider plans which depended on control over CM and StP, the Milwaukee rail stock; Blake is certain that the congressman’s top two priorities were the banking/insurance endeavours which were closely managed by Ferguson and Johnston. Two, Kennedy may well have been

66 Ibid., p.72-74.
67 ‘Political conventions’ Weekly Inter Ocean (Chicago, Illinois), Thursday, September 18, 1879., ‘Still seriously sick’, Milwaukee Daily Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Saturday, December 27, 1879; pg. 8., ‘Busy lives ended’, Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Thursday, February 03, 1887; pg. 4.
outmanoeuvred by the inter-connected Wisconsin businessmen, led by Mitchell, whose core interest was the rail system. By the 1870s, it would be hard to overlook the business friendship of the Milwaukeean men, but it would have been difficult for Engelbourg to notice the kinship as his research focus was on the Glasgow locality. The consequential business consideration is this. Did, Cary and Merrill made contact with the Kennedy team to fulfil their corporate functions in the best interests of the companies involved or were their actions that of a closed self-interested kin-cluster. If true the negotiations to salvage value from the collapsed City of Glasgow bank, should be examined through the lens of an opaque business network as discussed by Crumplin, but to observe it the researcher needs to have the ability to discern the network of relatives and intellectually acknowledge that Scotland had kinship patterns that had impact beyond the domestic sphere and that Scottish kinship behaviours were not abandoned as immigrants settled in the western Europeanised US.69

The section, therefore, moves forward to its second stance, by placing Mitchell not just into his lived community of Scottish blood relatives but into the kin-community he built in Wisconsin. This framing enables a discourse on the dynamics of individuals involved in the kin-cluster that gathered around Alexander Mitchell and was deployed on a Trans-Atlantic scale. More importantly, the perceptive lens enables an examination of the nature of Scottish kinship, as the cultural behaviour was sustained and applied in a new environment, amongst other western Euroamericans’ who were not Scottish and functioned in an elite male environment, the antithesis of the established orthodoxy of British kinship studies. To do so, the case study changes the kin focus from Alexander Mitchell to a New England woman of the late eighteen century Sarah Worthen/Worthing 1785-1863, from whom a new kin-connexion analysis of business webs emerges which inter-linked with Alexander Mitchell, David Ferguson and John Johnston but with entirely different roots.70 From the overlaps and intersects it is possible to observe social power, two analyse how US-based relationships had an impact on Scottish economic events. Three discern through the dynamics of the John, Martha and Alexander Mitchell relationships the centrality of domestic events to public-sphere outcomes.

The business network illustrated below (figure 7-2) sits outside the expected norm; the displayed network is derived from an awareness of not one patrilineage, nor indeed of a single kinship group but from a broader awareness of relatedness across an entire

70 The inter-change of central actor being a crucial component of the kinship collation tool, as discussed in the first half of the thesis.
socioeconomic layer as it developed over decades. It takes note of the probable mutuality of the relatives around Sarah Worthern, successively, Mrs S Sanborn and Mrs M Merrill. Amongst her first marriage descendants was Sherburn Sanborn who in 1901 was the assistant General Manager, Chicago and Northwest railroad with four decades of service. His wife was the eldest daughter of long-term Mitchell ally, John Watson Cary and her brother was Frederick Asa Cary, Mr Elspet Wilson Ferguson, whose wife was the only child of David Ferguson. From Sarah’s second marriage descended Sherburn Sanborn Merrill 1818-1885 another Mitchell ally and father-in-law of Washington Becker who salvaged the Mitchell family bank, Wisconsin Fire and Marine in 1893. Becker whose sister was the second wife of Senator John Lendrum Mitchell was entrusted by the courts to restructure the bank which was Alexander Mitchell’s lifetime achievement built on his patron’s, George Smith, legacy. Sarah herself never settled in Milwaukee but descendants from both marriages over time formed the influential, well-connected and resourced, stable, cultural figures that wrapped around Mitchell and David Ferguson.

With awareness of how closely related and integrated these business and political figures were the proposition that Mitchell was betrayed or hijacked in his negotiations with Kennedy has reduced credibility. Knowledge and appreciation of the existence of entanglement of relatedness, sets the stage to identify kinship through mutuality between those who were or became related. The complication in this scenario is that the circle involved well-off, capital rich men, who are typically defined as individualistic and epitomise modern developed societies. The proposition that within this socioeconomic niche, reciprocity that favoured relatives was not limited to the domestic environment triggers a plethora of queries drawn from the literature discussed above. Two core questions, one, did Alexander Mitchell bring with him and insert a foreign rural Scottish notion of kinship into the urban Europeanisation of Milwaukee? Two did Mitchell exert control and leadership over the close kin of summoned relatives that reduced their agency. These queries are this section’s, third component and are answered through a consideration of his character as exposed by the dynamics of those he was in community with, which is the sections third discussion.

72 ‘What caused the break?’, Yenowine's Illustrated News (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Sunday, August 06, 1893.
Figure 7-2 Milwaukee business network of Mitchell-Johnston
Alexander Mitchell’s individual history as a ‘great man’ is acknowledged within the US context, based upon his importance to Wisconsin and the broader US business and political regime. Individual behaviours of past actors can be explored through the medium of kinship, mutuality of being, which can be extracted through kinship collation. To do so, it is important to establish some pertinent benchmarks of the character of Alexander Mitchell drawn from David Blake’s biography, which assessed the ruthless nature of the Congressman in his business dealings that amassed a financial fortune and great socio-political capital.\textsuperscript{74} Mitchell’s comings and goings, his words and his activities could easily attract press attention across the US as a banker or rail tycoon as shown in the news cuttings referenced above, his death being reported in multiple local news markets. In the British press as queried through the digitised newspaper collection there is little regard to his status beyond the odd donation to a charity.\textsuperscript{75} In his native land, barely minimal notice was taken of him nor indeed of figures such as the US Speaker Henderson who was also from Grampian and very likely to have been a distant relative of John Johnston.\textsuperscript{76}

Through a British-Scottish perspective, Alexander Mitchell was an essentially minor figure one of the masses derived from the rising secure farming families who migrated to a peripheral part of the developing US. An awareness of his wider socioeconomic situation in childhood, his access to education and initial move away from farming into bureaucracy in combination with his early success as a young adult in complex testing circumstances all invite reflection on his personality. From Blake’s description of Mitchell, it is clear that Alexander was a man of drive whose personality required a non-rigid environment. Aberdeenshire with its strong landed interests would not likely have been an opportune setting as hierarchical social tiers were rigid as noted in chapter six. His pattern of success with long-term drive certainly chimes with the observations of Cancian and Wegge that migrants had attributes that supported such success and it certainly took courage for the teenager to depart for the US which arises from the work of Jaeger et al. into risk-taking.\textsuperscript{77} What cannot be overlooked was the serendipity that placed Mitchell in the right place at the right time.

\textsuperscript{74} David Leonard Blake., ‘A biography of Alexander Mitchell 1817-1887’.
\textsuperscript{75} ‘Opening of new hall at Savoch’, Aberdeen Weekly Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, January 24, 1883., to which Alexander Mitchell had donated.
\textsuperscript{76} Multi-pronged samplings of the main British digitised newspaper collections reveal only the odd short piece or micro-reference to US Representative Henderson.
As a migrant into a geographical and cultural space that was being disrupted by rapid Europeanisation through migration of people of western European descent, Mitchell entered in the 1830s a disturbed society. Disruption of social systems requires as noted above reliance on the formation and construction of status through the creation of personal value. This process is evident in the historiography of Mitchell and Ferguson. A value system of reputation and co-operation could only emerge over the decades. The general nature of disruption enabled the migrants to have the ability to reinvent and proof themselves in a new context. At Milwaukee, this was enhanced as local cultural norms also had to be formed within the new European settlement. Once the European community in southern Wisconsin had established, the local customs and systems of significance (an essential element of Schneiderian kinship studies, see chapter one), it would become possible for the members of society to construct social layers through the privileging of some actors over others.

Before considering those, he did rely upon and privileged, it is worth noting that there is no compelling accretion of data that suggests that Alexander forged reciprocity with his wife’s brothers who were by background from a long-established New England social strata similar to Sarah Worthern. From a Great Lakes locused perspective the Mitchell-Read marriage could be the centre point of multiple discussions about kinship; why did Alexander not form a working kinship of joint endeavours with his new brothers-in-law, lawyers, newspaper editor, a politician who surely had the talents and, as scions of a well-established New England lineage, the connections to advance his position? They too were seeking to establish themselves within the volatile society of the Great Lakes and wider US society; the marriage may be considered as a marker of stability, acceptance, mutual regard but the lack of multiplicity indicates only limited kinship activity between Mitchell and his Read in-laws.

Prior to his marriage, Alexander had looked to his sister Jessie Mitchell, her temporary presence in Milwaukee as her brother’s aide would have produced social signals of stability and commitment. Jessie was succeeded as his hostess by his bride Ms Read and then by his niece, Isabella. As noted in the previous section at the crucial point of entrepreneurial expansion, further biological relatives were summoned and relied upon. By the early 1850s Alexander Mitchell, the agent of George Smith’s Wisconsin Fire and Marine Insurance enterprise, supported by his friend Ferguson, was looking to prepare for the withdrawal of their mentor from active engagement in North America.78

78 ‘George Smith is dead’ Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Monday, October 09, 1899.
Even a cursory investigation of John Johnston in the prior section, reveals that the eldest and first arriving nephew was a consigliere who managed the diverse structures and financial arrangements. In contrast, the congressman’s son was groomed for high political office, while Johnston was blocked on at least one occasion from that ambition.\(^7\) The son was prioritised over the nephew, yet it was the son, who placed the entire edifice upon which the extended family relied on at risk, during his first marriage.

Unlike his second marriage to the well-connected Becker family, John L Mitchell’s first bride was an unconnected actress, and the couple were rapidly overwhelmed by alcoholism, miscarriages, disabled children and bitter public divorce. John abandoned politics and business with an extended residency in Europe. As noted above there was no standout evidence of John interacting with his Aberdeenshire kin during this period. Instead, the exiled pair popped up in locations that appealed to the tastes of their US socioeconomic tier; before they were restored to society and John L Mitchell could participate again in public life.\(^7\)

The calamitous fall out of John Lendrum Mitchell’s first marriage rumbled on for decades inside the privacy of the family and occasionally within the public forum.\(^8\) The stripping away of a daughter-in-law through the divorce of Bianca Cogswill and then the self-imposed exile of John and his new wife Harriet Becker likely precipitated the need to summon and position Isabella Mitchell as the northern hostess so that Martha could preside at Villa Alexandria, Jacksonville.\(^8\) In addition, Alexander and Martha had to intercede publicly, over the welfare of the grandchildren, reach an accommodation with Bianca and handle a non-deferential local press while doing so. Martha’s departure, during this tumultuous period, to Florida with the last surviving and non-institutionalised grand-child, saw the couple invest in a vast mansion adjoining her brother’s property.

The dynamics of the Mitchell family relationship were complex given Martha’s departure from Wisconsin to establish a new southern household, at a Jacksonville which neighboured her brother’s. It would be simple to regard the vast mansion as reward or indulgence for Mrs Mitchell, a retirement place in the warmer south, neighbouring her brother’s post-governorship property or as a refuge from the scandal of the son’s collapsed

\(^7\) ‘Cleveland’s mate’ *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), Friday, June 24, 1892; ‘Mr Mitchell said no’ *Milwaukee Daily Journal* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Monday, February 08, 1886.

\(^8\) Children were born in Nice and Rome.


first marriage in which a troubled grandson could be hidden, would be a mistake.\textsuperscript{83} Instead, it should be consider in the light of the general pull of the south as leisure locale and therefore an important place to maintain a second significant residence from which influence could be manufactured while the main engine of the families wealth remained focused on the Great Lakes and west thereof. Therefore, while far removed from the context of Wisconsin, Villa Alexandria ought to be considered as an extension of the kin-cluster at Milwaukee. Far from sacrificing her affinal-legal kin connections to Mitchell-Johnston in preference to her biological kin the move can be interpreted instead as an anchor to sustain bonds and forge new nexus points.

Similar consideration must be given to Alexander Mitchell’s choices when his only surviving progeny endangered the social status and trust built upon social strictures and conformity, Mitchell was comfortable having the groomed, trained and prepared heir despatched into exile. But at the same time, the marriage to Becker is indicative of preparation for the future. That both the son and leading nephew were subject to Mitchell’s control is hard to deny, and to an extent, the same could be said of Ferguson as a kinsman of affinity, his centrality and status marked in the middle name of Mitchell’s grandson. The results of the movement of Grampian relatives indicate that what was required was mutuality and kin loyalty and the web of kinfolk that emerged around Alexander and Jesse Mitchell is as complicated as any medieval land-owning hierarchy with the dispersal of assets, the largess of roles, a guarantee of status, displays of munificence possibly not indistinguishable from visions of feudalism.

In contrast, it would be wild speculation though to suggest that Mitchell was able to act as an authoritarian kin leader over others, Jennings, Cary and Becker who were attached to the kin-connexion, but their shared endeavours of economic and political interests that were matched through marriages clearly fall within Schneiderian models of kinship. Instead, the relationships must be considered as negotiated between individuals with agency and capacity to enforce their identity.

The challenge of the evidence and literature is whether Mitchell, an untypical migrant, brought with him behaviours that had lingered in Scotland’s rural hinterland and inserted them into the emerging urban modern space of Milwaukee because of its disruptive society. This can be tackled from the oversight of Mitchell’s background Grampian kin experience

\textsuperscript{83} Martha took her eldest surviving grandson with her, \textit{American Life Histories}, ‘Manuscripts from the Federal Writers’ Project 1936-1940’, Villa Alexandria, Mrs Alexander Mitchell and Southern Jacksonville, Oral history taken from Mrs Charles LeNoir, \textit{nb}. David would have arrived in Florida in 1882/1883.
that has emerged in chapters five and six. The Milwaukee kin-cluster of Mitchell and Johnston was drawn from the wealthier peasant – proto-capitalist farm tenancy families of Savoch explored in chapter five. Indeed John Johnston’s brother was the man that Carter identified as an exemplar of the socially mobile capitalist farmer. Therefore, it must be stressed that these were not rural Scottish peasants acculturated far from dominant themes of the urban world. These were men and women comfortable in the city and university as much as they were on their farms.

The Mitchell-Johnston kin-group, inclusive of David Ferguson as a series of interconnected corporate and political interests within Milwaukee and Wisconsin across the nineteenth century that interlocked into the broader history of the city region. More plainly, the individuals connected as varied types of non-domestic non-nuclear kin, built upon their relatedness, biological and legal, can be evidenced in situations where reciprocity was significant. Situations such as opportunities for investment and work, business strategy and political influence within late nineteenth-century, modern liberal bureaucratic structures were kin influenced.

7d. Conclusion
This chapter has been a vehicle for a Scottish kinship case study focused on the rising Victorian British-sphere power structure of politicians, bankers, international financiers and industrialists, who operated within and culturally defined the western world. The case studies captured individuals as they moved from rural Grampian into a geographical and cultural space that was undergoing rapid Europeanisation and urbanisation. Aberdeenshire women and men contributed their Scottish lowland, socioeconomically secure culture to that process, in combination with new neighbours who had arrived from New England and other west European states. The first purpose of the chapter was to discuss that Scottish kinship behaviours particularly, those from lowland regions like southern Buchan were not just extant in the nineteenth-century but robust enough to survive the tribulations and strains of migration, which for an individual was a momentous life event. Kinship collation was applied to the case study of Alexander Mitchell as he maintained, re-configured and activated kinship amongst his relatives and transformed social and economic interactions into new kindred links. As Mitchell’s life arc saw his progression from modest farmer’s son to a financial clerk through to capitalist entrepreneur and then US rail magnate and politician, insight was also gained into how he applied his cultural kinship into key pillars of the modern world, democracy, capitalism and liberalism; which was the chapter’s second purpose.
To achieve these goals, the chapter has worked primarily from within the genealogies of people who became a well-resourced and capitally privileged layer of society, the very people who had the resources to be individualistic and orthodoxly theorised to be the least likely to require or retain the mutuality of their relatives. This group through the decades were able to present themselves as a modern capitalist, exemplars of their era and cultures. Such a presentation of themselves may well point to a social environment that genuinely saw itself as built upon male individuality in which ‘great men’ prospered upon their gifts, talents and hard work. But as discussed self-perception is not necessarily the entire nuanced analysis. Therefore, it was argued that past actors of the case study through their exposure to modernising influences through university educations, the press, and political debate were inculcated into the cultural attitudes that stressed male leadership, nuclear family households, European superiority and liberal capitalism but still can be evidenced as privileging mutually beneficial reciprocity with relatives, kinship. The wider awareness of what family and kin, meant, to the Scottish migrant Alexander Mitchell and the kindred who recoalesced around his prosperity, enabled the chapter to identify in the data that a distinct group of families who entered into share endeavours of business and bound themselves together through familial relationships. As these networks were fully engaged in urban settings, the modern political environment, could manage and shape the institutions that managed high finance and complex business structures with extended management systems, it is hard to deny that the Scottish farmer kinship behaviour evident in chapter six was retained, developed and deployed into the pillars of the modern world just as McKinnon and Cannell contended. Therefore, the McKinnon and Cannell statement that kinship was not reduced to kin-family within the domestic setting but instead had a real function at the heart of structures and institutions that hallmark liberal capitalist society is an important concept.

As both purposes produced results that challenge not only the orthodoxy of British kinship studies but a range of scholarship that it has influenced it is important to unpick some of the implications. The observation of the continuity of Scottish kinship behaviours in the new setting of the Great Lake adds to the arguments through the thesis, that the British kinship studies have stalled through an over-focus on the British demographic record base and require a reboot. Unfortunately, the orthodoxy has been deeply embedded into scholarly perceptions as discussed in chapters one and two. Therefore, an acknowledgement that modern people, high status, influential members of urban societies, respected at the highest levels of the nineteenth-century US, could also be people with a propensity to deploy kinship in their corporate affairs highlights the limitations of British family business studies. As with
narrow parameters of the stem nuclear family and notions of business, the field does not intrude upon the core dynamics of the broader financial-industrial investments systems that the second half of the chapter has explored. Recognition of which asks serious questions of how Crumplin’s observations of hidden networks built on kin coherence and reciprocity could be further foregrounded as a public-sphere manifestation of kinship in British history. Moreover, the application of notions of the family firm to companies with shareholders and corporate identities may well be contentious, but the overlay of relationship suggests that questions should be asked.

Throughout this chapter, Kinship collation ability to bring longitudinal oversight to the repurposed record base, reassert individuals back into their relationship networks and identify the impact of the European manifestation of kinship on society have been shown. Consequently, the claims of the thesis that kinship collation as a synergy of theory and process, that can reveal the hidden kinship behaviour within the British-sphere culture has been reinforced. The possibilities that emerge to reconsider the structures of the modern state and culture are numerous. As kinship can be shown as a force within a Trans-Atlantic financial transaction as in this chapter and factor for the development of local democratic leaders, as seen in the last chapter; then the established notion of British kinships, promulgated for centuries, reinforced by Laslett and MacFarlane, must be re-explored. Indeed it may be considered that the entire edifice of thought that a reduction in kinships social impact was intimately linked to the rise of modernity amongst western Europeans is unsafe. Indeed, the capabilities of kinship collation to resolve the issues that have plagued the study of British kinship, the lack of resources and poor theorisation through the application of pre-determined models of kin, highlight a broad range of possibilities to move forward, as this thesis moves to its conclusion.
Chapter 8 Conclusion
This thesis on kinship collation presented a social history tool that can synergise the British record base and Schneiderian theorisation of kinship. The tool is offered to reboot British kinship studies that have fallen behind the continental European and Euroamerican historical-anthropological approaches. The tool has been developed in response to the longstanding assessment, expressed at various times by the likes of Plakans, Wetherell and King that the British population records did not have the capacity of the European record base to support large-scale kinship research. The literature on British kinship is marked by nascent attempts to restart and refocus the research and debates, Cooper and Donald’s technologically premature micro-attempt to reconstruct networks of relatives and then analyse them. Followed by King’s challenge to the over assumption of locality, which required the ability to accurately track migrants and Tadmor’s critique of scholarly assumptions and orthodox cultural positions, as inhibitors to research perspectives. From the literature, an assessment was made that there had been a lack of a co-ordinated approach to a re-evaluation of the state of British kinship studies in the round.

Consequently, these early challenges were left on the margins of the discourse and the dominance of the historical-demographic concept of kinship, reiterated powerfully by Laslett in the last century, as redundant in public-life, intact. The enduring influence of an assessment of British kinship built primarily on a framework of the English middle-class experience has left large gaps in the broader analysis. Cradock identified that only the southern third of Britain was likely theoretically understood and Gordon and Nair highlighted that foundational concepts of Victorian-era kinship, the uniformity of male-led nuclear households were built on aspirational myth. Consequently, many experiences of kinship have been un-observed or under-observed, connectivity between women due to the structures of the record, the kin experiences of the poor, the working class and whether there are further forms of kinship happening in Scotland, Wales and northern England. The construction of kinship resources has steered British kinship into a narrow range of questions on the domestic, social care and social reproduction. The analysis of the sources on the one hand through the historical-demographers read of the general population records, practised by Reid and Anderson, and on the other by the critique of papers, letters, diaries, institutional records, as practised by Hall and O’Day, has further hemmed in the research. In contrast, Schneiderian theorisations, that emerged from anthropology and developed since the 1980s
through Schweitzer and more recently Sahlin, to theorise that kinship is behaviours of mutuality, not biology and its European cultural manifestation tends to function between relatives and fosters relatedness, have unlocked a wider range of research. Continental European and Euroamerican researchers have been willing to apply such theory to political, Lipp and Baptiste, social, Bras and Breschi and economic, McKinnon and Schlumbohm, research.

Under the influence of Sahlin’s latest iteration of what kinship is and is not, the kinship collation tool has not been developed to find a singular expression of British kinship or indeed Scottish kinship. Instead, it has been structured to appreciate how kinship behaviours and patterns emerge and evolve through the local environment and individual experiences of actors as their lives evolved. Moreover, kinship collation can position British kinship studies to discover how kinship functioned beyond the domestic situation. This ability is achieved via the technological developments of digitisation, management and visualisation of data and appreciates how they have expanded genealogy from a bespoke, elitist patrilineal lineage exercise into a mass reconstruction of the British-sphere, England, Scotland, the US, Canada, record base as Mills envisaged. A broad interdisciplinary, investigation discovered that researchers, Ball and Beck, Kim et al. and Liu et al., data technologists had all turned to mass genealogy networks to test data tools and in doing so had taken note of intersectionality between actors that the British orthodox position on kinship would be challenged by. The technological appreciation in collaboration with Schneiderian theory underpins kinship collation not to study genealogies but to study from within genealogies, in a similar way that Reay approached villages through microhistory and O’Day asserted the lived experience of family over the demographic record. The social history tool kinship collation can, therefore, be assessed as a contribution to tackling the four structural issues that have locked down British kinship studies. Which are, one, an approach with a heritage in a uniform ideation of Britishness, which in actuality was over-informed by the southern English middling lens, two, the limited resource base and narrow scope, three, a lack of appreciation of large-scale genealogical reconstructions, built through technological developments, as a source material, four the compartmentalisation of kinship studies.

Chapters two, three and four, examined at length how the structural issues locked together to corral British kinship studies. Much like Tadmor’s analysis, the discussion did not identify a school of thought or a generational moment in time but a longitudinal trend that has influenced scholarly thought, research technique and indeed the creation and preservation of the records themselves that emphasise the domestic setup and concerns of the nuclear family,
as the remit of kinship. Chapter two explored the capability generated by modern genealogical resources, to reconfigure the historical record base into a new resource from which indicators of kinship could be extracted. Chapter three, then applied that capability to expose how Scottish female kinship connections had been hidden by the historical processes and applied kinship collation to expose the depth of mutuality that could be found active in past lives. Chapter four reported on how kinship collation, can engage with a range of resources, some generic, some jurisdictional, others regional, local and rare, to differentiate between related people and those in a kinship relationship of reciprocity. This function is built on the theorisation that the two are indeed different, the reconstruction of relatives being merely the application of pre-determined connectedness. In contrast, the determination of kinship requires the ability to observe where the records indicate forms of reciprocity. Which as the chapters have shown can be evidenced through Grampian resources and generated small case studies derived from the methodological process of kinship collation.

The decision to apply kinship collation to nineteenth-century Grampian was deliberate as it enabled the tool to address the dearth of Scottish kinship studies, from a data source that covered a Scottish lowlander population base. More broadly the tool can correct for the historical biases in the record base, for instance, those that privileged men and their relationships, the assumption of the male as a householder, the cultural loss of women’s own identity and socioeconomic expression. The range of socioeconomic niches and situations that can be studied from Grampian was extensive, from high-status landowners on large estates through to struggling female dominated urban households in the city. The chapters of the thesis engaged with women within rural crafts families, chapter three, women with access to empowering social capital, chapter five, male farmers who developed community leadership skills as democracy expanded, chapter six and an emigrant group, male and female, chapter seven, who exported their kinship behaviour, retained it and applied it in a new high-status context.

These additional case studies have expanded an appreciation of Scottish kinship behaviours, and patterns of the nineteenth-century, not in a gross way that imposes a model on individuals but as an appreciation of how actors engaged reciprocity in response to circumstances. Kinship collation achieves these results by placing people back into the networks of relationships they are gifted and built-in life, with an awareness of those that are withdrawn and abandoned. The ability to study from within genealogies enables the tool to test perspective and individual position, through consideration from other viewpoints. The tensions in the Cardno family, chapter three, around illegitimacy, looked less culturally
systemic once all the women with children born outside of marriage where appreciated. In chapter five, profound questions of kinship as a suppressant to the female agency were raised and queried by the tool. Chapter six, presented, through an appreciation of the vast network of connections, important questions about social interactions between landlord and tenant, alongside the rise of a new political faction, and finally, Chapter seven used multiple perspectives to consider both the shape of kinship between the leading political-financier families of Milwaukee and how they wielded kinship within their business practices. Consequently, more nuanced analysis of a financial crisis event could be assembled than is possible through a classic, individualistic male on male interpretation of power.

Like all approaches and theories, kinship collation cannot be faultfree nor have omniscient purview over past people and it is important to acknowledge both the inherent weaknesses and the risks involved in its application. Like all approaches and theories, kinship collation cannot be fault free nor have omniscient purview over past people and it is important to acknowledge both the inherent weaknesses and the risks involved in its application. Therefore, like all research techniques, caution is required when the kinship collation toolkit is used, three of which require some prominence. Firstly, the nineteenth-century population record base cannot be treated with certainty as it is the result of human encounters, cultural impositions; moreover, on occasion individual social resistance and attempts to dissemble have entered the records. In other words, people lied or misrepresented the facts or laid out incorrect information to cover ignorance, likewise the curators of enumerations at all levels applied formulas and social controls to the information garnered. As has been discussed in the thesis, these can be mitigated in many cases, through the narrowing of the pool of data, cross-referencing across decades and contextual understandings of the circumstances. Secondly, the prosographical nature of the data based upon snapshots devised for other purposes, means there are significant gaps and no smoking guns of evidence. As discussed in the thesis and acknowledged throughout the school of history the limited nature and lack of diversity of past materials means that what does exist has to be postulated about and interrogated probabilistically. For kinship collation such circumstances mean that excess case studies must be developed as many will lack robustness to make any sought of discernment. Thirdly, the evidence that can be retrieved through the reconstruction and reconstruing of the population record into webs of relatives is evidence of action and decision but does not contain the details of the why. Equally, with the lack of, for almost all the case studies, a diary or letter explanation of the recorded circumstances the fine detail of the relationship, the shared experiences, conspiracies, laughter, traumas and
triumphs are irretrievable. Therefore, the inter-disciplinary reliance on psychology, group dynamics, sociology for insights into human relationships and the brain as a social centre are essential. Taken as a group these three key weaknesses remind that kinship collation cannot be used to answer certain questions, for instance, the why of an event or a decision, instead it can map the framework of the decision of human relationships and highlight rejected pathways.

It is only fair to acknowledge that the approach to kinship taken by the tool, has only been possible through the technological developments of recent times, the ability to amass, vast amounts of data on people across their lifetimes, as they moved between jurisdictional record systems, was not available to prior research teams. What kinship collation has done is appreciate what becomes possible through the reorganisation of the basic population records from a demographic resource into a longitudinal network of relational nodes. These nodes are not just of individuals, but of locations and events, they are not restricted by vague notions of the family but map how, directly and indirectly, people encounter each other and the outcomes of those engagements.

The potential of these nodes for mapping connectivity is almost boundless for the nineteenth-century and beyond as more and more of the general population record base is recovered and reconstituted into webs of relatives. These great webs can be cross-referenced against other digitised resources. Events recorded in newspapers both national and local can be re-populated not just with the names of participant but their life arcs to appreciate an actor’s journey to a riot, to a crime scene, a protest, a trading engagement or a public appointment. Likewise, materials submitted to the BMJ in the decades before the anonymisation of patient details can be datamined, compared and deepened by comparison to released hospital records, consequently, the impact of health can be explored in a longitudinal fashion. The importance of the longitudinal capabilities as noted through the thesis mean that past people, otherwise unrecorded can be tracked more fully as rounded individuals rather than as cyphers or background for great men and significant historical events. Subsequently, with a larger pool of prosographical data accumulated from past actors, new population level questions become accessible, through a notation of consequences not intentionality. These questions can cover the intersect of individual agency within the structures of society, socio-economic mobility, emotions and status, disempowerment and maintenance, the development of administration and place. Which is why the chapters have placed the data from genealogical reconstructions into interdisciplinary spaces, to form an interpretative discourse, so that kinship can be queried against feminist models, chapters four and five, through a
psychological lens, chapters five and seven, and in terms of the development of modernity, chapters six and seven. In each of these occasions’ kinship has been placed as a social force alongside other social factors, rather than being a theme of the household and domestic sphere.

The existence of a tool like kinship collation has a profound impact on the nature of Scottish and southern British kinship studies as it firstly, does away with the longstanding assessment that the British record base cannot support complex kinship studies, it is now the case that the record must be reconfigured. The task of such a reconfiguration is well under way through the public engagement with genealogy, but that does not move forward the study of British kinship. Therefore, secondly, the genealogies cannot be left as simple lineages and successive domestic household groups, they need to be assembled and visualised as whole living communities, with tensions, alliances, disputes and contracts, in this way the shape of actors’ kinships can be uncovered. Thirdly, kinship must be recognised as a public social force active in a society that connected households rather than as a private relationship within the threshold and bounds of the domestic sphere. This objective will easily be achieved as networks of mutuality can be produced that better capture the linkages between, people, places and events, which can be interrogated for connectivity of reciprocity framed by relatedness. Or indeed networks of relatives can be interrogated for evidence of a multiplicity of reciprocity and mutuality of being. As the theorisation of kinship calls for kinship not to be imposed as a universal model on the record base but allow the records to be understood through the local sociocultural environment and situations to reveal kinship, then an increasing body of evidence will emerge. British kinship studies will have to grapple with the implications of the evidence of kinship active through the nineteenth-century, and re-theorise core concepts of the modern world just as McKinnon has called for and recognise that fourthly, the longstanding assertions that the southern English, southern British, British, western Europeans, Euroamericans, did not uniquely dispense with kinship as a force in their societies. Instead, a research and theorisation path to consider how kinship was adapted and distilled into bureaucratic systems. Then it is possible to reflect on how those systems, influenced the social practices of the Euroamerican world that modernity forged, and who benefited from disguising the functions of kinship. In contribution to which, the evidence base that supported the conceptualised kinship collation as a social history tool has produced nascent projects on kinship and the factional hierarchies of the Church of England, the application of the tool to explore history of emotions such as shame and jealousy, in addition to the numerous topics explored through this thesis.
Appendix i. Illustration of the stalled praxis in British kinship studies

This appendix serves to aid the conceptualisation of the stall in British understandings of kinship, the divergence from the Anthropological and continental European approaches and the consequences for British historiography as discussed in chapter one. Section 1b. British writing on kinship identified eight themes that run through British historiography that combine to moribund kinship studies; a powerful commitment to European developmentalism theories of history; the influence of a British state project of identity and national status derived from western exceptionalism; complications of a fuzzy language of relatedness; the privileging of androcentric connectivity; limited testing and questioning of past peoples language and statements; assumptive untested limitations placed on kinship behaviours, an overdominant model of scholarly practice and finally a failure to observe and appreciate the technological developments of the past quarter-century. To illustrate these, the appendix will analyse the story of the nineteenth-century Chivas Brothers organisation that developed a Whiskey business out of a grocery store from 17 King Street, Aberdeen, over two generations and enjoyed status as purveyors of such to the Royal residence at Balmoral. This example has been chosen as the business is part of an ongoing global brand, Chivas Regal is part of a western orientated multi-national Pernod Ricard, which uses the story to influence and therefore form the public space. In addition, the founding brothers are from the southern Buchan landscape and related to key figures scattered through the thesis.

The first of the themes, argues that a longstanding cultural tradition of western exceptionalism retains a grip on the British historiography and crowds out kinship perspectives. The endeavour of Pernod Ricard to craft an image around its Chivas Regal brand captures western exceptionalism which in part is built around the development of cities, urban business and capitalist consumption. To example, a direct line can be drawn from the potted story of James and John Chivas, the younger siblings of William Chivas, Nether Inver, chapters five and seven, presented on the brand website and F. Paul Pacult’s book Double Scotch: How Chivas Regal and The Glenlivet Became Global Icons, with a forward by the CEO of Pernod Ricard.¹ The direct line captures the brothers departing a backward, marginal, boring, crude and remote countryside of drudgery for the heights and

joys of the modern, civilised city experience, full of opportunities. Pacult and Pernod Ricard in doing so are not innovating or shifting paradigms but instead tapping into a rich tradition, which would include Dick Whittington. The inclusion of Global Icons in the title of the book highlights the pressure that western exceptionalism generates in the British state project of the nineteenth-century cultural outlook, as it defines success. The presentation of James and John breaking away from their family and setting out to make a fortune and found their own new family units fits within the models of Britishness discussed as the second theme, to quote the corporate website ‘Growing up on a remote Scottish farm, James and John Chivas were acutely aware that the world around them was changing, and the idyllic backdrop they called home was no longer big enough to support their desire to make a difference.’

The third theme discussion, that the lack of a rich set of descriptive terms for relatives has been taken as an indicator that connectivity to relatives was culturally unimportant. Pacult, in his presentation of the Chivas brothers, James and John, did though take note of a cousin, Alexander Chivas, who was already ensconced in the city as a banker and provided some introductions. The word cousin is a powerful example of the third theme as it has no specificity, it does not convey generational connectivity without further complex combinations of first-cousin, or even second-cousin, once removed. Nor does the word highlight whether the cousinship is through female or male lines or indeed clarify cousinship through marriage without additions. The one thing that can be said for cousin is that it is unlikely to be appropriated, in a fictive sense, as happens to the terms, uncle and aunt. Consequently, Pacult’s identification of Alexander Chivas, banker and cousin of the brothers places very little into the public space. For instance, James, John and William’s eldest brother was also called Alexander Chivas, which is suggestive of a connection between the two families. As the banking cousin, also a city advocate who had strong connections to the city of London, was the son of the highly successful Alexander Chivas, Senior, Cashier of the Commercial Banking Company of Aberdeen, means that when James and John were introduced to contacts, these contacts were likely to be members of the city elites. The reconstruction of the web of relatives is not a task undertaken as a standard approach in British historiography, consequently, the Chivas brothers’ story in the public space underplays the significance of the banker cousin, moreover the presence of his aunt, Widow Ohmann, Barbara Walker 1783-1871, in 1861 at James Chivas’s family home, 17 King Street, Aberdeen is not commented upon. As this elderly woman’s, step-grandson would enter the UK cabinet in 1866 and be raised to the peerage as Viscount Goshen of Hawkhurst, such lack of commentary about the success of the Chivas brothers’ enterprise is glaring.
The fourth theme stressed the impact of a male-bias in the British historiography. Consequently, the Chivas brothers story in the public space has no room for the contribution and influence of the multitude of mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. Further, to which a fuller understanding of the Chivas as a kin group recovers the enduring importance of the relationships between the men and women stretching across the Atlantic and leveraging opportunity for men through their female-linked networks, in addition to the linkages through Barbara Walker, noted above. The fifth theme, presented as a contribution to the stalled praxis of kinship studies has been an approach that queries and challenges the statements of past people, through textual analysis of small details. The 1861 presence of Widow Ohmann, as the head of a household in 17 King Street is one micro detail that requires such consideration.  

James Chivas, who had garnered various Warrants to provision Royal Households during the 1850s was a successful figure, who labelled himself grocer in 1861. His household was simple to describe to the enumerator, himself, his spouse, children, his grand-mother-in-law, a nanny and a domestic servant, spread across nine rooms, but of course he shared the property with his father’s brother’s son’s aunt-in-law, Widow Ohmann, whose household of five rooms, included Christian Walker, a fundholder, likely but unstated as being the widow’s sister and they had a domestic servant. A reading of these details in combination with the banker-cousin’s 1861 enumeration, at 42 Castle Street with fifteen rooms for him, his wife, her visiting sister and three women domestics, begs the question of why the elderly aunts are at King Street and what that signifies about obligations, reciprocity and mutuality, all of which go unasked as British historiography lacks the motivation, culture and process to identify the records to read together.

The sixth theme is also illustrated by the above 1861 observation, an assumption that kinship has been negated across British society through the cultural changes of the early modern period. Under the gaze of Laslettian approach to nuclear households, it does not calculate to query the relatedness between groups who have been defined as households through the processes of the census. Only complex awareness and close reading of the sources indicate that a different process is in action. For instance, after the death of Alexander Chivas, the banker-cousin in 1871 a gravestone, raised by his widow, mentions the aunts at King Street and in addition indicates that she was her husband’s cousin-wife.

\[2\] Ancestry.com ‘1861 Scotland census’, St Nicholas; ED: 26; Page: 20; Line: 3; Roll: CSSCT1861_24.  
\[3\] Ancestry.com, ‘1861 Scotland census’, St Nicholas; ED: 26; Page: 20; Line: 3; Roll: CSSCT1861_24.
Chapter one, also argued that the seventh constraining theme that had stalled the development of kinship studies was the lack of theorisation in the face of the dominant model of Laslettian determination of the domestic nuclear household. The project of the Chivas whiskey enterprise, into the public sphere as a classic family business fits well into the orthodox theory. The consolidation of the company under James and his sons, following the death without biological heirs of younger brother John in 1862, aided such a presentation. As the core business, the mainstay of the family and the family management were all at 17 King Street. The development of the second generation of family leadership was not complicated by the need to accommodate consanguineous branches within the business. The observations from 1861 indicate that there may well have been concealed arrangements and additional support drawn by the brothers James and John from their banker cousin Alexander, which is the type of sideways reading of the evidence that draws upon the work of Cooper and Donald as discussed in chapter one. Similarly, James Joyce Chivas’s, younger son of James Chivas, decision to leave the family firm and indeed Aberdeen, is easy to cast as a wastrel choice that marks male self-interest and the abandonment of the family. Such a reading is based on orthodox theories that privilege close relatives and overlook wider long-distance kin connectivity. James Joyce Chivas’s decisions led him to follow a pathway previously beaten by his generationally older first cousins, the sons of William Chivas, Nether Inver to Milwaukee, where he arrived in 1882. Chapter seven identified that Robert Chivas was essentially adopted into the family household of Congressman Alexander Mitchell, but Pacult locked into orthodox approaches merely identified the older cousin, as a distant blood relative and overlooked Milwaukee as a continuity of Aberdeenshire society. It is possible that Pacult may have been unable to conceive of the idea that James Joyce Chivas was immediately welcomed into a circle of cousins of cousins, that dominated the financial and social elites of his new city. A close sideways reading of James Joyce Chivas’s death records identifies that he acted as a social link between the two urban centres, travelling back and forth and fostering reciprocity with various female relatives. To be absolutely, scrupulously fair to Pacult, it must be noted that the technological developments of the last decade, chapter one’s eighth theme of constraint, have been enormous. It would have been inconceivable a decade ago to most researchers, to be able to work on research in an English dining room and systematically and cheaply compare a range of data from not only across the southern British

4 Ancestry.com, ‘Wills and Estates, 1838-1933; Wisconsin. County Court (Milwaukee County); Probate Place: Milwaukee, Wisconsin’, James Joyce Chivas 1908.
and Scottish record bases but also add in US records, to unravel multi-indicators of reciprocity that point to enduring, ongoing, unmentioned joint endeavour. The eighth theme, technological development underpins how the Chivas case study has been extended, rediscovered and become more illuminating as to the historical nature of the societies in which the various actors lived. This Chivas case has served to illustrate the eight barriers that have combined to hold back the development of British kinship studies in the last twenty-five years which consequently has seen British endeavours marginalized from those discussed by continental European scholarship.
Appendix ii. Selected sample actor records extracted from the ged.coms with annotation

Herbet Johnston – Chapter Two

2 SOUR @S-1639410558@ -
3 PAGE Class: RG14; Piece: 20311
3 _APID 1,2352::21363830
1 NAME Dr. Herbert /Johnstone/
2 SOUR @S-2086643469@
3 PAGE Class: RG11; Piece: 3782; Folio: 99; Page: 6; GSU roll: 1341904.
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=uki1881&h=9671992&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1876 Birth place: Upholland, Lancashire, England Residence date: 1881 Residence place: Upholland, Lancashire, England
3 _APID 1,7572::9671992
2 SOUR @S-2088276032@
3 PAGE Class: RG12; Piece: 3065; Folio 143; Page 5; GSU roll: 6098175.
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=uki1891&h=20700110&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1876 Birth place: Up Holland, Lancashire, England Residence date: 1891 Residence place: Orrell, Lancashire, England
3 _APID 1,6598::20700110
2 SOUR @S-1003189126@
3 _APID 1,9841::26070036
2 SOUR @S-2088277276@
3 PAGE Class: RG13; Piece: 3414; Folio: 149; Page: 2
3 _APID 1,7814::20313765
2 SOUR @S-1639410558@
3 PAGE Class: RG14; Piece: 20311
Herbert Johnston – with annotation

Red text = Coding for the Ged.com system that can be read by different programs that process Ged.coms

Blue text = Details of the primary source material

Green text = Information extracted from source materials

Orange text = Specific weblinks to source materials

2 SOUR @S-1639410558@ -
3 PAGE Class: RG14; Piece: 20311
3 _APIID 1,2352::21363830
1 NAME Dr. Herbert /Johnstone/
2 SOUR @S-2086643469@
3 PAGE Class:&nbsp;RG11; Piece:&nbsp;3782; Folio:&nbsp;99; Page:&nbsp;6; GSU roll:&nbsp;1341904.
Birth date: abt 1876  
Birth place: Upholland, Lancashire, England  
Residence date: 1881  
Residence place: Upholland, Lancashire, England

Birth date: abt 1876  
Birth place: Upholland, Lancashire, England  
Residence date: 1891  
Residence place: Orrell, Lancashire, England

Relation to Head of House: Assistant  
Date: 1901  
Place: Liverpool, Lancashire, England

Baptism
Date: 28 Jul 1876  
Place: Upholland, Lancashire, England
James Joyce Chivas – Appendix I and Chapter seven

2 SOUR @S-2088307048@
3 PAGE Parish: St Nicholas; ED: 16; Page: 17; Line: 17; Roll: cssct1881_49
3 _APID 1,1119::2636303
2 SOUR @S-1005071292@
3 _APID 1,60143::8647277
1 NAME James Joyce /Chivas/
2 SOUR @S-2088308037@
3 PAGE Parish: St Nicholas; ED: 26; Page: 19; Line: 26; Roll: CSSCT1861_24
3 _APID 1,1080::1006620
2 SOUR @S-1003151382@
3 PAGE Year: 1900; Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 6, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: 1801; Page: 4B; Enumeration District: 0044; FHL microfilm: 1241801
3 _APID 1,7602::63689952
2 SOUR @S903345114@
3 PAGE National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northern District of Illinois and Im
4 CONC migration and Naturalization Service District 9, 1840-19
3 _APID 1,1629::3929251
2 SOUR @S911314061@
3 _APID 1,2544::151138467
2 SOUR @S912754490@
3 PAGE Wills and Estates, 1838-1933; Author: Wisconsin. County Court (Milwaukee County); Probate Place: Milwaukee, Wisconsin
3 _APID 1,9088::1232912
RESI Relation to Head of House: Son, parents are in Birmingham

DATE 1881

PLAC 21 King Street St Nicholas, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

SOUR @S-2088307048@

PARISH St Nicholas; ED: 16; Page: 17; Line: 17; Roll: cssct1881_49

_NAME_ 1,1119::2636303

DATE 3 Jan 1907

PLAC Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA

SOUR @S912754490@

WILLS AND ESTATES, 1838-1933; Author: Wisconsin. County Court (Milwaukee County); Probate Place: Milwaukee, Wisconsin

_NAME_ 1,9088::1232912

DEAT 1908

PLAC Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA

SOUR @S912754490@

WILLS AND ESTATES, 1838-1933; Author: Wisconsin. County Court (Milwaukee County); Probate Place: Milwaukee, Wisconsin

_NAME_ 1,9088::1232912

RESI

PLAC Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa

SOUR @S903345114@

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION (NARA); Washington, D.C.; Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northern District of Illinois and Im

CONC migration and Naturalization Service District 9, 1840-19

_NAME_ 1,1629::3929251

EVEN
Jessie Cruickshank and George Johnston’s stillborn child – Chapter Five

1 FAMS @F219@
0 @P1262@ INDI
1 SEX U
1 BIRT
2 DATE July 11, 1885
2 PLAC Aberdeen Weekly Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Saturday, ; Issue 7174
1 NAME Stillborn /Johnston/
Appendix iii. Nested matrifocal kin of Jessie Cruickshank

This appendix supports chapter five’s core case study in addition through Jessie Cruickshank’s first husband connects to chapter six and captures her maternal relatives in chapter seven. Within the chapters’ the information below is presented as figures derived from an approach that arranges an ever-extending web of relatives that can then be interrogated for evidence of mutuality of being that denotes kinship. The first column states the type of relationship, which after two requires ever-increasing layers of compound complexity to compensate for the lack of specific descriptive terms for most relatives. In addition, the first column acknowledges the concept of degrees of relatedness. This acknowledgement does not add to the analysis as it portrays a false notion that relationships pass through other people, rather than being direct but instead assists the construction of a nested framework as discussed in chapter five. The remaining columns present the absolute basic biographical data that can be reconstructed for the women related to Jessie. As Miss Cruickshank’s age deferential at marriage to George Johnston was a crucial theme in chapter five, the information includes an approximation of their age at marriage, in contrast to their spouses’ age. As the women in the table below, also have profound relationships to each other, mothers and daughters, who under the system, are not clustered together, but in different rows, a system of colour codes draws attention to a further layer of connectedness.

 Nested biological and affinal matrifocal relationships of Jessie Cruickshank 1861-1934, Mrs G. Johnston 1884-w1886 (widowed), married at age 23 /spouse aged 44, Mrs Dr J Nicol 1905-w1914 (widowed) marr.at 43 / 47 for the 1860s-1900s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother (1 degree of relatedness)</th>
<th>Rachel Mitchel 1819-1883, Mrs G. Cruickshank 1855-1883, marr.at 36 / 33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sister (1 degree of relatedness)</td>
<td>Margaret Lendrum Cruickshank 1859-1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MS 1-4) Mother's sister (2 degree of relatedness)</td>
<td>Elizabeth Mitchell 1816-1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MBW 1-3) Mother's brother's wife (3 degree of relatedness)</td>
<td>Martha Reed 1817-1902, Mrs Congressman A. Mitchell 1841-w1887, marr.at 24 / 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MFC 1-6) Maternal First Cousin (3 degree of relatedness)</td>
<td>Margaret Johnston 1837-1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MNW 1-9) Mother's nephew's wife (4 degree of relatedness)</td>
<td>Christian Chivas Mitchell 1866-1951, Mrs T. Croil 1887- , marr.at 21 / 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jessie Pridham 1863-1901, Mrs A. Mitchell 1888-w1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MND 1-7) Mother's nephew's daughter (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Elizabeth B Bruce 1883-1959, Mrs F S Mitchell 1914-1959, marr.at 25 / 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MFCD 1-12) Maternal First Cousin's daughter (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Barbara Mitchell Moir 1889-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs W Jackson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (BW) Brother's wife (2 degrees of relatedness) | None |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(FS 1-2) Father's sister (2 degrees of relatedness)</th>
<th>Margaret Cruickshank 1824-aft1881, Mrs C Wilson 1859-w1872, marr.at 35 / 46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian Cruickshank 1815-1911, Mrs T. Gray 1848-w1870 marr.at 33 / 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (FA) Father's Aunt (3 degrees of relatedness) | Christian Cruickshank 1784-1865, Mrs J Wilson bef1813-w1845, marr. bef 29 / 32 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(FBW 1-3) Father's brother's wife (3 degrees of relatedness)</th>
<th>Grace Morrison 1830-1908, Mrs J Cruickshank 1861-w1900, marr.at 30 / 43</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May Cantlay 1857-1934, Mrs W Cruickshank 1873-w1885, marr.at 26 / 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella Cruickshank 1842-1901, Mrs A Cruickshank abt1872-1901, marr.at 30 / 43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(FFC 1-2) Father's First cousin (4 degrees of relatedness)</th>
<th>Elspet Gray 1813-1899, Mrs R Smith abt1846-1867, marr.app 33 / 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth Gray 1827-aft1871</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(FFCW 1-4)</th>
<th>Elizabeth Milne 1816-aft1871, 2nd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret Smith 1809-1890, Mrs A Wilson abt1854-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Name and Dates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's First Cousin's wife (5 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Mrs J Gray 1853-w1861, marr. at 37 / 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gray 1838-w1875, marr. at 29 / 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1871, marr.app 18 / 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FS2 - Christian Cruickshank 1815-1911, Mrs T. Gray 1848-w1870 marr. at 33 / 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1871, marr.app 18 / 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PFC 1-7) Paternal First Cousin (3 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Isabella Gray 1854-aft1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret Gray 1858-aft1906, Mrs J McBain abt1885-aft1906, marr.app 27 / 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grace Cruickshank 1867-aft1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella A Cruickshank 1875-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PFCW 1-6) Paternal first cousins' wives (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Margaret M Cruickshank 1880-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ann M J Cruickshank 1878-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella E Cruickshank 1882-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PFCW 1-6) Paternal first cousins' wives (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Edith May Johnston 1876-1959, Mrs Dr A Cruickshank 1899-w1920 marr. at 23 / 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catherine Graham 1875- , Mrs J D Cruickshank 1902-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary?, Mrs C Wilson, daughter-in-law of Margaret Cruickshank FS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ann Kindness, Mrs A Cruickshank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PFCD 1-3) Paternal first cousin's daughter (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Maggie McBain 1887-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian McBain 1892-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elsie McBain 1897-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mostly reached adulthood outside of the thesis’s research period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PSC 1-6) Paternal second cousin (5 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Christian Gray 1846-aft1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elspet S Gray 1851-1925, Mrs W Stuart abt1873-aft1882, marr.app 22 / 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jane Gray 1847-aft1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret Y Gray 1849-aft1901, Mrs J Forrest app1876-aft1901, marr.app 27 / 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ann Gray 1851-1943, Mrs A McIntosh 1870-aft1901, marr. at 18 / 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elspet Gray 1839-1913, Mrs J Ogston 1862-1913, marr.at 23 / 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PSCW 1-3) Paternal second cousin's wife (6 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>(PSCD 1-12) Paternal Second Cousin's daughter (6 degrees of relatedness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ann Milne</strong> 1842-aft1901, Mrs W Gray 1860s-aft1901, marr.at UK / UK</td>
<td><strong>Mary W Robb</strong> 1843-aft1891, Mrs J Gray 1860s-aft1891, marr.at UK / UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Margaret Ogston</strong> 1863-aft1901</td>
<td><strong>Elspet A Gray</strong> 1872-aft1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jean Ogston</strong> 1872-</td>
<td><strong>Ann Ogston</strong> 1880-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Margaret Robertson</strong> 1877-aft1881</td>
<td><strong>Elspeth S Gray</strong> 1874-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elizabeth McIntosh</strong> 1877-</td>
<td><strong>Margaret McIntosh</strong> 1879-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elsie B Stuart</strong> 1875-</td>
<td><strong>Elsie J McIntosh</strong> 1888-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deceased before marriage (MS4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Deceased before marriage (MFC1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethelinda Thorsen</strong> 1856-1947, 2nd Mrs J. Johnston 1881-w1904, marr.at 25 / 45 (MNW3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>marr. at 23 / 25 (MND3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FHA 1) First Husband's Aunt (3 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Jannet Mitchell 1810-1898 (MS1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FHMUW 1-3) First Husband's Uncle's wives (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Martha Reed 1817-1902, Mrs Congressman A. Mitchell 1841-w1887, marr. at 24 / 24 (MBWI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FHFC 1-16) First Husband's First cousin (4 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Christina Michie, 1822-1902, Mrs C Riddell 1848-w.1884, marr. at 26 / 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FHFCW 1-9) First Husband's First Cousin's wives (5 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Elizabeth Mair 1823-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jane Mair 1840-1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helen Duguid 1852-1932, Mrs John Mess 1872-w1800, 2nd Mrs P Michie 1887-w1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kate Riddet 1866-1960, Mrs C Mair 1887-w1900, marr. at 21 / 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FHFCD 1 -40) First Husband’s First Cousins’ daughters (5 degrees of relatedness)</td>
<td>Dispersed across the region, country and world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix iv. Jessie Cruickshank from ged.com to kinship collation

assessment narrative

This appendix is composed of two parts, firstly the gathered data on Jessie Cruickshank that has been assembled as a ged.com, see appendix ii for details on how to read the ged.com. Secondly, the appendix applies a sideways reading of the ged.com, informed and in tension with her relatives to create an assessable story of her key life moments. Taken as one the appendix emphasises the volume of data accumulated and how a web of relatives can be read to extract indicators of kinship behaviour.

Jessie Cruickshank’s ged.com
1 FAMC @F220@
0 @P1263@ INDI
1 BIRT
2 DATE 22 Mar 1861
2 PLAC Tassetshill, Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088299498@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1901scotland&h=3396600&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1863 Birth place: Logie Bathan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1901 Residence place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1101::3396600
2 SOUR @S-2088310755@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1891scotland&h=1211046&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeen Residence date: 1891 Residence place: Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1108::1211046
2 SOUR @S-2088307048@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1881scotland&h=301166&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1881 Residence place: Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1119::301166
2 SOUR @S-2088306338@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1871scotland&h=114609&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1871 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1104::114609
2 SOUR @S-2088308037@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1861scotland&h=1488052&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1861 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Birth date: abt 1863 Birth place: Logie Bathan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1901 Residence place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1891 Residence place: Aberdeen Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1881 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1871 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1861 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088308037@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1861scotland&h=1488052&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1861 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1080::1488052
1 RESI
2 DATE 1871
2 PLAC Papits Hill Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088306338@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1871scotland&h=114609&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1871 Residence place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1104::114609
1 RESI
2 DATE 1881
2 PLAC 13 Albert Terrace (niece) Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088307048@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1881scotland&h=301166&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1881 Residence place: Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1119::301166
1 RESI
2 DATE 1891
2 PLAC 12 Beaconsfield Place Aberdeen Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088310755@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1891scotland&h=1211046&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1861 Birth place: Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1891 Residence place: Aberdeen Old Machar, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1108::1211046
1 RESI
2 DATE 1901
2 PLAC Overtown (of Auchnagatt?) New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
2 SOUR @S-2088299498@
3 NOTE http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1901scotland&h=3396600&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt
3 NOTE
3 DATA
4 TEXT Birth date: abt 1863 Birth place: Logie Bathan, Aberdeenshire Residence date: 1901 Residence place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
3 _APID 1,1101::3396600
The ged.com can be translated like all ged.com entries into a biographical narrative that reveals that Jessie was born only weeks before the 1861 census, which adds to the quality of a case study focused on her ego. As a ten-year-old, Jessie Cruickshank is not unsurprisingly living at home as a scholar in the rural hinterland of Ellon, a large traditional riverside community and crossing point. Her parent’s rural tenancy at Tassitshill, was on the northern fringe of the Logie Buchan parish bordering Old Deer-(Ardallie) parish and was approximately seven kilometres over Dudwick Hill from the Little Blackpots tenancy where Jessie’s father, George Cruickshank was raised. Neighbouring Little Blackpots was the Kinaldie tenancy held by Charles Wilson’s cousin and in-law of George Cruickshank. Another two Cruickshank brothers were a further seven kilometres to the north-west of Little Blackpots on the Pitfour estate with neighbouring tenancies of Coilsmore and Cairndale, one of whom William, had succeeded to the Blackpots tenancy in 1860. Twelve kilometres to the north of Tassithills at Bridge of Buthlaw George had a sister and her family, the Grays. The Tassithills Cruickshank’s cannot be considered as to living within a locality cluster as seen amongst the Cardno sibling familial units as their surrounding tenancies were not run by Mitchell, Jessie’s mother’s people, or Cruickshank relatives.

Between the 1871 and 1881 census, Jessie left the family tenancy, which was changed as parents translocated from Tassithills to Drumnahive, Kildrummy, and moved into the upmarket Aberdeen street of Albert Terrace with her namesake maternal aunt,
Jessie/Janet Mitchell. Both women informed their 1881 enumerator that they were
annuitants, the older woman had had a career as a housekeeper to a rural gentleman, lived
abroad and then been a lodgings keeper in the city. At twenty, therefore, Jessie is in the
fashionable suburbs of Aberdeen with her seventy-year-old unmarried maternal aunt who had
worked through her adult life. It is important to notice that she was listed as a resident above
the servants’ indicative that she was more than a short-term visitor. It is not currently possible
to ascertain whether she removed to Aberdeen to attend better schooling as a young
adolescent. But as she was at the heart of fashionable Aberdeen Jessie was likely exposed to a
middle-class cultural lifestyle, inclusive of social time with young men with similar
socioeconomic opportunities.

It must be established whether Jessie was limited to a standalone family-household or
was part of a much wider extended group with active and consequential contacts during her
early years. If they were separated from their kin, then Jessie’s consanguineous marriage to
George would probably be coincidental, if integrated despite the distances, then it was likely
a kin-binding marriage. It has been noted that Jessie was close to her older aunt in Aberdeen,
which is significant as that aunt had resided in Milwaukee. Further to this, it is safe to
speculate that Jessie’s mother was close to her brother George, who held the Mill of Fortree
tenancy in succession to their parents, as before their marriages in 1855 Rachel had provided
sibling support to George just as their sister Elizabeth did to the youngest brother Dr William
Mitchell. Unless Jessie’s parents had both fallen out with their parents and siblings, their
growing family must be considered to have spent considerable time socialising with the
cluster of relatives around Kinaldie-Blackpots-Mill of Fortree.

Also, glimpses of wider ongoing familial contacts exist. Notably, Jessie’s wedding to
her cousin George Johnston 1884 was likely witnessed by another cousin one of the Williams
Grays born in Longside parish during the 1840s, probably William Gray who succeed his
aunt Elspet Gray as a tenant at Balgove, Old Meldrum. This William’s father Thomas Gray
had witnessed the Wilson-Cruickshank wedding in 1859 that had re-linked Blackpots to
Kinaldie as this was also a first cousin marriage. To suggest therefore that her first marriage
was a stranger-cousin union would be untenable as it would require three people not to realise
they were all related.

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1 1871 Census; 1881 census.
2 K. K. Ide ‘Some Glimpses of Scotland’ Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Tuesday, October 02, 1894; pg. 7.
3 scotlandspeople.gov.uk, ‘Statutory Marriages’, 190/00 0002, 228/00 0029.
## Appendix v. Estate and Tenancies on the Skilmafilly Hill, with sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Auchreddie Parish</th>
<th>Tarves Parish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estate</td>
<td>Savoch</td>
<td>Schivas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696 Shire of Aberdeen Poll</td>
<td>Land of Auchnagat, Patrick Strachan of Auchnagat, Laird, gentleman, listed in a fashion that suggests a link to the Earl of Aberdeen assessment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp.6, 9, 203</td>
<td>Tenants of named places: Alexander Baxter at Auchnagate</td>
<td>Ownership passed to Forbes of Schivas, (who may have sold the nearby Tolquhon estate to Earl of Aberdeen) by marriage to Irvine of Drum.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Chief Tenants of named places:</th>
<th>Owners of named places:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1696 Shire of Aberdeen Poll</td>
<td>Earl of Aberdeen, owner</td>
<td>Walter Johnston at Maynes of Savock;</td>
<td>Gordon Gray of Schivas, owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp.6, 9, 203</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Gray at Tilliend; Alex. Sime at Skilmarthy; George Jamieson at Oykorne; John Watson at Mill of Oykorne; Alex. Paterson at Tillisnaught; Andrew Ironside at Auchmaludies; Patrick Duncan at Bedlin; James Chalmer in Drums</td>
<td>Ownership passed to Forbes of Schivas, (who may have sold the nearby Tolquhon estate to Earl of Aberdeen) by marriage to Irvine of Drum.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 18th Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Tenants of named places: Alex. Johnston at Savock; John Johnston at Mains of Inkhorn; James Johnston at Mill of Inkhorn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1796 Horse Tax Rolls, Ellon parish: 4</td>
<td>Ownership passed to Forbes of Schivas, (who may have sold the nearby Tolquhon estate to Earl of Aberdeen) by marriage to Irvine of Drum.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796 Horse Tax Rolls, Tarves parish, Alex Mitchell at Quilquax; John Taylor at Quilquax; William Ironside at old town of Leys;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4 Scotlandsplaces, ‘Historical Tax Rolls’, Farm horse tax rolls 1797-1798, Volume 01, Ellon, New Deer, Tarves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1840s</th>
<th>James Irvine, resident at Schivas, younger son of the 19th Irvine of Dum departs, an event marked by his father’s tenants of Shivas, Auchnagatt and Cairncummer.⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Johnston at Mains of Inkhorn part of high table for the Irvine departure dinner</td>
<td>Lead tenants: Taylor at Cloverickford; Mitchell at Mill of Schivas; Lamb at Mains of Schivas; Sim at Quelquax; Symmers at Oldtownleys; Johnston at Touxhill; Hetherwick at Milltown of Auchnagatt Minister of Tarves reckoned lands were exchanged between Aberdeen and Drum estates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See 1841 Census of the area as presented by freecen.org.uk, more details in technical appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1850s</th>
<th>Ellon</th>
<th>Drum and Bedlin -&gt; Drumwhindle, -&gt; split as Mains of = Auchmaludies -&gt; Auchnedie Mains of Savoch -&gt; split Loanhead of Savoch Greens of Savoch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gibb’s Map of Aberdeenshire An attempt to interpret the changing place names</td>
<td>During the 1850s a deal was concluded between Gordon of Aberdeen and Irvine of Drum to exchange properties that saw Schivas House and Barony combined within the Haddo House holdings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix vi. Truncated transcript of ‘Testimonial to J. H. Irvine, ESQ., Schivas’

A reduced version of an article published in the Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, October 21, 1840

It being understood, some weeks ago, that James Hamilton Irvine, Esq, second son of Alexander Forbes Irvine, Esq. of Schivas, &c., had resolved to leave his native country, to settle in Australia, the tenants upon the estates of Schivas, Auchnagatt, and Cairncummer, unanimously resolved that they would not let one who had been born and brought up amongst them, and who, by his suavity of manners, and amiableness of character, had so much endeared himself to them, leave his paternal abode, without carrying with him some token, however small of their esteem. For carrying this resolution into effect, the tenants selected from among themselves the following gentlemen as a committee of management: - Messrs Taylor, Cloverickford; Mitchell, Mill of Schivas; Lamb, Mains of Schivas; Sim, Quelquax; Symmers, Oldtownleys; Johnston, Touxhill; and Hetherwick, Milltown of Auchnagatt. The results of the labour was a handsome present to Mr Irvine, to be presented to him at a dinner given him, on the thirteenth current, in the spacious grain-loft, at Mains of Schivas, which was filled to the brim by one hundred and ten seated at the dinner table. The roof was elegantly decorated with evergreens, and the walls tastefully ornamented with flags of every device, the British Ensign holding a conspicuous place behind the chair.

The Chair was, at the unanimous request of the tenantry, admirably filled by Mr Taylor, Cloverickford, and supported on the right by their much esteemed guest, J. H. Irvine, Esq. Admiral Sir Arthur Farquhar; C. N. Gordon of Hallhead; R. W. Hamilton of Laverockbank; Mr Johnston, Mains of Inkhorn; Rev. Mr Grieve, Ellon; A. F. Irvine, the younger of Schivas; J. T. Gordon of Nethermuir; Rev Mr Duncan, schoolmaster, Tarves, Charles Irvine, Esq.; Rev Mr Hunter of Savoch. The duties of Croupier were performed by Mr Mitchell, Mill of Schivas, supported by the Rev. James Mair, Savoch. Mr Grieve said grace, and Mr Hunter returned thanks.

On the removal of the cloth, the Chairman gave “The Queen,””Prince Albert,””Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family.”

The Chairman then gave the toast of the occasion, nearly as follows :- “I now rise to propose the toast of the evening – a young gentleman of noble extraction, our worthy and much respected guest, James Hamilton Irvine, Esq. I wish it had fallen to one fitter and abler to do it justice than I. Gentlemen, after what most of you heard here on the occasion of our
last meeting at Schivas, from the Rev. Mr Knox, of the lineal descent of the Irvines of Drum, in a regular succession of name and inheritance, down from the days of King Robert Bruce, for me to say anything of the antiquity, loyalty, and honour of this house, would be but a repetition of his words. But allow me to say, that I think him no less noble through his mother, who bears the name and blood of Hamilton. I shall not boast of my genealogical knowledge, but I think the Hamiltons are nearly related to the Douglassess, of whom I will tell you a story. A Douglas being regent at the time for a minor king, and commander-in-chier in a battle against the … … I propose a pleasant voyage, a happy landing and great success to J. H. Irvine, Esq., (The toast was received with most enthusiastic throughout, and drunk to with unbound applause)

Mr Irvine replied …

…, I no longer trespass on your time, but beg to propose the “health of the tenantry of Schivas, Auchnagatt and Cairncummer.”

This address was listened to throughout with much attention, and was concluded with loud cheers.

Mr Johnston, Touxhill, returned thanks in name of his father, a man in his eighty-fifth year, and a tenant, who had paid rent for fifty-eight years, who was present, but declined public speaking.

The Chairman gave “A. F. Irvine, Esq. of Schivas,” in a longspeech, bestowing on him a well-merited eulogium, as a kind and indulgent landlord; which was acknowledged by Mr Irvine, in one of still greater length…

…

(toasts given for eldest Irvine son, then the youngest son, Mrs Irvine of Schivas and the eldest daughter of Schivas)

…

Mr Sim gave “Miss Jane Irvine.” The chair, “Mr Irvine of Drum;” Mr Hetherwick gave “Mrs Forbes of Schivas,” characterizing her as a most ‘benevolent, humane, and charitable lady;’ and Thomas Clark, Esq. of Whitemyres, gave”Charles Irvine, Esq. of Drum.”

Our limits forbid giving a tithe of the toasts and speeches given in the course of the evening; suffice it to say …
Mr Kennedy, Kinharachy, furnished the viands and liquors which were highly commended. Messrs Strachan (alias Drumnagarry) and Hardy, filled up the insterstices of speechification with appropriate and sweet strains of native music.
Appendix vii. Grampian, Aberdeenshire, Buchan and places of interest

Grampian is a large semi-official region, centred on Aberdeenshire which was a large county, that forms the north-east of Scotland. The region consists of traditional counties and customary sub-divisions of Aberdeenshire, which vary, dependent upon the observer. Marr, a Highland territory around Balmoral and Braemar; Garioch, an inland zone centred on the Alford valley of the river Don, to the east of which is Formatine, between the Don, Ythan and the sea. North of the Ythan river is Buchan which covers the coastal parishes and their neighbours. A fifth subdivision included by some is the strip of Highland parishes along the border with Banffshire, that was the core of the Clan Gordon, Duke of Gordon holdings at Huntly, Strathbogie. These sub-divisions, plus the communities and locales that feature through the thesis are presented in the figure below.

![Figure 0-1 The Grampian shires, Aberdeenshire county components and communities of interest](image)

The bulk of the thesis case studies and data used for doctoral project are drawn from the Ellon hinterland of southern Buchan and northern Formartine. Chapter five, discusses this locale in conjunction with the Alford valley parishes that stretch across Garioch. The customary language of the region generates terms such as Donside and Deeside, referring to
the landscape of the river valleys. Chapter six in particular refers to Ebrieside, which is a tributary of the Ythan river that confluences at the Mill of Kinharrichie just to the west of Ellon. Ebrie burn has flowed down through the parish of New Deer from it source, running between the Skilmafilly Hill and the Hill of Dudwick. The Eerie splits the Savoch locale in two and was the route followed by the railway line between Ellon and the Village of New Deer.
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‘1870 United States Federal Census’
‘1880 United States Federal Census’
‘1900 United States Federal Census’
‘1910 United States Federal Census’
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