

Some Further Notes on the Douglas Family*

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Following W. Kaye Lamb's pioneering work in 1953¹ on Governor Sir James Douglas' family, very little came to light for some twenty-five years. Further research since done in Scotland, England, Guyana, Barbados and the Netherlands has, however, made it possible to fill in many of the gaps in our knowledge and to answer most of the questions which Dr. Lamb raised in his 1953 study.

The discovery of the wills of his uncle, Thomas Dunlop Douglas, and his aunt, Mrs. Cecilia Douglas, has led the way to a good deal more information on the Scottish side of the family.² By following the vague leads which pointed to Sir James having been born in Guyana, then British Guiana, it has also been possible to find conclusive evidence of the presence there of many members of his paternal family, as well as that of his mother, grandmother, sister and family,³ even though numerous attempts made in Guyana, Britain and the Netherlands have failed to produce proof of his birth.⁴ Moreover, it has been possible to draw up a composite picture of the Guyanese world and society — especially of the class

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¹ "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," *BCHQ* 17 (Jan.-Apr. 1953), 41-51.

² In his article "Sir James Goes Abroad," *BCHQ* 3 (Oct. 1939), 283-92, Dr. Lamb was unable, because of wartime restrictions on research, to make any specific reference to the relatives in Britain — with the exception, of course, of Douglas' daughter Jane and her family — mentioned in his Travel Diary of 1864-65 (MS, B.C. Provincial Archives, hereafter PABC). Some of these relatives have been briefly identified in my article "Sir James Douglas' School Days," *BC Studies* 35 (Autumn 1977), 62-63.

³ See my article "Sir James Douglas' Mother and Grandmother" in *BC Studies* 44 (Winter 1979-80), 25-31.

⁴ Attempts made to trace his baptismal certificate through every possible church or missionary society of various parts of Guyana only confirm W. Kaye Lamb's statement that no such church or official registers have survived. "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," 44.

of coloured women to whom his mother belonged — in which Sir James apparently spent his early years before coming to Scotland to be educated.⁵ His roots, therefore, in the Scotland of his father and youth, are the subject of this study and will, it is hoped, contribute, as all studies of antecedents and early life must do, to a further understanding of British Columbia's founding father.

The Douglasses and the families linked to them by marriage who will be discussed below were people of considerable means whose interests abroad moved from the tobacco trade of the American colonies to sugar and cotton estates in the West Indies, in particular British Guiana, now Guyana. They were members of the business élite of Scotland, particularly of the city which, because of its geographical position and commercial interests, appears the most closely linked to the Caribbean: Glasgow. Their wealth enabled them to purchase substantial estates in Scotland, chiefly in the neighbourhood of that city.

Wise businessmen that they were, they diversified their investments, no doubt partly in response to the difficulties experienced in the sugar colony with the end of slavery, and found sources of revenue in new "industries," in particular railway stock.

As they ascended the social scale several of them deserted trade for the army and, in one case at least, for the diplomatic service. Sir James himself, the successful fur trader and factor, the creator and governor of two colonies, despite the seeming handicap of illegitimate birth and part African ancestry, could have nothing to be ashamed of. He had perhaps outranked them all. It is interesting to note that not until after his retirement did he return to Britain and seek out his relatives.

It has been possible to trace some of Sir James' ancestors for seven generations before his own, but I have not attempted to trace more than briefly the descendants of his father's brothers beyond those mentioned in the wills of Thomas Dunlop Douglas and Cecilia Douglas, Sir James' uncle and aunt. Nor have I attempted to follow the fortunes of Sir James' own descendants or those of his sister Cecilia.⁶ The family tree in Appendix A will, it is hoped, help the reader to follow the family relationships which are discussed in the following pages.

Much of the information on the Glasgow families came from three sources. The most comprehensive was *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, illustrated by permanent photographs*, published in

⁵ On his school years in Scotland see "Sir James Douglas' School Days."

⁶ Some discussion of Cecilia's family will be found in "Sir James Douglas' Mother and Grandmother."

1879.⁷ Second was information on the Regality Club, established in October 1885 “to preserve a record of old Glasgow Buildings and of old Glasgow Relics,” with a membership limited to 200. The *Regality Club* contains minutes, membership lists, etc.⁸ Finally, the records of the Board of Green Cloth, a Whist and Supper Club founded in the 1780s and attracting the burgher aristocracy, many of whom were related, proved most useful, though they have only survived for the years 1809 to 1820. They are printed in the *Minute Book of the Board of Green Cloth*, with the Notices of the Members.⁹ These Minutes, of which only 150 copies were printed, indicate a very close and closed social class. These three works, published by the same firm and roughly in the same decade, were printed in very small numbers of 150 to 200, and *The Old Country Houses* was obtainable by subscription only. While they reflect the interest of a narrow group and tend to repeat the same biographical information, they have been found accurate in the instances where wills and estate information could be checked.

James Douglas' father, John Douglas [hereafter referred to as John II] was, as is well known, a member of a prosperous Glasgow merchant family. Born in 1771 or 1772 — he was 68 when he died on 30 June 1840 — he was one of seven sons and a daughter, children of John Douglas [hereafter I] and Cecilia Buchanan, both members of prominent Glasgow business families. It has now proved possible to trace the Douglas ancestry as far back as John (I)'s father, William Douglas, a merchant of Leith, who married Katherine Dunlop. John was their second son.

Little is known about William Douglas beyond the fact he came from Leith and that he was a merchant. A good deal more is known about his wife, Katherine. In 1634, her great-grandfather, John Dunlop, a merchant burgher of Glasgow, son of James (I) Dunlop, and great-grandmother, Elizabeth, purchased “the town and lands of Garnkirk,” according to *The Old Country Houses* mentioned above, near Stewarton, Ayrshire,¹⁰ and the name of Garnkirk was hereafter linked with the

⁷ Hereafter *OCH*, Second Edition, Glasgow, James Maclehose, Publisher to the University, 1879.

⁸ Hereafter *RC*, 1889. First Series. Printed for Regality Club by James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow.

⁹ Hereafter *Board of Green Cloth*. Privately printed. James Maclehose and Sons, MDCCCXI.

¹⁰ According to *OCH*, Garnkirk was in Ayrshire; and Thomas Dunlop Douglas, who was to buy the estate, was to describe himself in his will as “of Dunlop, near Stewarton, Ayrshire.” However, the Strathclyde Regional Archivist reported to the

Dunlop family, for John, a rich man, who besides being a merchant appears to have been also a banker, built the original mansion house of Garnkirk. He died in March 1662.¹¹ Katherine's grandfather, James (II), married Elizabeth, daughter of James Robertson,¹² the future Lord Bedlay, and advocate;¹³ and Katherine's father, also named James (III), was their eldest son. Katherine's mother, Lilius Campbell, was the mother of sixteen children by the time she was 34 when she died, in 1709, not surprisingly in childbirth.¹⁴ Katherine, born in 1695 and therefore only 14 when her mother died, was the fifth child and second daughter to live to adulthood. She was to have a very long life, dying aged over 90. Apparently only three children were born of her marriage to William Douglas, the merchant of Leith, and one of these was John (I) Douglas.¹⁵

John (I) Douglas, the second son of William Douglas and Katherine Dunlop (of Garnkirk), was to marry into one of the most prominent families of Glasgow, for he married Cecilia, daughter of George Buchanan. (With her, the name Cecilia, to be used several times in each succeeding generation, appears to have entered the Douglas family.) Like

writer, September 1985, that he was unable to find a Garnkirk in that county. The only one known to him lies "between Glasgow and Coatbridge, in Cadder parish, Lanarkshire." A possible explanation is that Thomas Dunlop owned two estates, Garnkirk in Lanarkshire and another in Ayrshire, to which he gave the name of Dunlop, or that *OCH* is in error. I am much indebted to the Strathclyde Regional Archives (afterwards SRA) for assistance in locating the estates of Glenfinart, Inchmartine, Glasserton and Carradale. Sources which they quoted were Groome's *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, 2nd edition, which appeared in the 1890s; the *New Statistical Account for Argyllshire*, 1845 (p. 610 for Glenfinart) and James Findlay's *Directory to Gentlemen's Seats, Villages, etc., in Scotland* (Edinburgh, n.d.,? 1843).

- ¹¹ John Dunlop was the third son of James (I) Dunlop of Dunlop, near Stewarton, a very ancient Ayrshire family. The purchase of Garnkirk took place 10 March 1634. "Garnkirk House," *OCH*, 105-07.
- ¹² Incidentally, although Sir James Douglas may not have known it, another descendant of James Dunlop and Elizabeth Robertson was to play a part in the history of British Columbia. Her interest and generosity contributed much both to the founding of the Anglican Mission in British Columbia and to the creation in Victoria of the first diocese. This was Angela Burdett-Coutts (after 1871, Baroness), descended through her mother from Thomas Coutts, the famous banker, whose fortune she inherited. In 1857, her first gift to the diocese of British Columbia amounted to £50,000. Thomas Coutts was a great-great-grandson of James and Elizabeth Dunlop. Consequently, both Sir James Douglas and Baroness Burdett-Coutts were their great-great-great-grandchildren. "Garnkirk House," *OCH*, 106, and Edna Healy, *Lady Unknown, The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978), 78, 155.
- ¹³ 5 April 1654, "Garnkirk House," *OCH*, 105-07.
- ¹⁴ She was the only daughter of Robert Campbell of North Woodside and Katherine, second daughter of John Napier of Kilmahew. *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*

the Dunlops, the Buchanans originally owed their wealth largely to their important tobacco plantations in Virginia, but more fortunate or more able than the Dunlops, they were successful in weathering the economic disaster which the American Revolution meant for so many Glasgow tobacco merchants. Little is known of Cecilia's great-grandfather, Andrew (I)¹⁶ Buchanan, except that he came from Gartocharn,¹⁷ near Drymen. His second son, George (I), a "covenanter who fought at Bothwell Bridge,"¹⁸ came to Glasgow to seek his fortune and became a prominent Maltster, being Visitor of the Maltmen in 1694¹⁹ and Deacon Convener in 1706.²⁰ From his marriage to Mary Maxwell, the daughter of yet another Glasgow merchant, Gabriel Maxwell, were born at least four sons and one daughter. The sons were all businessmen of Glasgow and founded, in 1725, the "Buchanan Society, the oldest charitable society in Glasgow except Hutcheson's Hospital." This society was "for the assistance of apprentices and the support of widows of the name Buchanan."²¹ The oldest of these sons was George (II), who carried on his father's business. Born in 1685 and dying in 1773, he was in 1719, like his father before him, Visitor of the Maltmen and played a prominent part in the public life of his city.²² He built himself a fine mansion on the north side of Argyle Street, though it evidently did not seriously rival his nephew's fine country house, Mount Vernon, or the town residence, the Virginia Mansion, considered one of the finest private residences in Glasgow, planned by his brother Andrew and completed by the same nephew.²³

¹⁶ To simplify matters, only those in *direct* descent will be identified by numbers.

¹⁷ The spelling of Gartacharan used in *OCH* is either an older spelling or a mistake. SRA.

¹⁸ Information from *DNB* article on his second son, Andrew, 1690-1759.

¹⁹ A visitor was an inspector of corporations or bodies politic, in this case the association of maltmen.

²⁰ "Mount Vernon," *OCH*, 185-92.

²¹ Buchanan, Andrew (1690-1759), *DNB*.

²² He was City Treasurer in 1726 and, in 1732 and 1738, Bailie (i.e., in Scotland, a magistrate having inferior criminal and civil jurisdiction, similar to that of an alderman). *Ibid*.

²³ The builder of Mount Vernon and, essentially, of the Virginia Mansion, George Buchanan (1728-1762), was the son of George (II)'s brother Andrew, 1690-1759 (of Drumpellier, Lanarkshire) one of the "Virginia Dons." The Buchanan plantation in Virginia, on the Potomac, adjoined that of the elder brother of George Washington. The George Buchanan (1728-1762) of Mount Vernon fame married Lilius Dunlop (a niece of Katherine Dunlop Douglas who married William Douglas, being the daughter of Katherine's brother James (1697-1769), and Henrietta Maxwell — probably related to Mary Maxwell, wife of George (I)

George (II) Buchanan married Cecilia Forbes, of whom little is known. Four sons and four daughters survived, one of whom, her mother's namesake, became the wife of John (I) Douglas.²⁴ Cecilia Buchanan Douglas was joint executrix with her husband of her father's will, and the inventory of the debts and sums of money owing to George Buchanan, the only document found to date, indicates that the father had a fairly extensive and prosperous business.²⁵

Sir James was aware of his relationship with the Buchanans, for in the Diary of his trip to Europe he mentions the "Oliphants and Buchanans our cousins. Sir Andrew Buchanan Resident at Berlin one of them."²⁶ No connection with the Oliphants has yet been traced. As for Sir Andrew Buchanan, "Resident at Berlin," he was almost certainly the son of "James Buchanan of Blairvadoch, Ardinconnal, Dumbartonshire [*sic*] and Janet, eldest daughter of James Sinclair, twelfth earl of Caithness." Born in 1807, he entered the diplomatic service in 1825 and had a long, distinguished and varied career. On 28 October 1862 he became "ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia." Sir James was therefore entirely correct in placing him in Berlin. A few weeks after Sir James' entry in the diary,²⁷ Sir Andrew became ambassador extraordinary to Russia.²⁸ A reference in the Official Gazette of Demerara (British Guiana) of 3 December 1853 to Andrew Buchanan Yuille, one of the trustees in the estate of James Douglas [brother of

Buchanan, another example of the close family connections of Glasgow's merchant aristocracy). *DNB*; "Garnkirk House," *OCH*, 105-07; and "Mount Vernon," *OCH*, 185-92.

²⁴ One of the sons, Andrew (1725-ca. 1783) left the malt business for the tobacco trade, being head of at least two companies which bore his name: Andrew Buchanan & Co. and Buchanan, Hastie & Co. The second, in 1773, was fourth in the list of 38 Glasgow firms importing tobacco. During his most prosperous years, which ended with the American Revolution, he built extensively in Glasgow. Buchanan Street, one of the chief business arteries of present-day Glasgow, bears his name. *Regality Club*, 116-17, and "Mount Vernon," *OCH*, 186-87.

²⁵ There is no indication of why Cecilia, designated as "Executrix Dative quo nearest in kin," should have acted rather than one of her brothers. The inventory, dated 15 April 1774, lists some forty-one debtors, but the sums were small. The balance, after payment of medical, funeral and sundry expenses, servants' wages and payment to his widow, amounted only to £53/18/9. There is no indication, however, of the *total* value of the estate. Scottish Record Office (afterwards SRO), CC9/7/69, no. 19, 373-76.

²⁶ Travel Diary 1864-65, 5 August 1864, MS, PABC.

²⁷ 15 September 1864.

²⁸ He died at Graigend Castle, Milngavie, near Glasgow, 12 November 1882. For further details of his life, including many honours received — he was made a Baronet in December 1878 — see his *DNB* entry.

John (II)] suggests that the Buchanan family had connections with the Douglasses there.²⁹

With the marriage of Cecilia Buchanan to John (I) Douglas, c. 1767, we come to the generation of Sir James' father and the branch which it has been possible to document most fully. There were at least eight children — seven sons and one daughter — born to the marriage.

The two main sources of information concerning them and their descendants are, first, the will, its codicils (dated respectively 22 March 1828 and 9 July 1830), and the inventory (dated 13 December 1862) of the estate of the only daughter, Cecilia, who in 1794 had married Gilbert Douglas, a West Indian merchant; and second, the will and its codicils of her brother Thomas Dunlop Douglas (dated respectively 19 July 1867 and 22 February 1868). Cecilia Douglas did not die until 1862 and Thomas Dunlop Douglas (hereafter Thomas Dunlop, the name the family always used when referring to him), her last remaining brother, until 1869. Both had married, but neither had surviving issue.

According to Cecilia Douglas' will, the order³⁰ of the children was: William; Cecilia; John (II), Sir James' father; Neil, later Sir Neil;³¹ Thomas Dunlop; Archibald; James; and Colin.

The eldest son, William, who was probably born in 1769, was dead by 1828.³² Cecilia made provision for two of his children: Rosina, to whom a large legacy was left; and Cecilia, who was to become Mrs. Walter Miller. Thomas Dunlop was to make a legacy also to her daughter, named likewise Cecilia (Miller). Sir James was evidently aware of that branch of the family, for he refers in the Diary of his first trip to Mrs. Miller, who "inherited part of the money of Mrs. Douglas of Douglas Park," which indeed she had just done.³³

The second child was Cecilia, born about 1770, for her age was given

²⁹ James Stuart, Attorney in Demerara, is handling the transfer of a share of James' interest in a sugar plantation there to Thomas Dunlop Douglas, one of James' brothers. *The Gazette and General Advertiser of British Guiana* [hereafter *Royal Gazette, B.G.*] (formerly the *Royal Gazette of British Guiana* and, earlier, *Esquebo and Demerary Royal Gazette*). CO 115/25, PRO. Andrew Buchanan Yuille was most probably the son of Martha Buchanan, great-niece of George (II), who married George Murdoch Yuille, yet another evidence of the family and business connections of Glasgow.

³⁰ It is also the order in "Garnkirk," *OCH*, 106-07.

³¹ I have taken the spelling in Cecilia's will rather than in Sir James' Travel Diary of 1864-65. It is also the spelling used in the *DNB*.

³² Cecilia refers to her "late" brother William.

³³ Travel Diary 1864-65, 5 August 1864.

as 91 when she died on 25 July 1862. Her husband, Gilbert Douglas, died without issue in 1807, and Cecilia fell heir — it would seem only for her lifetime — to his estate of Douglas Park. To this she added part of an estate called Orbiston, on the banks of the river Calder about midway between Bothwell and Hamilton, and renamed the combined property Orbiston House.³⁴ At Cecilia's death, according to Sir James (who seems to have been well informed about his aunt's affairs), the "Estate (Douglas Park) devolved on Mr. Douglas, a grand-nephew of Gilbert Douglas; by descent. . . ."³⁵ The inheritor was almost certainly the Robert Douglas who died in Edinburgh on 28 March 1866,³⁶ for Sir James mentions in the Diary of the 1864 trip having "accepted an invitation from Mrs. Robert Douglas of Orbiston. . . ."³⁷ After the death of Robert Douglas, the estate evidently remained in possession of members of the Douglas family. Orbiston House survived until after the Second World War. The building has completely disappeared, but several acres of the property on the River Calder now form a park.³⁸

Cecilia died a wealthy woman for, apart from Orbiston which passed on to Gilbert's relatives, her estate in England and Scotland was valued at £40,365/11/9. There was probably more property in the West Indies;³⁹ two of her executors resided in Saint Vincent — where her husband had had property — and in Jamaica. Some of this wealth, how-

³⁴ See my article on "Sir James Douglas' School Days," *BC Studies* 35 (Autumn 1977), 56-63. The estate of Orbiston had been the property of the Hamiltons of Dalzell (or Dalziell), and had evidently been in part briefly rented by the Douglasses ("List of tenants," 1798, Hamilton of Dalzell papers, Motherwell Public Library) before Gilbert Douglas bought a large section of it in 1800. It is not known if there was any family connection between this branch of the Hamilton family and Jessie (Janet) Hamilton, daughter of John Hamilton, who married Cecilia's brother John (II), Sir James' father, in 1809.

³⁵ Travel Diary 1864-65, 5 August 1864.

³⁶ Additional Inventory of the Personal estate situated in Scotland of Robert Douglas, Esquire, of Orbiston, SC36/48/61, SRO. Among the assets listed in this inventory are shares in the estate of "the late Gilbert Douglas," through Robert's aunt, Miss Janet Douglas, presumably one of Gilbert's sisters.

³⁷ Entry for 23 August. Sir James appears to use Douglas Park and Orbiston interchangeably.

³⁸ The park contains the so-called "Roman Bridge," actually only of medieval construction. In 1923 coal rights at Orbiston, property of "the estate of Robert Lushington Douglas" (who remains unidentified) were being sold. The Trust Disposition and Settlement of that estate had been drawn in 1887 and registered in 1888; one of the Trustees, interestingly enough, was named Monro, presumably a member of the same family mentioned in Cecilia's will. T-BK 177/20, Glasgow, SRO.

³⁹ In 1828 her will mentioned property in Britain, France and the West Indies.

ever, came from the *Tontine* property which she inherited in 1861, as the last surviving shareholder.⁴⁰

Mrs. Douglas also owned banking, railway, navigation, gas and insurance stocks or bonds, in particular nearly £8,000 of Bank of England Stock. She also received rents from some thirty tenants, some of whom occupied her Tontine property. Her will, particularly the largest section, the Trust Disposition and Settlement she made 22 March 1828, gives an idea of her wealth and interests. The household furniture, silver plate, jewellery and other effects — including many art objects⁴¹ — in her house and in the Tontine Coffee Room totalled in 1864 over £2,738/13/4. It is, of course, impossible to determine whether there had been changes in that section of the estate in the thirty-four years since the will had been drawn up.⁴²

Besides the art collection, which she bequeathed to a Scottish public institution, gifts made to some seven charities, annuities to old servants and sums of money to servants in her employ at the time of her death, legacies were left — both cash and specific objects — to over thirty persons, most of whom can be identified, or whose names are at least familiar, even if the specific relationship cannot be fully ascertained. Her

⁴⁰ The *Tontines*, named after a Neapolitan, Lorenzo Tonti, who invented them in the seventeenth century, were curious societies which combined investment with a certain amount of gambling. Money was invested in house property by subscribers who “nominated a person on whose life he held his shares.” As long as the nominee lived, a proportional share of the investment went to the subscriber. After the nominee died this interest ceased, and the person whose nominee was the last survivor got the whole of the property. (*RC*, 73, and the *Dictionary of English Law*, Gen. Ed. Earl Jowitt, London, Sweet and Maxwell Ltd., 1959, 1761.) The Glasgow Tontine Society was established in 1781 to build coffee rooms and to acquire some additional Glasgow property. Of the 107 shares of £50 two were bought for Cecilia Douglas, No. 70 bought by Alexander M’Caul and 92 by William Douglas, probably her grandfather. (Four of five shares were bought for ladies.) Cecilia Douglas eventually became the owner as well as nominee of these two shares. She had the joy of outliving *all* the other nominees and became sole owner of the Tontine property in the year before her death. It was sold by her trustees in 1864 for £17,000. (*RC*, 81-82, and also “Orbiston House,” *OCH*, *passim*.)

⁴¹ That she had accumulated a large collection of art objects is evident, for she stipulated that “. . . the Collection of Pictures, sculpture, Pietro Ouro Tables and Cabinets, marble tables, Vases Etruscan vases mosaics and Cabinet of China and other Works of Art purchased by me during my residence abroad . . .” were to be left to some “Public Institution in Scotland.” She had, it seems, resided extensively in Italy. Her collection was received by the Corporation of Glasgow and deposited in the city Galleries in Sauchiehall Street. (“Orbiston House,” *OCH*.) The collection unfortunately contained nothing pertaining to the West Indies. Correspondence with writer, 1980.

⁴² Nor is it feasible, for the purpose of this study, to ascertain the distribution.

brothers and their families were the chief recipients, but Gilbert's relatives were not forgotten, nor were members of the Monro and Labalmondière families. Monros and Labalmondières were among her trustees and had West Indian connections in Saint Vincent, Jamaica and Demerara.⁴³ Some of the Monros, it would appear from the will, were related to Gilbert Douglas. An idea of the bequests in kind which she made will be seen below, when her six younger brothers are discussed.

John (II), the younger brother next to her in age, was Sir James' father. Born in 1771 or 1772 — he was aged 68 in 1840 — he had at least four legitimate children by his 1809 marriage to Jessie (Janet) Hamilton: John (III),⁴⁴ Jane Hamilton, Cecilia and Georgina, who became Mrs. Bayley. Since Sir James, who grew to be very fond of his half-sisters, Jane Hamilton and Georgina Bayley, whom he met in Paris, makes no mention at all of his half-brother, John (III), and since the latter was not mentioned in Thomas Dunlop's will of 1867, one can safely surmise that he had died by 1864. Presumably he died without issue, for none is mentioned in Thomas Dunlop's lengthy will of 1867, by which the last member of that generation, himself without children, distributed his not inconsiderable fortune to his many relatives.

Mrs. Cecilia Douglas left most of her books to her nephew John (III) and jewellery to his sisters, besides the sum of £500, minimum, which each of her legitimate nephews and nieces received. (William's children, presumably because they were orphans, received more.) But, there was no mention of the children of Martha Ann Ritchie Telfer: Alexander, (Sir) James and Cecilia,⁴⁵ only of the legitimate offspring of John (II) Douglas.

As Dr. Kaye Lamb pointed out some thirty years ago, Sir James met his sisters Jane and Georgina in Paris, where they were evidently residing. The Diary of his 1864 trip recounts the meeting, and his Private letter book⁴⁶ gives evidence of continued if infrequent correspondence,

⁴³ The first two are obvious from the will; Labalmondière or La Balmondière (the spelling varies) was noted in the Demerara newspapers as partner in sugar properties.

⁴⁴ Possibly the son was not the eldest, for in the two trust dispositions and settlements, dated March and December 1836, which make up John (II) Douglas' will, mention is made of the son not yet having attained the age of majority (and also of at least some of the daughters not having reached the age of 21). RD5/644 SRO.

⁴⁵ See "Sir James Douglas' Mother and Grandmother."

⁴⁶ MS, PABC.

especially between Sir James and Jane. The Diary of the trip, in fact, was, it would seem, to be transcribed and a copy sent to each of these two sisters. Jane later lived in London, at 81 South Audley Street;⁴⁷ presumably she had moved because of the Franco-Prussian War, but it is not known how long she lived in either city. Nor is it clear if Sir James met his sister during his much shorter second journey to Europe in 1874, though an entry for 26 July of that year — “Called on Miss Douglas” — suggests this.⁴⁸

Less is known of Cecilia, Sir James’s second half-sister, though she was alive in 1867, when Thomas Dunlop mentioned her in his will. She, as well as Jane, was still unmarried.

The family of the third brother, Neil, appears to have been the one about which Sir James knew the most. He became acquainted with several members of that family in his 1864 tour. When Mrs. Cecilia Douglas made her will in 1828 she referred to her brother Neil (this appears to be the correct spelling of his name) as being Colonel “of His Majesty’s Seventy-ninth Regiment of Foot and Aide de Camp to the King.” His distinguished career has been discussed in Dr. Lamb’s article, “Some Notes on the Douglas Family,” already mentioned. In view of his position in the family, very clearly given by Mrs. Cecilia Douglas, I believe he must have been born before 1780, more probably in 1773 or 1774, coming as he did between John (II), born in 1771 or 1772, and Thomas Dunlop, born about 1775.⁴⁹

Neil (Sir Neil after 1831) died on 1 September 1853 in Brussels. He had married in 1816 a daughter of George Robertson, banker, of Greenock, by whom he had at least two sons and three or four daughters. His eldest son, John (later Sir John) seems to have had a brother of whom nothing is known and who was dead before 1828.⁵⁰ The girls, in the

⁴⁷ Private Letter book, handwritten note, inside back cover of book.

⁴⁸ Travel Diary, 1864. MS, PABC. However, the Miss Douglas mentioned might have been a relative of Joseph Douglas, mentioned in Mrs. Cecilia Douglas’ will as a Barrister in London, and presumably yet another family connection.

⁴⁹ The DNB entry gives his date of birth as 1779. *Hart’s Army Lists* do not appear to give birth dates (information from National Army Museum, London, to writer Dec. 1979). The references given in the DNB article — *Hart’s Army List* and the *Gent. Mag.* of October 1853 — obviously fail to clarify this point but give a lot of information on his military career. He seems to have served with several regiments, including the 78th and 79th regiments of Highlanders. According to the *History of the 79th Foot: Records of the Cameron Highlanders*, n.p., Blackwood, 1909, he served in Denmark, Sweden and the Peninsular War, as well as in the Waterloo campaign, where he was seriously wounded (133).

⁵⁰ John is referred to in Mrs. Cecilia Douglas’ will as “eldest son.”

order given by Mrs. Cecilia Douglas in her will, were Cecilia, Susan Morrison and Barbara Elrington. "Mrs. Hamilton Douglas, my niece, formerly wife of Thomas Dunlop Findlay, Merchant, Glasgow," may have been a fourth daughter, for she is mentioned in Thomas Dunlop's will among other descendants of Sir Neil, and as younger than Barbara; thus, she was probably not born in 1828, when Mrs. Cecilia Douglas made her will. This corresponds with what Sir James himself states in the diary of the 1864 trip "Sir Neils [*sic*] youngest daughter is married to Mr. Finlay."⁵¹

Sir John followed his father in the army and also had a distinguished career, being made K.C.B. in May 1859.⁵² It is not clear whether Sir James knew him — he certainly knew some of his sisters — though he makes references, always in the Diary of the 1864 trip, to John Douglas, who may or may not have been Sir Neil's son. Since he mentions John Douglas in the same sentence as other members of Sir Neil's generation, he may have been referring to his own father.⁵³ Elsewhere, however, he mentions Sir John, but does not mention knowing him personally, whereas in mentioning Mrs. Douglas of Douglas Park, Archibald of Glenart [*sic*], Tom of Dunlop and John Douglas, all of the senior generation, he says he "knew them all."⁵⁴ Sir John had at least two sons, Neil and Charles Cathcart, to whom their great-uncle Thomas Dunlop left legacies.

Apparently, Sir Neil's eldest daughter, Cecilia, was dead by 1864. Sir James makes no mention of her. She was not a legatee in Thomas Dunlop's will of 1867, which would even more strongly suggest that she was no longer alive, but her daughter, Mrs. Jocelyn or Allan, was. Her first name had obviously escaped the aged Thomas, and a space was left blank in the will. Sir James knew of her, for this is surely the same per-

⁵¹ 5 August 1864 entry.

⁵² He served in the 79th Highlanders (The Cameron Highlanders) too. Ensign, 6 September 1833; Colonel, 1 August 1857. By 1880 he was a General. He served in the Crimean War, during which he commanded the 79th Highlanders, and in the Indian Mutiny; he was the recipient of numerous decorations, as well as in 1859, the K.C.B., and died 8 September 1887. *Army Lists* 1863, 1864, 1865. PRO; *The History of the 79th Foot*, 132-33.

⁵³ 20 July entry.

⁵⁴ "James" — presumably his uncle, of whom more later — "left £40,000 to Sir John's son." 5 August 1864 entry. Sir James misspells the name of his uncle's estate, Glenfinart, as Glenart. The first reference to Glenfinart is in John (II)'s will of 1836. The spelling varied: Glenfinart is correct. SRA.

son as Mrs. Major Jocelyn mentioned immediately after Mrs. T. D. Finlay in the Travel Diary.⁵⁵

The second and third daughters of Sir Neil, as Dr. Lamb has demonstrated, were known to Sir James. "Cousin Susanha Douglas" on whom he called in Edinburgh on 31 July 1864, is almost surely Susan Morrison Douglas.⁵⁶ And Sir James' cousin Barbara was his hostess at her estate, Inchmartine, in the northeast corner of Errol parish, Perthshire, near Inchture.⁵⁷ She was then Mrs. Ferguson Blair but was to marry, the following year, Captain William Arbuthnott.⁵⁸ Sir James met the son of her *first* marriage to a Mr. Allen, James Douglas Baw (or Blair) Allen.⁵⁹ This is most likely the J. D. Vaughan Allan "of Inchmartine," to whom Thomas Dunlop also left a legacy and whose name is mentioned in the will just before that of Mrs. Arbuthnott, though there remains the possibility that J. D. Vaughan Allan — because of the spelling of Allan rather than Allen — may have been a son of Mrs. Major Jocelyn or Allan. However, the address, Inchmartine, strongly suggests that he was the son of Barbara Elrington Douglas (Allen, Ferguson Blair) Arbuthnott.

As for the fourth daughter of Sir Neil — whose Christian name is not known — Mrs. Hamilton Douglas, "formerly the wife of Thomas Dunlop Findlay," it would appear from Thomas Dunlop's will either that she was a widow or, more likely, that the marriage had been unsuccessful and she had reverted to her maiden name. Sir James, however, refers to her as Mrs. T. D. Finlay. He gave her address in Glasgow, but there is no mention that he met her.⁶⁰ There were children of the marriage

⁵⁵ Entry for 19 July 1864. In the same entry the name Lady Annesly appears beneath that of Mrs. Major Jocelyn. It has, however, been crossed out, and it appears that Mrs. Major Jocelyn's name was intended to replace Lady Annesly's. Next to it appears: "daughter Lady Errol." It is not clear if Sir James is referring to yet another daughter of Sir Neil or to a daughter of Mrs. Major Jocelyn. Neither Lady Annesly nor Lady Errol appears in Mrs. Cecilia Douglas' or Thomas Dunlop Douglas' will.

⁵⁶ Travel Diary 1864-65. Archibald does not, as suggested by Dr. Lamb, appear to have had a daughter by that name.

⁵⁷ Sir James spells it "Inchmartin." Inchmartine House is still referred to as a "mansion." SRA.

⁵⁸ Thomas Dunlop's will confirms this information and gives the name of her former husband as Neil Ferguson Blair.

⁵⁹ The entry in the Diary of the 1864 trip, for 3rd August, is not at all clear, Sir James being understandably confused by the names Baw, Blair and Ferguson. The names Blair and Ferguson have been crossed out.

⁶⁰ Travel Diary 1864-65, 19 July. She lived then at 126 Buchanan Street, Glasgow — a street, as has been noted, named after their common ancestor.

— Uncle Thomas Dunlop made provision for them in his will, but they were not named; nor is there any indication of their number.

Thomas Dunlop Douglas was the fourth son and fifth child of John (I) and Cecilia (née Buchanan), and he was to be their last surviving child, dying in 1869. Born in 1775,⁶¹ he was first sent to work in the office of a hat maker, an “extensive and prosperous business” in Glasgow in the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. This was the firm of Thomas Buchanan, doubtless yet another relative, where he was to learn the business; he later started his own hat-making business, having his factory “on a narrow strip of ground running from Brown Street to Carrick Street,” while he lived at 27 Glassford Street.⁶² He then became an insurance broker and merchant and had a fine house built “for his own occupation,” presumably from which to run his increasingly numerous business activities.⁶³ And numerous they were, for he was a partner with his brothers John (II) and Archibald in the firm, “John, Thomas Dunlop and Archibald Douglas,” which had extensive business interests, as did so many Glasgow families, in the sugar trade.⁶⁴

The name Dunlop, so firmly associated with Thomas Dunlop Douglas, comes from the fact that not only was it his middle name,⁶⁵ but he seems to have had a particular affinity with his Dunlop ancestry. When he was about 70, in 1845, he bought the estate of Dunlop, Garnkirk House, in the Country of Ayr, an estate which had belonged to his great-great-great-grandfather, James Dunlop.⁶⁶ He seems to have made that estate his principal residence, for in his will he described himself as “Thomas Dunlop Douglas of Dunlop, near Stewarton, Ayrshire.”

⁶¹ *Board of Green Cloth*, 153. This is corroborated by Sir James in a letter to his daughter Jane (Dallas) when he states that Thomas Douglas had died at the age of 94 and was the last of the brothers. Private letter book, 26 April 1869, PABC.

⁶² *Board of Green Cloth*, 153.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁶⁴ According to the *Board of Green Cloth* (153-54), the house Thomas Dunlop built stood at Blythwood Place (the address given for him in his brother John (II)'s will of 1836), later renamed and numbered 140-142 St. Vincent Street, and the firm J. T. D. and A. Douglas obtained (feued) about 1816 a tract of land described as “the block bounded by St. Vincent Street on the south, Hope Street on the east, the News Lane on the north, and Wellington Street on the west.” A *feu*, in Scotland, was the granting of land for building in perpetuity, in consideration of a perpetual annual payment.

⁶⁵ According to the *Board of Green Cloth* (153), Thomas Dunlop Douglas was “doubtless” named for his granduncle, Thomas Dunlop, “a Virginia merchant in Glasgow, under the firm of Thomas Dunlop & Co., owner of a fine mansion in the Candleriggs, opposite the City Hall.”

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 154, and “Garnkirk House,” *OCH*, 107. See above, 5-6.

Thomas Dunlop married Rose Hunter, of Greenock, but no children survived.⁶⁷ It is not certain whether he ever had any children, though his sister, Mrs. Cecilia Douglas, made provision for the possible children of all her brothers, *including* Thomas Dunlop. A reading of the will suggests that this was simply a means of covering all eventualities, for no children of Thomas Dunlop are named, whereas in the case of others of her nephews and nieces all the ones already born appear to have been given specific bequests.

When Thomas Dunlop made his will on 19 July 1867, he left the bulk of his fortune to Thomas Douglas Cunningham Graham, who⁶⁸ was then residing with him. In a codicil, made on the same day as the will, Thomas Dunlop, obviously anxious that his name would not die out altogether, requested that “the party for the time in possession of my Estates in Ayrshire . . . bear and use the name of Dunlop Douglas.” A further codicil, dated 22 February 1868, requests that the name of “Douglas of Dunlop” [*sic*] be assumed by either the future husband or the heirs of Helen Stewart (who has not been positively identified, but is probably a granddaughter of Thomas Dunlop’s brother Archibald). Failing this, the same request is made of Sir John Douglas and his heirs, “so as to keep the old name.” There was probably some difficulty in the way of Thomas Douglas Cunningham Graham assuming the name Dunlop Douglas. He was still alive — his inheritance was, in fact, increased by the 22 February codicil — and he assumed his responsibility as one of the trustees on 5 February 1869.⁶⁹

There is no doubt that Thomas Dunlop was a prominent merchant of Glasgow. His membership in the famous “Board of Green Cloth,” the club of the burgher aristocracy of Scotland’s business centre, bore witness to this. This club was a small one, between sixty and seventy members in the early nineteenth century, and almost a family club. The editor of the minutes of 1809 to 1820, the only ones which have survived, has shown these close links. The chief entry for Thomas Dunlop (he is mentioned half a dozen times), names as cousins members of the families of Campbell, Donald and Houston, as well as, of course, other

⁶⁷ *Board of Green Cloth*, 154.

⁶⁸ Whose relationship has not yet been ascertained, but who may have been a nephew (on his wife’s side) since he is also listed as one of the trustees of the estate (the other two being Thomas Dunlop’s own nephews, Sir John Douglas and Colonel John Douglas, sons, respectively of Neil and Archibald).

⁶⁹ I have no explanation for “Dunlop Douglas” in 1867 having become “Douglas of Dunlop” in 1868. This discrepancy may be due to a copyist’s mistake. See also note 73.

Dunlops. In another entry a connection with the Douglasses of Mains is suggested.⁷⁰ He is also mentioned in the *Regality Club*, in connection with the Dunlops.⁷¹

His estate, apart from the properties already mentioned, included, as his sister's had, numerous railway shares, including some in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The total estate may have been about £300,000. In Scotland it was over £64,000, in England nearly £25,000 and, like his brothers, he had interests in the West Indies. These may have been extensive, for the value of the estate other than in Scotland was over £200,000.⁷²

Sir James makes several references to Thomas Dunlop. He tried to see this last survivor of his father's siblings, but, when he called at his house in Glasgow, Thomas Dunlop was "absent from home."⁷³ Sir James referred to his uncle's death in a letter to his daughter Jane (Dallas) and in another to his sister Jane. In the latter, news of the value of the estate had obviously reached Sir James, who comments, "Thomas Douglas died well off. To whom did he leave his large property. What a villain his London broker proved to be."⁷⁴

The fifth brother was Archibald, who was born in 1776 and died in 1860.⁷⁵ Archibald, in business with his brothers John and Thomas Dunlop, the West-India merchants, purchased the estate of Glenfinart in Argyllshire⁷⁶ before 1836, when John (II) made his will. The *Regality Club* refers to him as a merchant in Glasgow in 1811 and the owner of

⁷⁰ *Board of Green Cloth*, preface, ix-xiii. For a discussion of the Douglasses of Mains, see below, 24-25.

⁷¹ *RC*, vol. I, n. 55 and 58, vol. II, 146.

⁷² Inventory of estate, 26 March 1869, SC6/44/34, SRO.

⁷³ Letter to his sister Jane, 13 July 1868, Private letter book, PABC.

⁷⁴ 26 April 1869 (to Jane Dallas) and 2 June 1870 (to Jane Douglas), *ibid.* The connection between Sir James and Thomas Dunlop was obviously known to Lord Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, as is evident from an entry in Sir James' Private letter book. "It may possibly interest Mrs. Carswell" (a Scot with whom he had during his 1864-65 journey, discussed mutual acquaintances and family connections in Scotland), "to know that Thomas Douglas of Dunlop, the last of my Fathers [*sic*] brothers, died in January at the advanced age of ninety-four." Letter to Cardwell, 28 May 1869, Private letter book. Sir James had called on Cardwell in London.

⁷⁵ T. M. Devine, "An eighteenth-century business élite: Glasgow-West Indian merchants, c. 1750-1815," *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 57, no. 163 (April 1978), 59. Devine places Glenfinart, more correctly Glenfinart House, in Perthshire. This seems to be an error and Glenfinart, owned by an Archibald Douglas in 1845, must certainly be the Glenfinart House by Loch Long in Cowal, Argyllshire. SRA.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

“a share in some property in Glasgow,”⁷⁷ as well as a member of the Glasgow Golf Club in 1815.⁷⁸ Besides his partnership in J., T. D. and A. Douglas and Co.,⁷⁹ he was a partner in Douglas, Brown and Co., cotton-spinners.⁸⁰

He married Anna McNeill, who survived him and to whom Thomas Dunlop left a small legacy, and he had at least two, possibly three, children: Anna, John and probably Helen. Anna and John were born before March 1828, the date of the will of Mrs. Cecilia Douglas, who named her brother Archibald and his two children, Anna Glassford and John, as legatees. Anna Glassford married Richard Campbell of Carradale (a small fishing village on the east coast of Kintyre, Argyllshire),⁸¹ who died before Thomas Dunlop's will of July 1867. A daughter, Mary Caroline Douglas Campbell, was one of the important legatees of Thomas Dunlop's estate.

Archibald's only son, John, entered the army.⁸² By 1867, when he was named one of the executors of Thomas Dunlop's will, he was Colonel and a C.B., and he was residing at Glenfinart. He had acted on behalf of his uncle Thomas Dunlop in 1862 at the time of the settlement of Mrs. Cecilia Douglas' estate.⁸³ He was to receive at least £40,000 from Thomas Dunlop's estate.

It seems *possible* that there was a third child of the family, born after 1828. When Thomas Dunlop, who seems to have been particularly close to the family of his brother Archibald, made provision for the disposal of his personal property *after* the death of the designated heir, Thomas Douglas Cunningham Graham, or earlier if Graham predeceased him,

⁷⁷ RC, IV, 195.

⁷⁸ RC, I, 155.

⁷⁹ The firm's title seems to have used either the full names, the initials or “John, Thomas and Arch.” Douglas and Co.

⁸⁰ Devine, “Eighteenth-century business élite,” 59.

⁸¹ A Richard Campbell was listed in the mid-1840s as the occupier of Carradale House. SRA.

⁸² He too seems to have served at times in the 79th Highlanders; an Ensign, in the 61st Foot, 18 June 1829, he was on 24 December 1852 a Major in the 11th Hussars, which was to be the Regiment with which he was longest associated; Colonel, 20 June 1857; and Major General, 6 March 1868. He commanded the 11th Hussars in the Crimean War, but does not, like his cousin, Sir John Douglas, appear to have seen much active service after the end of that war. He was in command of the Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot when he died 10 May 1871. He received numerous decorations. *Army Lists* 1863, 1864-65, PRO; G. T. Williams, *Historical Records of the 11th Hussars* (London: George Newnes, 1908), 349.

⁸³ He is referred to as “only son” in the 1862 document, at which time no mention of his decoration is made.

he named first Helen Stewart, his grandniece and daughter of his niece, Mrs. Helen Douglas, and the late Robert Stewart of Glasserton, in south-east Wigtownshire,⁸⁴ then Mary Caroline Douglas Campbell, also his grandniece and daughter of his niece Mrs. Anna Douglas Campbell, of Carradale. Though the arrangement was slightly altered by one of the codicils, suggesting that Mary Caroline Douglas Campbell had either died or incurred some displeasure by February 1868, the family connection is interesting. Named as heirs in the same section of the will and, initially, left similar benefits, Mary Caroline Douglas Campbell and Helen Stewart, both his grandnieces, were possibly daughters of two sisters, Helen and Anna, and grandchildren of Archibald. Sir James in the Diary of his 1864-65 trip mentions Archibald, whom he calls "of Glenart," and says he knew him. As Archibald's children he clearly gives the names of Mrs. Seaton Carr⁸⁵ and John Douglas, Glenfinart. The entry "Widow, Mrs. Douglas," referring no doubt to Archibald's widow, is correct, since Archibald had died in 1860.⁸⁶

The sixth brother was named James. Little is known about him except that he was alive when Mrs. Cecilia Douglas made her will and also at the time of John (II)'s death in 1840. He seems to have died before 1853⁸⁷ and almost certainly before 1867, for he is not mentioned in Thomas Dunlop's will. It does not seem that he married, for although Mrs. Cecilia Douglas made provision for all the lawful children of her brothers, and included Thomas and James in the list, there was a specific bequest only for James himself, with no mention of wife or children. In 1828, according to his sister's will, he was in Demerara, but in 1836 and 1840, in John (II)'s will, he is called a "merchant in Glasgow." Sir James knew something of his financial affairs too. He mentions in the Travel Diary that "James left £40,000 to Sir John's son";⁸⁸ it is not clear whether this was to Neil or to Charles Cathcart.

⁸⁴ Stair H. Stewart, son of Robert Stewart, and presumably of Helen, was another of Thomas Dunlop's legatees. The estate was named Glasserton House. Its owner in the mid-1840s was Stair H. Stewart. SRA.

⁸⁵ Who cannot be clearly identified with the known daughter, Mrs. Anna Douglas Campbell, of Carradale, or the possible daughter, Mrs. Helen Douglas Stewart of Glasserton.

⁸⁶ Travel Diary, 19 and 20 July 1864.

⁸⁷ On 3 December 1853, the *Royal Gazette* (of British Guiana) carried a notice of the transfer of a share in the plantation *Good Hope*. This share belonged to "James Douglas, formerly of Glasgow, now deceased, and was being transferred to Thomas Dunlop Douglas." CO 115/25, PRO.

⁸⁸ Entry for 5 August 1864.

The seventh brother, Colin, appears to have died before 1828. For some reason he seems to have been ignored by Sir James when he wrote of his father's "five brothers" rather than six.⁸⁹ Colin is mentioned in the entry of Garnkirk House in *The Old Country Houses* as the youngest child.⁹⁰ His existence, as well as the likelihood that he died before 1828, is confirmed by Mrs. Cecilia Douglas' will, for she leaves her brother James among other mementos "Lord Orfords [*sic*] Works (gift of my Brother Colin.)"

It is very likely that he, too, lived part of his life in Demerara, but that he had died by 1828, when his sister Cecilia made her will.⁹¹ Otherwise his sister would presumably have left him a legacy too and obviously not willed the gift she had received from him. That he died without issue seems likely, for his sister, who made provision for children of her deceased brother William, made no reference to any such children. Sir James, one supposes, knew little if anything of his existence. At any rate he makes no mention of him. Perhaps it was simply that since Colin was dead and there was no one succeeding him, Sir James had no reason to refer to him.

It is quite clear that the Douglasses, Buchanans, Dunlops and Hamiltons were families of considerable means, members of Glasgow's business élite, and had extensive business interests in the West Indies, especially Demerara.

Their wealth has been discussed. As for their relative importance in Glasgow society, membership in the Board of Green Cloth, mention in the *Regality Club* and inclusion in *The Old Country Houses* all con-

⁸⁹ Letter to his daughter Jane (Dallas), 26 April 1869, Private letter book.

⁹⁰ P. 107. Colin was a favourite Dunlop christian name.

⁹¹ Several references have been found in Demerara to a Colin Douglas, and all evidence points to this particular member of the family. On 2 July 1816, for instance, "Colin Douglas of the Colony [of Demerara] for himself and as attorney of J. T. & A. Douglas" sold 108 slaves to F. C. Ebbers. (*Register of Transports*, 1816, Folio 88.) Six years later, on 5 June 1822, he appeared in another transport as "partner and attorney of J. T. & A. Douglas and Co." (*Register of Transports*, 1822, Folio 49. The company's title, it will be noted, is slightly altered.) The last reference found was in 1826, when, as "representative of the Estate of the late Moses Buchanan," his name appears in the *Register of Petitions*. (30 March 1826, Folio 30; 8 May 1826, Folio 75; ? August 1826, Folio 299.) Archives of Guyana, Georgetown. [hereafter AG] Buchanan, it will be noted, was a family name. Although his name appears in a list of electors in Georgetown in 1839 (*Royal Gazette*, 4 June 1839 CO 115/4, PRO) between the names of John Douglas and Thomas Douglas, it seems very probable that he was no longer alive, for the right to be an elector appears to have been connected to the holding of property and does not necessarily mean that Colin was then living in Demerara, or even alive at all. It probably indicates that the settlement of his estate was not complete, or simply that his name had not yet been removed from the List of Electors.

firm their position. They appear to have followed the pattern outlined by T. M. Devine in his study "An eighteenth-century business élite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815."⁹² Some of them, like the Buchanans and Dunlops, were merchants in the tobacco trade; practically all of them were in the Caribbean trade;⁹³ and many eventually fulfilled their dreams of owning substantial estates, for example Orbiston House (Douglas Park) owned by Mrs. Cecilia Douglas; Garnkirk House, the old Dunlop estate which Thomas Dunlop purchased late in life, and Glenfinart, the home purchased by Archibald.⁹⁴ Besides, several of them owned substantial houses in Glasgow or Edinburgh.⁹⁵

It is not possible, within the limits of this study, to follow the fortunes of all the descendants of John (I) Douglas and Cecilia Buchanan. But the wills of three of their children — Cecilia, John (II) and Thomas Dunlop — the first and third of which have been discussed in these pages, and that of John (II), discussed in W. Kaye Lamb's "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," show unmistakably that the families had weathered well the decline in Caribbean prosperity which the abolition of slavery brought about. In a poor country like Scotland good business sense had always been treasured. The recovery from the American Revolution which had hit the tobacco merchants so very hard had been swift, the adaptation to the changes in the sugar trade equally so. The development of cotton industries in Scotland was another outlet, as T. M. Devine has shown, though if the wills and inventories of the

⁹² *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 57, no. 163 (April 1978). Henry Hamilton's searching study, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), mentions members of these Buchanan and Dunlop families several times. The Buchanans and Dunlops mentioned in David S. Macmillan's "The 'New Men' in Action: Scottish Mercantile and Shipping Operations in the North American Colonies, 1760-1825," in *Canadian Business History, Selected Studies, 1497-1971* (David S. Macmillan, ed., Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1972), appear to be also related, though no *direct* business connection is suggested.

⁹³ Devine, "Eighteenth-century business élite," 48, Table 2. In this survey of the occupations of fathers of Glasgow-West India Merchants, 1750-1815, Devine has shown that 30% had been in the tobacco trade, 14% in the Caribbean trade. Another 12% were sons of other merchants, 12% sons of professional men and only 16% were sons of lairds with no known interests in commerce, or farmers. One was the son of a craftsman and the occupations of the fathers of the last 15% were unknown.

⁹⁴ Thomas Dunlop not only made every possible provision so that his estate and his name should not disappear, but he left his nephew, Col. John Douglas, the son of Archibald, a large sum (£40,000) with the advice that it be spent to clear the debts on his estate.

⁹⁵ Sir James' father owned a residence in Moray Place, Edinburgh, one of the most fashionable areas of the capital city.

estates of Cecilia and Thomas Dunlop are at all indicative, investment in newer "industries," such as railways, had been a surer avenue to wealth.⁹⁶ Furthermore, their wealth was now consolidated in land, some of which — for instance, Thomas Dunlop's — was rich in coal and mineral deposits, to be developed later in the nineteenth century.⁹⁷

The intermarriage between the members of the Glasgow business élite — one might even say sub-groups of the élite such as the sugar-merchants — has already been noted. Marriage dowries were often large and enabled funds to be made available for investment, often in new firms, more rapidly than by inheritance.⁹⁸ The closeness of the family relationships naturally made for close business relationships — that was, after all, one reason for the marriages — and this no doubt assisted this relatively small class to greater success. It is obvious, also, from a reading of the Demerara newspapers that the ownership of estates there was often not of long duration and that risks were shared among members of family companies. One has the distinct feeling in cursory reading of the legal notices in (Demerara) Georgetown papers that there was great mobility in the relations between Scotland and that particular colony at least, and that if a venture was not making sufficient profit one cut one's losses and turned to something else.

The firms associated with this branch of the Douglas family, John, Thomas, and Arch. Douglas and Co.⁹⁹ and Douglas, Brown and Co., cotton-spinners, more closely linked to Archibald Douglas, do not appear, unfortunately, to have left any records.¹⁰⁰ This is doubly regrettable since business and family matters were so intertwined.

As businessmen of Glasgow this class of mid-nineteenth-century West-Indian merchants naturally played a large role in the affairs of their city — less, however, than that assumed by the tobacco merchants, or

⁹⁶ It must be recalled, of course, that Cecilia's estate inventory was made in 1862 and Thomas Dunlop's will in 1867 and 1868. T. M. Devine's study deals chiefly with the period 1750 to 1815.

⁹⁷ His will makes reference to "coal, clay, limestone freestone, and every other kind of metals and minerals."

⁹⁸ Devine, "Eighteenth-century business élite," 47.

⁹⁹ I have taken the spelling used by Devine, who gives the date of partnership as 1906. This must be a typographical error for 1806.

¹⁰⁰ According to my own research in Scotland, chiefly at the Strathclyde Business Archives, Glasgow, and to correspondence with T. M. Devine, as well as with the Archivist of Glasgow University, October 1978. The surveys of historical business archives in Scotland (in official or private hands) which appear in *Studies in Scottish Business History* (Peter L. Payne, ed., New York, Reprints of Economic Classics, Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1967) make no mention either of records of family businesses of these Douglasses.

Virginians, of the previous century. This change was due to the obvious diversity caused by the industrial revolution.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, they probably increased their impact on London-based businesses, and what was lost in Scotland was probably regained in England. Mrs. Cecilia Douglas, for instance, named a Joseph Douglas, Barrister in London, as one of her executors, for she had extensive investments in England. So did her brother, John (II), who was in London on business when he died in 1840, and Thomas Dunlop.

As for the Douglas family members earlier than William Douglas, merchant of Leith who flourished at the end of the seventeenth century, little can be added. Dr. Lamb has shown that it was probably only editorial imagination which resulted in Sir Neil Douglas "being descended from the old Earls of Angus, through the Douglasses of Cruyton and Stobbs," and family connection suggested in Sir Neil's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹⁰² Only one point may be added now, and this may prove to be more confusing than helpful. In the Preface of *The Board of Green Cloth*, Thomas Dunlop Douglas is given as distantly related to Colin Douglas of "Mains," "which had been in the family for over four hundred years."¹⁰³ Mains was situated in the parish of New Kilpatrick, County of Dunbarton, about eight miles from Glasgow. Though in Thomas Dunlop's time the old mansion of the Douglasses of Mains was no longer inhabited, what was known as Mains was in fact the current mansion-house of the Douglas estate, the original name, Balvie, having been changed when the Douglasses installed themselves there. The old and the new mansion were, in any case, only within a mile of each other. Mains, therefore, was an old Douglas property, having come into possession of the family in September 1373, when a Nicol Douglas married an heiress of the previous owners. It is, however, impossible to say if Thomas Dunlop Douglas and his brothers were directly descended from that ancient family of Mains. The estate appears to have continued in the hands of Douglasses and Campbells and, since the rights of inheritance often made it necessary for the heir to change his name in order to receive title to the property, Campbells inherited from Douglasses and vice versa, and assumed the required name if necessary. Thus all one can say is that the particular branch of the Douglas family

¹⁰¹ Devine, "Eighteenth-century business élite," 53-54.

¹⁰² October 1853. See Dr. Kaye Lamb's article, "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," *BCHQ*, Jan.-Apr. 1953, 41-51. The *DNB* entry gives the same information, but, as noted, bases itself on the *Gentleman's Magazine* article.

¹⁰³ Pp. ix to xvii.

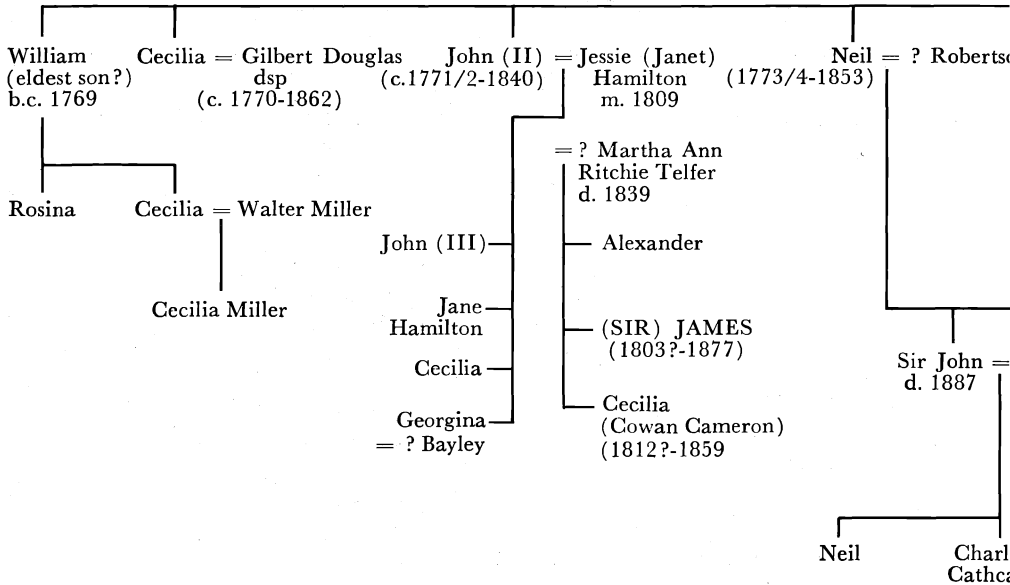
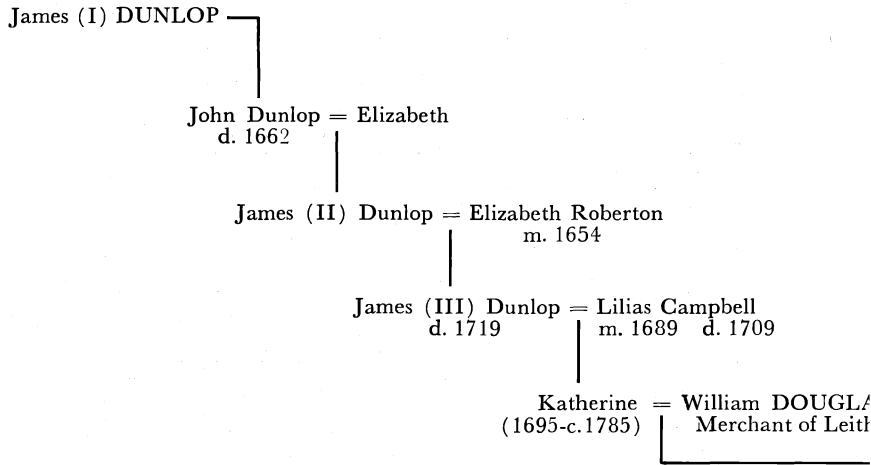
to which Sir James belonged *may* have been descended from that of Mains, or was probably related in several ways.¹⁰⁴

But for Sir James, though he was interested in his relatives in Scotland, the present was what mattered. He, the probably partly-coloured and probably illegitimate descendant of William Douglas, merchant of Leith, and Katherine Dunlop, had succeeded against the odds of his background. In the wilderness of North America he had made a place for himself and had, in many ways, overtaken his cousins in Scotland, if not in wealth, at least in rank. For, like his uncle and his cousin, he had been knighted. And he had become the governor of two British colonies. On his retirement, during the 1864-65 journey, he had been received by several of his relatives, obviously with great warmth, but contacts made then do not seem to have been continued by his descendants. Nowhere in his correspondence with Martha, a student in England in the 1870s, with his elder daughter Jane Dallas (married and living in Scotland), or with his favourite niece Edith (Cameron) Doughty, also living in the United Kingdom, is there mention of any contact with Sir James' generation, or with descendants of his first cousins.

But, as Dr. Lamb remarks, when Douglas returned to Victoria in 1865 from the first of his two journeys to Europe, he had "come home from abroad a man with a family."¹⁰⁵ He had, perhaps, made peace with his past. The ease with which he moved in society, the welcome he had received, the travels undertaken to places of interest and centres of culture in Europe had been proof that he, indeed, was a gentleman and belonged to the class of successful businessmen from which, on his father's side, he certainly came.

¹⁰⁴ Sir Herbert Maxwell, in *A History of the House of Douglas, from the earliest times down to the Legislative Union of England and Scotland*, 2 vols. (London: Fremantle & Co., MCMII), mentions the first instance of the display of the heart in the Douglas shield in 1332. This heart appeared on the arms of a Malcolm of Mains in 1584, perhaps earlier, indicating a possible link between the Douglasses of Mains and "The Good" Sir James of Douglas, c. 1290-1330, whose successor, William, first seems to have displayed the heart. Sir James of Douglas, "The Good," was a follower of Robert Bruce and was entrusted to take the latter's heart to the Holy Land, but died on the way, in Spain, in battle against the Moors. The human heart appeared on the Douglas shield from that time. But, it must be recalled that, as Maxwell wrote of the Douglasses in the early fourteenth century: "Already the Douglas pedigree is becoming an intricate affair." Vol. I, chapter II, *passim* and 66.

¹⁰⁵ "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," 51.



APPENDIX A

