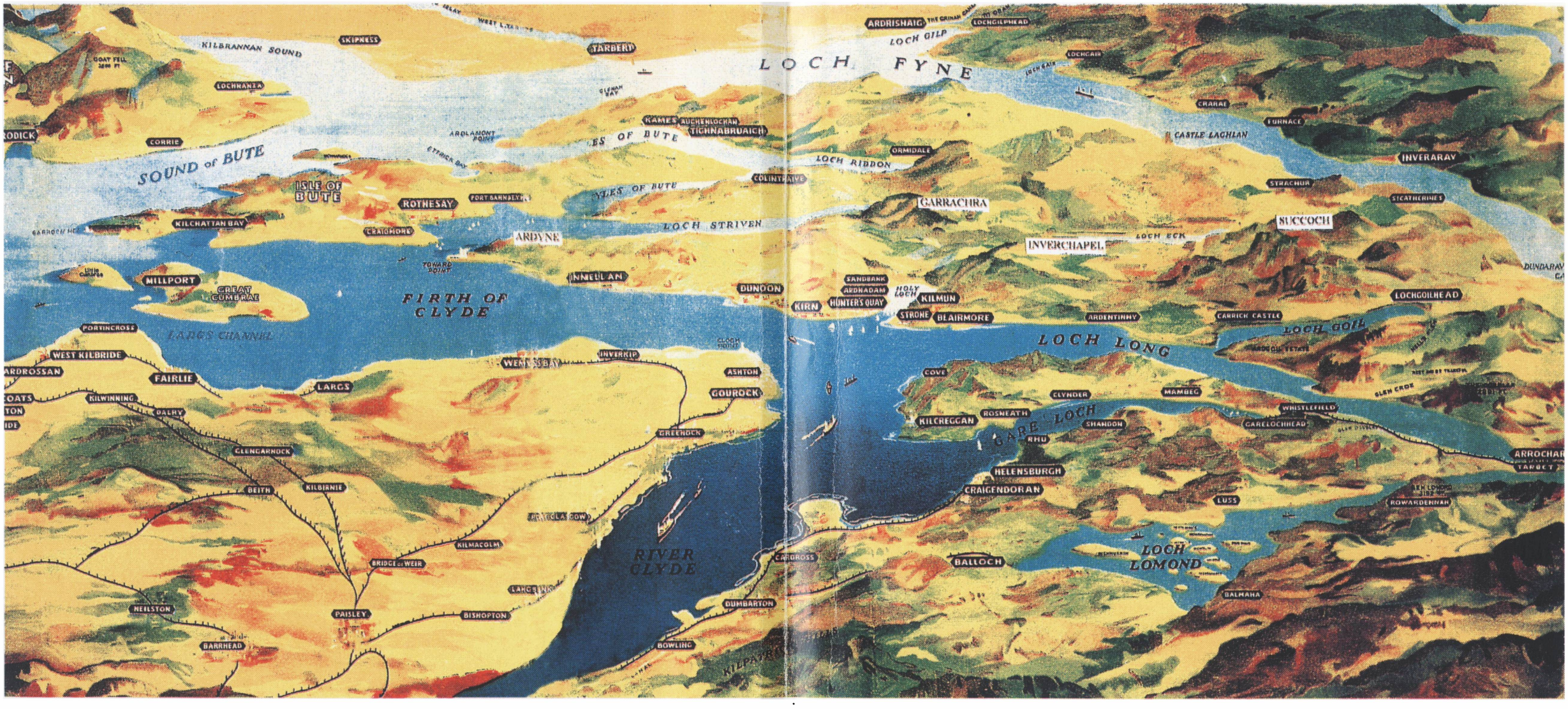
PANORAMIC SKETCH MAP OF THE FIRTH OF CLYDE AND THE COWAL DISTRICT.



THE SONS OF DUNCAN.



LOCH ECK.

Viewed southwards from the head of the Loch towards Inverchapel and Kilmun.

THE SONS OF DUNCAN.

A HISTORY OF THE CLARK FAMILY IN INVERCHAPEL BY LOCH ECK IN ARGYLLSHIRE, AUSTRALIA, ENGLAND AND WHEREVER ELSE THEIR DESTINIES LED THEM.

1695-2000.

BY

IAN CLARK.

Ian Clark

To Andrew and Family

With all my Love.

This book was first published in the year 2000 on a non-profit-making basis and by private subscription. It is not generally available to the public and therefore does not qualify for an ISBN number. The original subscribers are listed opposite.

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Duncan Clark.
Roy Clark.
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FOREWORD.

By The Lord Briggs of Lewes.

Family history is interesting and compelling. In recent years there has been an immense amount of work carried out on families of all kinds and in all parts of the country.

It is a privilege to write a forward to this particularly illuminating history which covers many places and many times. Its author was a pupil of mine at Worcester College Oxford, and this gives me a personal link which I treasure.

The book is more than a work of reference. It opens up questions as well as answers them, and this is the best kind of history, not merely local history. There is always more to find out. The amount of research behind this book is considerable and by its very nature must be painstaking. Its author has demonstrated imagination, however, as well as assiduity. I am sure that his readers will appreciate this.

Asa Briggs

December 1999.

INTRODUCTION.

The seeds of this history were sown during a brief visit to the **Cowal District of Argyll** in 1949 and thereafter lay dormant for forty years until retirement afforded time to develop them into a full account of the **Clarks in Inverchapel** and their connections with other families. Even so, another fourteen years have passed which I do not at all regret, being persuaded by experience that genealogical "news" trickles in slowly and from unexpected quarters.

Quite early on the project acquired a new shape. The original trawl was merely **from the present backwards into the past** to discover my own lineal forebears, which presented no real problem. But, once having identified our family's earliest indisputable ancestor, **Duncan Clark (1695 - 1782) Farmer in Inverchapel by Kilmun,** hereafter referred to as **Duncan One,** I became beguiled into researching **forward from the past into the present.** Since Duncan had four sons and a daughter, not only was the spectrum of research magnified but unforseeable treasure by way of adventure, achievement, tragedy and drama was revealed. In my mind's eye the old man presides at the apex of ***"The Inverchapel Pyramid"***, built of characters whose collective story bears witness to the often related histories of Scotland and Australia.

In the telling I have endeavoured to adhere to verifiable fact despite temptation to elaborate characters on inadequate evidence. There is for sure some degree of guesswork in the early chapters but these passages are marked accordingly. From about the mid-Nineteenth Century that problem evaporates thanks to the survival of correspondence, newspaper articles, photographs and, latterly, personal recollections.

Whilst the larger part of the effort involved is mine, the story could never have been assembled to its present degree of completeness without the interest, help and constructive criticism of many other people. I am particularly grateful to :-

The late John Montgomery of Strachur, who showed me the original copy of the Revd. McDonald's 1848 survey of the parish of Strachur in which figured the households of my own great-grandfather, **John Clark** in **Baliemeanoch** and his older brother, **Duncan Clark** in **Succoch.**

The late John Campbell in Succoch who from memory spontaneously ran off information concerning the **Inverchapel, Garrachra** and **Lochstrivenhead Clarks.** He also directed me to the first major source of the knowledge that I was seeking, these being inscriptions on Clark graves in the churchyard at **Kilmun** a few miles to the south down the shore of Loch Eck and which are listed in detail in Annex One. And, almost half a century later, his son **the late Neil Campbell** most kindly transported a group of Duncan One's descendants round Lock Eck in his school bus when we celebrated the old man's tercentenary in 1995.

Mary Murton, present owner of **Inverchapel Farmhouse, by Kilmun,** who has shown many kindnesses and in 1987 gave me the address of some recent Australian visitors to Inverchapel , who turned out to be :-

Dr. Stewart Clark Johnston and his wife Bronwen of Melbourne, Victoria. Once contacted, they supplied much written and photographic data on the Australian branches of the family to which I frequently refer as the **Johnston Papers**: Chapters Seven to Eleven and Fifteen could not otherwise have been written. Quite simply this contribution to this research was at least as priceless as that of the graves at Kilmun. Moreover, along with his brother, **The Reverend Canon Donald Johnston and his wife Elin**, Stewart and Bron gave endless encouragement throughout the project and generous hospitality during visits to Melbourne.

Duncan Beaton of Houston, Renfrewshire, yet another friend acquired through this research, whose deep and generously imparted knowledge of Argyllshire family history has been invaluable on so many occasions.

John Roy Clark of Southport, Lancs., my first cousin, for burrowing for data - and finding it - in the IGI records and elsewhere.

Jean Maskell of Dalinlongart Farmhouse by Dunoon, for much local help, particularly in connection with the Clark and related family graves at Kilmun.

Marion Carmichael of The Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard for permitting me to scavenge through that journal's archives.

Karl McNaughton of Fredericton, New Brunswick, whose meticulous research into his own family clarified the McNaughton Connection. I was glad to be able in return to locate McNaughton kin still living in Cowal.

The late Dorothy Thomson of Emua and **Shirley Durant of Nullamura, Barham, New South Wales,** whose information on the McKindlay Connection is incorporated in Chapters Four and Seven.

Kenneth Lochhead of East Linton, East Lothian, for help with Currie Connection which figures in Chapter Five.

Iona Vandeleur of Melton Constable, Norfolk for some shrewd comments on her branch of the family which enliven Chaper Ten and for four vital photographs appearing in Chapters Ten and Eighteen.

Colonel Archie Clark of Wokingham, Berks for the data and anecdotes - some verging on the scurrilous - concerning his branch of the family contained in Chapter Twelve.

John Waterlow of London, Simon Waterlow of Franklin Tennessee and their aunt, **Diana Gamble of Rotherfield Greys Oxfordshire,** for details of the Robinson and Waterlow Connection and several brilliantly apposite photographs in Chapters Twelve and Sixteen.

Robert Preston of Paisley, historian of navigation on the Clyde, who generously supplied much of the information and illustrations on which Chapter Fourteen is based.

The late Lord Muirshiel of Kilmacolm, Renfrewshire who provided insight into the career and character of Archibald Kerr Clark Kerr, Lord Inverchapel outlined in Chapter Seventeen.

Eugene Yost of Rothesay, Isle of Bute, Lord Inverchapel's valet in the USA who spoke most kindly of his former employer.

Margaret Maxwell of Gatehouse of Fleet, Kirkudbrightshire who gave details on the Nichol Connection related in Chapter Eighteen.

Sir Ilay Campbell of Succoch for guiding me in aspects of Scottish heraldry mentioned in Annex Two.

Alastair Campbell of Airds, Chief Executive of Clan Campbell whose correction on a number of historical points has saved me from error, in particular with regard to the probable Campbell of Dergachy and Leix Connections outlined in Chapter Two and Annex Three.

The Lord Briggs of Lewes, social historian **aka Asa Briggs,** who at the dawn of his distinguished academic career taught me in Worcester College, Oxford. Asa kindly ran over an early draft of this book and dispensed the same frank, constructive criticism as he did so many years ago in our tutorials. I also thank him for writing the foreword.

Brigadier William Magan of East Peckham Kent who has written erudite histories of his own Irish family and who also read the earlier drafts and provided constructive criticism and much encouragement.

Donald Gillies of Jordanhill Glasgow, author of the biography "Radical Diplomat: The Life of Archibald Clark Kerr, Lord Inverchapel, 1882-1951", for generously sharing information derived from sources which I had not detected and for permitting me to quote from his work.

The inscriptions on the Clark gravestones at Kilmun and the Johnston Papers provided the foundations for this research but many other sources have been tapped, the more important of which are recorded in Annex Four.

I have greatly enjoyed putting this family history together: the thousands of hours it has entailed are more than rewarded by the many friendships generated along the way; and I must again thank all those including my own family, whether mentioned here by name or not, who have lent support and encouragement. I have made sparse reference to those still living because their stories ar not yet complete.

Finally, it would come as no surprise to receive correction on points of Scottish history and custom: all I can say in reply, being a semi-Sassenach and Gaelic illiterate (though briefly tutored by friends), is: ***"tha mi dhicheall a dheànamh".***

The Red House, Wateringbury.
December 2000.

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ARE LOCATED AT THE END OF THE BOOK.

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Back Endpaper : Glenara 1867. Oil on Canvas by Eugene von Guerard.

CHAPTER ONE.

GRAVES AND LEGENDS.

This book was born out of curiosity. Since childhood I had wanted to know more about the origins of our family before my grandparents, **Doctor Duncan McCallum Clark (1855-1927)** and **Janet Nichol (1851-1927)**, moved southward from Scotland in the eighteen-eighties to set up in practice at **Anston** in **South Yorkshire**. Both died in quick succession when I was six years old and almost the only memories of them that remain is of a pervasive kindliness, my grandfather's prickly beard and my Granny making hare sausages in the kitchen at Anston. Had they lived but a few years longer, I am sure they would have been delighted to tell my younger brothers and myself about their highland homes and childhoods. Instead, the only clue to the past that I inherited was a single place name - **Strachur** - which I once heard my father, **Doctor John Nichol Clark (1888-1938)**, mention and which thereafter was embalmed in the memory, like a fly in amber.

Opportunity came at last in the late summer of 1949 when I was in my late-twenties and recently down from University. A gazetteer of Scotland identified Strachur as a village in **Argyllshire** and the map located it in the **Cowal** district of that county on the shore of **Loch Fyne**. I took the night sleeper from Euston to Glasgow and thereafter boarded one of the then numerous Clyde steamers to sail *"doon the watter"* to **Dunoon** and thence up to Lochgoilhead. As my visit coincided with the Saturday of the Cowal Games I was much tempted to disembark with the crowds and several already well lubricated pipe bands. Instead, I kept to my plan to walk from Lochgoilhead over the intervening hills and down Succoch Glen to Strachur, enchantment rewarding every step of the way, despite discomfort from army boots which I had not worn for several years.

That first night in Strachur I slept off my weariness at The Creggans Inn, in those days an unpretentious hostelry, and on the following morning dragged my blistered feet around the village to start enquiries. Elderly people who had known or at least heard tell of my grandparents in particular greeted me with much kindness. Positive results were not long in coming. The first and most delightful was the assertion of a charming

and ancient **Miss Gracie McCallum** who declared that I must be the son of a distant kinsman of hers, "***that young Doctor Duncan who ran away to England with Janet Nichol from Invernoaden!***" Thus I learned that the clock can run slowly in the Highlands and in the process acquired a second place name. Miss Gracie then advised me to consult her McCallum relatives, a brother and sister whose preferred tongue was still the Gaelic and who lived a few miles up Loch Fyne near Cairndow.

These equally elderly and helpful McCallums told me exactly where to seek the grave of my great-grandparents, **John Clark (1809-1881)** and **Mary McCallum (1822-1872),** in a long neglected McCallum burial-ground at Clachan at the head of the loch, just a couple of hundred yards from the site nowadays occupied by the Loch Fyne Smokery and Restaurant [incidentally well worth a gourmet visit]. My great-grandfather had apparently opted to be buried with the family of his wife. A problem remained, however, since on return to Strachur I found no Clark graves in that churchyard though the Nichols, my grandmother's family, were there in numbers. If not in Strachur, where then were the earlier of our Clark ancestors buried?

The next step was to consult the Minister, **Dr. Finney**, who like everyone else whom I met was anxious to be helpful: he, however, was new to the parish but said to call on **John Montgomery** at the garage, in earlier times the smithy. There more gold was struck. John who was a contemporary of my father remembered forming a boyhood friendship with him when the family visited from England. Furthermore, he possessed the original notes of a parish census carried out in 1848 by the Minister at that time, the Rev'd McDonald. This document showed my great-grandfather John Clark, then a bachelor, as the tenant in **Baliemeanoch**, a farm a little outside the village on the road to Dunoon. The McDonald Survey also listed the members of his household, as it did of that of his older brother, **Duncan Clark (1791-1877)**, in the more distant farm at **Succoch**. Still, though, no sign had yet emerged as to where the family originally came from. John Montgomery then said, rather as a long shot, why not consult Malcolm Morrison, the Parish Registrar?

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The process of personal introduction in Strachur still had one further and outstandingly valuable stage to go. Malcolm Morrison suggested that old **John Campbell** up at Succoch - where my recently discovered great-great-uncle had farmed in the last century – should be consulted because he had a splendid memory and an unsurpassed knowledge of local families and their histories. This certainly turned out to be so. John Campbell recalled that there had been three principal families of Clarks in Cowal, those of **Inverchapel** who were related by blood to those of **Garrachra**, but only by marriage to those of **Lochstrivenhead**. Research many years later confirmed this as being wholly correct. He also said to get down to Kilmun Church, take a good look at the Clark graves there and on the way call on **Lord Inverchapel**, the recently ennobled retired diplomat, Sir Archibald Kerr Clark Kerr.

There was, unfortunately, just one piece of information, which neither John Campbell nor any of the other kind people in Strachur had thought to mention. The last known survivor of the Garachra branch, **John Whyte Clark (1870-1962)**, reputedly a scholar with a great interest in family history, was living in retirement on the outskirts of the village. It was not until many years had passed that I discovered this omission, by when of course it was decades too late.

Anyway having, as I then believed, exhausted the possibilities of Strachur, I took the road southward towards the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun, passing after a mile or two by **Invernoaden Farm** whence, according to Gracie McCallum, my grandmother had been lured romantically away. Soon after Invernoaden the road follows the shore of Loch Eck, reckoned by many to be the most beautiful loch in all of Scotland, past the **Coylet Inn** and then **Inverchapel Farmhouse** itself. In a couple more miles I reached the straggling village of Kilmun which subsequently and for many further years overlooked the grey American. nuclear submarine depot vessels anchored in the Holy Loch.

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My great-grandfather, already an elder of the kirk himself, had been nominated as the first Registrar under the new system: he must, as it were, have drawn the short straw because the first entry in the new register was in his hand and recorded the birth of his own son, Duncan McCallum Clark. Scottish 1855 registrations carry a unique genealogical bonus: fuller detail was then required than in any subsequent year, including - crucially in this instance - the parents' birthplaces. The Registrar had been born some ten miles away at **Inverchapel** in the **Parish of Dunoon and Kilmun** at the southern end of **Loch Eck**.

The process of personal introduction in Strachur still had one further and outstandingly valuable stage to go. Malcolm Morrison suggested that old **John Campbell** up at Succoch - where my recently discovered great-great-uncle had farmed in the last century – should be consulted because he had a splendid memory and an unsurpassed knowledge of local families and their histories. This certainly turned out to be so. John Campbell recalled that there had been three principal families of Clarks in Cowal, those of **Inverchapel** who were related by blood to those of **Garrachra**, but only by marriage to those of **Lochstrivenhead**. Research many years later confirmed this as being wholly correct. He also said to get down to Kilmun Church, take a good look at the Clark graves there and on the way call on **Lord Inverchapel**, the recently ennobled retired diplomat, Sir Archibald Kerr Clark Kerr.

There was, unfortunately, just one piece of information, which neither John Campbell nor any of the other kind people in Strachur had thought to mention. The last known survivor of the Garachra branch, **John Whyte Clark (1870-1962)**, reputedly a scholar with a great interest in family history, was living in retirement on the outskirts of the village. It was not until many years had passed that I discovered this omission, by when of course it was decades too late.

Anyway having, as I then believed, exhausted the possibilities of Strachur, I took the road southward towards the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun, passing after a mile or two by **Invernoaden Farm** whence, according to Gracie McCallum, my grandmother had been lured romantically away. Soon after Invernoaden the road follows the shore of Loch Eck, reckoned by many to be the most beautiful loch in all of Scotland, past the **Coylet Inn** and then **Inverchapel Farmhouse** itself. In a couple more miles I reached the straggling village of Kilmun which subsequently and for many further years overlooked the grey American. nuclear submarine depot vessels anchored in the Holy Loch.

KILMUN CHURCH.



Kilmun Church stands upon a site which has been sacred to Christianity for many centuries. Reputedly a church which over time developed into a monastic foundation was first set up here by Fintan Mundu, an Irish friend and contemporary of St. Columba who had established Iona in 563 AD. Many churches will have come, gone and been built over since then. The present church was completed, according to The New Statistical Account for Scotland (1845), in 1841 and until recently it still contained pews reserved for the occupiers of Inverchapel and Garrachra. Behind the church is the mausoleum in which since the fifteenth century the Campbell Earls and later Dukes of Argyll are customarily buried. Some of the Clark graves are just visible to the right of the picture.

A guidebook has eloquently described the churchyard itself as *"Kilmun's diminutive God's Acre filled to overflowing with the green graves of centuries".* On this - the first of many visits - I sloshed round *"God's diminutive Acre"* in torrential rain, against which a light mackintosh afforded inadequate protection, until I came upon a group of nine stones commemorating some four generations of Clarks, Farmers in Inverchapel, including, as I subsequently discovered, several of my own direct ancestors. The stones, which are catalogued in Annex One, were mostly at that time in good condition with clearly legible inscriptions. Sadly, over the subsequent fifty odd years they have deteriorated markedly due, one must presume, to atmospheric pollution.

The discovery of these stones was the first genealogical breakthrough, without which it would hardly have been possible, given that the pre-1855 OPRs (Old Parish Records) for Kilmun are defective, to construct authoritative trees for the family in Scotland. The second and equally critical breakthrough, the revelation of a living and abundantly documented branch in Australia, came many years later and is related in its due turn in Chapter Seven.

The earliest Clark buried in the family plot is **Duncan Clark, Farmer in Inverchapel (1695-1782).** Although his provenance and pedigree, can with fair confidence be traced back for a further two generations to -say - about 1630, I have chosen to err on the side of certainty and to regard him as our starting point and hence to refer to him throughout the story as **"Duncan One".** Furthermore, as he was something of a patriarch, it is appropriate to coin the title **"The Sons of Duncan"** for a work dedicated to him and his many descendants. His blood, though by now thoroughly diluted, runs through the veins of up to ten generations of kin, known and unknown, who live in Britain, Canada, Australia, The United States, probably New Zealand and possibly elsewhere in the world as well.

An intriguing feature common to most of the Clark gravestones at Kilmun is that they have inscribed upon then in one form or another the crest of a huntsman sounding a horn and the motto ***"Free for a Blast".*** A guidebook offers the following explanation. *"Those who take an interest in tombstones may be puzzled by the inscription "Free for a Blast" carved on numerous stones in the old churchyard. The local story is that these commemorate the dead of Clan Clark, who owned the land around Loch Eck. When James IV came as their guest to hunt deer on the slopes of Beinn Mhor, Clark seeing that his own hounds were over -running the stag called them off with a blast of his horn, thus allowing the king's*

THE GRAVESTONE OF DUNCAN CLARK AND HIS WIFE REBEKKAH CAMPBELL.



The inscription on the stone reads as follows :-

"This burying place belongs to Duncan Clark farmer in Inerchapple and Rebekah Clark his spouse and their children 1779 the above Duncan Clark died 3rd August 1782 aged 87 and his spouse as above died 20th May 1781 aged 74."

hounds to move in and bring the beast down. The King moved by Clark's generosity and always of a generous disposition himself, declared, "Henceforth you are free of all taxes." "Free for a Blast" thus became the family motto. Driving down Loch Eck from Whistlefield you can see where this incident occurred at Coire an t-Sith (Corrantee), the glen across the loch on the left flank of Beinn Mhor."

On the reverse side of some of the stones there is chiselled beneath the crest and motto a relatively uncomplicated coat of arms. Thanks to the kind and indispensable help of Sir Ilay Campbell of Succoch, Annex Two traces its derivation and subsequent progression to the grandeur (possibly somewhat overstated) of the coat of arms granted by the Lord Lyon's Office to Lord Inverchapel in 1948.

Following that first visit to the Kilmun churchyard I took old John Campbell's advice, walked several miles back towards Strachur and rang the bell at the relatively modern Inverchapel Lodge which Lord Inverchapel had built just after the First World War. The peer himself opened the door and most courteously received the bedraggled mess who alleged that his name was also Clark. This was the only occasion on which I met Lord Inverchapel: he died just two years later. Naturally he rates his own chapter towards the end of this book but for now I reminisce somewhat shamefacedly on that first and last encounter, being unaware then and for many years thereafter of the Ambassador's capacity for conning the gullible!

Firstly an antique silver bowl, seemingly of South American origin was produced: this was reputed to have been seized amongst other goods from a Spanish vessel by an ancestor, Hamish McClerich, who was a Glasgow-based privateer. No doubt warming to the thought of having a bit of innocent fun on a wet afternoon, Lord Inverchapel then went on to relate his own account of the origins of the "Free for a Blast" legend which went something as follows. *The King of Scotland who finally incorporated the little kingdom of Dalriada [approximately Western Argyll] into his realm was Alexander III (1241-1286) and he employed Norman mercenaries for the purpose, including the Barons Lamont, de Tournai (nowadays called Turner, a common local name) and Leclerc (nowadays Clark). Following the successful campaign the King granted land to his followers and in Leclerc or Clark's case promised him as much territory as he could gallop across blowing a horn. Clark thereupon galloped down the shores of Loch Eck until he fell exhausted from the saddle at Inverchapel."*

THE CLARK CREST, MOTTO AND COAT OF ARMS.



I was delighted with this story and never thought at the time to doubt its authenticity. In fact, elementary research years later showed Lord Inverchapel himself to have been the first and last Clark proprietor of his nameplace, having in 1914 bought it from the successors of the Campbells of Dunoon. Our family had indeed been long associated with the place but solely in the role of tacksmen or tenants, nor according to available knowledge from quite as early as the Thirteenth Century! For that reason, following Scottish usage, it is more correct to speak of earlier generations of Clarks as being "in" rather than "of" Inverchapel.

Thanks to Lord Inverchapel, however, I boarded the return train to London that night savouring the crowning result of my brief visit to Cowal. I was not to return for forty years, only then to discover how thoroughly my leg had been pulled.

CHAPTER TWO.

INVERCHAPEL. *"THE CRADLE OF US CLARKS."*

The last Clark to farm Inverchapel with his own sweat, **Archibald (1823-1900),** wrote to an Australian kinsman in 1886 promising to welcome him *"heartily, and that too at the place which has been **the cradle of us Clarks** for something like three hundred years."* This implied continuity from about 1590 and was certainly an unintended exaggeration. Nonetheless, the family had continuously lived, worked and died on that land for four generations, Archie himself being a great-grandson of Duncan One (1695-1782).

According to sources of Gaelic scholarship, as quoted by Angus McLean in The Place Names of Cowal, Their Meaning and History, the place name Inverchapel is thought possibly to derive from early use of the meadows between the farmhouse and the river for horse-breeding because in Gaelic *"echaig"* means the place of the horse and *"capuill"* means mare.

I am also much indebted to Angus McLean for warning me not to confuse Inverchapel by Loch Eck with another farm anciently of the same name but later renamed Barnacabber, which is located in Glen Finart some three miles distant as the crow, or golden eagle, flies eastward over the intervening mountains. This latter property, together with others along the shores of Loch Long, figures in a charter of James IV dated 1497 as having been conveyed by John Colquhoun of Luss to Archibald Campbell Second Earl of Argyll. This Campbell died sixteen years later with his king and much of the rest of Scottish nobility on Flodden Field.

Of recent years Inverchapel by Loch Eck extended to some 30-35 acres of arable land adjacent to the river and the loch and anything up to 3000 acres of rough grazing on the hills behind probably, give the constraints of topography, much the same as in medieval times. It was never an outstandingly valuable farm, being recorded in an official survey in 1751 at 2 1/2 merklands with a nominal rental value of three and a half pounds.

The merkland was an ancient Scottish unit of land deemed, according to Isabella Cameron Douglas in her History of Strachur and District, to be *"a holding sufficiently large to employ one plough and give a living to one family."* Duncan Beaton suggests a more flexible definition: *"many families subsisted on a lot less than a merkland. It could also be an unploughable piece of land, a wooded hillside for example, covered in valuable oak whose bark could be harvested for use in the tanning of leather."* The actual rental seems, however, to have been much higher than the nominal one, with a substantial proportion paid in kind. This indeed was so in the case of Inverchapel. A document in the Campbell archives at Inveraray Castle [Bundle 1013] records that in 1759, a few decades after the Clark family's association with the property began, the following rent was payable: -

"One Mort Pressant	*£16-13s-4d*
Two Wedders	*£3- 6s-8d*
Four Poultry	*13s-4d*
Five Merks Money	*£ 3- 6s-8d*
Vassalls Herezeld	*£40- 0s-0d*

	£64- 0s-0d."
	=======

Alastair Campbell of Airds has kindly explained the meaning of the more arcane of the above items. A *"mort"* was originally a dead beast or a lambskin but the addition of *"pressant"* means that the charge has been commuted into a money payment. *"Vassalls Herezeld"* was not part of the annual rent but a charge, anciently in the form of the best beast on the property but by 1759 also compounded for cash, payable on the death of the tenant. The tenant was not at that date a Clark and I have not been readily able to identify him, though the possibility must be that it was Duncan One's probable father-in-law, **Robert Campbell**, about whom more towards the end of this chapter.

Inverchapel Farmhouse is a typical West Highland building of stone with a slate roof, its dignity superficially marred by a wooden porch, which at some stage within the last century replaced its more appropriate stone predecessor. The house faces westwards across the southern end of Stratheck, a little below the point at which the fresh waters of the loch pass into the River Echaig and thence after a further three miles to blend with the sea in the Holy Loch. The view towards the wooded estate of Benmore and the slopes of A'Chruach is truly beautiful. There is no way



INVERCHAPEL FARMHOUSE. ABOVE, FRONT VIEW FROM THE STRACHUR-DUNOON ROAD. BELOW, REAR VIEW WITH A'CRUACH IN THE BACKGROUND.



of telling how many times the farmhouse has been structurally altered or even totally rebuilt. In its present form it probably dates substantially from about the mid-nineteenth century when the Clark sheep-farming period, described in Chapter Five was at the peak of its prosperity: it must then have afforded by contemporary standards a high level of comfort and convenience. The existing building would almost certainly have been preceded by a succession of more primitive structures, *"Black Houses (Tighe Dubh)"*, long since disappeared into the ground. These would have featured dry-stone walling, clay floors, heather and turf thatch and a central hearth whose smoke escaped through a hole in the roof. The family would then have been quite accustomed to living - by our own standards - in intolerably crowded circumstances, together with several annually hired farm servants.

The acquisition of the properties bordering Loch Long, including Inverchapel/Barnacabber is an example, albeit a peaceful one, of how the Campbells pressed inexorably southwards from Lochaweside until effectively they owned the greater part and dominated the whole of Argyll. By – say - the late fifteen-hundreds almost the whole area of the modern county was directly controlled by a hierarchy of Campbells spreading downwards from the Earl himself, via the principal and lesser branches of the clan to the *"bonnet lairds"* whose pride was supported by limited income. Quite certainly the Campbells of Dergachy who enter the story shortly could have been described as "bonnet lairds". Just a few of the ancient Cowal families, notably the Lamonts and the McLachlans did manage in varying degree to resist Campbell pressure and retain their identities and lands, even unto this day, but they are the exception. The McNaughtons, for example, were less fortunate.

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century but decreasingly so thereafter, title to land was all important in the Scottish Highlands because, even if it yielded relatively little in the way of money, it did confer status, reflected in the ability to bring fighting-men into the field should the clan chief so require; and land in Argyll was dispensed by the Campbell Earl, in his capacity as tenant-in-chief under the Crown, almost exclusively to kinsfolk near or distant. Thus, anyway until alternatives such as emigration and regular military service were on offer after the Act of Union with England in 1707, capable but non-landed inhabitants of the Highlands were more than grateful to acquire the status of ***"Tacksman"*** which carried with it both social recognition and financial advantage.

The Tacksman was in effect a wholesale tenant who rented a portion of the laird's estate, some of which he re-let to sub-tenants. In many parts of the Highlands the Tacksman was also obligated in times of war to serve as a lieutenant in the clan army, leading a section comprising his own sub-tenantry. This practice, so Alastair Campbell informs me, did not normally prevail in Argyll where leadership in battle was the lairds' prerogative. Tacks were normally unwritten, of long duration and tended, subject to the laird's approval, to be hereditary over the generations. Various of the Clarks later in this story are described in parish records as tacksmen, even well into the nineteenth century by when the title had lost most of its historical significance.

To the best of my knowledge the earliest written reference to "our" Inverchapel (by Loch Eck) dates from 1629, 1649 and 1663 when, together with other farms, it was confirmed by the then Earls of Argyll in a series of ***"sasines",*** defined in one dictionary as *[Scots] acts of giving legal possession of feudal property*, in favour of the Campbells of Inellan. The latter were heriditary custodians and Captains of Dunoon Castle, from about 1550. They continued to be the landlords of Inverchapel for many generations until 1914 when their successors sold to Archie Kerr Clark Kerr, later to become Lord Inverchapel.

A few vestiges of Dunoon Castle, overlooking the Firth of Clyde, remain as the highpoint of peaceful municipal gardens. It was, nevertheless, the scene together with the adjacent church of a particularly brutal massacre in 1645 of the leading figures of Clan Lamont by the Campbells who at that juncture were supporting the forces of the Covenant against the Crown. A secondary massacre took place at Castle Toward, the principal seat of the Lamont clan. In due time, following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, retribution claimed the head of the Eighth Earl more on grounds of high treason than for his treatment of the Lamonts.

By chance the turbulence of the late seventeenth century has made it possible, for the first time, to put a name to tenant farmers occupying Inverchapel. In 1685 there was an abortive rebellion in Scotland against the catholic James II organized by the Ninth Earl of Argyll in parallel with an equally fruitless rising in the southwest of England led by the Duke of Monmouth. Both peers paid the customary penalty and in England savage punishment was meted out by the infamous Judge Jeffreys to the Somerset peasantry who had misguidedly risen for Monmouth.

North of the Border retribution took a more local form. The executions of the Earl and a few of his supporters were followed by the occupation of Argyll by the Atholemen, authorized in the first instance by the government in Edinburgh. *"The Marquess of Athole who had obtained a royal authority to 'protect' Argyllshire appears according to one report to have entrusted the exercise of his protectorate to hirelings or vassals who distinguished themselves and their noble employer by the most lawless and cowardly treatment of the inhabitants. The events characterizing this invasion, for by no other name can it properly be designated, are still borne in memory by the descendants of those who suffered at the time in their property and effects if not in their persons. A printed record of the losses sustained by the several proprietors of the district has many interesting notices..."* [The Second Statistical Account quoted by Angus McLean in "The Dunoon of Old".] The return for Inverchapel, submitted through the Campbells of Dunoon, read: *"robbed by the Captain of Tarbert and some by the Marquis of Atholl's men"* to the alleged tune of three hundred and forty-eight pounds worth of livestock and *"household plenishments"*. The family of tenants who filed the claim was called M'Entayller. A **"Malcolm McIntailor in Inverchapell"** is amongst the many Cowal men denounced by a Lamont, doubtless in bitter memory of 1645, as having been rebels in support of Argyll.

The M'Entayllers must have departed before 1710 because in December of that year **Robert Campbell, Tacksman in Inverchapel (est. circa 1665-est. pre 1747 or just possibly a decade later)** is recorded as serving as a juror in Inveraray. The case and its outcome are indicative of the times. A woman called More McVurich was found guilty of infanticide and hanged on 12th. January 1711. The Earls and later the Dukes of Argyll were heriditary Justices General of the Sherriffdom of Argyll and the Isles from 1628 to 1748, thus exercising not only economic and political power but that of life and death also.

This Robert was a redoubtable character and Tacksman in Uig as well as in Inverchapel which adjoins it to the north and perhaps also in Coirantee on the western shore of Loch Eck. He was a younger brother of a local "bonnet laird", Ian (or John) Campbell the Eighth of Dergachy. Both were listed as rebels in 1685 together with several of their neighbours and tenants. Dergachy was initially difficult to locate but its site, about a mile to the West of Uig and Inverchapel, is occupied nowadays by a modern house of the same name. Historically the estate - long since dispersed - comprised, in addition to that of Dergachy itself, three or four farms,

including Balligowan and Curr, around the lower end of Glenmassan.

Robert Campbell's further claim to local fame was his appointment as **"The Earl's Forester" in Cowal.** There is a fascinating account of him in "The Dewar Manuscripts", a collection of stories of the Argyllshire countryside compiled in the Nineteenth Century. According to Dewar, after the disaster of 1685, Argyll's *"land charters were taken out of the Castle of Inveraray ..... and ..... entrusted to a deer forester ..... at Coireantee at the side of Loch Eck. The name of the forester was Robert Campbell ..... Nicknamed Rob an Roibein. Rob an Roibein was a very steady man, and great confidence could be placed in him. He kept the charters as secretly as he could and thought that none knew that he had them."* The charters were, so the story goes, packed in barrels and secreted in caves in the hillside immediately above Coirantee, the site to this day being known as the Paper Caves. Although Robert fell under suspicion he sent the military on false trails and ultimately, following the accession of William and Mary in 1689, the documents were returned intact to Inveraray. In Dewar's account Robert's accomplice was a farmer from Inverchapel nicknamed *"The Hairy Buck"* whose family name one might reasonably surmise to have been McIntailor.

Robert, in addition to his devoted efforts on behalf of the Earl of Argyll (the Marquisate and the Dukedom came a few years later) was an accomplished scholar and poet in the Gaelic language. It is also probable that in the later years of his life he possessed and cherished the Glenmassan Manuscript, a priceless book of Celtic poetry hand-written in the thirteenth century, and now housed in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.

Now, at last, we can begin to establish the original connection of the Clarks with Inverchapel. One of the Dergachy tenants named in the 1685 Rebel List was **Neill Clark, son of Archibald Clark (died 1686) Farmer in Balligowan.** He also figures in the Hearth Tax list in 1695 as tenant in Curr. It is almost certain that Neill Clark was the father of Duncan One and that as a neighbour and fellow rebel he and his son would have been welcome in Robert Campbell's house.

I have equally little doubt that our known ancestress, **Rebekah Campbell (1707 - 1781),** was Rob an Robein's daughter and that at some stage following their marriage Duncan took over the running of the farm at Inverchapel. Duncan never became tacksman, nor did his son, the second Duncan. The tack initially passed as was frequently the custom to

Robert's son, Daniel Campbell, a Captain in the Royal Marines and hence normally an absentee: he, however, would have needed to have a trustworthy relative such as his brother-in-law to manage the farm. We find, incidentally, a similar pattern of intra-family relationships a century later in Australia. Daniel Campbell died sometime about 1793. It is not entirely fanciful to speculate whether Daniel could have been then first person born at Inverchapel to sight Australia. "The First Fleet"arrived in Port Jackson in 1788 with its cargo of "criminals" transported in utterly horrific conditions and was followed by even worse judicial atrocities over the next several decades. The soldiery whose duty it was to guard the prisoners throughout the voyage and often for several years after arrival were Royal Marines, many of whose officers, unlike the rank and file, were Scottish.

The identity of Rebekah's mother is less definite but there is some reason to surmise that she was a daughter of Hugh Campbell the Sixth Laird of Leix whose lands lay just beyond the northern end of Loch Eck in the parish of Strachur. Certainly Rebekah's brother, the aforementioned Captain Daniel of the Royal Marines, married another Leix lady, Margaret Campbell granddaughter of Hugh the Sixth, suggesting an affinity between the two houses which anciently had common roots in the more senior Campbell branch of Ardkindlas. The provenance of the Dergachy and Leix Campbells and their probable relationship to the more humble Clarks is outlined in **Annex Three.**

Robert Campbell was previously thought to have died sometime before 1747 but if the evidence of the *"vassalls Herezeld"* mentioned earlier is to be credibly associated with him, he lived till 1758 or 1759 to be a very old man indeed. There is a stone in the churchyard at Kilmun, which reads: *"This is the place appointed for the burial of ROBERT CAMPBELL in Inverchapple."* Adjacent is an identical stone *"appointed for the burial of DANIEL CAMPBELL of Knockmillie."* This Daniel (or Donald) Campbell (c1680-1711) was Robert's brother. Duncan Beaton notes *"Knockmillie was a castle near the [present] pier at Innellan. It was owned by a branch of the Campbells of Auchinbreck and later owned by, or occupied by, some of the Dergachy family. The castle has now all but gone.... ."* It cannot be absolutely certain that either burial place was in fact used as intended since - unfortunately - the stones bear no follow up inscriptions giving death dates but there is no evident reason to believe otherwise.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE FIRST DUNCAN AND HIS FAMILY.

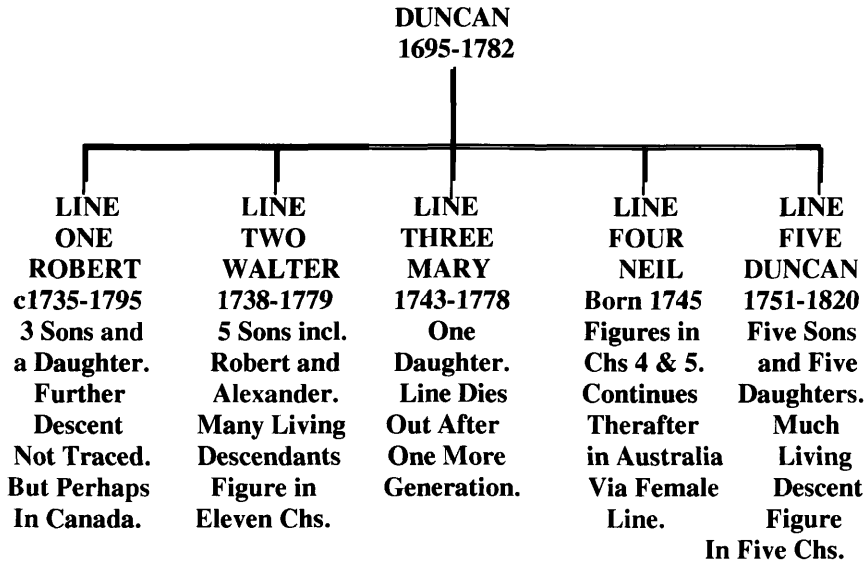
Duncan One must have come to Inverchapel as a farmer in his prime around the period 1730-1735, just before or just after his marriage to Rebekah Campbell. As the daughter of Robert Campbell, the Duke's Forester, Rebekah herself could have been born at Inverchapel or brought thither as a child from nearby Uig. Thereafter, Inverchapel was to be their home for about fifty years until they went in fairly rapid succession to their grave at Kilmun. At some time during that period, following the death of Robert Campbell, Duncan would have taken over the management of the farm on behalf of his brother-in-law and its absentee tacksman, Captain Daniel Campbell of the Royal Marines.

It is unlikely that Rebekah would ever have travelled further than to Inveraray then the County town, to Greenock across the Clyde to visit her son-in-law's family and just possibly to Glasgow which in her time was still a relatively small though rapidly growing burgh. Duncan may have gone further afield, to drove cattle to Lanark market and quite possibly in 1746 as far as Culloden with the Argyll Militia. These semi-feudal levies, effectively the Duke's private army of several thousand clansmen, played a reconnaissance and skirmishing role on the fringes of "Butcher" Cumberland's army and in the dying moments of the battle slaughtered their full share of fleeing Jacobites. Unfortunately the Militia muster-rolls have been lost so we shall never know for certain whether Duncan One was involved in "The Forty-Five". My guess would be that an agile Argyllshire mountain farmer with strong Campbell links would, despite his fifty-one years, have been hard put to it, even had he so wished, to avoid active service with the Militia. Had he on the other hand been drafted to more sedentary duty, that might have taken the form of service with the garrison of one of the chain of crumbling Campbell castles along the Argyll coast which aided the Royal Navy to bring supplies to Fort William and its garrison, holding out deep within the Highlands.

Duncan and Rebekah had five children, all brought up at Inverchapel, each of whom in turn started a line. **Tree A. The First Duncan and his**

Family, is to be found at the end of the book and provides an apex to a succession of nine further family trees: mercifully a simplified version appears herewith.

SIMPLIFIED TREE OF DUNCAN ONE'S FAMILY.



Each of these Lines is described briefly below but the greater part of this family history concentates on just two of them, Lines Two and Five, and with particular emphasis on the former.

LINE ONE. ROBERT CLARK (c1735 – 1795). TACKSMAN IN GARRACHRA.

At some unknown date, likely to be around 1770, the oldest son, Robert, became the tenant, and later tacksman, in the more valuable if more remote farm of **Garrachra** at the head of Glen Massan and thus would not have been interested in following Duncan One in Inverchapel. Garrachra figures second only to Inverchapel in the Clark story in Cowal and is described in some detail in the next chapter.

Robert married **Jennet (or Janet) Whyte** about 1761. Our knowledge of Robert and his family is fragmentary and is, apart from entries in OPRs, based on a single Testament Dative and Inventory registered by his heirs in 1795 with the Commissariat of Argyll. The principal purpose of that document was to establish a claim to a debt owed to the family by a local laird, **Hugh Campbell, the Eighth and last of Leix,** to whom Robert Campbell the Forester, Robert Clark's grandfather, was probably related by marriage.

Robert's marriage with Jennet Whyte is the first of several between the two families recorded in this story. The Whytes, like the Clarks, farmed in the area of Glen Eck and Glen Massan for many generations and are now similarly dispersed. Contemporary with Robert Clark's Campbell grandfather - *Rob an Robein* - in Inverchapel, was another legendary hero of the resistance to *The Athollmen* in 1685/86 to the occupation of Cowal, **Archibald Whyte *"of the Sword"***. He is said to have been *"the leader of a guerrilla band who hung on the heels of the Athollmen and diminished their numbers."* Like Robert he is buried in Kilmun. Jennet must have been related to this Archibald Whyte, possibly a daughter, granddaughter or niece.

The only recorded daughter of Robert and Jennet was **Catherine Clark (c1770-1837+)** who married **Archibald Currie (1762-1822) Farmer** in **Garrachoran**, just over the hills from Garrachra, and later, according to his stone in Kilmun churchyard, Tacksman in Kilbridmore close to the town of Dunoon. Catherine is mentioned in Pigot's National Commercial Directory of 1837 as being a grazier in Kilbridmore. The Curries were an extensive family with Irish as well as Argyll roots. Another Clark/Currie connection was created by the marriage of **Margaret Currie (1791-1878)**, probably not the daughter of Catherine, to another **Robert Clark (1775-1855),** grandson of Duncan One and who figures with him in Chapter Five. A descendant of Catherine Currie, **Kenneth Lochhead (b.1956) of East Linton, East Lothian**, is the only "Son of Duncan" whom I have succeeded in contacting who still lives in Scotland, albeit not in the Highlands.

Of **Duncan (b.1762)** and **Donald (b.1764),** the two older sons of Robert Clark and Janet Whyte, I have discovered absolutely nothing beyond their birthdates and, thanks to the Testament Dative of 1795, the fact that they survived to adulthood. Quite possibly they emigrated - Canada or the Carolinas being the probable destinations in that period - because it was

the youngest brother, **Neil Clark (b. circa 1767),** who succeeded to the tack in Garrachra on their father's death. Neil's marriage about 1794 to **Helen McPharlane** (provenance unknown) was prolific. They are recorded in the OPRs as having produced eight children over the period 1796-1812 but thereafter documentary silence prevails. It could be that this Neil passed the tack or tenancy of Garrachra to his uncle, the Line Four **Neil Clark (b.circa 1745)**, before following his older brothers to more promising pastures overseas. In 1987 when I first visited Garrachra I fell into conversation with the shepherd who mentioned that a few years earlier an elderly "American", accompanied by a daughter, had looked in and said that he had been born there. That is scarcely credible; but perhaps the shepherd misheard: the old gentleman might have been referring to his grandfather. Were that to be so, I should perhaps institute a search across the Atlantic but I fear that the chances of success in finding the missing elements of Line One are slight.

LINE TWO WALTER CLARK. FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL. (1738-1779).

Walter, the first of many Clarks to bear this first name (nine more are to come!), was probably named after the **Reverend Walter Campbell of Dunloskin (c1670-1740)**, an influential figure in Cowal, who before taking the living of Dunoon and Kilmun had been tutor to two future Dukes of Argyll and had in 1735 married one of his daughters to Archibald Campbell, the tenth laird of Inellan and - by then somewhat nominally - Captain of Dunoon Castle. The choice of the name Walter is significant in that it diverges from the norm of the period by which the first male child was named after his paternal grandfather, the second boy after his maternal grandfather and the third after the father. Conversely, the first daughter was called after her maternal grandmother, the second girl after the paternal grandmother and the third after her mother. Custom once respected, freedom of choice then prevailed, by which time there could be up to six children in the family anyway! These rules of thumb frequently work in this history but not in the case of the offspring of Duncan and Rebekkah. I surmise that, in deference to the burgeoning Campbell connection - the Clarks were effectively going up-market socially - the name of the maternal grandfather was given to the first child (Robert), that of the distinguished Campbell pastor (Walter) for the second and that things went back to normal thereafter with the name of

the paternal grandfather (Neil) coming at last into its own to be followed by that of the father (Duncan).

At some early stage in his life Walter Clark must have left his birthplace for a period because his first two sons, Archibald and Duncan, were born in the adjacent parish of Kilmodan which lies to the north-west of Dunoon and Kilmun.

This period in Kilmodan, albeit transitory, gives a strong indication as to the provenance of Walter's wife, **Janet Clark**, whom he married in 1767. This research has repeatedly suggested that, anyway from the social level of Tacksman downwards, it was impractical in the Scottish Highlands to court a lady living beyond a radius of some five or six miles: in other words a somewhat stretched Sabbath Day's Journey. Now, just outside the Kilmodan parish on the road back to Dunoon there is a group of farms around Lochstrivenhead, the principal of which are Balliemore and Ardtaraig, whilst higher up the glen the remains of the long abandoned clachan (= hamlet) of Backan are still clearly visible through the bracken. This area was home over many generations to a numerous group of Clarks, apparently originally unrelated to those in Inverchapel and Garrachra. Both the Rebel List of 1685 and the Fencible List of 1692 contain the name of Gilbert Clark, *"the Laird's Officer in Backan"*. As late as 1913 The Argyll Observer and Standard reported that Charles Clark, farmer in Ardtaraig, had discovered a cannon ball dated 1708 wedged in a cleft in the rocks at Lochstrivenside. This missile, incidentally, was quite probably fired from a revenue cutter a few years later than its date of manufacture during a period when tobacco smuggling into Scotland was practiced on a massive scale.

A marriage between Walter Clark from Inverchapel and Janet Clark from Lochstrivenhead accords with what old John Campbell in Succoch had previously told me, and there was a second marriage between these two families a generation later. These two alliances could explain why a few of the Lochstrivenhead Clarks are buried beside their Inverchapel namesakes at Kilmun rather than in their own parish of Inverchaolin.

About 1772 Walter returned to his native area with Janet and their two sons, **Archibald (b. 1768)** and **Duncan (b. 1771)** to live briefly in Glenmassan where another son, **Niven (probably died in infancy)** was born. Their fourth and fifth sons, **Robert (b. 1775)** and **Alexander (b.1778)** were born in Inverchapel. In maturity Archibald and Robert

figure in Chapter Five as successful Cowal farmers and Alexander, as the precursor of the Clarks of Glenara Victoria, in Chapter Seven The unsuccessful odd man out seems to have been Duncan who attracts no more than occasional mention as a *"cottar"* (farmworker) and as a *"flesher"* (butcher).

We know nothing about their mother, Janet Clark, save for hearsay in a letter [dated Edinburgh 12 May 1923 from Agnes Barclay to Jessie Clark, both of whom were her descendants]. *"Your great-great-grandmother was a very beautiful woman and they say her four sons were fine, handsome men. .....[She] poor woman lost all her good looks when she had a severe attack of small-pox but she lived to a good old age nevertheless."*

Walter died in 1779 at the early age of 41, just predeceasing his parents beside whom he is buried at Kilmun, but subsequent generations of his Line Two multiplied vigorously. His death, did however set up an immediate problem which seems to have been resolved by his youngest brother, Duncan, stepping into the breach; but more of that below.

LINE THREE. MARY CLARK (1743 - 1778).

The story of this, the third, branch is tragic. Mary, Duncan's only daughter, was married in 1774 to **John Mains, Ship's Captain of Greenock** who died in 1778 aged 38. John Mains is buried at Kilmun, like several others of his family, close to the group of Clark graves. Mary herself died in the same year as her husband: but since there is no inscribed reference to her death on his stone, solely in the OPRs, there is no way of telling whether they are buried together.

Whilst Mary Clark and John Mains had died young, worse was to follow in the next generation. They had left one daughter, another **Mary (1774 - 1832+)**, who married about 1797/1798 **Lieutenant Archibald Campbell (c1770 - 1832+)** of the 79th. Regiment of Foot and of the family of Craignish.

Research at Kew and in the National Army Museum in Chelsea revealed that Archibald Campbell joined the 79th. as an ensign in 1795 on the regiment's return to England after a terrible winter campaign in Holland and North Germany in the course of which 200 rank and file had been lost

"from privation and severity of the climate". Typical of the fate of so many Scottish infantry regiments, the 79th. was immediatly reformed and despatched abroad again to suffer an even more adverse climate. They arrived - with Archibald now a lieutenant - in the recently captured island of Martinique where, without the slightest contact with the French enemy, eight officers and 259 other ranks succumbed, mainly to yellow fever, over the course of a two year tour of duty. Reformed yet again in England the 79th. was sent to Guernsey and later to Holland. At about this point one loses track of Lieutenant Campbell who might have been transferred to an "Invalid", i.e. garrison, Company, being by then unfit for further active service, or possibly discharged altogether. Certainly though, on the evidence of a memorial stone in Kilmun churchyard, he was still alive in 1832.

This stone reads :- *"In Memory of their children, Peter died 24th. August 1822 aged 21, Donald died 22nd May 1824 aged 16, Robert died 7th September 1826 aged 21, John Mains died 19th. August 1831 aged 32, Archibald died 5th. March 1832 aged 19, Alan C. died 19th. August 1839 aged 24. Erected by Archibald Campbell of the family of Craignish Lt. in the 79th. Regiment of Foot and Mary Mains his spouse 1832."* No medical opinion that I have consulted has come up with a confident diagnosis for this devastation of all the young male offspring in the family: could it have been caused by some hereditary genetic defect or perhaps by a lingering infection acquired by their father in the West Indies? A likely alternative might be tuberculosis which, as related later in Chapter Fifteen, ravaged another connected family, the McBrides. Whatever the explanation, Line Three effectively ended in the eighteen-thirties. The only survivor of that stricken generation was a daughter, another **Mary Campbell (1810-1899)**, who is buried in the adjacent grave together with her husband and second cousin, **Neil Clark (1812-1897).** Mary and Neil who remained childless, conceivably by choice, appear later in the story in Chapters Five and Seventeen.

LINE FOUR. NEIL CLARK. TENANT IN GARRACHRA. (Born circa 1745).

Neil followed his older brother, Robert, to Garrachra and married in 1773 Margaret Telfer (1752-1845): she came from the isolated farm of Glen Lean which stands on a bleak hillside overlooking the road from Dunoon to Lochstrivenhead. Its location satisfies the 5-6 mile rule for courtship

but would certainly have entailed a stiff climb over the intervening ridge dividing Glen Lean and Glen Massan. Practically nothing is known of Neil himself but plenty about several members of his family which is outlined in **Tree B** and Chapter Four. This line did not precisely die out but did not produce Clark males in the third generation.

LINE FIVE. DUNCAN CLARK TWO. FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL. (1751-1820).

This Duncan, the second of many, was the youngest son by several years and would normally have expected to have to leave Inverchapel and fend for himself elsewhere. Robert and then Neil had already gone off to Garrachra and Walter looked set fair to take over the farm when Duncan One, already an old man, should finally die. Suddenly the expected succession was upset by Walter's death. I surmise that the patriarch then nominated the youngest brother, Duncan Two, aged twenty-eight, to manage the farm until one of Walter's sons was old enough to succeed to the tack according to the customary basis of primogeniture. It is more than likely that, whilst accepting his duty to the family, Duncan would have bargained to the extent of insisting on becoming tenant for his lifetime or at least until he was good and ready to hand over to his nephew.

Duncan Two married **Agnes Jenkin (1762-1836)** in 1795 by whom he produced ten recorded offspring but the history of this family, the most junior Line, must wait till Chapter Thirteen. Meanwhile the stories of Garrachra, of a successful entry into the commercial world of Glasgow and of emigration to the Australian Bush must first be told.

Sorrow and anxiety overshadowed Duncan One's final years. He lost his daughter Mary in 1778, his son Walter in 1779, and his wife Rebekkah in 1781, just before his own death in the following year. One can envisage him seated by the hearth at Inverchapel, probably crippled with arthritis, and worrying what the younger Duncan was up to out on the hill and whether he could be relied upon to hold the family tenancy together until one of Walter's children was of sufficient age to succeed. In the event his youngest son most thoroughly fulfilled the old man's expectations.

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE GARRACHRA CONNECTION AND THE SOLDIER BROTHERS.

Almost directly across Stratheck from Inverchapel a valley winds several miles westwards into the hills. This is the beautiful **Glenmassan** whose burn passes several farms, Corarsk, Stonefield, Stronlonag, Glenmassan itself and finally, at the head of the glen near its source, **Garrachra.** Thus the road - even today a rough one - ends at Garrachra, with nothing beyond save forestry tracks to higher slopes and the sheilings where cattle and later sheep were once pastured during the summer months.

Like Inverchapel, Glenmassan is not without its legend. One of the most famous tragic heroines of Celtic folklore, Deirdre of the Sorrows, is supposed with her lover to have found temporary refuge here from the vengeful pursuit of her less than desirable husband, the King of Ulster. This tale is recounted in the Glenmassan Manuscript, an ancient document which, as mentioned in Chapter Two, was probably for a while in the keeping of Robert Campbell the Forester.

The introduction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of Lowland breeds of sheep brought irreversible change to the Highlands. Garrachra, one example amongst hundreds, must up to about 1790 or even beyond have been a clachan of a couple of score or more of inhabitants, allowing, at this its approximate peak, for three recorded families of Clarks and a proportionate following of cottars, annually hired farmhands and domestic servants. It is probable that they pursued a life-style and farming practices little altered, except for the advent of the potato, for several centuries. The new sheep-based economy changed all of that and the Clarks when they ultimately became heriditary proprietors of Garrachra in 1839 would if necessary have completed the clearance of all but essential human inhabitants, namely one shepherd and his family. The shepherd's cottage, nowadays a shooting lodge of modern construction, is the sole remaining habitable building. Beyond the cottage are to be found drystone sheep pens: some of their walls when I first saw them in 1989 incorporated vestiges of hearths, suggesting that they were constructed from the former houses of the tacksman and his family. Given that there was a clachan at Garrachra, there must also have been, due to

its isolation, a burial ground now disappeared for ever somewhere beneath heather or marshy turf. For sure, despite their numerous birth entries in the OPRs, there are no Garrachra Clarks buried at Kilmun, save just one, **Archibald Clark (1835-1890)** the second and penultimate heriditary proprietor. who in fact lived at Ben Corrum on the edge of Dunoon: he, for lack of space in the family plot, was buried in another section of the churchyard. The many developments in the family history which intervene during this Archie's lifetime mean that his particular story cannot be told until Chapter Seventeen.

The ownership of Garrachra changed more frequently than that of Inverchapel. It probably formed part in the Seventeenth Century of the original estate of the Fletchers of Dunans who lost their land to the Campbells, allegedly through legal chicanery. In 1751 it is recorded in a Valuation of Lands as belonging to Campbell of Knockbuy, reputedly a politically shifty laird, who lived on the western shore of Loch Fyne. However, at some stage the Fletchers regained their lands and until the late nineteen-nineties lived at Dunans a couple of miles over the crest from Garrachra. The Fletchers held Garrachra, amongst other farms, from 1752 until 1839 when the creditor trustees of the contemporary Fletcher sold to **Archibald Clark (Line Two, 1771 - 1850):** he is one of the principal characters in Chapter Five, being co-founder with his younger Inverchapel-based brother, **Robert Clark (1775 - 1855)** of a short-lived association of family controlled sheep and cattle farms.

As explained in the previous chapter we know rather little of the family of the earlier **Robert Clark of Line One (c1735-1795),** Tacksman in Garrachra, and even less of his son and successor, **Neil Clark (Born c1767)** and the latter's eight children, whose ultimate fates and destinations tantalise with a festoon of genealogical loose ends. My best guess, that they departed en famille to Canada, remains untested.

Line Four stemming from Robert's younger brother, **Neil Clark (Born 1745) Tenant in Garrachra** is quite another matter. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this Neil in 1773 married **Margaret Telfer (1752-1845)** the girl who lived over the hill in Glenlean. Of their seven offspring shown in **TREE B,** nothing is known of two, **Duncan Clark (Born 1780)** and **Margaret Clark (Born 1767)**: quite possibly one or both died in infancy. Two of the remaining daughters, **Janet Clark (1774-c1801)** and **Rebecca (or Beatrix) Clark (1778-1810)** married their Inverchapel

GARRACHRA. THE LOST CLACHAN.



Above. The Sole Habitation in the year 2000. The Shepherd's Cottage. Nowadays an Occasionally Used Shooting Lodge.

Below. The Sheep Pens, some of whose Walls Incorporate Traces of the Hearths of Former Dwellings.



cousins, Archibald and Robert Clark, and consequently figure in Chapter Five. The third and youngest traceable daughter, **Susanna Clark (1782-1832)**, married **Andrew McKindlay (1773-1838)** of Cardross Dumbartonshire and was the mother of **Margaret McKindlay (1807-1837)** whose death in the quarantine station in Sydney Heads is related in Chapter Seven.

That just leaves us to trace the soldier brothers, **James Clark (1776-1810) and Robert Clark (1789-1853).** Their careers as junior officers, unable to purchase a captain's commission for further advancement, epitomise the service rendered to the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars by educated but unendowed Scots. I had long known about Robert, having at an early stage in this research traced his story in detail in the Army Section of the Public Records Office at Kew and in the Royal Army Museum in Chelsea. James, however, rated no more than a baptismal date in the chart which ultimately became Tree B. until, unexpectedly and by a round-about route, "news" came like manna from the Australian bush, sent by Dorothy Thompson, a descendant of **James McKindlay (1813-1900)** who emigrated by the same vessel as his sister Margaret in 1836. Contained in a privately published history entitled "The McKindlays of Ivanhoe", was the challenging statement that *"**TWO** of his* (James McKindlay's) *uncles fought in the war, one losing a leg.*" The second uncle could only have been one or other of Robert's older brothers, Duncan or James. So, back to Kew and Chelsea to discover that no suitable Duncan Clark featured in the Army Lists of the period but that a **James Clark born 1776** certainly did: his career was as follows.

In 1802 Ensign James Clark, quite probably ex-the Argyll Militia, joined the first battalion of the 71st. (Highland) Regiment of Foot, at that time stationed in Ireland. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1805 just before the 71st. embarked at Cork for foreign service as part of a force designated to sail via Madeira and Brazil to seize the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. The expedition landed in the Cape on 6th.January 1806, fought the battle of Blueberg two days later and accepted the capitulation of the Dutch on the 19th.January.

After this rapid success, the 71st. might have hoped to return to in triumph to home duties: if so they were to be disappointed because in April the force was redirected to the River Plate. In South America the 71st. achieved little glory because at the battle of Buenos Aires it was cut off from the main body and forced to surrender en bloc. In 1807, on

cessation of hostilities, the Regiment was released from Spanish captivity and returned via Montevideo to Cork, arriving in March 1808.

Again they may have hoped for a spell of garrison duty but again in vain because after receiving 200 reinforcements from the 2nd. or Depot Battalion in Dumbarton the 71st. sailed for Portugal in good time to participate in the battle of Vimiero and subsequently in the retreat of Sir John Moore to Corunna. We know that James Clark did not go on this campaign because, unlike Brother Robert, his name is not included in the Challis Index, which catalogues all officers who served in the Peninsular War. Almost certainly he was posted to the Depot Battalion in Dumbarton where, as a seasoned officer bilingual in Gaelic and English, he would have been particularly useful in training recruits from the Highlands.

After Corunna the Regiment - or what remained of it - returned to England and was reformed at Ashford (Kent) as the 71st.(Highland and Glasgow) Light Infantry Regiment and brought up to strength with a draft from Dumbarton of some 300 NCO's and men and several officers, of whom James Clark was almost certainly one. More active service followed, this time just across the Channel as part of the ill-starred Walcharen Expedition. Following the capture of Flushing stalemate developed and the campaign was aborted in December 1809. The force had suffered relatively lightly in battle but to a crippling degree from "*Walcharen Fever*" which was probably a form of cholera. The sufferings of the 71st. reflected those of the army as a whole, having lost only 17 killed in action but 58 to the fever, including several - named - officers. James Clark was not one of these but deaths continued after the Regiment returned to Kent and included one - unnamed - lieutenant: that must surely have been he because his name is missing from the Army List of 1810.

Brother Robert enjoyed markedly better military fortune than James; after surviving several major battles in the later Peninsular campaigns and a near-fatal wound in 1813, he returned to live a further forty years in Scotland on half-pay and - doubtless for the most of them - with a good income from farming as well. He was also for a number of years a Justice of the Peace and, by implication, a prominent member of the Cowal establishment.

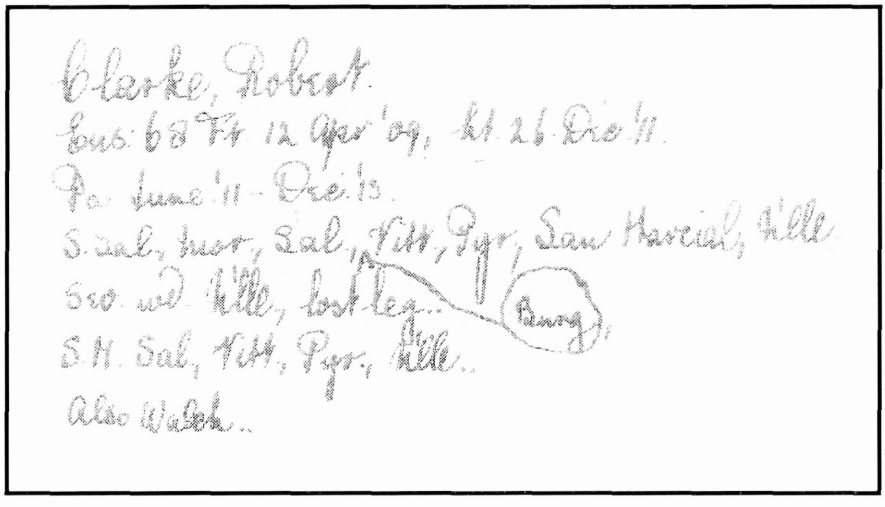
Robert's military career is recorded as beginning in The Argyll Militia but in 1809 at the age of 21 he was commissioned as Ensign in the 68th.(or Durham) Regiment of Foot. Almost immediately he saw active service; also in Walcharen. Indeed it could well have been in that dreary terrain, so different from their native Argyll, that the brothers met for the last time since their Regiments coincidentally belonged to the same higher formation, the Baron de Rottenburg's Light Brigade.

Eighteen months later the 68th. of Foot, after also reforming in the South of England embarked for Lisbon in June 1811 to join Wellington's newly assembled 6th. Division. After a long and often bloody hardening, the 68th. became one of the Iron Duke's favourite units, typical of those whom in an unguarded moment he described as *"the scum of the earth"*. Wellington in truth deeply cherished these tough infantry soldiers, a high proportion of whom were recruited from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, for on other occasions he acknowledged that without their hardihood and valour his victories could not have been gained

Detail of Robert's service is derived from the **Challis Index**, a fascinating document of military history which is claimed to list every officer of the British Army who served in the Peninsular War. After eighteen months of continual campaigning Robert's luck ran out on 10th. November 1813 during the closing stages of the Battle of the Nivelle. To quote the Regiment's historian [Faithful. The Story of the Durham Light Infantry. Ward.]: *"The 68th. successfully assaulted the village of Saint Pée and bought its distinction at moderate cost* [Sic!]. *Two officers and 14 N.C.O.s and men were killed or mortally wounded; five officers* [including Lieutenant Clark] *and about 26 N.C.O. s and men were wounded. Such casualties reduced its strength to its lowest since Vitoria, 197 rank and file present and fit."* Robert had his right leg amputated on the field of battle after which, to quote his words written in his own hand in 1827 in a Return of Retired Officers Service: *"I was placed on halfpay very much against my own wishes in consequence of numbers of the younger lieutenants in Regiments at home being at that time placed on half-pay and although I was not liable to be so placed, yet, from my wound (leg amputated) His Royal Highness The Duke of York did so, being Commander-in-Chief at that time."*

LIEUTENANT ROBERT CLARK'S SERVICE IN THE PENINSULAR WAR.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHALLIS INDEX.



The above entry reads :- Clarke, Robert. Ensign 68th. Foot 12 April 1809. Lieutenant 26 December 1811. Peninsular. June 1811-December 1813.

[Present at Battles of] San Salvador, Morriles, Salamanca, Burgos, Vitoria, Pyrenees, San Marcial, Nivelle.

Severely Wounded at Nivelle, lost leg.

Service Medals (with clasps) for Salamanca, Vitoria, Pyrennes, Nivelle.

Also served in Walcharen.

Possibly Robert returned for a while to Garrachra: but, as shown in a further Return of Retired Officers Service, he was living at **Ardyne House (aka Ardyne Park or Big Ardyne)** in the parish of Inverchaolin by 1828. He was still there as Tacksman in 1845 according to the will of his ancient widowed mother, Margaret Telfer, who by then was living with him. This deed, whereby she made Robert her executor and sole heir, *"was signed for her because she declares she cannot write from blindness and ignorance of letters."*

Ardyne, in the Lamont corner of Cowal, must in its heyday have been a considerable estate, consisting not only of Big Ardyne but also of Middle Ardyne, today a nondescript farmhouse, and Little Ardyne where Robert's nephew, Neil, resided and who probably succeeded him as Tacksman. There was also a mill down the Ardyne Burn towards the sea. Little Ardyne is today the gaunt ruin of a three floor stone-built mansion, dating probably from the early Nineteenth Century and having at some stage been destroyed by fire: it stands in isolation in the midst of cattle pastures between the sea and the road to Inverchaolin.

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If that was Little Ardyne, then Big Ardyne must presumably have been considerably larger though its exact location is now hard to determine: for many decades stone was removed for the construction of building elsewhere and such traces as may remain lie hidden under an overgrown coppice. The only visible relic is a stone-walled enclosure which local people say was once the vegetable garden. Equally possibly these walls were intended to corral cattle which had been ferried across, or even forced to swim, the narrows of the Kyles of Bute on the first stage of their long trek to market. I think it is likely that the Clark association with the Ardyne estate followed from their friendship with the Finlays who had taken over the proprietorship of Toward Castle and some adjacent properties from the Lamonts in the early years of the Nineteenth Century. More comment will be made on the Ardynes in the next chapter because for two or three decades they formed part of an agricultural nexus operated by a group of closely related Clarks.

After his mother's death Robert retired to live at Tain in Cromarty in the far north of Scotland where he died in 1853. One must wonder why he chose to spend his final years so far from his numerous relations and friends in Cowal, with whom he clearly remained on good terms since he left his Peninsular medal to his nephew, Neil, by then *"Factor in Cloinletter near Dunoon"* and *" to Mr. Robert Clark, Farmer at Inverchapel, my friend "*, his silver mounted staff *"as a slight tribute of long continued friendship and of my affectionate regard to him"*. The railway to the far north coast had not by then been constructed: it must, therefore, have been a tedious business for an elderly man with one leg to make the journey from Caithness to Cowal which he certainly did in 1851, two years before his death, being recorded in the census of that year as a visitor to Little Ardyne. It is tempting to hope that late in life the ageing bachelor, though inconveniently in Tain, found female comfort: certainly, his will included a bequest of *"ten pounds to Margaret McLean formerly my servant"* whereas *"Ann Murray my present servant"* received only five pounds!

Robert also made bequests to his McKindlay nieces and nephews, most of whom were by then in Australia. Unfortunately a proportion of these took the form of part-paid shares in the Ayrshire Iron Company which ran into hard times and consequently made several calls on its luckless shareholders for additional capital before its final slide into liquidation.

CHAPTER FIVE.

AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION.

Following the digression up Glen Massan to the remoteness of Garrachra this chapter takes the story back to the seventeen-eighties and Inverchapel where Duncan Two had succeeded his brother-in-law, Captain Daniel Campbell, as farmer though not as tacksman, on the apparent understanding that ultimately one or other of the sons of his dead brother Walter would succeed to the tack. Duncan kept his nephews waiting for many years.

As shown in **Tree A**, Walter had left four sons of whom two, **Duncan Clark (born 1771)** and **Alexander Clark (born 1778)** do not, for very different reasons, enter into the story at this stage. Duncan seems to have made little mark and may well have died young; but not before having two children. One of these was **Walter Clark (born 1800)** whose only other entry in the OPRs occurs in June 1818 as follows :- *"Bapt. Margaret, illegitimate daughter of Walter Clark in Inverchapple and Anne Muir, daughter of the late Dugald Muir, Cotter in Newton, - born the sixteenth day of November 1817."* This Walter Clark almost certainly emigrated, maybe in disgrace. Years later in an Australian family diary there is a single passing reference to a visit from *"Walter Clark of New Zealand.";* and, since all other Walter Clarks are accounted for, this must surely have been he. Alexander Clark (1778-c1820) was the progenitor of the earliest Australian branch of the family whose history is recounted in Chapters Seven, Nine, Ten and Eleven.

Thus, this chapter largely concerns the two other brothers, **Archibald Clark (1768-1850) Tacksman in Auchafour** in the parish of Inverchaolin and later Heriditary Proprietor of Garrachra; and the younger, probably more dominant, **Robert Clark (1775-1855) Tacksman in Blairmore and Inverchapel.** About 1799 or 1800 they both married Garrachra cousins, the sisters, **Janet Clark (1774-1801)** and **Rebecca or Beatrix Clark (1779-1810).**

Archibald was the first to leave Inverchapel, possibly glad to escape from under Duncan's shadow, though he did not move far away, becoming

about 1800 **Tacksman in Cloinletter**, a farm on the banks of the Echaig river just before it runs into the Holy Loch. His recently-wedded wife, Janet, died shortly thereafter in childbirth, bearing Archibald's first and only son, Neil. As Janet is not buried at Kilmun it is likely that she died in Garrachra, it being frequently the custom for Scottish wives to return to their mother's house for their first delivery: in that case she will have been interred in the lost burial ground at the head of Glenmassan. Archibald never married again and at some stage, one might guess about 1820, moved to the further side of Dunoon to become **Tacksman in Auchafour** without, it would seem, relinquishing the tack in Cloinletter where his son **Neil Clark (1801-1835)** succeeded him. Neil married Catherine McLean in 1830 by whom he had two children before he died at the early age of thirty four and was buried at Kilmun. Archibald's relatively limited family and descendants are shown in **Tree C** and some will reappear in Chapter Seventeen.

Auchafour by Cowal standards was an unusually rich farm (rated in 1751 at eight merklands to the value of 15.25 pounds) and in many ways similar to the adjacent Ardynes (in 1751 rated at eight merklands to the value of 16.75 pounds) in which his cousin, Lieutenant Robert Clark was tacksman. Auchafour and Ardyne are of a completely different character and quality to Inverchapel and Garrachra, being primarily suitable for cattle rather than sheep raising. Moreover, both farms were well sited as staging posts for beef cattle which had been forced to swim the narrow waters of the Kyles on the first stage of their long march from the pastures of Bute to market at Lanark, Dumfries or Carlisle.

A few years before Archibald Clark obtained the tack in Auchafour, its ownership - together with that of Ardyne - had passed, after centuries stretching back to a pre-Campbell era, from the control of the Lamonts to **Kirkman Finlay** who for good measure also took over their historic seat of Toward Castle. Finlay was a larger-than-life character who had made several fortunes as senior partner in the firm of **James Finlay & Co.** of Glasgow, a manufacturing and trading enterprise which might nowadays be loosely described as a conglomerate. Finlay was typical of many successful entrepreneurs from Glasgow and the industrial Lowlands to establish roots in the more accessible parts of the Highlands and adopt the life-style of the established lairds and gentry. Pertinent to the Clark story, as transpires in the next chapter, was his friendship with his tenant and neighbour, Archie Clark in Auchafour, who was perhaps aspiring via the more gradual farming route to similar social aggrandisement.

At much the same time as Archibald was marrying Janet Clark, Robert was similarly moving into marriage with her sister Rebecca and, in or about 1801, out of Inverchapel to independence as tenant in **Driep,** a small farm adjacent to Invernoaden at the southern end of the parish of Strachur. Here several of Robert's many children were born, the full extent of his family being revealed in **Tree D**.

Driep, incidentally, has interesting historical connections in that **Mary Queen of Scots** is recorded as having passed a night there in July 1563 en route from Inveraray to Dunoon in course of a state visit in which she was escorted by the fifth Earl of Argyll and "a *great concourse of his vassals*".

More entertaining is the tale of the **Baron McPhun of Driep** who in the Eighteenth Century was tried in Inveraray for sheep-stealing and sentenced to be hanged. As was customary, his sorrowing family went over to collect the body which disconcertingly, as the boat was returning across Loch Fyne to Strachur, began to show slight signs of life - the dempster (or hangman) had been less than thorough on that occasion! A nursing mother in the party managed to get him to swallow some of her milk and the victim survived, though with a permanently twisted neck and the nickname of "*Half Hung Archie*". McPhun subsequently lived on to old age and his immortal memory is celebrated, doubtless appropriately, at the Creggans Hotel in Strachur where a bar is named after him. Now, after these brief digressions into local history, we return to the less colourful affairs of the Clarks.

By his first wife, Rebecca (or Beatrix) Clark, Robert had five children.

Walter Clark (1800-pre1850 born in Inverchapel). We know little about this Walter who must have died relatively young. He married in 1823 a lady called Mary Ferguson by whom he had two children. **"Honest John" Clark (1827-1897)** was for a time a wine merchant in Manchester and later figures in Chapters Seven and Nine as manager in Kerarbury, the first of the Clark sheep-stations in Australia. His sister **Rebecca Clark (1825-1920)** was housekeeping for her great-uncle Archibald at Auchafour at the time of his death in 1850: he left her a small legacy. Rebecca never married and from time to time received remissions of money from her brother in Victoria.

Neil Clark (1805-1890 born in Driep). Neil was already mentioned in the previous chapter as farming Little Ardyne next-door to his uncles, Robert in Ardyne Park and Archibald in Auchafour. Previously in 1837 he had been in Stronchulin on the shore of Loch Long, a little to the north of his father's farm at Blairmore: later he is described in 1853 as Factor in Cloinletter; and later still in 1861 as a wool agent living at Rock Villa in Innellan where he remained to the end of his days. Neil married **Mary Campbell, (1810-1899)** of the tragic family of Line Four, by whom he had no children. According to his Australian kin ***"Uncle Neil"*** was the repository of family history, though sadly he seems never to have committed his knowledge to paper.

Rebecca Clark (1807-1857 born in Driep). In 1834 she married **Peter McNaughton (1810-1871)**, a farmer who may well have been born in Glenlean: they had seven children, most of whom emigrated to Canada where their plentiful descendants still reside. One of the latter, **Karl McNaughton of Fredericton New Brunswick (born 1929)** has provided several useful contributions to this research. Rebecca and Peter McNaughton themselves remained in Scotland and are buried in the churchyard at Strachur. His Clark relations harboured reservations concerning Peter McNaughton's financial probity because in their wills both Robert Clark in Inverchapel and Lieutenant Robert in Ardyne Park left bequests to Rebecca sewn up in trust to avoid her husband gaining access to the money!

Two other children were born to Robert and Rebecca (or Beatrix) at Driep, Margaret 1802-pre-l825 and Janet 1803-pre-l821. They must have died in infancy because both names were used again for later children of Robert.

Around the time of Rebecca's death in 1810 Robert moved to take the tack in **Blairmore** and the adjacent farm of **Gairletter** (of six merklands and a nominal valuation of 7.40 pounds between them and owned by the Campbells of Finnab) which lie on the shore of Loch Long several rugged hill miles to the south east of Inverchapel. The three succeeding decades saw the progressive growth of Robert's "empire". He added Inverchapel itself and probably Coylet also on or before the death of his uncle and former guardian, Duncan Clark, in 1820. In 1837 his second son, Neil, was recorded as grazier in **Stronchulin** (of three marklands and nominal valuation of 7.33 pounds and owned by Campbell of Ardkinglas) which lies immediately to the north of Gairletter.

A LOST PORTRAIT OF ROBERT CLARK (1775-1855).



This is a photograph of a portrait in oils on canvas of Robert Clark, Tacksman in Blairmore and Inverchapel. The original is thought to have been taken to India by Robert's great-grandson Ian Archibald Clark (1883-1957), where failing to withstand the rigours of the climate, it crumbled away. (Courtesy: The Johnston Papers.)

The jewel in the crown was added in 1839 when brother Archibald in Auchafour, probably following several years of successful cattle trading, bought Garrachra from Fletcher of Dunans and leased it to Robert. 1840 will have seen the "empire" at its most extensive because soon thereafter Robert gave up Blairmore.

Over and above the farms directly controlled by Robert himself, the Clark family nexus in its heyday spread widely throughout Cowal. In Inverchaolan parish brother Archibald and cousin Lieutenant Robert were tacksmen respectively in Auchafour and Ardyne Park and his son Neil was tenant in Little Ardyne. In addition though probably outside Robert's influence, two Inverchapel-born cousins, sons of Duncan Two his ex-guardian, were farming in Cowal, **Duncan Clark (1792-1877)** at Ballimore near Strachur and **John Clark (1804-1881)** at Bernice just across Loch Eck from Coylet: both figure in Chapter Thirteen, the latter incidentally being my own great-grandfather. Finally, there was **Catherine Clark (c1770-1837+)** a Line One Garrachra-born cousin who, as Mrs. Archibald Currie, is recorded in an 1837 trade directory as a Grazier in Kilbridemore in the parish of Dunoon.

Robert Clark's second wife whom he married in July 1813 was **Margaret Currie (1791-1876)**, daughter of (a different) Archibald Currie who at that time was tenant in Blairbeg the adjacent farm to Blairmore. This marriage had been consummated well in advance of the formalities, the first child, **James Clark (1813-1876)**, being born in September 1813, two months after his parent's wedding. It is difficult to envisage that the dignified old lady, posing at her spinning-wheel, must as a twenty-two year-old have gambolled in the hay barn, the heather being out of the question in the month of December. Anyway, cutting his arrival more than a shade fine did nothing, as recounted in Chapter Six, to blight James's business career.

Robert and Margaret continued to breed at two-to-three year intervals, as indicated in **Tree D** until 1829 when their eighth child, Duncan, was born. They had lost only one, Alexander b.1816, on the way - for the early nineteenth century a considerable achievement - and all the rest lived for forty or more years. Even then they had not quite finished, for after an eight year respite a final daughter appeared: it is a matter for debate as to whose achievement was the greater, Robert's at the age of sixty two or Margaret's at forty six.

AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH. MARGARET CURRIE (1791-1878). THE SECOND WIFE OF ROBERT CLARK.



We think that this photograph was taken within the period 1865-1867 because another, obviously of the same date, shows Margaret Currie with a small grandson of about four or five years old. He has been identified as Robert Barclay (1861-1916). (Courtesy: The Johnston Papers).

The following is a brief resumé of the remainder of Robert and Margaret's family who, for the sake of convenience, do not appear in chronological order.

Susan Clark (1819-1882). Susan remained a spinster for many years and in 1865 was living with her brother James at Crossbasket Castle in Lanarkshire. The following year she married at the age of forty-seven **Patrick Smith (1809-pre1882)**, a Manchester based merchant of Argyllshire stock.

Margaret Clark (1825-1878). Margaret married **Robert Barclay (1816-1868)**, partner and brother-in-law of her brother James, in the firm of Finlay & Co.

Robina Clark (1837-1883). Robina, the final daughter, married in 1868 **Duncan Turner Campbell, Tacksman in Duiletter** and descended from the Corries branch of the Barcaldine Campbells. They had three children: Alexander Ewen Campbell born in Kilmun 1870 and married in Glasgow in 1896, Robert Clark Campbell. died in Kilmun in 1883 aged 12 and a daughter who was born and presumably died in 1875. Robina herself is buried at Dalmally, Perthshire.

Janet Clark (1821-1901), Archibald Clark (1823-1900), Mary Clark (1825-1912) and **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)** were all closely associated with the closing years at Inverchapel which are recounted in Chapter Sixteen. Duncan also figures in Chapter Eight and Archie in Chapter Nine.

Robert Clark died in 1855 and is buried at Kilmun with both his wives. Archibald in Auchafour had preceded in 1850 and Lieutenant Robert lately in Ardyne in 1853. The peak period of the family's agricultural pre-eminence in Cowal was over, though they continued for many further years on a gradually diminishing scale at Inverchapel and Garrachra and in the parish of Strachur. Farming decline in Scotland, however, was more than compensated for by growth in Australia as will be recounted in Chapters Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER SIX.

CROSSBASKET AND COMMERCIAL AFFLUENCE.

The death in 1855 of **Robert Clark, Tacksman in Inverchapel** was followed by a gradual fifty year decline in the family's agricultural prosperity in Argyllshire. Robert, however, had lived sufficiently long to witness the beginnings of its replacement in far wider context by his nephew, **Walter Clark of Glenara (1803 - 1873)**; and by three talented direct successors, his son **James Clark of Crossbasket (1813 - 1876),** his grandson **John Kerr Clark of Ghoolendaadi (1838 - 1910)** and his great-grandson **Archibald Kerr Clark** Kerr, ultimately **Baron Inverchapel of Loch Eck (1882 - 1951)**. This chapter principally concerns of James Clark the second of these innovators and the first member of the family to eschew the agricultural calling of his forebears.

James, also the first member of the family to attend University, qualified as a doctor at Edinburgh in 1835. Although, according to a biographer, he never practised medicine "*because he could not bear the sight of blood and suffering*", the truth may be rather different. He had in fact been awarded the Edinburgh Medical School's Surgical Prize on graduation (the medal for which is in the possession of one of his descendants): this hardly supports the theory that - even in the pre-anaesthesia epoch - he was uncomfortable in the profession for squeamish reasons. His subsequent ability to diagnose and treat business maladies suggests that, had he so chosen, he could have attained the highest honours in medicine. More probably he quailed less at sight of blood than the prospect of penurious years as a young doctor. Anyway, and for whatever reason, he chose to make his career in commerce instead.

James's first appointment was with the Greenock shipowning house and Newfoundland merchants, Kerrs and McBrides. It is a fair guess that he was introduced in 1835 or early in 1836 to the senior partner, **John Kerr (1792?-1836)** by **Alexander McBride (1800-1870)** who had married into another branch of the Inverchapel Clarks. The Clark/McBride relationship is recounted in all its complexity in **Chapter Fifteen.** John Kerr died en passage to Newfoundland on the Brig *"Hebe"* on 11 September 1836. James seems to have served at least part of his time

with Kerrs and McBrides in Newfoundland but was back in Greenock to marry **Margaret Kerr (1815-1838)** on Boxing Day 1837.

It is of primary interest to establish Margaret's origins, particularly since there was another contemporary firm of Kers or Kerrs, merchants in Greenock, but initially research failed to reveal any Margaret with a credible birth date in the Greenock Old Parish Records. There is, however, the following entry (discovered by Duncan Beaton) in the OPRs for the outlying parish of Kilmacolm :- *"Hillen* [= Helen] *Holm in Nittinshill had a natrell daughter to John Kerr born January 6th 1815 and baptised the* [date blank] *called Margaret."* No absolute conclusion can be drawn regarding this birth at Kilmacolm, though circumstantially the names and the date match perfectly. James might in any case have been less concerned than most if his bride were in fact illegitimate since he himself had escaped the same stigma by a bare two months. The marriage was of sadly limited duration since Margaret died in Greenock three months after giving birth to their only child, John Kerr Clark on 15 October 1838. James understandably was not minded to return as a widower to Newfoundland and he did not remarry for a further eight years.

He therefore cast around for another opening and found one thanks to a second family introduction, this time by his uncle, **Archibald Clark Tacksman in Auchafour**, to his friend and neighbour, **Kirkman Finlay of Castle Toward**. Kirkman was then senior partner in the long established firm of **James Finlay & Co. of Glasgow**. The company is still (in the year 2000) actively trading in India and the Far East and is quoted on the London Stock Exchange as tea merchants.

James's subsequent progress is well described by the following extract from the Limited Edition publication (1886) of Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men which I found in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow: its sub-title reads *"who have died during the last thirty years and in their lives did much to make the city what it is now."*

"Kirkman [Finlay] *had been taken with the young man and now asked him to come and see him with a view to an engagement. Clark somewhat reluctantly agreed to go, and after a brief interview was then and there engaged. He used to say that he owed his engagement (like many an applicant) to good handwriting. But he owed it also to a taste of his quality that he gave during the ordeal. Kirkman Finlay, after a question or two, set him to write an imaginary business letter, and handed him a*

sharp-pointed steel pen, such as he himself used. Now, a big man was bigger in those days than in ours, and Kirkman Finlay was a very big man, towering above his fellows like some tall Ammiral [sic]; *and most applicants would have quailed before him. But Clark did not like sharp-pointed steel pens: he asked for a quill, and leisurely mended this before sitting down to write. Kirkman was taken by the young man's self-possession, and after glancing at his letter, with a curt "You'll do." engaged him.*

"It was well he did. Kirkman Finlay was verging on old age, and James Finlay & Co., like many another old firm, was languishing for want of young blood. They had been great merchants and great manufacturers, but the merchandising had almost died out, and the famous works of Deanston and Catrine, if working as briskly as ever, were working to little profit. Clark was able to put both departments right. He had industry and energy, not very rare qualities in Scotland, and he had a much rarer gift in the mercantile faculty, as much a speciality as the poetic.

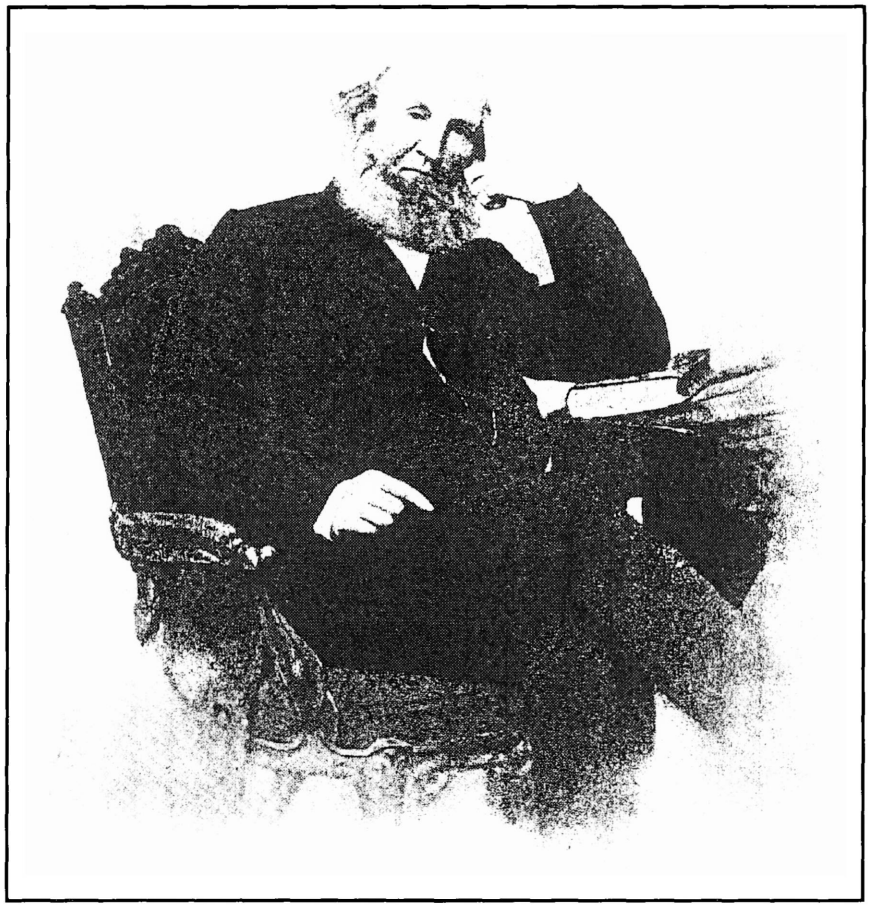
"He was sent to the works, ***Catrine*** *first, and then* ***Deanston.*** *He found them both full of old machinery, grinding vigorously away at goods for India which had long ceased to pay. He was not long in seeing what changes were needed, and getting leave from the firm to make them. He was not himself a practical mechanic, but he found in Catrine a skilled engineer,* ***Robert Barclay****, afterwards his partner and brother-in-law, and with his help he gradually filled the old works with the best new machinery. This was turned entirely onto goods for the home market. By the excellence and regularity of the make and finish, Finlay's cottons acquired a name they still retain; they could be sold always and at a good price; and the manufacturing branch of the old firm throve as it had never thriven before".* An article in the "Scots Magazine" of March 1977 recounts that the Catrine mills were in continuous production from 1787 till 1968 and that water power from the River Ayr drove the "Big Wheel" which provided the energy to drive the looms and spinning machines for almost the whole of this period. The "Big Wheel", fifty feet in diameter and delivering nearly two hundred horsepower, was designed and installed in 1827 by **Archibald Buchanan**, a relative of Kirkman Finlay, an ex-apprentice of **Sir Richard Arkwright** and subsequently a lifelong friend of James Clark.

James Clark became one of four partners in Finlays in 1847 and his talents were thenceforth directed towards the mercantile branch. Again his energy and acumen served the company well and it became increasingly prosperous. He rapidly became so seriously rich that in 1851, a mere thirteen years after joining the firm, he was able to buy **Crossbasket Castle**, a massive edifice in Lanarkshire.

Crossbasket's history is far from clear. From sometime in the XIVth Century until the early years of the XVIIIth Century it was part of the estates of the Lindsays of Dunrod and The Mains who were succeeded for most of the rest of that Century by a family called Peters. The Peters transformed the castle from medieval bleakness to relative habitability. According to The History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride [Ed. D.Ure 1893] *"this ancient building, the age of which is not known, was the jointure-house* [in southern English = dowerhouse] *of the family of The Mains, but is now the property of Capt.Thomas Peter of Crossbasket. It is about 54 feet high, 38 long and 22 broad. The whole is kept in good repair. A commodious dwelling-house, of modern construction, is built close to the east end of the tower. The situation is pleasant and healthful. Considerable attention had once been paid to the gardens and enclosures; but they have, for some time past, been greatly neglected. Soon, however, will they put on a quite different appearance, when the Captain shall have finished the improvements he has begun to make on the estate."*

Doubtless, when he became proprietor James Clark continued the civilising process. According to another source *"it is almost certain that he was responsible for the building of the last parts of the castle, his initials appearing on the outer wall of the east end of the building. During this time there were eight of the family staying in the mansion along with eleven staff. In the lodge there was a family of six and with the gardener and his wife there was a total of 15 working staff on the estate. There were 27 acres of property at that time and when James Clark died on 6th September 1876 the estate was valued at 49,718 pounds."* This account then went on to say that ***"John Kerr Clark (James's eldest son)*** *was due to receive the property but* ***for some reason*** *donated it to the trustees of his father on 14th May 1877"*. That **reason** will be revealed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

JAMES CLARK OF CROSSBASKET.
(1813-1876).



For a decade or so after establishing himself at Crossbasket James's fortunes prospered in line with the successful growth of James Finlay & Co.; and the family - about whom more below - likewise expanded. He is described as being *"constantly in and out of business circles, and men had been used to refer business disputes and difficulties to him; for they knew his honesty, his experience, and his broad, fair-minded way of looking at things. He had liked society, and society had liked him; for he was full of life and information, of unfailing courtesy and good humour. He had read more than most busy men find time or taste for. He was a leading member of the* [Glasgow] *Chamber of Commerce; and in 1853 the Royal Commission on the Law of Partnership called on him for his views, which, as may be supposed, were against Limited Liability."* His reputation for literacy and sociability - and indeed fairness - is posthumously endorsed by clauses in his will making explicit provision for the equitable division of the library and cellar at Crossbasket. Nor, apparently could his patriotism be called into question since in 1860 during a time of fear of a French invasion James Clark *"donated a sum of money towards the raising of a company of volunteers."* [Annals of Blantyre. Rev. Stewart Wright. 1885].

About 1861 the golden era began to run out for James Clark. For a start, the advent of the American Civil War provoked a crisis for Findlays because the cotton mills at Catrine and Deanston were closed for lack of raw materials. In a style which might surprise some of the *"fat cats"* who inhabit modern boardrooms, the partners paid their workforce half wages throughout the whole period of interrupted supply, inevitably at the cost of their individual profit shares. Then crucially, also in 1861, **John Muir of Deanston** was admitted to partnership and, by means of boardroom manoeuvres, gradually ousted James Clark who retired from James Finlay & Co. in 1867: already, though, *"his familiar figure, his tall form and massy head* [had] *disappeared from 'Change', and only a few old or attached friends saw him."*

Glasgow's mid-Victorian commercial grandeur, like the British Empire of which it was a significant component, has dwindled virtually to extinction. Nevertheless, one can nowadays take the prescribed touristic route through the streets and squares of the business centre where classically inspired granite facades evoke the shadow of the proud, confident and seemingly indestructible ambience in which James Clark was for a while a leading and respected figure.

CROSSBASKET CASTLE.



This photograph was taken in the 1880s by Alister Clark of the parallel Australian branch of the family during a visit to Scotland.

In parallel to problems in Finlays, other distressful pressures were piling up. James's second wife, **Agnes Barclay,** had died aged 39 in 1863 after several years of chronic illness and he is said to have grieved for her inconsolably. Of a different order there arose a major business anxiety regarding a sheep farming project launched in 1860 at Mantuan Downs in Queensland in which he was grossly over-exposed with both of a quarter of the equity and substantial loans to the two other partners in the venture; namely his son by his first marriage, John Kerr Clark (JKC) and his youngest brother Duncan Clark from Inverchapel. Later, about 1867, he must further have drawn on the fortune acquired during his Finlay days in order to set JKC and Robert Clark, the oldest son from his second marriage, up in Ghoolendaadi Station in New South Wales, which turned out to be another over-stretched project.

James Clark's family is shown in Tree E and consisted of :-

John Kerr Clark (1838 - 1910) of Ghoolendaadi. The only child of James's first marriage who figures prominently in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten.

Robert Clark (1847 - 1876). Robert was educated at Merchison Castle School, followed his older half-brother to Australia and became a partner in the Ghoolendaadi station. Both brothers married daughters of Sir John Robertson, a prominent Australian politician. Robert died unexpectedly in Hobart, Tasmania soon after his marriage and a few months before his father, reportedly *"as a result of excessive indulgence in spirits and tobacco"*. His widow, Maggie Robertson, later married Baron Mikhaloue-Maclay, a distinguished scientist of Russo-Scottish origin who was by then domiciled in Australia.

James Buchanan Clark (1849 - 1879). The story of James's life, almost as short as that of his elder brother, is obscure. He married in New York at the age of twenty a girl even younger than himself, **Marey Thomas Rowe (1852-1914)**. It will probably never be revealed whether this marriage was the outcome of whirlwind romance or moral imperative: perhaps a combination of the two, since their first child, yet another James, had seemingly been born rather rapidly. Nor is it known what James was doing in New York: working in a branch of Finlays perhaps. At all events he had been returned to Scotland by 1871 and then been packed off to Java, to work as a merchant's clerk for MacLaine, Watson & Co., a firm with which his brother-in-law, Robert Henderson, was associated. Marey followed him to the Far East and there bore him two further sons, in 1873 Walter and in 1875 Robert who died in the same

year and whose death was registered with the British Consul at Samarang by one of James's business colleagues. James himself had already returned to Scotland to die at Crossbasket some three years later. Marey followed her husband home and there are occasional glimpses of her in Scotland and England, reportedly somewhat of a chronic anxiety to the family. Her surviving sons, **James Clark (1870-1909)** and **Walter Clark (1873-1890)** both predeceased Marey.

Walter Archibald Clark of Crutherland (1859 - 1913). This Walter, known to his family as "**Wat",** was James Clark's fourth and youngest son. After his father's death he lived on at Crossbasket for a number of years before establishing his own estate not far away at Crutherland. He married **Annie (1861-1890)**, one of the Glenara Clarks in Australia and thereby became embroiled in the dramas described in Chapter Nine. Wat is the principal character in Chapter Twelve.

James Clark also had four daughters by his second wife Agnes Barclay; namely **Agnes (1852), Margaret (1853), Alice Susan (1856) and Marey Helen (1861).** All these ladies married into well-established Glasgow business and professional families. I have not yet initiated a search for all their descendants.

Marey Helen Clark, who married **Pierce Campbell**, clearly cherished childhood memories of visits to Loch Eck for she had installed in the church at Kilmun a brass plaque which reads: *"To the glory of God in loving memory of Archibald, Janet and Mary, three descendants of the family of Clarks who for many generations resided at Inverchapel in this parish."* Noticeably she omits the name of their brother, **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)** who had returned from Mantuan Downs to die at his birthplace.

Following James Clark's retirement from James Finlay & Co. in 1867 it is recorded that *"a long tour of Australia gave him back something of his old tone":* more likely his sojourn 'Down Under' was primarily occupied in an attempt to steer the Mantuan Downs project [described in Chapter Eight] away from disaster. Be that as it may, he returned to Scotland in 1872, partly resuming business *"with his old partner, John Wilson (who had retired from James Finlay & Co. at the end of 1864), forming the firm of Clark, Wilson & Co. with branches in Calcutta and Madras. But his health and spirits again broke, and he shut himself up at Crossbasket. He died there on 6 September 1876".*

With several members of his family James Clark is buried in a partially vandalised tomb in the cemetery in Hamilton. His final years were overcast by melancholy and - more than possibly - by disillusion: melancholy because he had been twice widowed and was to outlive his second son Robert by a few months; and disillusion with the uncontrolled pretensions and ambitions of his eldest son, John Kerr Clark, to whom, despite his own reputed caution in business matters, James had been persuaded to provide extensive financial support. Furthermore his third son James had recently returned to Crossbasket from Java in broken health and with his career in ruins.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

KERARBURY AND GLENARA.

I mentioned in the first chapter that the breadth of this history has been due largely to two breakthroughs, the first being the data inscribed on the Clark gravestones at Kilmun. The second occurred in 1988 in the following way. My eldest son Andrew and I visited Inverchapel Farmhouse for the first time and met its owner, Mary Murton. She told us that in the previous year she had been visited by a Doctor Stewart Clark Johnston and his wife Bronwen, who lived in Melbourne and that they said that one of Stewart's forbears, Walter Clark, had been born at Inverchapel and had emigrated to Australia in the eighteen-thirties. Fortunately the Johnstons had left an address thus enabling us to establish a contact which over the succeeding years not only grew into a warm friendship but has proved highly productive from a research point of view. Between us we assembled a picture which neither could have achieved separately. **The Johnston Papers**, in contrast to my own scrapings from the family barrel, constitutes a treasure trove of documents and old photographs from which I have quoted extensively in the next few chapters.

This chapter takes us for the first time to Australia, it begins in Scotland with the story - such as we know of it - of **Alexander Clark (1778-c1820)**, a grandson of Duncan One and the youngest son of Walter Clark (1738-1779). Alexander's family and descendants are shown in **Tree F,** the pivotal character being his son also called **Walter Clark (1803-1873)** who emigrated to Australia in 1838: more of him shortly.

Alexander was born at Inverchapel and about 1800 married **Anne (or Agnes) Campbell (c1778-c1825/28)** who was probably the daughter of *Colin Campbell, farmer in the nearby farm of Gairletter,* and **Flora (or Florence) McLean** who were married in Kilmun in 1776. Alexander and Anne lived at Inverchapel at least until 1818 in which year the births of their seventh and eighth children, the twins Alexander and Robert, were registered: this could have been the final straw, leading his uncle, Duncan

Two, five of whose own ten children would likely have still been at home, to order Alexander to take his family elsewhere.

I have tried in vain, despite a blanket search of Western Scottish OPRs, to discover where they went. My best guess is to **Islay** because, as will be related in Chapter Thirteen, I have traced Alexander's first cousin, Duncan Two's oldest son **Walter Clark (1791-1859)**, to the farm of **Torabus near Bowmore** on that island, the furthest offshore district of Argyllshire. It is indeed conceivable that the cousins departed from Inverchapel together. Unfortunately, the Islay OPRs for the period around 1820 which is when Alexander is likely to have died, are reported to be defective. This Islay theory may carry further credence given that these were the days just before the introduction of steam propulsion and that it could then have been impractical to attempt, especially if it were winter, to return a body by a sailing vessel round the Mull of Kintyre and Arran for burial at Kilmun. The following clues, however, do throw tentative light onto the circumstances and approximate date of Alexander's death :-

- it is recorded in some family notes that Walter, the son who emigrated to Australia had ***"as a lad** lost his father and as a young man he had lost his mother and **only brother**."* [The last statement can hardly be correct!].

- there is also this extract from a letter dated 12 May 1923 from Agnes Barclay (niece of James Clark of Crossbasket) to Jessie Clark (granddaughter of Walter Clark of Glenara). *"I am afraid my knowledge of them* [their Clark ancestors] *is rather sketchy, but I can give you a few details, altho' most of the stories that were handed down to us by our old Uncle Neil* [of Innellan] *concern my grandfather* [Neil's own father Robert in Blairmore and Inverchapel] *who was a brother of your great-grandfather* [Alexander]. ... *If I remember the story rightly, I think his death was caused by his jumping into the sea to save a man who had fallen overboard. Being a long time in his wet clothes he caught cold which settled on his lungs and he died. I have no dates in connection with Alexander."* [This account could explain Alexander's early death but curiously no mention of such a dramatic event was passed down by Walter of Glenara to his descendants].

Little can be gleaned concerning the emigrant Walter's early life in Scotland beyond the strong impression that he was shrewd, God-fearing and hard working. Clearly he was not content - had there indeed been place for him - to be just a loyal supporter of his highly successful Uncle

Robert in Inverchapel, Blairmore or Garrachra. He sought work elsewhere and, his ambition tempered with patience, was by 1836 a farm overseer, more than likely in Glenaray at the head of Loch Fyne. He had also quite recently married his third cousin, **Margaret McKindlay (1807-1838)** from Cardross by Dumbarton whose mother, **Susannah Clark (1785-1834)** was from the Garrachra branch of the family.

One can envisage that Walter and Margaret were considering where their future should lie when opportunity - perhaps unexpectedly - opened. The Government of New South Wales had just adopted a radically new immigration policy: never again should that still small Colony be used as a dumping ground for common criminals from Britain (whether fairly convicted or otherwise!). Instead, it was decided to attract willing immigrants with skills and of good character and to partially subsidise their passage. Many of these future Australians were selected and sponsored by the **Rev. John Dunmore Lang DD (1799-1879)**.

Doctor Lang had himself emigrated from Ayrshire in 1822 and became a figure of some importance in Australian history, as is reflected in an eight page entry in the A.D.B. in which he is described as *"Presbyterian clergyman, politician, educationalist* [he founded several schools in N.S.W], *immigration organiser, historian and anthropologist"*. In his role of immigration organiser he made nine trips to Britain, mainly to Scotland, to select suitable settlers and clergy and was in the Clyde area in 1836 when he must quite certainly have recruited Walter Clark. The Clarks also carried impeccable references from the elders of the Kirk in Kilmun. Doctor Lang, who reappears on several occasions in this story of the Australian Clarks, must have been a shrewd selector because the A.D.B. contains numerous references to his protegés and their descendants.

Walter and Margaret embarked at Leith on 13 September 1837 in the sailing ship Minerva of 380 tons together with 213 other passengers and a crew of 21. The conditions aboard, quite typical for the times, were atrociously crowded and insanitary and, consequently, as was also almost the norm for emigrant vessels fever, in this case typhus, spread through the ship during its long and unbroken passage to Port Jackson at the entrance to Sydney Harbour which was reached on 23 January 1938. By then 86 passengers, mostly travelling steerage, had been attacked and fourteen were buried at sea. Walter, although a cabin passenger, had been amongst the sick but had been nursed to fragile recovery, thanks to Margaret's ministrations. Tragically, though, she was herself stricken of the fever whilst the whole complement of crew and passengers was being

held in the Quarantine Station at Spring Cove. She died there on 12 February 1838: the headstone of her grave, erected by Walter, is preserved in the Quarantine Station Museum.

Walter and Margaret had been accompanied to Australia by her younger brother, **James McKindlay (1818-1900)** who also made good in the frontier environment and founded his own extensive dynasty. He married twice and fathered at least ten children. Several of his McKindlay siblings followed him from Cardross in Dumbartonshire into the bush. It was one of James McKindlay's descendants, the late Miss Dorothy Thomson of Echua, Victoria who provided the short history of their family, *" The McKindlays of Ivanhoe",* which led to the identification of Lieut. James Clark, the older of the two soldier brothers as recounted in Chapter Four.

I often think that, of all of us, Walter most closely fulfilled the family motto *"Free for a Blast"*. As he recovered from grief and sickness, his feelings might well have developed along these lines: *".....for me this land is a blank page; here I can start life anew and become the person I want. No one knows me; no one knows my past, I can be born again. There are no lords and servants here, only working people"*. These words were written fictionally of a soul caught up in the Californian gold rush of the eighteen-forties but they must surely have been equally apposite in the Australia of just a decade earlier.

Walter would have been in no condition anyway to face hard physical work immediately and there is a story told in the family that he worked for a while as a schoolmaster, most probably in one of Dr. Lang's new establishments. Otherwise, no account survives of his early years in Australia but we can surmise that once fit he involved himself in hard but profitable toil. He was outstandingly employable in the pastoral industry and there is reason to think that he was initially employed by **John Peter**, who gave his name to *"The Great Peter Run"* and who became his close long-term friend and whose own family had coincidentally some decades previously been proprietors of Crossbasket. Thereafter, at some early stage Walter must have taken carefully calculated entrepreneurial risks in the frontier economy of the colony of New South Wales. There is an idea in the family that the first foundations of his fortune were laid by droving cattle inland from the coastal region to the new goldfields around Ballarat.

HEADSTONE FROM THE GRAVE OF MARGARET McKINDLAY IN THE QUARANTINE STATION MUSEUM AT SPRING COVE, SYDNEY HARBOUR.



By whatever means, Walter's prosperity increased. He is recorded (in a press cutting held in the Mitchell Library in Sydney) . as having been granted in 1842 a pasturage licence for an area along the Murrumbidgee River, hitherto *"considered by many to be miserable, wretched, useless country...."* [The Murrumbidgee rises in the Snowy Mountains and flows over 1000 miles westward to join the Murray River which reaches the ocean in South Australia].

This early acquisition of land in parched and inhospitable territory must have paid off because in 1849 he merged his holding with that of his neighbours, similarly hardy settlers, the brothers **Alexander and William John McLeay (1820-1891)**, nephews of Alexander McLeay, the Colonial Secretary for New South Wales. The resultant property **Kerarbury** was blessed with 30 miles of river frontage, supported some 70,000 sheep and yielded Walter in due course an annual income of upwards of £9000.

Quite shortly after the Kerarbury partnership was formed the McLeays departed for a life of well-earned comfort in Sydney, and in William's case a distinguished second career in politics, the patronage of science and a knighthood. The management of the property was left entirely in the hands of Walter Clark, later assisted by his young second cousin, **"Honest John" Clark (1827-1897)**, a grandson of Robert Clark in Blairmore and Inverchapel. Somewhere around 1855-1856, by which time Honest John had proved his worth as a deputy, Walter, still a widower but already well beyond his fiftieth year, must have decided, like his McLeay partners before him, that there was more to life than getting ever richer in the outback. He retired to the vicinity of Melbourne and adopted a new life-style, though to the end of his days he paid regular visits to Kerarbury, particularly at the shearing season, to see for himself that all was well. That, nonetheless, gave him plenty of time in which to create an exquisite small country estate and after many years of loneliness to take himself a second wife.

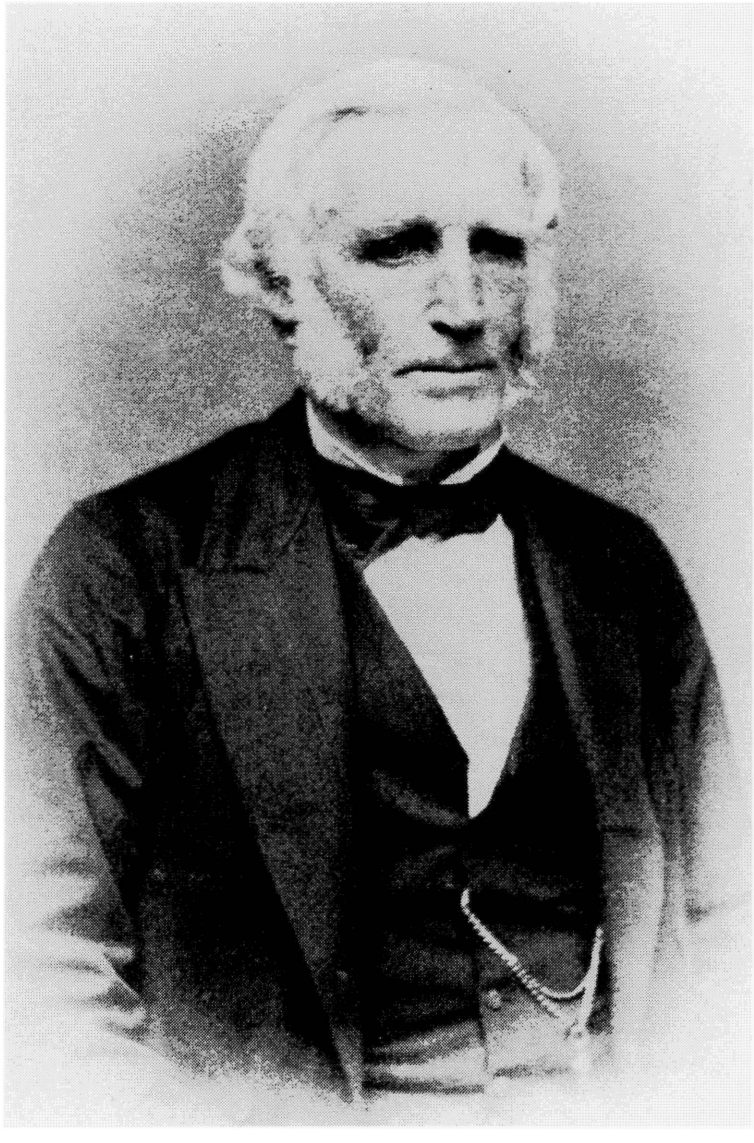
The house which he built he called **Glenara** (perhaps he had happy memories of working on a farm in Glenaray before emigration): it still exists, outwardly hardly changed, surrounded by gardens and orchards and overlooking the small river called Deep Creek as it flows through a narrow rocky gorge. The back endplate to this book reproduces a painting made in 1867, which well portrays the charm of the property.

THE KERARBURY HOMESTEAD AND THE MURRUMBIDGEE RIVER.



Oil on canvas by J.D.Lang showing the homestead and a paddle steamer towing a barge loaded with wool bales.

WALTER CLARK OF KERARBURY AND GLENARA (1803-1873).



AND HIS SECOND WIFE ANNIE COOPER (1825-1865).



Walter and his new wife first occupied the house in December 1857, having lived meanwhile since their marriage in the January of that year in a cottage on the estate.

The lady Walter married was **Annie Cooper (c1825-1865).** The couple are pictured in the double minature now in the possession of their great-grandson Dr. Stewart Johnston and also in the two studio portraits reproduced on the preceeding pages. Annie had arrived in Melbourne in 1852 as an immigrant from England together with her sister, Elizabeth, under the protection of the Reverend Seddon. The sisters established a Ladies School in the parish of St.Kilda prior to Annie being married to Walter by Mr.Seddon with Sir William McLeay, the Kerarbury partner, as a witness.

Thus, in the words of their granddaughter **Jessie Clark, later Lady Johnston**, *"began a union of great happiness with no thought that only eight years would be granted them to be together".* The marriage nevertheless was blessed with five children but Annie Clark died of fever following her last confinement on 16 October 1865. After their mother's death the children were cared for at Glenara by Annie's sister, Elizabeth Searle, who endeavoured to counterbalance the severity of their governess, Miss Cameron.

Less than eight years later disaster struck the young family for a second time. Again to quote Lady Johnston: *"my grandfather loved spirited horses and one day a stable boy is said to have made a mistake in harnessing up a pair. When driving in one of the Glenara paddocks the harness broke and the horses bolted, overturning the buggy and Walter Clark sustained a fractured skull. He died without regaining consciousness on 19th March 1873".*

Walter's three nominated executors were his old friend **John Peter** who renounced because he had already returned to Britain, his second cousin **John Kerr Clark of Ghoolendaadi (JKC)** and **"Honest" John Clark** who was still managing at Kerarbury. The last declined to act, so tradition says, on account of his unwillingness to associate too closely with John Kerr Clark, the central character in the next chapter. The outcome of that refusal, whilst in one sense confirming Honest John's judgement, almost proved financially disastrous for Walter's young orphans since JKC was left as their sole guardian and administrator of their estate for the next fourteen years.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

MANTUAN DOWNS AND GHOOLENDAADI.

The year 1838 in which Walter Clark landed from the Minerva in Sydney also saw the birth in Greenock of his second cousin, **John Kerr Clark (1838-1910)**, hereafter referred to as **JKC**, son of **James Clark (1813-1876)** later of Crossbasket and **Margaret Kerr (c1815-1838),** daughter of a Greenock merchant. JKC's mother died giving him birth.

We have no knowledge of JKC's childhood nor of his reaction to the advent of a step-mother, **Agnes Barclay (1824-1863),** when he was about eight years old. By the time that JKC was twelve or thirteen his father, James, had become a senior partner in the trading house of James Finlay & Co. of Glasgow and was in process of buying Crossbasket Castle, so it is likely that he will have been sent to one of those relatively new-fangled institutions dedicated to the production of gentlemen and Empire builders, a public boarding school: quite possibly he preceded his half-brother, Robert, to Merchiston Castle. Some of his surviving letters certainly show signs both of classical education and social awareness.

JKC did not, as might have been expected, follow his father either to university or into Finlays but was sent to Switzerland and Germany for his final education. There, at the age of nineteen he managed to move in princely and grand-ducal circles which suggests well developed self-assurance. Thereafter, rather than enter the career in Glaswegian commerce which must have been open to him, JKC opted about 1859 for a more enterprising alternative. Perhaps inspired by the success of Cousin Walter, no doubt well gossiped about in Cowal, who was currently moving into his new domain at Glenara, JKC set out similarly to seek to create a fortune in Australasia. He was partnered in this project by his uncle **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)**, an experienced sheep farmer from Inverchapel, but the endeavour wholly depended on financial support from his father James. Their intended destination had been New Zealand but, apparently deterred by news of the Maori Wars of the period, they diverted to Mantuan Downs in Queensland.

According to information originating in the Queensland State Archives, Mantuan Downs, some five hundred miles northwest of Brisbane, is an area of several hundred square miles which over the period 1856-1884 was leased out by the [then] colonial government in large blocks to incoming settlers. Duncan and JKC probably took up their first block in 1860 or 1861 and a further block was taken up in 1863 or 1864 and named Crossbasket: others were subsequently added, namely Sandon No.2 in 1868, and Fairview and Juanita in 1869. This rapid expansion of land holding in apparent disregard of the need for corresponding working capital bears the hallmark of JKC's management style subsequently to be repeated elsewhere. When James Clark back in Scotland refused to provide further capital, the project had to be radically curtailed. Following a long visit to Australia by James himself most of the properties were disposed of, Crossbasket and Sandon No.2 in 1872 and Fairview in 1874. Only Juanita remained, until 1884, presumably farmed on a more realistic scale by Duncan until he felt able to retire to Sydney where he lived until 1897, in which year he returned to die at Inverchapel.

The Mantuan Downs project thus turned out for the Clark family collectively to be a disaster. Its extent is indicated by the following extract from a document which Bill Scott, Chief Librarian at the Dunoon Branch of the Argyll and Bute District Library most kindly discovered for me :- *"According to a small ledger bearing the name MANTUAN DOWNS* [for many years in the keeping of James Finlay & Co. but now lost], *James Clark in 1861 entered into partnership with his brother Duncan and his son John Kerr Clark in a sheep farm in Queensland, called Mantuan Downs. James's interest is stated to have been a fourth and his interest in the venture apparently was to provide finance not only for himself but for his co-partners. It may be that the ledger does not give the full story, but there are no indications therein that the business came to a successful issue. The final figures shown bring out a total investment by James on account of his fourth share including interest at 5% to 31st.December 1872, of 5,675 pounds, and an amount due to him by his son John Kerr with interest to 31st.December 1873, of 11,774 pounds. The account of Duncan Clark shows a series of repayments to James from 1872 and settlement of all Duncan's outstandings was made as at 31st.December 1873. An interesting episode in the history of Mantuan Downs is that in June 1865 a shipment was made to the Queensland concern of two rams and six ewes at a cost per invoice of*

CLARK'S LAGOON ON THE CROSSBASKET BLOCK AND GENERAL VIEW OF MANTUAN DOWNS.





francs 6,020 or - at exchange 25 francs - 245 pounds. Relative charges included the cost of passages at 20 pounds each of five [Scottish] *shepherds per the Empress of the Seas .* (pp 43-44 James Finlay & Company Limited, Manufacturers and East India Merchants, 1750 - 1950. Published by Jackson Son & Company, Glasgow 1951.)

An intriguing piece of information was uncovered in 1994 by Stewart and Bronwen Johnston, namely that one of the partners in the company which currently operated Mantuan Downs and adjacent pastoral properties was called James Clark. Hopes were instantly raised that a lost branch of the family was about to be revealed, particularly since we had not at that juncture traced two grandsons of James of Crossbasket. Coincidence, however, had played a trick. This newly discovered James Clark turned out to be the grandson of yet another James Clark, of a family totally unrelated to ours, who had made his original fortune in the pearl fisheries before investing in pastoral land. The present proprietors, nevertheless, have been most helpful and **Mrs.Mona Clark** wrote (in 1995) from Brisbane as follows :-*"When Jim was at "Mantuan" recently he set out with the old map and a camera to locate exactly where Crossbasket would have been. He found that it would have consisted of a great part of the downs country, approx. 50,000 acres, which included a hill Jim has always called Homestead Hill because he thought it was where the homestead should have been built; but in the days of Crossbasket there would have been no water there, the artesian basin being unknown, so the homestead was built approx. five miles away on the Claude River. Jim is sure the homestead is built on what would have been part of Crossbasket so it could well be that the very old part of the house with the sloping floors could have been the original one - the manager and his wife live in this part today."* Jim and Mona also kindly took the trouble to make a series of photographs of the Crossbasket property: one view bearing the evocative name of Clark's Lagoon.

JKC left Mantuan Downs, though the circumstances of his departure are not known, about 1866 or 1867 and in the latter year he is recorded as taking over another huge property, this time at Ghoolendaadi in the Liverpool Plains area of New South Wales. By now of course he had acquired five or more years hard experience of bush farming and would have been more than willing to operate independently and free from Uncle Duncan's tutelage. It is possible that in the early year or so he was partnered by a member of the Finlay family who was replaced about 1868

or 1869 by JKC's eldest half brother, **Robert Clark (1847-1876).** I suspect that James Clark was less than satisfied with this particular son and that as a quid pro quo for a further slice of funding JKC was required to take him in hand, conveniently far from Glasgow.

Ghoolendaadi and the adjacent stations had been occupied by settlers and squatters since the eighteen-forties and to that extent was a less raw proposition than Mantuan Downs: it was also somewhat more accessible, particularly after the railway reached the local town, Boggabri, in 1882.

By whatever means available to him JKC sought to bring Ghoolendaadi to full development. Over a period of some twenty years, his youthful energy and courage,supplimented by counsel from friends such as his future father-in-law, John Robertson, enabled him to build up the station into a stable and attractive property, though living conditions remained spartan.

JKC took every opportunity – effectively repeating the errors of Mantuan Downs - to augment his empire which at its maximum comprised a continuous area some 180,000 acres of freehold and leasehold land, by whatever means were available, including the sharp practice know as *"peacocking"*. Ghoolendaadi's extent is picturesquely illustrated in a local historical account. *"On the old scale of forty chains to the inch it took a sheet of parchment 180 centimetres by 95 to encompass its 72,000 hectares and even then an extra piece had to be pinned on for a protruding corner."* A visiting Glenara kinsman, Walter Clark, noted in 1877 that the station's vital statistics were :-

Area 600 - square miles Boundary Line 110 - miles,

Sheep - about 80,000 Cattle - about 2,000.

Over a century later, in 1989, another member of the Glenara family, Bronwen Johnston, visited Ghoolendaadi, checked local history and wrote as follows :- *"John Kerr Clark made many improvements to the property. One of the first things he did (in 1868) was to build a large shearing shed where about 40,000 sheep were shorn annually. The homestead, which was originally a slab hut of two rooms was gradually enlarged until it became a house of twelve rooms. There was a separate schoolroom building, an office, storeroom and butchery and numerous outbuildings. Bricks made on the property were used in some of these*

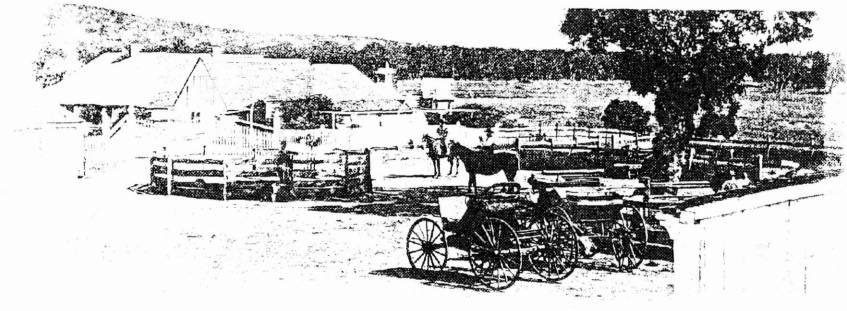
buildings and also to build a large rainwater tank and a big cellar. In 1882 JKC imported special metal fencing to build a fence of 2-3 miles length to surround the homestead. Horse racing, cricket and football matches took place inside the area which was known as "The Park". There was also a small burial ground inside "The Park" fence - the earliest grave being dated 1865."

But the eighteen-eighties and nineties *"were difficult years in the pastoral industry - bad seasons - labour problems - and bank failures ruined many pastoralists. In addition the rabbits were devastating the countryside. In an attempt to combat this pest special rabbit-proof fencing was imported for Ghoolendaadi and a fence 90 miles in length was built on the property. It took three men three years to build it."*

Demonstrably, JKC had already trespassed well beyond the frontier which separates considered risk-taking from reckless enthusiasm. This was to cost him particularly cruelly because, in common with many other frontier entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Australia, JKC cherished the ambition that years of isolation, physical risk and labour in the outback should be recompensed by retirement to the urban comforts of Sydney or Melbourne or even back to the distant Britain whence they had emigrated half a lifetime earlier. Their properties, left in the management of reliable but less enterprising souls, preferably relatives, could be expected to provide a more than comfortable income. Financial security and a more gracious style of living, however, were by no means the only prize: enhanced ranking in the social pecking order posed, as much in Australia as in contemporary Britain itself, a further incentive. For Cousin Walter, the burgeoning colonial civilisation of Melbourne had held more attraction than return to his native Cowal. JKC, in contrast, aspired not only to surpass his father by way of business achievement but also in due course to succeed him in a laird-like lifestyle at Crossbasket. That dream abruptly changed to mirage when in 1876 the death of James dropped JKC inextricably into difficulty since he had no way of repaying his debts to the estate within any forseeable period of time. Deeds were therefore drawn up in Scotland in the following year whereby, in effect, JKC relinquished his rights of succession to Crossbasket to the trustees sine die and accepted that regular interest payments should meanwhile be made. One of the architects of this entirely reasonable scheme was his Inverchapel farmer uncle, **Archibald Clark**, but the seeds were probably then sown for a mutual resentment which festered intermittently for many decades between the Kerr Clarks and those whom they contemptuously termed *"The Barclay Clarks"*, although they always held Archie himself in high regard.

CONTEMPORARY SKETCHES, CIRCA 1875, OF GHOOENDAADI STATION, LIVERPOOL PLAINS.





As if, though, the combined impact on his fortunes of Mantuan Downs and Ghoolendaadi were not enough, JKC had got himself involved in a third project, **Coal Cliff**, the original story of which is as follows. Back in 1797 a party of shipwrecked mariners from the schooner Sydney Cove were trekking, through much danger and hardship, along the south eastern coast of New South Wales to their intended destination Port Jackson. The three men who survived out of the original party of thirteen included the ship's supercargo, William Clark (unrelated), who carried in his pocket a sample of coal picked up from a massive outcrop visible in a cliff that they had passed. No significant exploitation of the deposit was possible until 1887 when access roads and ship loading facilities had been constructed. The mine was further extended with the advent of the railway in 1909, developing in the fullness of time into one of the largest in Australia, employing in its heyday over a thousand workers, and only closing down in 1991.

About the late 1860s or early 1870s JKC together with a neighbouring landowner in the Boggabri area, **Ebenezer Vickery (1827-1906),** had acquired the mineral and agricultural rights at Coal Cliff but for several years they were neither able to exploit the property for lack of access nor to sell their interests: thus a part of JKC's limited capital was locked indefinitely into an unproductive investment. As at Ghoolendaadi, the place may have been right but the timing on this occasion was a good couple of decades premature: in consequence JKC was not able to escape from the venture until sometime in the 1890s, by which stage his affairs were showing some signs of recovery. Vickery, in contrast, being better able to bide his time ended up with a large fortune and an entry in the Australian National Dictionary of Biography.

In 1870 JKC married **Kate Robertson (1846-1927)**, the daughter of **Sir John Robertson (1816-1897)**, a prominent Australian-born politician and land reformer and an early Premier of the colony of New South Wales. The ceremony was performed by the **Reverend Doctor John Dunmore Lang DD (1799-1879)**, A lifelong friend of the Robertsons who, coincidentally, had also been instrumental many years earlier in organising the immigration to Australia of Walter Clark of Glenara.

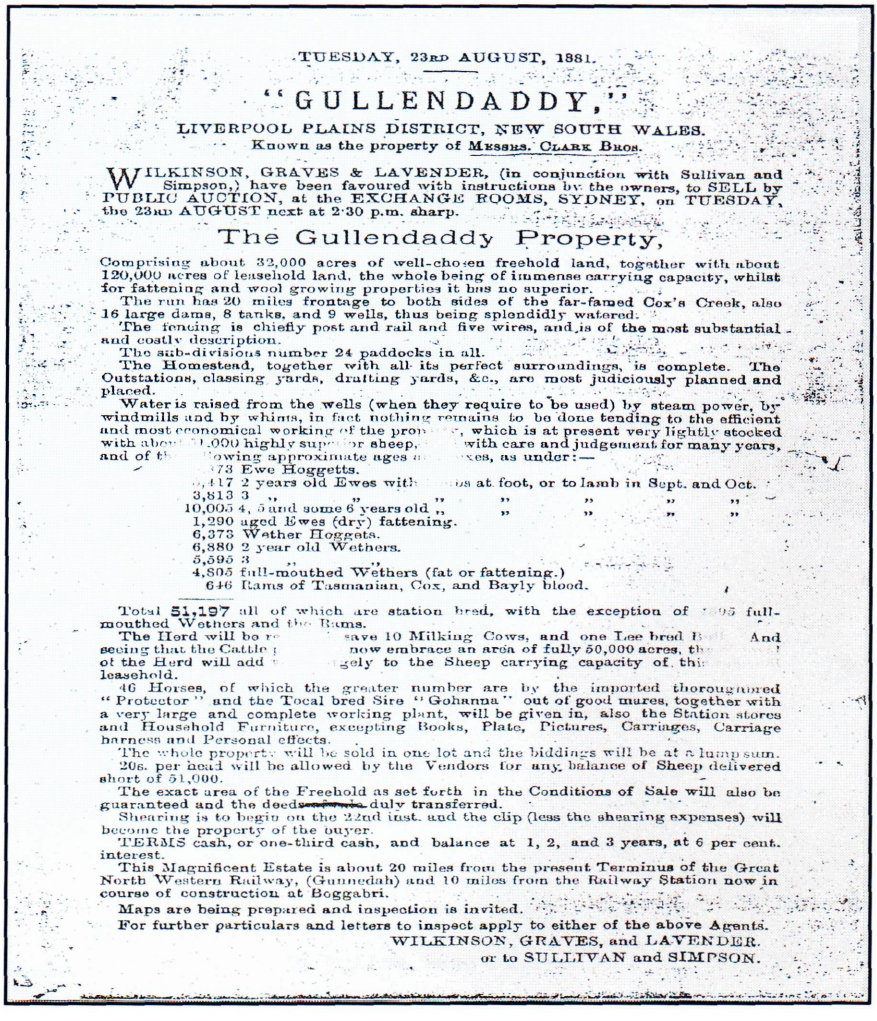
A FAMILY GROUP AT GHOOLENDAADI.

CIRCA 1880.



Standing, Left to Right: John Barclay, G.H. (Harry) Brown.
Seated: Agnes Clark, unidentified male, Margaret Clark,
John Kerr Clark, Kate Clark and Jessie Clark.
On the Ground: Robertson (Robin) Clark.

SALES PROSPECTUS FOR GHOOLENDAADI – 1881.



TUESDAY, 23RD AUGUST, 1881.

"GULLENDADDY,"

LIVERPOOL PLAINS DISTRICT, NEW SOUTH WALES.

Known as the property of MESSRS. CLARK BROS.

WILKINSON, GRAVES & LAVENDER, (in conjunction with Sullivan and Simpson,) have been favoured with instructions by the owners, to SELL by PUBLIC AUCTION, at the EXCHANGE ROOMS, SYDNEY, on TUESDAY, the 23RD AUGUST next at 2·30 p.m. sharp.

The Gullendaddy Property,

Comprising about 32,000 acres of well-chosen freehold land, together with about 120,000 acres of leasehold land, the whole being of immense carrying capacity, whilst for fattening and wool growing properties it has no superior.

The run has 20 miles frontage to both sides of the far-famed Cox's Creek, also 16 large dams, 8 tanks, and 9 wells, thus being splendidly watered.

The fencing is chiefly post and rail and five wires, and is of the most substantial and costly description.

The sub-divisions number 24 paddocks in all.

The Homestead, together with all its perfect surroundings, is complete. The Outstations, classing yards, drafting yards, &c., are most judiciously planned and placed.

Water is raised from the wells (when they require to be used) by steam power, by windmills and by whims, in fact nothing remains to be done tending to the efficient and most economical working of the pro[illegible], which is at present very lightly stocked with about 51,000 highly sup[illegible]or sheep, [illegible] with care and judgement for many years, and of the following approximate ages [illegible]xes, as under:—

573	Ewe Hoggetts.
3,417	2 years old Ewes with [illegible]us at foot, or to lamb in Sept. and Oct.
3,813	3 " " " " " " "
10,005	4, 5 and some 6 years old " " " " " "
1,290	aged Ewes (dry) fattening.
6,373	Wether Hoggets.
6,880	2 year old Wethers.
5,595	3 " "
4,805	full-mouthed Wethers (fat or fattening.)
646	Rams of Tasmanian, Cox, and Bayly blood.

Total 51,197 all of which are station bred, with the exception of [illegible]95 full-mouthed Wethers and the Rams.

The Herd will be re[illegible] save 10 Milking Cows, and one Lee bred B[illegible] And seeing that the Cattle [illegible] now embrace an area of fully 50,000 acres, th[illegible] of the Herd will add [illegible]gely to the Sheep carrying capacity of this leasehold.

46 Horses, of which the greater number are by the imported thoroughbred "Protector" and the Tocal bred Sire "Gohanna" out of good mares, together with a very large and complete working plant, will be given in, also the Station stores and Household Furniture, excepting Books, Plate, Pictures, Carriages, Carriage harness and Personal effects.

The whole property will be sold in one lot and the biddings will be at a lump sum. 20s. per head will be allowed by the Vendors for any balance of Sheep delivered short of 51,000.

The exact area of the Freehold as set forth in the Conditions of Sale will also be guaranteed and the deeds ~~of sale~~ duly transferred.

Shearing is to begin on the 22nd inst. and the clip (less the shearing expenses) will become the property of the buyer.

TERMS cash, or one-third cash, and balance at 1, 2, and 3 years, at 6 per cent. interest.

This Magnificent Estate is about 20 miles from the present Terminus of the Great North Western Railway, (Gunnedah) and 10 miles from the Railway Station now in course of construction at Boggabri.

Maps are being prepared and inspection is invited.

For further particulars and letters to inspect apply to either of the above Agents.

WILKINSON, GRAVES, and LAVENDER.

or to SULLIVAN and SIMPSON.

Thus JKC established himself on the fringe of the forceful if sometimes rough local political establishment, acquired a wife who turned out to possess immense resource and character; but quite certainly in the process, he imposed untimely additional strain on his financial resources.

Kate and JKC's first born, Margaret, arrived in 1872 to be followed over the years by her six siblings whose upbringing was partly interwoven with that of JKC's Glenara wards. The story of Kate's quite brilliant subsequent exertions on behalf of her offspring is told in Chapter Ten.

By the end of 1873, the year in which he accepted the responsibility of sole trusteeship for the Glenara orphans, JKC was stretched financially; indeed, some of his early decisions as trustee - such as an edict to move both families to Tasmania in search of lower costs of living - suggest that there were already cash flow difficulties. Then, as described earlier, came the crisis brought about by his father's death. The temptation to "borrow temporarily" from the Kerarbury and Glenara estates to meet the Crossbasket interest payments proved irresistible. JKC dug his financial grave even deeper by "borrowing" a further amount for a speculative investment in the Oriental Bank which subsequently went into liquidation: he would have had a gambler's conviction that fortune would turn in his favour in sufficiently good time for the missing funds to be discretely replaced. It is uncertain whether or not money was also diverted to support the stretched economy of Ghoolendaadi. In 1881 JKC did endeavour, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to escape the trap which he had built for himself by selling Ghoolendaadi. The prospectus for the sale draws attention, inter alia, to the disproportion between acreage and stock. As Donald Gillies his son's biographer remarked in a letter to me: *"JKC must have been like Faust - he knew the time was approaching fast when his filching would be exposed. The sale of Ghoolendaadi at a good price could have seen him square it all and escape detection."* To which one might add: ***"and the subsequent history of the Kerr Clark family would have been completely changed thereby."***

CHAPTER NINE.

CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION.

I selected the title to this chapter not in any sense as a gesture of impiety but rather as a metaphor to describe the undulating fortunes of the Kerr Clark family during three decades following 1886. The father's "mistakes" led to his crucifixion. Subsequently, his wife's devotion to family led to triumphant resurrection supported, it must in justice be said, by JKC's acts of atonement at distance.

At the range of some hundred or more years it seems a fair verdict to view JKC less as the criminal a law court might have declared him to be but more as a gambler whose misjudgements were for a while concealed behind an engaging and convincing personality. His record not only includes inducing his father, whose commercial instincts had saved Finlays from probable ruin, into disgorging many thousands of pounds in support of Mantuan Downs and Ghoolendaadi; but also, perhaps the greater feat, of persuading his hard-nosed Robertson father-in-law to approve his marriage to Kate. Kate herself, as shown by later events, was a perceptive lady but even she chose JKC as consort and father for her offspring. At least during youth and early middle-age, JKC must have possessed and exploited - to use a Spanish expression - a quite remarkable *"don de gente"*.

Given his ability to manipulate his elders and betters, it is hardly surprising that his somewhat naive wards for many years perceived *"Cousin John"* as a loved and trusted older friend. Even on the eve of the denouement, and despite growing suspicions that all was not well, the oldest of the Glenaras, the twenty-eight year old Walter John Clark wrote on 2nd. January 1887 almost apologetically as follows:-

"*Dear John. As we are all now in this country* [Australia] *we take this opportunity of jointly expressing to you, as our father's sole acting executor, our wishes concerning the question of our father's estate.*

"In the first place we collectively and individually assure you of our deep and lasting gratitude for your service and especially for the very great kindness which you and your dear wife have always shown us and which we can never hope to repay. We hope that in approaching this subject you will fully understand that our feelings are only those of the most perfect goodwill. We are however all anxious that the estate should be wound up and distributed according to our father's will, and we consider that now is the time for action in this matter.

"We believe that it will be necessary to sell both the Station of Kerarbury and the Estate of Glenara, and we would like it to be understood for your guidance that no sentimental feelings towards either of these properties will be allowed to influence us.

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"We consider that being all of age we are entitled to a statement of our accounts, and we request the same ....."

Confronted with this long overdue ultimatum JKC was cornered. It is improbable that any document recognisable to an auditor as *"true and proper accounts"* could be tabled; but in course of a series of ultra-confidential meetings, distressful for all concerned, it was determined that JKC owed Walter Clark's estate some thirty six thousand pounds. The next problem was to decide what should be done about it, bearing in mind that the public scandal attendant on legal action would damage the family name and benefit nobody except lawyers. A further disincentive may have been potential embarrassment in his declining years to Kate's father, now Sir John Robertson KCMG, who during a long and rugged political life had several times been Premier of the Colony of New South Wales. It was therefore agreed to embalm the truth and a **"Secret Deed"** was drawn up to establish how that should be managed.

Although no copy of the original Secret Deed survives, nor those of two subsequent amending agreements, contemporary letters confirm that its main features were :-

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- JKC and his family should sail forthwith for Britain and receive a modest annual allowance from the revenues of Ghoolendaadi provided JKC did not return to Australia until his acknowledged debt had been repaid. JKC and Kate, being used to a free-spending life style, found this constraint more than irksome.

- all parties immediately involved, their trustees, legal advisors **and their descendants** should maintain silence regarding the circumstance and terms of the Secret Deed until **ONE HUNDRED YEARS** had elapsed from its signing. There had been early anxieties concerning JKC's trustworthiness which proved in the event to be unfounded but - quite incredibly - the compact was respected by a further three generations. [Indeed, I was greatly impressed in the early years of our friendship by the care with which Stewart and Bronwen Johnston withheld the full story from me until they reckoned - rightly - that I had guessed *"that there was a dead rat somewhere beneath the floorboards!"*; anyway, by then 102 years had passed and they were in the clear!]

Quite apart from the principal players, the "Defendant" and the "Plaintiffs", other interests - sometimes conflicting - were involved: in particular :-

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or 1869 by JKC's eldest half brother, **Robert Clark (1847-1876).** I suspect that James Clark was less than satisfied with this particular son and that as a quid pro quo for a further slice of funding JKC was required to take him in hand, conveniently far from Glasgow.

Ghoolendaadi and the adjacent stations had been occupied by settlers and squatters since the eighteen-forties and to that extent was a less raw proposition than Mantuan Downs: it was also somewhat more accessible, particularly after the railway reached the local town, Boggabri, in 1882.

By whatever means available to him JKC sought to bring Ghoolendaadi to full development. Over a period of some twenty years, his youthful energy and courage,supplimented by counsel from friends such as his future father-in-law, John Robertson, enabled him to build up the station into a stable and attractive property, though living conditions remained spartan.

JKC took every opportunity – effectively repeating the errors of Mantuan Downs - to augment his empire which at its maximum comprised a continuous area some 180,000 acres of freehold and leasehold land, by whatever means were available, including the sharp practice know as *"peacocking"*. Ghoolendaadi's extent is picturesquely illustrated in a local historical account. *"On the old scale of forty chains to the inch it took a sheet of parchment 180 centimetres by 95 to encompass its 72,000 hectares and even then an extra piece had to be pinned on for a protruding corner."* A visiting Glenara kinsman, Walter Clark, noted in 1877 that the station's vital statistics were :-

Area 600 - square miles Boundary Line 110 - miles,

Sheep - about 80,000 Cattle - about 2,000.

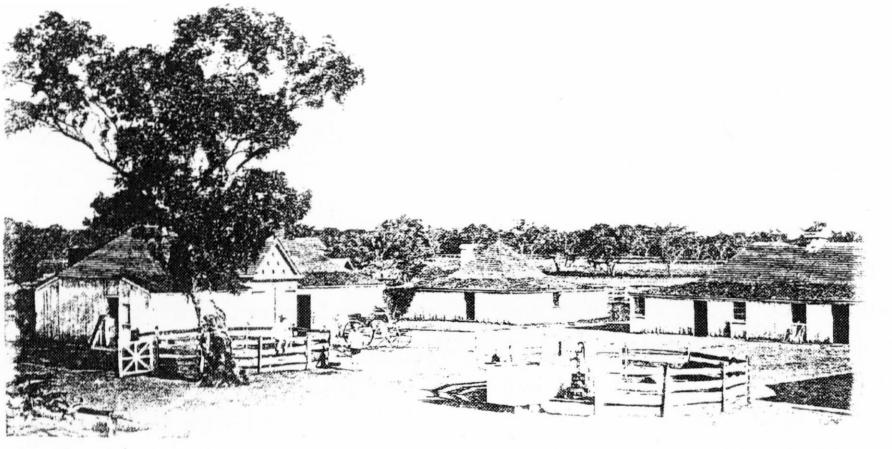
Over a century later, in 1989, another member of the Glenara family, Bronwen Johnston, visited Ghoolendaadi, checked local history and wrote as follows :- *"John Kerr Clark made many improvements to the property. One of the first things he did (in 1868) was to build a large shearing shed where about 40,000 sheep were shorn annually. The homestead, which was originally a slab hut of two rooms was gradually enlarged until it became a house of twelve rooms. There was a separate schoolroom building, an office, storeroom and butchery and numerous outbuildings. Bricks made on the property were used in some of these*

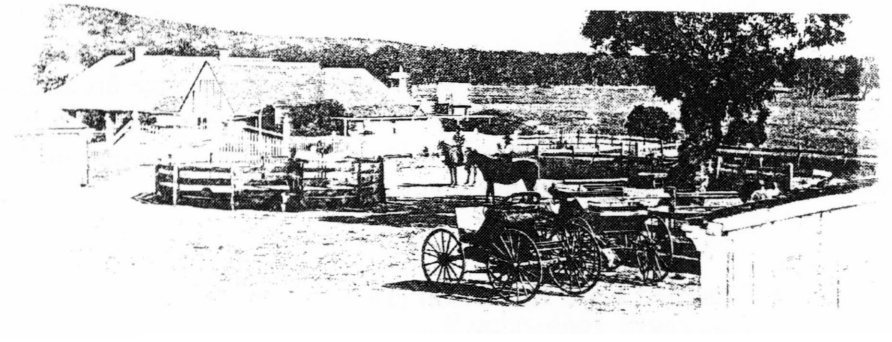
buildings and also to build a large rainwater tank and a big cellar. In 1882 JKC imported special metal fencing to build a fence of 2-3 miles length to surround the homestead. Horse racing, cricket and football matches took place inside the area which was known as "The Park". There was also a small burial ground inside "The Park" fence - the earliest grave being dated 1865."

But the eighteen-eighties and nineties *"were difficult years in the pastoral industry - bad seasons - labour problems - and bank failures ruined many pastoralists. In addition the rabbits were devastating the countryside. In an attempt to combat this pest special rabbit-proof fencing was imported for Ghoolendaadi and a fence 90 miles in length was built on the property. It took three men three years to build it."*

Demonstrably, JKC had already trespassed well beyond the frontier which separates considered risk-taking from reckless enthusiasm. This was to cost him particularly cruelly because, in common with many other frontier entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Australia, JKC cherished the ambition that years of isolation, physical risk and labour in the outback should be recompensed by retirement to the urban comforts of Sydney or Melbourne or even back to the distant Britain whence they had emigrated half a lifetime earlier. Their properties, left in the management of reliable but less enterprising souls, preferably relatives, could be expected to provide a more than comfortable income. Financial security and a more gracious style of living, however, were by no means the only prize: enhanced ranking in the social pecking order posed, as much in Australia as in contemporary Britain itself, a further incentive. For Cousin Walter, the burgeoning colonial civilisation of Melbourne had held more attraction than return to his native Cowal. JKC, in contrast, aspired not only to surpass his father by way of business achievement but also in due course to succeed him in a laird-like lifestyle at Crossbasket. That dream abruptly changed to mirage when in 1876 the death of James dropped JKC inextricably into difficulty since he had no way of repaying his debts to the estate within any forseeable period of time. Deeds were therefore drawn up in Scotland in the following year whereby, in effect, JKC relinquished his rights of succession to Crossbasket to the trustees sine die and accepted that regular interest payments should meanwhile be made. One of the architects of this entirely reasonable scheme was his Inverchapel farmer uncle, **Archibald Clark**, but the seeds were probably then sown for a mutual resentment which festered intermittently for many decades between the Kerr Clarks and those whom they contemptuously termed *"The Barclay Clarks"*, although they always held Archie himself in high regard.

CONTEMPORARY SKETCHES, CIRCA 1875, OF GHOOENDAADI STATION, LIVERPOOL PLAINS.





As if, though, the combined impact on his fortunes of Mantuan Downs and Ghoolendaadi were not enough, JKC had got himself involved in a third project, **Coal Cliff**, the original story of which is as follows. Back in 1797 a party of shipwrecked mariners from the schooner Sydney Cove were trekking, through much danger and hardship, along the south eastern coast of New South Wales to their intended destination Port Jackson. The three men who survived out of the original party of thirteen included the ship's supercargo, William Clark (unrelated), who carried in his pocket a sample of coal picked up from a massive outcrop visible in a cliff that they had passed. No significant exploitation of the deposit was possible until 1887 when access roads and ship loading facilities had been constructed. The mine was further extended with the advent of the railway in 1909, developing in the fullness of time into one of the largest in Australia, employing in its heyday over a thousand workers, and only closing down in 1991.

About the late 1860s or early 1870s JKC together with a neighbouring landowner in the Boggabri area, **Ebenezer Vickery (1827-1906),** had acquired the mineral and agricultural rights at Coal Cliff but for several years they were neither able to exploit the property for lack of access nor to sell their interests: thus a part of JKC's limited capital was locked indefinitely into an unproductive investment. As at Ghoolendaadi, the place may have been right but the timing on this occasion was a good couple of decades premature: in consequence JKC was not able to escape from the venture until sometime in the 1890s, by which stage his affairs were showing some signs of recovery. Vickery, in contrast, being better able to bide his time ended up with a large fortune and an entry in the Australian National Dictionary of Biography.

In 1870 JKC married **Kate Robertson (1846-1927)**, the daughter of **Sir John Robertson (1816-1897)**, a prominent Australian-born politician and land reformer and an early Premier of the colony of New South Wales. The ceremony was performed by the **Reverend Doctor John Dunmore Lang DD (1799-1879)**, A lifelong friend of the Robertsons who, coincidentally, had also been instrumental many years earlier in organising the immigration to Australia of Walter Clark of Glenara.

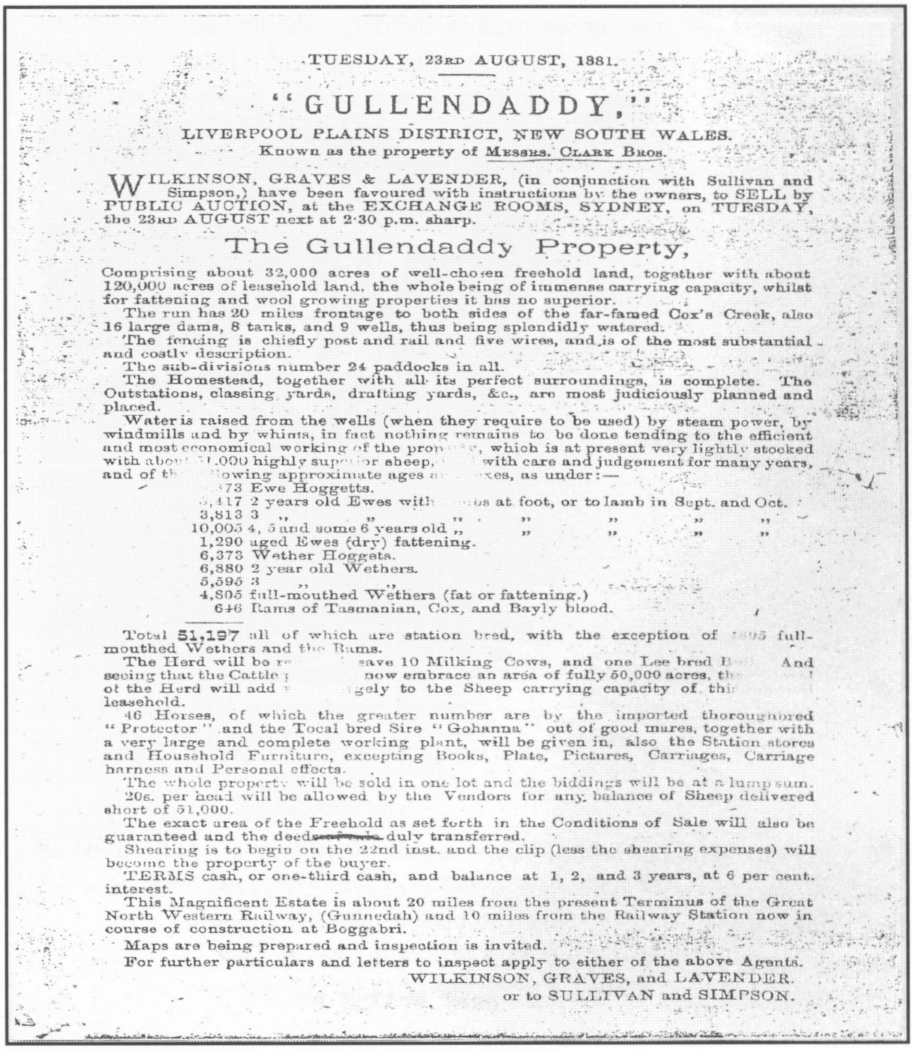
A FAMILY GROUP AT GHOOLENDAADI.

CIRCA 1880.



Standing, Left to Right: John Barclay, G.H. (Harry) Brown.
Seated: Agnes Clark, unidentified male, Margaret Clark,
John Kerr Clark, Kate Clark and Jessie Clark.
On the Ground: Robertson (Robin) Clark.

SALES PROSPECTUS FOR GHOOLENDAADI – 1881.



TUESDAY, 23RD AUGUST, 1881.

"GULLENDADDY,"

LIVERPOOL PLAINS DISTRICT, NEW SOUTH WALES.

Known as the property of MESSRS. CLARK BROS.

WILKINSON, GRAVES & LAVENDER, (in conjunction with Sullivan and Simpson,) have been favoured with instructions by the owners, to SELL by PUBLIC AUCTION, at the EXCHANGE ROOMS, SYDNEY, on TUESDAY, the 23RD AUGUST next at 2·30 p.m. sharp.

The Gullendaddy Property,

Comprising about 32,000 acres of well-chosen freehold land, together with about 120,000 acres of leasehold land, the whole being of immense carrying capacity, whilst for fattening and wool growing properties it has no superior.

The run has 20 miles frontage to both sides of the far-famed Cox's Creek, also 16 large dams, 8 tanks, and 9 wells, thus being splendidly watered.

The fencing is chiefly post and rail and five wires, and is of the most substantial and costly description.

The sub-divisions number 24 paddocks in all.

The Homestead, together with all its perfect surroundings, is complete. The Outstations, classing yards, drafting yards, &c., are most judiciously planned and placed.

Water is raised from the wells (when they require to be used) by steam power, by windmills and by whims, in fact nothing remains to be done tending to the efficient and most economical working of the property, which is at present very lightly stocked with about 51,000 highly superior sheep, with care and judgement for many years, and of the following approximate ages and sexes, as under:—

173	Ewe Hoggetts.
9,417	2 years old Ewes with lambs at foot, or to lamb in Sept. and Oct.
3,813	3 " " " " " "
10,005	4, 5 and some 6 years old " " " " "
1,290	aged Ewes (dry) fattening.
6,373	Wether Hoggets.
6,880	2 year old Wethers.
5,595	3 " "
4,805	full-mouthed Wethers (fat or fattening.)
646	Rams of Tasmanian, Cox, and Bayly blood.

Total 51,197 all of which are station bred, with the exception of 4,805 full-mouthed Wethers and the Rams.

The Herd will be retained save 10 Milking Cows, and one Lee bred Bull. And seeing that the Cattle runs now embrace an area of fully 50,000 acres, the sale of the Herd will add largely to the Sheep carrying capacity of this leasehold.

46 Horses, of which the greater number are by the imported thoroughbred "Protector" and the Tocal bred Sire "Gohanna" out of good mares, together with a very large and complete working plant, will be given in, also the Station stores and Household Furniture, excepting Books, Plate, Pictures, Carriages, Carriage harness and Personal effects.

The whole property will be sold in one lot and the biddings will be at a lump sum. 20s. per head will be allowed by the Vendors for any balance of Sheep delivered short of 51,000.

The exact area of the Freehold as set forth in the Conditions of Sale will also be guaranteed and the deeds duly transferred.

Shearing is to begin on the 22nd inst. and the clip (less the shearing expenses) will become the property of the buyer.

TERMS cash, or one-third cash, and balance at 1, 2, and 3 years, at 6 per cent. interest.

This Magnificent Estate is about 20 miles from the present Terminus of the Great North Western Railway, (Gunnedah) and 10 miles from the Railway Station now in course of construction at Boggabri.

Maps are being prepared and inspection is invited.

For further particulars and letters to inspect apply to either of the above Agents.

WILKINSON, GRAVES, and LAVENDER.
or to SULLIVAN and SIMPSON.

Thus JKC established himself on the fringe of the forceful if sometimes rough local political establishment, acquired a wife who turned out to possess immense resource and character; but quite certainly in the process, he imposed untimely additional strain on his financial resources.

Kate and JKC's first born, Margaret, arrived in 1872 to be followed over the years by her six siblings whose upbringing was partly interwoven with that of JKC's Glenara wards. The story of Kate's quite brilliant subsequent exertions on behalf of her offspring is told in Chapter Ten.

By the end of 1873, the year in which he accepted the responsibility of sole trusteeship for the Glenara orphans, JKC was stretched financially; indeed, some of his early decisions as trustee - such as an edict to move both families to Tasmania in search of lower costs of living - suggest that there were already cash flow difficulties. Then, as described earlier, came the crisis brought about by his father's death. The temptation to "borrow temporarily" from the Kerarbury and Glenara estates to meet the Crossbasket interest payments proved irresistible. JKC dug his financial grave even deeper by "borrowing" a further amount for a speculative investment in the Oriental Bank which subsequently went into liquidation: he would have had a gambler's conviction that fortune would turn in his favour in sufficiently good time for the missing funds to be discretely replaced. It is uncertain whether or not money was also diverted to support the stretched economy of Ghoolendaadi. In 1881 JKC did endeavour, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to escape the trap which he had built for himself by selling Ghoolendaadi. The prospectus for the sale draws attention, inter alia, to the disproportion between acreage and stock. As Donald Gillies his son's biographer remarked in a letter to me: *"JKC must have been like Faust - he knew the time was approaching fast when his filching would be exposed. The sale of Ghoolendaadi at a good price could have seen him square it all and escape detection."* To which one might add: ***"and the subsequent history of the Kerr Clark family would have been completely changed thereby."***

CHAPTER NINE.

CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION.

I selected the title to this chapter not in any sense as a gesture of impiety but rather as a metaphor to describe the undulating fortunes of the Kerr Clark family during three decades following 1886. The father's "mistakes" led to his crucifixion. Subsequently, his wife's devotion to family led to triumphant resurrection supported, it must in justice be said, by JKC's acts of atonement at distance.

At the range of some hundred or more years it seems a fair verdict to view JKC less as the criminal a law court might have declared him to be but more as a gambler whose misjudgements were for a while concealed behind an engaging and convincing personality. His record not only includes inducing his father, whose commercial instincts had saved Finlays from probable ruin, into disgorging many thousands of pounds in support of Mantuan Downs and Ghoolendaadi; but also, perhaps the greater feat, of persuading his hard-nosed Robertson father-in-law to approve his marriage to Kate. Kate herself, as shown by later events, was a perceptive lady but even she chose JKC as consort and father for her offspring. At least during youth and early middle-age, JKC must have possessed and exploited - to use a Spanish expression - a quite remarkable *"don de gente"*.

Given his ability to manipulate his elders and betters, it is hardly surprising that his somewhat naive wards for many years perceived *"Cousin John"* as a loved and trusted older friend. Even on the eve of the denouement, and despite growing suspicions that all was not well, the oldest of the Glenaras, the twenty-eight year old Walter John Clark wrote on 2nd. January 1887 almost apologetically as follows:-

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cope on a limited budget with a family of seven children and, moreover, live cooped up with a caged if toothless tiger.

JKC was perpetually suspected by his half-brother, Wat, of *"being up to something"*, like taking advantage of loosely worded agreements to make illicit representations to the Ghoolendaadi trustees. Writing to his Australian brother-in-law, Walter J., from Glasgow in January 1888 Wat advised: *"Believe me John is not trustworthy and I greatly fear that he never will be now. His craftiness and cunning are deep. And for that reason all the more dangerous. Try to get the attorneys to take a high hand with him and make him clearly understand that they are the masters. Otherwise he will be sure to get the better of them for he is most wonderfully clever."*

The Kerr Clarks' period of "exile" came to an end in 1893 or 1894 when it was agreed that, the capital having been repaid, more or less, liability for accumulated interest should be waived. The family's secret shame was now reasonably securely interred. JKC returned to Australia and re-possession of Ghoolendaadi. Kate did not accompany him nor ever saw him again but concentrated on the education and social development of six of her seven offspring. Her achievements, the mechanics of the resurrection process, are related in the next chapter which might appropriately be sub-titled *"Operation Phoenix."* Meanwhile the further story of JKC and Ghoolendaadi must be pursued to the end.

The station had been administered with great competence during JKC's enforced sojourn in England by **G H (Harry) Brown (1857-1935)** a Lanarkshire man who had come to Ghoolendaadi in 1879 and in stages took over its day-to-day management. Thus, once control had been regained it must have been possible to establish a steady supply of cash to enable Kate to live more in the style to which she felt entitled and in due course to move the family home from Bath to London. Furthermore, additional money would have been released intermittently through the ultimate sale of Coal Cliff and of parts of the Ghoolendaadi Station. Harry Brown himself bought a 2,756 acre piece called Fairfield in 1897. The leasehold element in the property had also been compulsorily reduced, paradoxically partly as the result of changes in legislation introduced by Sir John Robertson, but this must surely have been a blessing, given the sparseness of working capital. It has been estimated by a knowledgeable current (1991) local pastoralist (Ray Clark - no relation - of Glenaire by Boggabri) that Ghoolendaadi Station had by one

means or another already been reduced by 1900 from its one time extent of some 170,000 acres to 50-60,000 acres.

Apart from **Margaret Kerr Clark (1872-1950+)**, his oldest daughter who accompanied him back to Australia, the only other of his children whom JKC ever saw after leaving England was his oldest son, **Robertson Kerr Clark (1876-1915)**. One would like to believe that by supporting his now distant family JKC found an indirect means of satisfying ambitions which had slipped for ever beyond his own grasp. Again to quote Ray Clark: *"local information tells me that no great amount of money was spent on improvements at Ghoolendaadi, except on fencing, and all income was sent home to Scotland"*. [Ray Clark was not to know that *"home"* was not Scotland but quite fashionable addresses in Southern England!] *"The homestead was never what would be expected of such a large property. It was solidly built and added to as needed; it was built on the ground with only large logs as foundations. A lot of floods went through it over the years"*. It is small wonder that Kate preferred to spend as much time as possible at Clovelly. Similarly, in his later years, JKC was to be seen quite frequently in the Sydney Club whence he used influence - or so he claimed - to obtain an active service posting to South Africa in 1900 for his ex-ward, Captain, later Brigadier General, Walter J Clark (1859-1843).

Meantime in 1906, ten or more years after her return to Australia, Margaret married the sheet anchor of the Kerr Clark family's fortunes, Harry Brown. Harry thus ultimately conformed to a Scottish/Australian prototype of the period, that of the diligent but less well-heeled family member who could be entrusted with the running of the station in the absence, either total or partial, of its proprietor. Of the climax to these doubtlessly well lubricated nuptial at Ghoolendaadi Ray Clark relates that *"there is a story that as the guests threw rice at the couple as they left for their honeymoon, the horses took fright and bolted, tipping the buggy and the happy couple into the creek. In one report no one was hurt, another says that Mrs.Brown suffered a broken arm"*. Margaret and Harry Brown had two offspring but few grandchildren.

Over and above concern for Ghoolendaadi, Harry is reputed to have shared with his employer and father-in-law a further interest. Again according to a tale picked up by Ray Clark, *"JKC or GHB had a large stock of bottles on the top of Black's Mountain* [a local eminence named

after an earlier immigrant from Argyll] *intending to build a house of bottles.....".* The project was never fulfilled because in 1890 the hill was temporarily occupied by a gang of aboriginal outlaws who smashed the greater part of the building materials. Another anecdote records that the written report on a particularly dry year climatically at Ghoolendaadi bore the pencilled question "I *wonder how dry Brown was?"* Ray Clark comments: *I would not blame him if he did like a drop, the conditions under which they lived would have driven them to drink".* There is no suggestion, however, that Harry Brown's limited range of relaxation in any way impaired the quality of service he rendered to the Kerr Clark family.

Following JKC's death in Sydney in 1910 the station remained in the family's possession in the form of a limited liability company (Clarks Ltd.) until 1923 when it was sold to a family called Pye. Finally in 1957 the 42,000 remaining acres of Ghoolendaadi were divided, under an Australian Government scheme to resettle returning servicemen, into thirty-six small holdings. Thus nothing now remains but a distant echo of JKC's erstwhile gargantuan station and the Clark stock brand, the letter C in a square, which is still used by the Pyes on another of their sheep stations.

During that final period of Kerr Clark ownership Ghoolendaadi continued to be managed, needless to say, by Harry Brown who then retired, thankfully relieved of the burden, to his smaller property at Fairfield. Harry was a highly regarded member of the rural community centred on Boggabri and greatly mourned by all his neighbours when he died aged seventy-eight in 1935 following a farm accident: he fell whilst repairing one of those wind-pump towers which are still characteristic of the Australian landscape. I would doubt whether many of John Kerr Clark's children and grandchildren ever realised the extent to which their destinies depended on the loyalty and diligence of this Scottish immigrant from Lanarkshire: why should they indeed?, given that Australia itself became a word excluded from Kate Robertson's lexicon.

CHAPTER TEN.

THE REDOUBTABLE KATE AND THE ROBERTSON CONNECTION.

Although not a lineal descendent of Duncan One in Inverchapel, **Kate Robertson (1846-1926),** the Australian born wife of **John Kerr Clark (1838-1910)**, plays so significant role in the story that a chapter largely dedicated to her is well justified.

Kate was one of the nine children of **John Robertson (1816 - 1891),** knighted in 1877 for outstanding political services, and of **Margaret Davies** whom he married in 1839. Kate's grandfather was James Robertson (1781 - 1868), watchmaker in the London borough of Bow. He was a friend of Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane on whose advice he emigrated with his family to New South Wales in 1822. On arrival he was appointed superintendent of government clocks and also traded as a watchmaker and silversmith. Later he was granted a plum 86 acres of land on Sydney Harbour and also acquired property in the Hunter River district. Why, though, should a man so obviously of Scottish descent have been trading as a watchmaker in London? It has been suggested that his Robertson grandfather would have been involved in the '45 and punished with exile from Scotland. Certainly the Robertsons were "out" en masse at every opportunity in support of the House of Stewart and suffered accordingly. The fact that after a decent interval this Australian branch added the name of Struan to that of the Robertson with which they had emigrated lends weight to this theory.

John Robertson came to Australia as a boy of six and was the first pupil to be enrolled at a primary school opened by the **Reverend Doctor John Dunmore Lang** to whom he remained close until Lang's death in 1878. He was, according to the Australian Dictionary of Biography wherein his career spreads over eight pages, a character markedly larger than life. Despite a speech defect he participated vociferously in the political life of the developing colony of New South Wales, becoming several times a

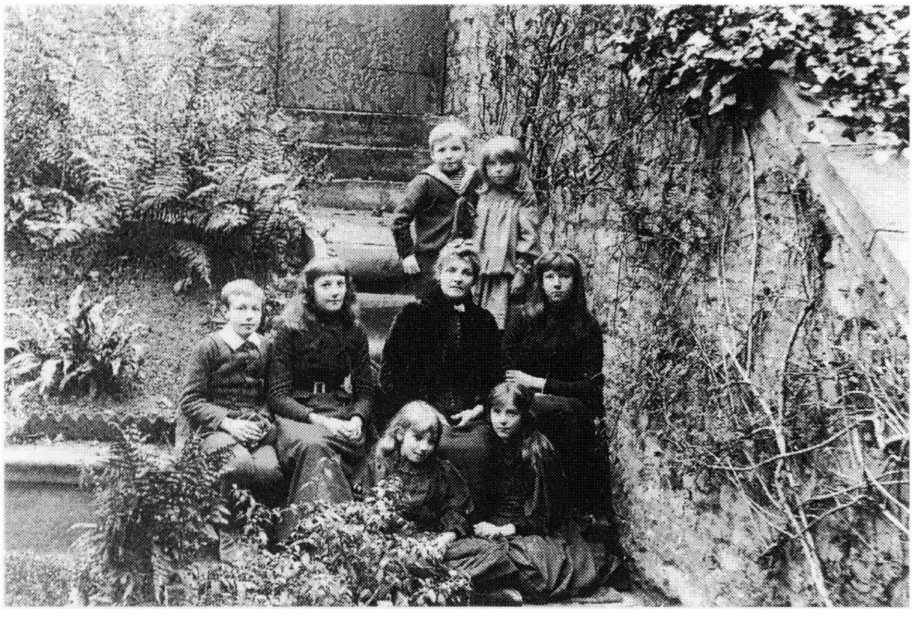
cabinet minister and Premier. His practical knowledge of the outback and pastoral problems was unequalled in the assembly, thus causing his opinion to be highly respected. His biographer states nevertheless that *"despite his enlightened social and political opinions he was not acceptable to polite society. By 1850 his peculiar voice gave authority to a comprehensive repertoire of profanity and he had an enviable capacity to take and hold his liquor; his bushsman's clothes were crumpled by constant riding; but he was handsome with reddish-brown hair and beard [and] sparkling blue eyes "*. Lady Robertson, the biographer goes on dryly to report, *"chose not to share her husband's political life"*.

According to his grandson's biographer, Sir John Struan Robertson K.C.M.G. *"mellowed a little with age but made little allowance for the sensitivities of Victorian society. In the evenings he would set off on his white mare to sink a few beers. Whenever the horse ambled back to the house alone, it was a sign that Sir John had been 'delayed' and* a *buggy would be despatched from Clovelly to bring him home.* [Radical Diplomat. Donald Gillies. Pub. I.B.Tauris.]

Kate's earlier years were passed at her father's wheat property in the Liverpool Plains District of New South Wales and later at Clovelly, a fine town house which Robertson had built on Watson's Bay overlooking Sydney Harbour: her subsequent history demonstrates a taste for the delicacies of urban living which the latter would have provided.

Despite Robertson's outwardly affluent life-style and political prominence his family must have continually suffered the backwash of financial insecurity since he was declared bankrupt in 1843 and again, more seriously so, in 1870. In the later instance the cause was investment in *"very large Queensland sheep and cattle stations"* where *"for several years incompetent and unfruitful agents had mismanaged the properties while his parliamentary work had prevented his active control....."*. [Australian Dictionary of Biography]. There is echo here, both for time and place, of the Clark family's troubles at Mantuan Downs, already described in Chapter Eight.

KATE ROBERTSON AND HER YOUNG FAMILY



Judging from the apparent ages of the children, this photograph was probably taken somewhere in England about 1887 or 1888.

Back Row: Archie and Gwladys,
Middle Row: Robin, Kate Robertson and daughters Kate and Margaret,
Front Row: Muriel and Mairi.

When Kate married JKC in 1870 she moved from one ambitious but financially constrained regime to another. Initially the Clarks probably lived mainly at Ghooledaadi with frequent visits to Sydney to satisfy Kate's preference for civilisation and society. By the time that JKC's "mistakes" had finally come to light, Kate had already given birth to their seven children and in the earlier years of the marriage had suffered two miscarriages of twins, attributed to excessive riding at Ghoolendaadi. In addition to cherishing her own brood, she concurrently acted as surrogate mother after their father's death to the five Glenara orphans and earned their everlasting affection and gratitude.

Kate's strong will, passions, affections and ambitions were contained within a small frame: it is recorded that she had long blonde hair which fell far below her waist and had inherited her father's strikingly blue eyes. Her beauty, charm and strength of character were to be inherited by several of her children.

The denouement of 1887 which abruptly led to banishment to Britain also marked a watershed in the life of Kate Clark of a magnitude which she could not have envisaged. After several restless years the family settled down unobtrusively in Bath, until 1893 or 1894 when JKC was "pardoned" and permitted to return to pick up the threads of his life in Australia. Only one child, his eldest daughter Margaret, accompanied him to resume living in the outback and some years later to marry Harry Brown, the manager at Ghoolendaadi. The remainder of the family elected to stay in England with Kate and at some stage they all moved to the more promising pastures of London. Under Kate's tutelage the Kerr Clarks succeeded in gaining acceptance in the upper reaches of late Victorian and Edwardian society wherein several of her children made "good marriages". This upward mobility continued in the next generation, with one of Kate's grand-daughters providing the final eloquent touch by marrying, some six generations on from Duncan Clark farmer in Inverchapel and tenant of the Dunoon Campbells, into the vastly more senior Cawdor branch of the Clan. One most interesting document which was shown me by another grand-daughter, Lady Lewthwaite, is a scrap-book-cum-photograph-album compiled by Kate's daughter Muriel which demonstrates that the Clarks had been guests at several of the most august houses in the land and even at Balmoral itself.

ROBERTSON (ROBIN) KERR CLARK.
(1876-1915).



It ill behoves later generations to look in any way askance at Kate's natural ambitions for her family and her efforts to obtain advantageous starting positions for them on the clearly defined late Victorian social pyramid. But for that element of characteristically British flexibility even Kate's best efforts would have been fruitless. I was reminded of Kate's achievements by the following extracts from an article by Andrew Roberts, published in The Sunday Times on 21 April 1996, and entitled **"How Snobbery Made a Nation Great."**

"Far from being somehow responsible for our national decline ..... the class system is in fact a liberating and invigorating institution, unleashing positive forces that enrich British society. It is no coincidence that the time of our greatest global power and influence, the late Victorian period, was precisely the point at which our class system reached its apogee."

"The desire to better oneself during one's lifetime and pass advantages and privileges on to one's children is an instinct inherent in Homo Sapiens. So is the desire to place oneself in a social hierarchy. "This love of place," sermonised John Donne in 1619, "and precedency rocks us in our cradles, it lies down with us in our graves."

The dynastic successes of Kate's family are graphically summarised in **Tree G** which shows in several cases descent for three more generations. Her children who remained in Britain were :-

Her elder son, **Robertson Kerr Clark (1876- 1915)** known to his family as **Robin** was educated, presumably faut de mieux and as a dayboy, at the less than fashionable, Bath College. This schooling nevertheless proved to be no drawback. He returned Australia in 1896 and was commissioned into The Australian Light Horse, serving for a while as ADC to the Governor General of New South Wales. Later, in England again, he married **Lady Beatrice Moore (c1880-1966)**, daughter of the Earl of Drogheda by whom he had one child whom he quite possibly never saw. He also fought a by-election as the Conservative candidate at Poplar in the East End of London but did not gain the seat.

KATE KERR CLARK.
(1878-1961).
WIFE OF DELAVEL L'ESTRANGE ASTLEY.



Robin was killed in action during the battle of Loos in 1915 whilst leading his company of Seaforth Highlanders in an assault on the Hohernzollen Redoubt: clearly he was a much respected officer on whose death his Pipe Major, Alexander Harley, wrote to his widow as follows :- *"I can't express how much we feel the loss of our Captain. Our loss is heavy but as a Company we know that yours is heavier still. Last Sunday the Minister mentioned our Captain in his sermon. His name brought a lump in every man's throat. I hope, my dear lady, that you will excuse me taking the liberty of addressing these few lines to you knowing that I am only a rough and ready soldier. With best wishes from C Company to our Captain's lady and our little daughter".*

Robin is also commemorated in the church at Boggabri, the small town in New South Wales nearby to Ghoolendaadi in the following words. *"The Lectern in this Church was given to the Glory of God by Margaret K Brown in loving memory of her brother ROBERTSON KERR CLARK (Captain 7th. Seaforth Highlanders). Killed in action in France 25th. September 1915."*

Kate Robertson's second daughter **Kate Kerr Clark (1878-1961)** was a particularly beautiful woman who married **Delavel L'Estrange Astley (1868-1951)**, a member of the family of Hastings whose barony was created in 1289 and whose names crop up in English history books from Plantagenet times onwards.

Her third daughter **Mairi Kerr Clark (c1879-1908)** married **Vincent Cartwright Vickers (c1870-c1939)** of the engineering firm of that name and a director of the Bank of England. He resigned from the board of the Bank in 1926 in protest at Britain's return to the Gold Standard which turned out to be the disaster Vickers had predicted. Mairi died in 1908 following the birth of her only daughter, **Wilma Vickers (1908-1982)**, the future Countess of Cawdor.

Her fourth daughter **Gwladys Kerr Clark (1883-1952)** married **Rear Admiral Cecil Prickett (1882-1981)** by whom she had three sons.

Her fifth daughter **Muriel Kerr Clark (1884-1925)** never married.

Her younger son **Archie Kerr Clark, later Lord Inverchapel** , followed an outstandingly distinguished career in the Foreign Service and is the subject of Chapter Seventeen.

AMBASSADOR ARCHIE IN EARLIER YEARS.



I do not have any information as to where or when this snapshot was taken but it does certainly highlight Archie's passions for pipe smoking and Scottishness.

As Kate's great-granddaughter, **Iona Vandeleur** [to whom I am indebted for three striking family photographs], surely understated in a letter to me in 1996: *"I think you would say that her children all had flair and style."*

Kate survived JKC by some seventeen years, dying unexpectedly in Guatemala in 1927 in course of a long visit to her son Archie. Archie brought her body back to the family burial ground which he had quite recently created beside the shore of Loch Eck and designated "The Sanctuary". Kate lies beside the remains of JKC, previously transferred from Ghoolendaadi, and her only spinster daughter, Muriel. In due course Archie Inverchapel himself joined them. Today "The Sanctuary" as seen from the Kilmun-Strachur road appears to be little more than an overgrown copse, intentionally so as I understand it, because in this modern age external signs of care and maintenance could attract the sort of vandalism which has already desecrated the tomb of James Clark and his family at Hamilton.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

"THE DEAR GLENARAS."

Despite the potential for animosity between the two Australian branches in consequence of JKC's financial activities, nothing of that kind ever developed. Indeed, the reverse was so much the case that, even years later in 1926, JKC's oldest daughter Margaret Brown could write from Ghoolendaadi to *"Cousin Walter"* in reply to his letter of condolence for the death of Kate Robertson as follows*: "someday I hope to see you all again and introduce our children to all* ***"The Dear Glenaras"****. With love to you and Cousin Mary and many thanks for your kind letter. Yrs. affectionately, Margie"*. No more fitting description than **"The Dear Glenaras"** could have been coined for the five children of Walter Clark and Annie Cooper who in due course fulfilled in their lives all except one of the expectations that their parents could have cherished for them. They married into stable families of similar backgrounds and lived honourable and Christian lives; but sadly, apart from the middle sister, Annie who married her Scottish kinsman Wat Clark of Crutherland, the "Dear Glenaras" between them produced but one child, **Jessie Mary Clark (later Johnston) (1889-1984)**, about whom more towards the end of this chapter.

The five young Glenaras had been orphaned in March 1873 by the accidental death of their father, the oldest, Aggie, being fifteen years old and the youngest, Jessie, only eight. They then became the wards of a sole trustee, their second cousin John Kerr Clark (JKC). JKC thus exercised total control over the income deriving from their ultimate inheritance, the Kerarbury and Glenara estates. He furthermore decreed - on the face of it not unreasonably - that no final distribution should take place until the youngest child had attained the age of twenty-one: that would not be until thirteen years later in 1886. During the intervening years JKC abused his position as trustee but, when ultimately action was taken to recover the "borrowed" funds, it was agreed to suppress public revelation of the case, a sense of family shame being felt quite as keenly by the victims as by the perpetrator himself.

In most other respects JKC had acted as a model guardian, much assisted by his wife, Kate Robertson, who was simultaneously raising their own family of seven offspring. To all of this care the young Glenaras responded not only with total trust and respect but with abundant affection. After the shock and disillusion of the denouement in 1887 their feelings towards Kate never wavered and, perhaps more surprisingly, JKC seems to have retained a residue of kindly feeling from some at least of the Glenaras.

A common characteristic of the Glenaras, deriving no doubt from their orphanhood and closeness in age, was the feeling of unity and mutual loyalty, frequently reflected in their correspondence, which prevailed throughout their lives without in any way constraining the gift of friendship with which each was individually endowed. The origins of this branch of the family are already shown in **Tree F**, so herewith follow concentrated biographies of the five Glenaras, starting with the girls.

Agnes E. Clark (1858-1939). Aggie was the oldest of Walter Clark's children and only fifteen when he died. In 1887, at the relatively advanced age of twenty-nine, she married **Jack Barclay (1853-1910)** in Sydney just a short time before "the balloon went up". Barclay was one of the many grandchildren of Robert Clark, Tacksman in Inverchapel, but seemingly less motivated than some of his contemporaries: one of his female relatives described him as *"the laziest man I ever knew!"*. Agnes's great-nephew, Dr. Stewart Johnston, writes :- *"I can just remember Aunt Aggie staying at Glenara. She and Jack Barclay spent most of their time travelling between Australia and Britain, unable to decide where to settle, even taking the family silver with them"*. After her husband's death Agnes was more decisive and lived for the remainder of her life in Sydney.

One must conjecture that Agnes may sometimes have regretted her earlier decision, in 1877 at the age of nineteen, to terminate her engagement to **Duncan McBryde (born c.1846)**, who had been appointed manager at Glenara about 1872, quite probably following a recommendation written by Archibald Clark, farmer in Inverchapel (1828-1900). During his time at Glenara Duncan McBryde developed, judging from the tone of surviving correspondence, a close friendship with the Glenara orphans. When rumours of an engagement filtered back to Scotland, however, Archie "blew the whistle" and revealed to Aggie's brother, Walter John, what he would previously have regarded as "unnecessary information".

"THE DEAR GLENARAS" VISITING

THE GREAT EXHIBITION, PARIS. 1877.



Duncan McBryde was in fact illegitimate, probably a son of Archie's younger brother, **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)** and a second cousin, **Anne McBride (1821-1871)**. Walter advised his sister accordingly and the engagement was terminated. A fuller account of the **McBryde Connection** and Duncan's subsequent history is given in Chapter Fifteen.

Annie Clark (1861-1890). Annie, quite certainly the most attractive of the three girls, married in 1882 yet another grandson of Robert Clark, **Walter Clark (1859-1913)**, known throughout the family as "**Wat**", of Crossbasket and later of Crutherland in Lanarkshire. More about this sadly short lived marriage and the family which sprang from it will be told in Chapter Twelve.

Jessie Clark (1865-1929). In 1891 Jessie married **Heaton Rhodes (1861-1956)**, a member of a well established New Zealand family living in the vicinity of Christchurch. Previously she had accompanied JKC and Kate to England and was a devoted support to the latter in the earlier and most traumatic years of her exile. Once established in New Zealand, Jessie continued to serve others, particularly in the fields of voluntary nursing and convalescent services. A newspaper article in the mid-nineteen-twenties described her as an *"ever distinguished figure, tall, dignified and with a flair for beautiful dressing. Gracious manner allied to a keen sense of humour make her much sought after by her numerous friends"*. Heaton Rhodes himself was in due course knighted for his services in the law and politics.

Walter John Clark (1859-1943). Walter was a man of consummate integrity who took himself and his responsibilities as head of the family of young Glenaras with great seriousness. In his schooldays such distinction as he achieved derived more from sporting than academic activities. In his teens and early twenties he drifted about Europe, amply supplied with money, partially in the paths that his guardian JKC had trodden over twenty years earlier and now prescribed for Walter who similarly derived more delusions of grandeur than practical benefit from the experience. This encouragement of extravagance was the second, if lesser, way in which JKC failed his wards: as Walter's daughter, Jessie Mary Johnston, asked herself many years later, *"how <u>could</u> a guardian have planned for a young man under 21 such a life of gaiety but with a virtual lack of purpose?"*

BRIGADIER GENERAL WALTER JOHN CLARK.

(1859-1943.)



This photograph showing Walter in the rank of Captain may have been taken about 1901 or 1902 after his return from service in South Africa.

For whatever reason, Walter was certainly slow to establish a practical life pattern and, following his return from Europe, indulged a passion for the breeding of Clydesdale draught horses to so disastrous an extent that the cost of clearing his debts precluded his succeeding as elder son to the Glenara property. Fortunately, his brother Alister was able to buy the estate in his stead. After several years of vacillation in which he contemplated farming (without sufficient capital?) and actually tried wool-broking (without enthusiasm), he took up a military career in the Australian artillery. This may have been a wise if belated decision, given that in Walter the virtues of affection, loyalty and sense of duty predominated over imagination. To his chagrin a brief period of secondment to the Victoria Light Horse at the tail end of the Boer War was the full extent of his active military service. During the Great War, being by then already well on the wrong side of the age of fifty, he held only Australian based appointments: nevertheless he retired in 1919 in the rank of Brigadier General.

Certainly the most fortunate break in Walter's life had occurred in 1884 with his marriage to **Mary or Minnie Johnston (1862-1984).** She devotedly supported him during his early years of indecision and for a lifetime thereafter. Minnie was the daughter of another immigrant of Scottish descent, **James Stewart Johnston (1811-1896)**, a widely respected businessman in Melbourne with interests in newspapers, hotels and real estate. J S Johnson was an old friend of Walter Clark Senior and one can but speculate as to how differently the family stories of both Australian branches might have evolved had JSJ, as well as JKC, had become trustee to the young Glenaras. The marriage of Walter and Minnie produced but one child, a daughter **Jessie Mary Clark (1889-1984)**, about whom more below.

On retirement from his active military career Walter returned to his interests in the breeding of pedigree stock. Stewart Johnston records : *"Grandfather left me his Commonwealth Stud Book and the last of his horses recorded was foaled in 1937. Although he never made much money from farming he won many prizes at Shows for his horses and later for sheep. I well remember going to the Royal Melbourne Show, looking at a beribboned English Leicester and ,according to my mother, stating 'I don't think sheep are very inneresting' ".*

Walter owned in turn several properties north-west of Melbourne, one of which he renamed Inverchapel, but passed his final years at Minnie's old home, Craiglee. On his death in 1943, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria approved a memorial minute of which the following are extracts:-*"With keenness and zest he spent himself in all that made for the well-being of the community. ...Regular in his pew, his devout attitude to public worship was an inspiration to all. ...Although holding decided views he never denied to another the right to his own view-point. No elder was more loyal to the 'minister', however he may have differed from the 'man'. ...Gifted with a keen sense of humour, his company was charming and cheering."* As his brother Alister's biographer remarked; *"not so very different a Walter from the one who had led his brother and sisters to Paris sixty years before."*

Alister Clark of Glenara (1864-1949). Alister was without doubt the most talented member this branch of the family and consequently attracted the interest of a biographer, T R Garnett, who in 1990 published "Man of Roses. Alister Clark of Glenara and His Family". The paragraphs which follow here are a necessarily condensed account of the life of this man of many facets, a story already most thoroughly and engagingly told by Tommy Garnett.

Although it was not precisely his by heredity, Alister not only perfected in Australia the life style of the country gentleman in contemporary Britain but went one degree beyond in that he also personified the associated ideal of the gifted amateur. His fortunes were certainly facilitated by business acumen and perhaps a dash luck such as had eluded his older brother. Marriage into a well-heeled New Zealand family amplified a financial independence which was to be put to good use in future years. In consequence, he was able in 1897 to buy the Glenara homestead and some 800 acres surrounding it from the family's trustees. For the rest of his life Alister nurtured the estate with the same care that his father had devoted to its creation.

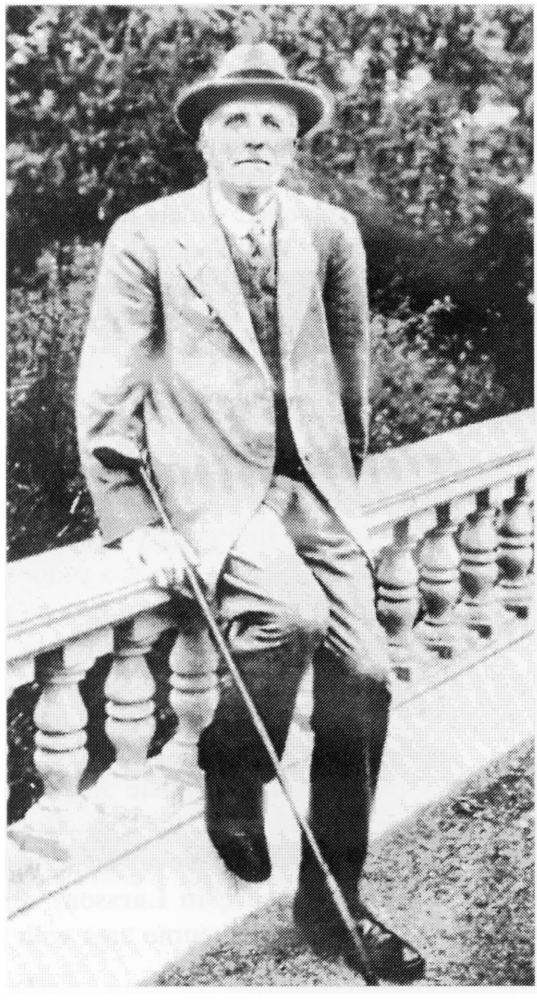
After early education in Hobart, Alister was sent to Scotland in 1880 and spent a couple of years in public school at Loretto: that must have been a testing experience for a sixteen-year old youth straight from one of the most distant "colonies"; but clearly he survived it and went on to read law at Jesus College, Cambridge and to come away with a Bachelor of Arts degree. This indicates an underlying seriousness, it being quite customary at that time for the better endowed Oxbridge undergraduates not to trouble the examiners. By the time he returned to Australia Alister had been thoroughly anglicised and quite soon thereafter, in 1888, he married **Edith Rhodes (1860 -1951)** in Christchurch, New Zealand. This was the first of two unions between these two like-minded families: three years later Edith's brother Heaton Rhodes married Alister's sister Jessie; but it must have been a matter for great regret that both were childless.

Alister Clark was a man of both taste and talent, as his early dedication to photography thoroughly demonstrates, and one who was determined to make a success of whatever activity he put his mind to. Throughout his life he was interested in all field sports and excelled at polo, steeplechasing and in the hunting field. Possibly his most lasting memorial is The Alister Clark Stakes run annually to this day at the Moonee Valley racecourse just outside Melbourne. There was, however, one skill which, at times at least, eluded Alister, namely that for gambling: it is recorded that on one occasion he was forced to sell a piece of the Glenara estate to clear debts thus incurred.

But of the many activities to which Alister devoted himself the pre-eminent must surely be the gentler art of rose and daffodil cultivation. Within the delightful ambience of Glenara, and with the help of equally dedicated head-gardeners, he developed and passed on to the Australian gardening public - to no personal gain - many strains of plants developed specifically to thrive in the Victorian climate. Charmingly he dedicated one of the finest of his climbing rose hybrids, Jessie Clark, to his only Australian niece, Jessie Mary.

ALISTER CLARK OF GLENARA.

(1864-1949).



Jessie Mary Clark (1889-1984), was the daughter of Brigadier General Walter John. In 1923 she married her cousin, **Doctor "Bill" Johnston (1887-1962)**, a son of Judge William Johnston, a lifetime friend of the Glenaras. Dr.W W S Johnston as a young man served in the First World War and was awarded the DSO and the MC for repeated acts of gallantry in succouring the wounded in "no man's land". He was again on active service in WW2, as a very senior medical officer in Greece, the Middle East and New Guinea, for which he was appointed CBE. His subsequent professional career was equally distinguished and culminated in 1960 with a knighthood for services to post-graduate medicine.

Jessie herself, apart from raising their family, devoted much time and energy to the YWCA in Australia, having joined the movement as a young girl in Tasmania. By the outbreak of the Second World War she was serving on the National Executive and throughout that period was YWCA Commissioner for Australia for War Services. From 1952 to 1957, as National President of the Australian YWCA, she gave much of her time to the movement and travelled widely on its behalf both within the Commonwealth and abroad. The National Convention Report for 1957 recording Jessie's retirement included the following; "*Our National President, Mrs.W W S Johnston ..... has enriched all with whom she came into contact ..... The inspiration of her graciousness and warmth of self-giving will remain with us always. Mrs.Johnston has made a lasting contribution to the movement she loves so well.*" In the following year her devotion was recognised with an OBE.

Jessie Mary Clark throughout her life greatly cherished the family's Scottish links, having been taken by her parents as a young girl to visit the *"old folk"* during the final stages of the Clark tenancy at Inverchapel. Some of her correspondence spread over many years, with "Barclay Clarks", Waterlows and Ian Archibald Clark son of "Wat", still survives. The links that Jessie Mary forged have been amply continued by her sons.

The photograph opposite shows Bill and Jessie Johnston in a friend's garden during the later stage of his life. Their sons, **Dr.Stewart Clark Johnston (born 1925**, married **Bronwen Grieve**) and **The Rev'd Donald Walter Johnston (born 1928**, married **Elin Larsson**) still (in the year 2000) live in semi-retirement in the Melbourne area with many of their children and grandchildren nearby.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSTON (1887-1962)

AND

JESSIE MARY CLARK

LADY JOHNSTON (1889-1984).



CHAPTER TWELVE.

CRUTHERLAND, INDIA AND SOUTHERN ENGLAND.

Chapter Six recorded how **James Clark (1813-1876)** sealed a brilliant career as partner in the trading house of James Finlay & Co. with the purchase of **Crossbasket Castle**, thereby adding a place in the county establishment of Lanark to distinction earned in the mercantile ambience of Glasgow. James died a few months after his second son **Robert Clark (1849-1876)** and his third son **James Buchanan Clark (1849-1878)** was already mortally sick. His remaining male offspring were the thirty-eight year old **John Kerr Clark (1838-1910)**, struggling with financial over-commitment far away in Australia and the eighteen-year old **Wat, Walter Archibald Clark (1858-1913)** marooned in Crossbasket, the house in which he had been born. This Walter, the salient character in the present chapter, suddenly had thrust upon him not only the responsibilities of headship of a prosperous upper-class Victorian family but also the perceived imperative of maintaining appearances appropriate to their station. In both respects he quite certainly fulfilled his obligations.

Walter's early years must have reflected the gauntness of his home. His mother **Agnes Barclay (1824-1863)** had died there when he was five and his father, grieving for many years thereafter, was frequently absent for prolonged periods in Australia, endeavouring to salvage the family's farming project at Mantuan Downs. For most of these years, when not away at college (Edinburgh Academy, KCS London and Geneva University), Walter lived at Crossbasket, attended by some seven or eight indoor and outdoor servants, together with his two unmarried sisters, Alice and Mary Helen, and his American-born sister-in-law, Mary Rowe Clark.

Around the time of his father's death Walter joined the company of East India merchants, Clark, Wilson & Co., which James Clark together with John Wilson, an old friend and colleague from the James Finlay days, had formed in 1872 with headquarters in Glasgow and branches in Calcutta and Madras.

Presumably Walter was tutored by his older partner ultimately to become the head of that firm and also from 1887 of Walter A Clark & Co. (East India Merchants). The two companies shared offices in a succession of good commercial addresses in Glasgow up to 1913, the year of Walter's death. In the earlier stages of his career Walter seems to have developed these businesses further: thus his income probably more or less kept pace with an expanding social presence and life style. Later in life though, to the chagrin of his descendants, he eroded capital to maintain prestige.

Apart from appointments as Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant in the County of Lanark, Walter was active in national politics in the Unionist cause in the West of Scotland where in some quarters he was credited with being *"largely instrumental in obtaining the great victory in South Lanark in 1886 and the subsequent holding of the seat."* [Quote from the 22 February 1899 edition of the Glasgow weekly newspaper "The Bailie"]. In the same vein, The Hamilton Advertiser of 11 February 1888 contained a lengthy report of his chairmanship in East Kilbride of a meeting attended by two local Members of Parliament and other dignitaries in the course of which he read out, to loud applause, a telegram from Mr. Arthur Balfour, then Secretary for Ireland, saying *"All good wishes for success of your meeting tonight. I think the Unionist party have every reason to congratulate themselves on the result of their efforts in the cause of liberty and order in Ireland."* The article in "The Bailie" also recorded that *"These services have not gone without recognition, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1891 Mr. Clark was specially selected as a member of the Carlton Club; and, as is well known, this is regarded in political circles as a very high honour indeed."* There are fragments, now in the possession of his descendants, of an intermittent correspondence between Wat and Balfour spanning nearly twenty years, the final and most interesting letter being quoted later in this chapter.

Clubland both in Scotland and London, particularly where associated with politics, played an important part in Walter's existence. "The Bailie" described him as *"emphatically a clubable man, as is shown by the fact that he has been three times elected Conservative Chairman of the Imperial Union Club, which during his period of office entertained the Duke of Devonshire, the brilliant Lord Curzon - now Viceroy of India, Lord Glasgow, and many other distinguished politicians and personages. ..... The Western Club, too, has enjoyed the benefit of his wisdom as a member of committee."*

WALTER ARCHIBALD CLARK OF CRUTHERLAND.

(1858-1913.)

THE MITCHELL LIBRARY.

The Bailie. Vol. LIII. Nº 1375. 22nd February. 1899



MR WALTER A. CLARK.
of Crutherland.

By the standards of the time Walter was a frequent long-range traveller, primarily for business purposes, particularly to India and Australia. It was on one of several trips to the latter continent that he met and fell in love with **Annie Clark (1861-1890)**, his Australian second cousin, daughter of **Walter Clark of Glenara** and ward of his half-brother, **John Kerr Clark.** They married in Sydney in 1882. These two branches of the Clarks were united in friendship as well as by two marriages, Annie's eldest sister Agnes having wed a Barclay cousin of Walter's in 1886; and the Australians visited the Scots on many occasions at Crossbasket and later at Crutherland. The relationship was unimpaired, probably indeed strengthened, by the events of 1887 which, as described in Chapter Nine, culminated for Walter in the disagreeable duty of escorting John Kerr Clark, together with all his family, into "exile" in Britain and monitoring his behaviour for several years thereafter.

About the same time as he married Walter abandoned Crossbasket, which remained unsold and unoccupied for many years, and purchased the fairer estate of Crutherland in the parish of East Kilbride, a few miles to the west. I am indebted to William Niven J.P., B.L., C.A., a local historian, for the following note on Crutherland's history :- *The original house dates back to the first half of the 18th. century but the present house is more1830ish. The house appears to have been built as a dower house for the use of the widow of the Stewart owners of Torrance House. However, circa 1750, Archibald Stewart of Torrance gave the house as a gift to his son, James, and his new bride, Lady Margaret Hume. Crutherland, itself is an interesting name. The river Calder, which flows through the estate, is called, at that juncture, the Rotten Calder - not from its odour but from the red colour of the water into which red iron oxide leaches. The word 'rotten' may be a corruption of the Gaelic RUADHAN or red land. It is possible that Crutherland is a further corruption of the original Gaelic meaning."* Despite Walter lavishing money on improvements to the property, Australian visitors still found it abominably cold!

Walter's halcyon years were between 1882 and 1890 when he was active and successful in business and politics, engaged in field sports, maintaining both a rough shoot at Crutherland itself and a grouse moor at Clenghearn, and in establishing a family. Annie during these few years bore him four children before dying of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-eight. Walter. and Annie's family with some further generations down to the year 2000 added, is shown in **TREE H.**

THE SCOTTISH-AUSTRALIAN ALLIANCE.



This photograph was taken near Crutherland, probably in 1888, by Alister Clark of Glenara. From left to right in the back row are: Agnes Clark, Annie's older sister married to Jack Barclay, Walter John Clark (later Brigadier General) and his wife Mary Johnston.

The front row consists of Annie Clark who died two years later, her son Ian Archibald, and her oldest sister Jessie Clark who later married the New Zealand lawyer and politician, Heaton Rhodes.

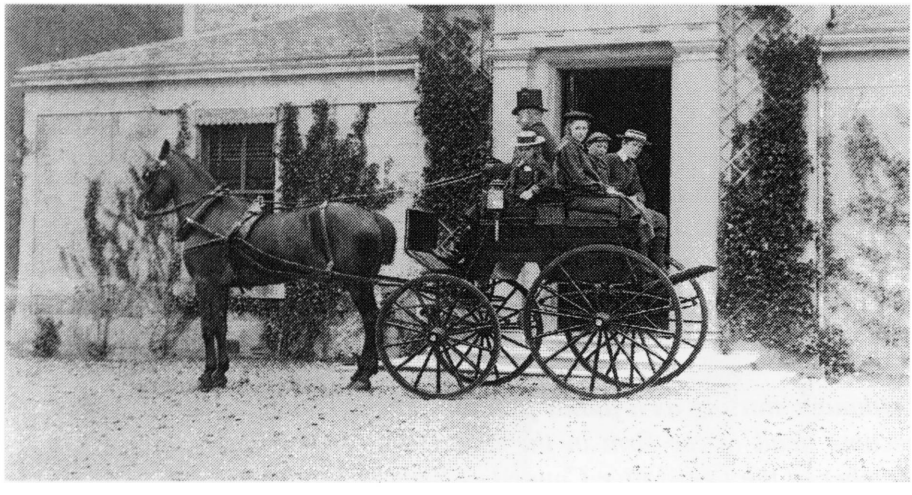
Annie had been much loved and was greatly missed. Her sister-in law, Alice Clark the wife of John McKie Lees, clearly expressed the family's grief in a letter to Annie's Australian brother: *"Dear Walter, I cannot write you and not mention the loss which we all share in common of dear Annie. It is very very sad, she has left a terrible blank in her home, and in many hearts who will mourn her for a long time to come. She was such a sweet good girl and so happy in herself and so endeared to us all. The poor wee motherless bairns, ones heart aches for them; ..... Poor old Wat, the loneliness is terrible to him and it seems as if he can't stay at Crutherland* [for] *any time without going off for a little change and break."*

An attempt to escape his grief may well have encouraged Walter to transfer the head office of Clark Wilson to the City of London and to purchase a house in Onslow Square, Kensington. There, according to members of his family he lived in style, attended by numerous servants and at the cost of dissipating a proportion of his fortune in the process. It is doubtful though, whether this extravagance brought much joy to Wat or to his family. His son, Ian Archibald, recounted to his own offspring tales of having from an early age had to "dress for dinner" and take formal but gloomy evening meals in the Onslow Square dining room. Bearing in mind the similarly prolonged and melancholy widowerhood of James Clark of Crossbasket, this seems to be a case of history repeating itself.

A further motive for Wat's migration to London may have been a desire to position himself closer to the centre of Tory and Imperial politics and to continue his acquaintanceship with A.J.Balfour, the son-in-law of Lord Salisbury, "The Victorian Titan", and in 1902 his successor as Prime Minister. Balfour, anyway a less dominant character, inherited a party already divided irreconcilably between the proponents of "Free Trade" and "Imperial Protection": he resigned the leadership in 1905 a few weeks ahead of the Tory Party's electoral debacle in which he even lost his own seat in East Manchester. He replied thus on 12 February 1906 to Wat's letter of commiseration. *"Dear Mr. Clark. Thanks much for your letter. The present position of affairs is certainly most unfortunate but I canot honestly say that I am to blame for it. As you are aware a meeting of the party has been called for Thursday next. Yours Very Truly, Arthur James Balfour."* A reply in similar vein might have been written to a well-wisher by John Major in 1997.

WALTER'S CHILDREN AT CRUTHERLAND.

CIRCA 1896.



From left to right. Beatrix about eight, Maude Helen about twelve, Walter St.Clair about ten and Ian Archibald about thirteen.

Wat died in 1913 at Clifton Hampden in Oxfordshire at the relatively early age of fifty-five, leaving four children.

1. Ian Archibald Clark (1883-1957). his younger son, Lieutenant Colonel Archie Clark, writes. *"He was only seven years old when his mother, Annie, died of 'consumption'. ..... He was educated at Winchester College where he did well academically. After a short spell in the London office of Clark Wilson he joined the Calcutta branch (Anderson Wright) which had dealt mainly with the jute trade but later acquired a sugar plantation on the site of the battle of Plassey and acted as agents for the BI Steam Navigation Co. He joined the Calcutta Light Horse, a territorial type regiment on the outbreak of the first World War. In 1916 he considered that he could now afford a wife and married* ***Masie Briscoe (1894-1976)*** *the only child of Charlie Briscoe, a Chief Superintendent of Indian Police.*

"They could hardly have been more different: he musical and a competent piano player, a sharp intellect and wit but uncoordinated physically; she tone deaf, ebullient, highly artistic and an above average games player ten years his junior. Despite this the marriage lasted for thirty-two years when she finally left him because of his highly volatile temperament which led him to sudden bursts of anger for trifling reasons.

"Although starting as a junior partner of Anderson Wright he eventually became head of the firm in the late 1930s and was for some years a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, a political body akin to the House of Commons. He and his partners foreseeing Indian independence sold both firms in 1946 and he retired to Berkshire to be near his sisters' families.

"He was perhaps a true Victorian on the lines of Soames Forsythe but with a ready wit and great generosity when he was needed notably by his brother Walter St.Clair whom he supported from 1924 - 1957 when IAC died of bronchitis."

Ian Archibald Clark has a number of descendants via his daughter and elder son.

IAN ARCHIBALD CLARK (1883-1957).





1.1 Julia Margery Clark (born 1917) and in year 2000 living in Jersey.

1.2. Edward James Clark (1918-1997). The latter, known to his family as Jimmy, was educated at Winchester and the Queen's College, Oxford, and flew throughout WW2 and for a period thereafter with the Royal Navy's Fleet Air Arm. On retirement from the Navy Jimmy dedicated the rest of his working life to his family and to the teaching profession in Rhodesia, as was, and England. Jimmy married **Sheila McCloy (born 1921)** in 1927: their four children and their Clark and Mill grandchildren appear in **TREE H.**

1.3. Colonel Archie Clark born in 1922, currently living in Wokingham, who has contributed much of the information on which this chapter is based.

2. Maude Helen Clark (1884-1960). Her nephew, Archie Clark, writes that Helen *"divorced Axel Krook* (her first husband) - *a skeleton in the cupboard in those days. Axel fell on poor times and, last heard of was a courier for Thomas Cook & Sons in Paris. He was an officer in the Black Watch but, on assignment in Poland at the latter stages of World War One had a heavy affair with a Polish Countess."* Following the divorce, Helen married in 1924 a rather less swashbuckling officer, **Major General Reggie Howlett (1882-1942)** who finished his military career as GOC Jamaica.

3. Walter St. Clair Clark (1886-c1965). Archie Clark has the following observations to make on the subject of his uncle. *"Walter St.Clair was a charming but weak character but whose wife* [Iris Stearns] *was splendid. Walter lost his inheritance in incompetent farming and was saved from bankruptcy by IAC* [his elder brother] *who supported him from about 1924 until IAC's own death. He left him a legacy which was largely spent on alcohol. He was then put up by his sister Helen at Horselees, Bradfield, until her death. Thereafter we arranged various accommodations from which he was continuously ejected for drunkenness! He finished up happily in a home in Reading, having survived his sober brother and sisters - comparatively speaking!"*

4. Margaret Beatrix Clark (1889-1956). Margaret grew from an attractive young girl into an exceptionally beautiful woman. She married **Arthur Gerald Robinson (c1885-1949)** a wine shipper in 1911 and is

MARGARET BEATRIX CLARK (1889-1958).



the maternal grandmother and great-grandmother of the Gamble and Waterlow descendants of Duncan Clark Farmer in Inverchapel (1695-1782). The Robinsons had the following three children.

4.1. Diana Robinson (born 1912) who married **Brigadier Geoffrey Gamble (1896-1970)** and now lives in Oxfordshire.

4.2. Helen Elizabeth or Betty Robinson (1914-1970) who married **Sir Thomas Waterlow Bart. (1911-1982)**, the son of a Lord Mayor of London who despite being an Englishman achieved a distinguished business career in Scotland.

4.3. John Robinson (1919-1943) who was killed in action in Italy whilst serving with The North Staffordshire Regiment shortly after being awarded the Military Cross. The citation for this decoration reads as follows :-

"On the afternoon of the 1st February 1944, 'D' Company was ordered to attack. The objective was the forward slope of a large flat feature in the ANZIO Bridgehead area, practically devoid of cover and overlooked by the enemy.

"Captain Robinson as 2nd in charge of the Company, was placed in command of the two leading Platoons. He successfully led his two Platoons on to the objective where they at once came under extremely heavy and accurate enemy artillery and mortar fire. With total disregard for his own safety, Captain Robinson organised the consolidation of of the position and, despite the heavy enemy fire, moved about in the open, encouraging the men and directing operations. Heavy casualties were sustained but the outstanding example set by this officer and the inspiration and confidence he gave to his men enabled the position to be consolidated and held."

The Gamble and Waterlow names are well protected from extinction given that Diana and Betty between them had five sons and ten grandchildren all of whom are recorded in **TREE H.**

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

FARMING ON IN SUCCOCH AND BALLIEMEANOCH.

After digressing to the commercial glories of Victorian Glasgow and the hardships of the Australian bush, the Clark story returns to the more even tenor of the Cowal district of Argyll. In Chapter Three it was recorded that on the death of **Duncan One, Farmer in Inverchapel (1695-1782)**, he was followed in the tenancy by his youngest son **Duncan Two (1751-1820)**. There would seem to have been an understanding that at some time in the future Duncan Two would not be succeeded in Inverchapel by one of his own sons but that the tenancy, in due course the tack, would instead revert to a son of his deceased older brother, **Walter Clark (1738-1779)**. This turned out to be Walter's second son **Robert Clark (1775-1855)** who was one of the two principal characters in Chapter Five.

Duncan Two was the progenitor of **Line Five,** the most junior branch of the family descending from Duncan One, and his immediate successors, shown in **Tree J**, had to seek their livelihood elsewhere than Inverchapel.

Duncan Two's wife, **Agnes Jenkin (1762-1836)** was an exception to the "Sabbath Day's Journey Rule", in that she was the daughter of Andrew Jenkin, farmer in Cuilmuich which is situated just north of Carrick on the shore of Loch Goil. They married in 1785. Of their ten recorded children, we are totally in ignorance regarding **Janet Clark (born 1786), Andrew Clark (born 1794), Rebecca Clark (born 1795)** and another **Rebecca (born 1802)**: several probably did not survive childhood. Another son, **Robert Clark (1799-1825)** is buried in a grave adjacent to that of his parents at Kilmun.

Of the girls who lived to adulthood, **Mary Clark (1796-1834)** married **Alexander McBride (1800-1870)** in 1819 by whom she had eight children. This McBride family is commemorated on a pair of stones in Kilmun churchyard and the information engraved thereon, when combined with that from other sources, inspired the late insertion into this history of Chapter Fifteen, The McBryde Connection and Broken Hill and Tree K.

Mary's younger sister, **Anne Clark (1800-1848+)** is recorded as housekeeping at Balliemeanoch for her bachelor brother John in 1848, thereafter trace of her is lost.

Yet another memorial stone in Kilmun, to members of the Turner family, provides evidence as to the life of Duncan Two's oldest son, **Walter Clark (1791-1859)** who married **Catherine Turner (1799-1856)** in 1830. There are no recorded children of this marriage. At some stage Walter left his birthplace, Inverchapel, which in that epoch must have been becoming intolerably crowded with Clarks and about 1820 took a farm called Torabus on the island of Islay. He died of injuries sustained from falling down a cliff near the farm. No local account survives, so there is no knowing the cause of the accident, possibly when trying to rescue a sheep in difficulties or even through too thorough sampling of Islay's renowned product, malt whisky! I have long held a theory that Walter might have been accompanied to Islay by his cousin Alexander Clark, the "lost" ancestor of the Glenara Clarks in Australia, but have never succeeded in marshalling any supporting evidence.

Of Duncan Two's male offspring there yet remain to be accounted for **Duncan Clark (1792-1877)** and **John Clark (1804-1881).** Both moved but a few miles northwards from Inverchapel and continued in the family tradition of Highland farming in the parish of Strachur.

Duncan married **Rachel Turner (1799-1863),** a twin sister of his brother Walter's wife, in 1826 and by whom he is recorded as having seven children. Rachel and Catherine were probably members of a family of tenant farmers in Stronchulin , a farm a little north of Blairmore on the shores of Loch Long. We know that well before his marriage Duncan was established as tacksman in **Ballimore,** a farm between Strachur and Glenbranter, because his name figures in a sasine concerning the conveyance of fishing rights on the River Cur in 1820. Most or all of his and Rachel's children will have been born in Ballimore before they moved in the early eighteen-forties up to **Succoch** also in the parish of Strachur.

Succoch is primarily a mountain farm which the census of 1871 reported as comprising 4,000 acres of hill grazing and only 25 acres of arable land. By the time that Duncan Clark took the tenancy, Succoch Glen through which the River Cur also runs had, like Garrachra, been cleared of surplus inhabitants. It is now scarcely credible that in its day the Succoch clachan

contained sufficient population to provide one of the best shinty teams in the County of Argyll. Most of this information was provided by **John Campbell of Succoch,** whose encyclopaedic knowledge of local history and custom proved so useful on my first visit to Strachur in 1949. Old John wistfully told me that when his time came he would have liked to rest in the clachan's burial ground but unfortunately its location was no longer certain. Another tale he told was of the laird of Succoch, a Campbell needless to say, falling one dark night into the burn and drowning. It is good to know that the elder son of John Campbell still, in the year 2000, occupies Succoch. **Neil Campbell**, his younger brother who died in 1997 took, like their father, a strong interest in shinty and showed much kindness to the party of Clark descendants who visited Cowal in 1995 ferrying us round the banks of Loch Eck in his school bus to visit several of the less accessible places mentioned in this story, such as Garrachra and the Paper Caves.

About the time that the Clarks went to Succoch there was even more than usual disputation and schism within the Scottish Presbyterian churches. In consequence, The Free Church of Scotland, *"The Wee Free"*, was formed in 1843 as a break-away from The Church of Scotland in order to practice a more rigorous form of sabbatarianism and to secure the right to select their own ministers: these doctrines held particularly strong appeal in the predominantly Gaelic speaking Western Isles and the adjacent mainland, including Argyll. *"The Disruption"*, as it was euphemistically called, cost the established church about half its congregation in the Highlands and over a third of its ministers. The hierarchy became alarmed and inter alia in 1848 instructed their remaining ministers to survey all households in their parishes in order to detect the extent of desertion from their flocks. By good fortune the original report prepared by the **Reverend McDonald of Strachur and Stralachlan** has survived in the hands of the **Montgomery Family of Invernoaden** and shows that Duncan Clark and his wife Rachel were living in Succoch in that year together with their seven children and five farm servants.

Along with the majority of Doctor McDonald's flock the Succoch Clarks had deserted to The Free Church. This degree of defection in Strachur may reflect a linguistic preference: The New Statistical Account for Scotland (Argyll 1845) reported that in that parish *"Gaelic is the language generally spoken but almost the whole of the rising generation speak English"*.

Rachel Turner died in 1863 aged sixty-four and was buried in the Clark family plot at Kilmun. She was followed thither in 1877 by Duncan who had survived her to the riper age of eighty-five. Now, what do we know about their children? Let us look at the girls first.

Margaret Clark (c1830-1899) married about 1860 **The Reverend Duncan McNicol (c1828-1918)** who had a long career in the (Established) Church of Scotland, being over a period of fifty-three years successively minister in Lochranza (Arran) and in Dunoon. Margaret and The Rev'd Duncan are buried in Dunoon together with their daughter, **Rachel Turner McNicol (c1861-c1941),** who died in Edinburgh, apparently a spinster, and their youngest son **The Reverend Nicol McNicol (1870-1952).** Nicol McNicol, a graduate of Glasgow University, not only devoted his whole working life to missionary work for the Church of Scotland in India but was at the same time a theological scholar of Christian and Indian religions and towards the end of his career Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion in the University of Oxford.

Anne Clark (born c1832) married in 1869 **Donald McArthur (born 1830)** a young widower who was then described in the parish records as "Merchant and Shipowner of Rutland Place, Govan, Glasgow". He may, I believe, have had connections with the Glasgow merchant bank. Williamson Buchannan. A witness to that wedding was Annie's younger brother, M T Clark, who one might suppose introduced the couple in the first place. It would be interesting to research the outcome of this marriage.

Janet Clark (1834-1919), a spinster, lived for many years at Succoch Cottage Blairmore and ultimately died at Kirkaldy.

Mary Clark (born c1836) married in 1862 the **Reverend Robert Rose** who was the Free Church minister in Inveraray from 1847 to 1890 when, according to The Argyll Standard, he intended to remove to Glasgow. We have no certain knowledge as to whether there was any family to this marriage but I seem to remember being told that there was a son who served in West Africa as a missionary and witnessed the deaths of many British colleagues. Again, as in the case of the family of Annie there is scope for further research.

Jane Clark (1843-1866) having married a man called McGown died young, presumably childless, and is buried with her parents at Kilmun.

Duncan Clark (born 1838) is referred to in the 1861 Census as living at Succoch, aged twenty-three, unmarried and with the occupation of linen draper. We have no further positive news of him but I would not be too surprised if he equates with another Duncan Clark, Family Grocer & Wine Merchant of Wellington Place, West Bay, Dunoon (Argyllshire Standard 1871).

The younger son **Malcolm Turner Clark (c1840-1910)** went off to Glasgow sometime before 1861 to seek his fortune in commerce. To a considerable extent he succeeded and his history is told in **Chapter Fourteen - "The Lord of the Isles" and "The Fairy Queen".**

Now the story switches just a mile or two to highlight Duncan's younger brother, my great-grandfather, **John Clark (1804-1881)** who is recorded in a commercial guide in 1837 as being a grazier in **Bernice,** a farm on the western side of Loch Eck owned by the Ewing family. By the time of the McDonald parish survey of 1848 John, still a bachelor, was already established in **Balliemeanoch,** a farm on the banks of the River Cur downstream from Succoch but of a more lowland nature, having around 100 acres of arable and upwards of 2,000 acres of hill grazing.

John Clark did eventually marry, at the age of fifty, a lady some nineteen years his junior. She was **Mary McCallum (1823-1872)**, daughter of Duncan McCallum Tacksman in Ardno, a substantial holding on the eastern shore of Loch Fyne between Strachur and Cairndow. The McCallums were a long established and numerous farming family. Like the Clarks, several McCallums emigrated to Australia in the mid-nineteenth century, setting up sheep stations, including one called Ardno, and prospering accordingly.

One of my own earliest memories is of five portraits in the dining room of our house in Anston, Yorkshire from which my father and grandfather before him practised medicine. The most imposing picture by far was that of my great-grandfather, whose mane and side-whiskers marked him as a patriarch. Years later, John Campbell told me that in his day John Clark was known about Strachur as the *"Botach Mhor"* which in the Gaelic means *"The Big Old Man"*. Unlike his older brother Duncan he

not only remained loyal to the established Kirk in which he was indeed an elder which, as noted in Chapter One, probably landed him the privilege in 1855 of being first official Registrar for the parish of Strachur. To the old man's right on the wall in a matching heavy gilt frame was one of a gentle middle-aged lady, obviously Mary McCallum. Of the remainder, I have failed to identify two, a smaller matching pair of a man and a woman; but the last one, that of a handsome and confident-looking young man, located between the fireplace and the window, used to be referred to in the family - inaccurately - as "Great-Uncle Malcolm": this was quite certainly Malcolm Turner Clark, my grandfather's cousin and close friend. Lamentably these portraits disappeared in 1938 when, following my father's death and the sale of the house, my mother had, by her own practical standards and coping with severe financial problems, no choice but to dispose of all "non-essentials" in an auction sale. I am sure, though, that recall of these lost portraits greatly stimulated the curiosity which led me first to visit Cowal, so long ago, in 1949.

My great-grandfather lived in Balliemeanoch till the end of his days in 1881 when he followed his wife Mary, who had predeceased him nine years earlier, to the McCallum burial-ground at Clachan beyond Ardno at the head of Loch Fyne. They had three sons, the older two becoming the doctors **Duncan McCallum Clark (1855-1927)**, my grandfather, and **Malcolm William Clark (1857-1924)** who are principal characters in Chapter Eighteen - "The Scottish Doctors in Yorkshire". The youngest son was **Robert Clark (1859-c1920)**, according to John Campbell known locally as **"Fat Bob".**

Fat Bob was the only grandchild of Duncan Two to continue in the family tradition of farming. The rest grasped new opportunities which almost inevitably took them away from the Highlands and went into medicine or commerce or marriage into The Church. The late Nineteenth Century was not a favourable epoch for British agriculture but perhaps, being either less enterprising or intellectually endowed than his older brothers, Fat Bob had little option but to stay on at Balliemeanoch until his father's death in 1881. Thereafter, he was a tenant in several farms before finally settling in Lochgoilhead. John Campbell told me that he did marry but had no children.

THE FARMHOUSES OF SUCCOCH AND BALIEMEANOCH IN THE LATE NINETEEN NINETIES.





Time has dealt less kindly with Balliemeanoch than it has with Succoch. In 1949 I made this note. *" I visited Balliemeanoch and found it depressing. The mountain behind was thickly planted and there were cheap foresters' cottages beside the farm which itself seemed deserted and resigned to its fate. From the front it has considerable charm with its slate roof, whitewashed walls and the very large attic windows which seem to be a feature of the houses in this district. Balliemeanoch must have been a grand place in the time of the Botach Mhor. It is right beside the Cur and the sound of the torrent must have played our forbears to sleep."* Sadly, worse was yet to come. As the adjacent timber business expanded the old house has gradually been permitted to fall into total desolation. Perhaps by the next time that I visit it will mercifully have disappeared completely.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

"THE LORD OF THE ISLES " AND "THE FAIRY QUEEN".

Malcolm Turner Clark (1840-1910), was the younger son of Duncan Clark (1792-1877), farmer firstly in Ballimore and later in Succoch in the parish of Strachur. Malcolm was one of the earlier members of the Clark family to seek a living elsewhere than in the Highlands: he left home when quite young, probably about 1858, to live more dangerously in the booming commerce of mid-Victorian Glasgow. His subsequent career was wholly dedicated to the management of steamer services, initially a fast growing market, which linked Glasgow with a multiplicity of piers along the Clyde, on Bute, Arran and Kintyre and way up the lochs forking northwards deep into Argyll. Understanding of the complex geography of these waters is helped by the panoramic map which serves as the front endpiece to this book.

Until the early years of the Nineteenth Century travel by water on the Clyde, as elsewhere, was slow: typically a full day had to be allowed for the twenty mile downstream journey from Glasgow to Greenock. Change then came swiftly from 1812 onwards in the wake of Bell's Comet, a tiny experimental paddle ship propelled by steam power which within a few years revolutionised marine transportation. By the early 1860s, over and above its vast ocean-going traffic, the Clyde had already been criss-crossed for several decades with steam-driven paddle-steamer services. Many of these vessels, however, were technically poor in performance and all were owned and operated by small company proprietors whose independence was already under threat from the more powerfully capitalised railway companies, particularly the Caledonian and the North British, seeking to provide integrated services.

About the time that M T Clark arrived on the scene, change in this burgeoning market was accelerated by the American Civil War. In an attempt, about 1863/64, to keep their ports open, the Confederate Government bought up all the Clyde paddlers they could lay their hands upon and sailed them across the Atlantic. The consequent short-term loss of capacity for the domestic market was rapidly made good with more efficient vessels by the shipyards of the upper Clyde.

By 1867 M T Clark, at the age of twenty-seven, figures in the Glasgow trade directory as a Commission, Insurance, Shipping and Forwarding Agent and in the following year was appointed managing agent for **The Loch Goil and Loch Long Steam Boat Company.** Thenceforward and until his death in 1910 he became not only a prominent business figure during the golden years of the Clyde steamers but also an outstanding proponent, like his English contemporary Thomas Cook, of the concept of travel being chosen as a form of enjoyment rather than endured of necessity. Indeed, Malcolm did more than any man towards creating that characteristic pleasure for late-Victorian Glaswegians of all social classes and their successors, the day trip *"doon the watter"*, which I was just in time to savour in the summer of 1949. Under his leadership the Loch Goil and Loch Long grew from a one steamer company to a five vessel fleet. According to a later (July 1888) issue of the Glasgow periodical "The Bailie", *"at that time* [1868] *the only vessel owned by the Company was the "Loch Goil", a popular if not very fast or commodious craft. The "Carrick Castle" - which has now become the crack vessel on the Firth of Forth - was built in 1870, the "Windsor Castle" in 1875, and the "Edinburgh Castle" in 1879, while the "Chancellor"..... was bought in 1885".*

The Chancellor had previously belonged to the near-bankrupt Loch Lomond Company and with her came an established itinerary - largely touristic - whereby passengers disembarked at Arrochar at the head of Loch Long and were then transported two and a half miles overland to Tarbet. Thence they could sail on the beautiful, land-locked Loch Lomond and return to Glasgow, should they so choose, on the North British Railway. This particular concept, though, had already been put into practice elsewhere with great success by M T Clark.

Moved no doubt both by ambition and a clear recognition of the market potential for pleasure travel, which is still exploding a century and a half later, Malcolm had nurtured over many years the idea to exploit the charms of his native district, Cowal, bounded to the east by Loch Long and Loch Goil and to the west by Loch Fyne and almost split down the middle by the enchantingly lovely freshwater Loch Eck. In 1876 Malcolm found backing for a new company, to compete with Hutcheson's ageing steamer "**Iona**" on the Loch Fyne route from Glasgow to Inveraray, to be run in parallel with the existing Loch Goil and Loch Long Steam Boat Company. **The Glasgow and Inveraray Steam Boat Company** was therefore constituted and a vessel purpose- designed to

"The Lord of the Isles and The Fairy Queen.

"THE FINEST TOUR IN SCOTLAND".



complete the round trip of over two-hundred miles in one day. The subsequent story is well told in the following extracts from " Clyde Pleasure Steamers - An Illustrated History" by Ian McCrorie (pub. Orr, Pollock & Co. of Greenock in 1986).

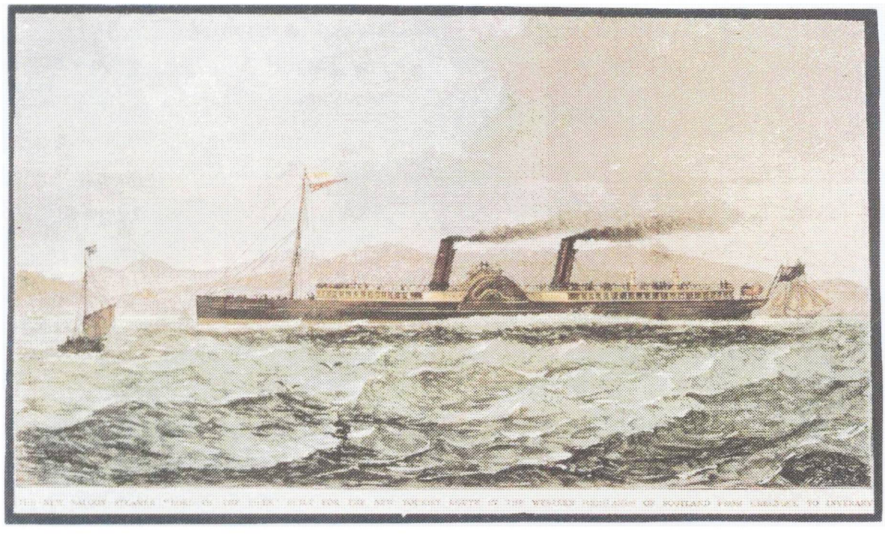
*"The result, the palatial **Lord of the Isles**, came into service in July* [1877] *delayed by the infamous Clyde shipyard lockout which had started two months before. Despite being incompletely furnished ..... she outclassed the **Iona** in both speed and accommodation and was a veritable' floating palace'. ..... Her first run to Inveraray was with the directors of the company and their invited guests and a truly festive occasion it was. As the **'Lord'** swung round the mouth of Loch Shira into the new pier she fired a brass cannon on deck to salute the Duke of Argyll, then in residence in Inverarary Castle. ..... As the season progressed, the new ship enjoyed very extensive patronage and gained an enviable reputation for service, reliability and punctuality.*

" David MacBrayne, who by now virtually controlled the firm of David Hutcheson & Co., had been used to having a monopoly of all services to and from the western seaboard of Scotland, and he did not take kindly to an intruder which creamed off a fair proportion of his traffic and threatened his livelihood.

*" The **'Lord'** had to be eclipsed. J. & G. Thompson, now of Clydebank, were once again approached and given the order for a new ship to replace the **'Iona'*** [shortly to be reassigned to a less exacting route]. ..... *Thomsons produced a masterpiece, head and shoulders above all opposition, the undoubted 'Queen of the Clyde' at that time and for many years afterwards. ..... The **'Columba'** was quite magnificent and became famous world-wide. ..... The tables had been turned and it was now the turn of M T Clark and the Inveraray Company to feel aggrieved. The company, however, had anticipated the appearance of the **'Columba'** and had set about to retrieve the situation."*

Malcolm and his Directors set about the retrieval in two ways. Firstly, the **"Lord"** was sent back to the yard which had built her barely a year earlier for major rectification and further enhancement of passenger comfort: this, though, would not of itself have sufficed to counter the all-round superiority of **"Columba"**. The Glasgow and Inveraray Steam Boat Company, however, had a further card to play in the competitive game which ensured retention of much of the market share so impudently

"THE LORD OF THE ISLES".

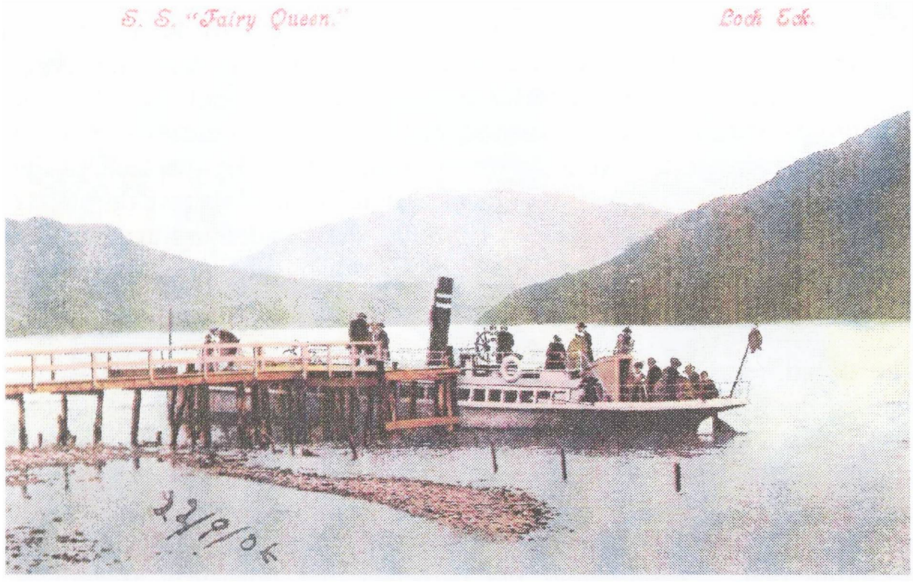


The Glasgow and Inveraray Steamboat Company in its time commissioned two vessels named "Lord of the Isles". There are a number of excellent photographs of each in the Wotherspoon Collection (Mitchell Library, Glasgow) but I prefer to use the above print which I found quite by chance in an auction room in Maidstone, Kent. The vessels were very similar in appearance but the print is probably of the older one, launched in 1877 and an instant success on the Inveraray run.

snatched from Hutchesons. The coup was achieved by the augmentation of its service to Inveraray and other Loch Fyne piers by the complementary *" Famed Loch Eck Coaching Route"*. This part of the story is appropriately told in the following extracts from the contemporary local weekly press (The Cowal Watchman of 6 March 1878), the column being titled ***"The Loch Eck New Steamer Fairy Queen"***.

" On Thursday last there was launched from the banks of Loch Eck a very handsome screw steamer, which had been built by ***Messrs.T B Seath & Co., Rutherglen,*** [see **Note One** at the end of this chapter] *for the Glasgow and Inveraray Steamboat Company, and which is intended to ply regularly on the loch in connection with the favourite steamer Lord of the Isles. Half a century ago the late* ***Mr.David Napier*****.....**[see **Note Two**] *placed a small paddle steamer on this loch, but her career was very short, for some malicious persons scuttled her;.....The natural beauties of Loch Eck are at present unknown to the general public, and the owners of the Lord of the Isles, being desirous of opening up attractive circular routes through the West Highlands, resolved to place a high class steamer on the loch, and thereby establish a chain of communication between Lochfyne, Holy Loch, and the Clyde. Leaving Glasgow or Edinburgh in the morning, pleasure-seekers this summer will be able to join the Lord of the Isles at Greenock and proceed to Kirn or Dunoon, where coaches* [see **Note Three**] *will be waiting, and after a drive of about eight miles.....Loch Eck is reached. Here the Fairy Queen will be in waiting* [at Inverchapel pier] *and after a sail of about six miles through some of the finest Highland scenery to the head of the loch, coaches will again be in readiness, and after another magnificent drive of about eight miles along the side of the river Chur, the attractive village of Strachur, on Lochfyne, is reached. Passengers can then join the Lord of the Isles and return by the Kyles of Bute. The route may be reversed at the option of the tourist. The Fairy Queen , which was launched on Thursday, is 70 feet in length, having a saloon deck, and she will be licensed to carry upwards of 150 passengers and will steam about 12 miles an hour. The weather on Thursday proved most unpropicious, nevertheless the event created considerable interest in the district, and many persons travelled long distances to witness the launch. Steam being up, a short trial of the engines afterwards took place, and the sailing qualities of the handsome little steamer were most successfully tested. The guests being assembled in the saloon, cakes and wine were served, when success to the Fairy Queen was heartily pledged."*

"THE FAIRY QUEEN" AND A LOCH ECK COACH.





In order to get close in to the shore of the loch The Fairy Queen drew no more than 8.5 inches and an imaginative extra was the post box on the little vessel.

The Loch Eck Route was by no means the only touristic *divertissement* offered by The Glasgow & Inveraray Steam Boat Company: its Official Tourist Guide Book offered various tours to destinations such as Oban, Dalmally, Ballachulich and Glencoe deeper into the Highlands,involving itineraries which integrated travel by steamer, coach and rail. Special event tours were also devised such as stop-overs at the quarries at Furnace or Crarae, en route to Inveraray, for tourists to enjoy the spectacle of the blasting of tens of thousands of tons of granite destined to pave the streets of Glasgow. On one occasion, in 1886, the show ended in tragedy when poisonous fumes generated by the explosives asphyxiated many visitors, with fatal results in six cases.

The decade or so following the establishment of the Loch Eck Route marked the high tide in the affairs of M T Clark and the two steamboat companies which effectively he had created; and he was well supported by his "management team" of Captains and Stewards, the latter being of equal importance for the satisfaction of both tourist and business-going passengers. The Bailie concluded its article on an eulogistic note, declaring that *".....altogether the Glasgow and Inveraray Steamboat Company, whether as regards the intelligence of its management, the courtesy of its servants, its comfortable vessels, or the beauty and charm of the districts which can be visited by its aid, is a Company which deserves well of the West of Scotland travelling and touring public."*

By this stage, however, organic market growth was decreasing: already up and down the Firth of Clyde and adjacent waters *"fifty steamers were serving fifty piers"*; and life became progressively harder for the smaller companies such as those which Malcolm managed. They were hemmed in by more powerful competitors on the water, especially by MacBraynes (formerly Hutchensons), which despite change and vicissitude survives to this day; and above all by the relentless encroachment of the railway companies.

Malcolm nevertheless fought a long tactical rearguard battle. Although induced to sell the "Chancellor" to the Glasgow & South Western Railway Company in 1891 and thereby concede the Loch Lomond connection, in the same year he concentrated resources on the Inveraray and Loch Eck

M T CLARK AND HIS SENIOR OFFICIALS.



routes and actually put a newly built vessel onto that service which succeeded to the proud - indeed irreplaceable - name **"The Lord of the Isles"**. Unfortunately, this ship was not markedly any improvement on her predecessor.

Not a great deal is known about Malcolm's personal life. In 1870 he married a lady called **Elizabeth Roy (c1847-1891+)** by whom he had a son, **Duncan T Clark** born in 1873, and a daughter **Mary R Clark** born in 1875, neither of whom I have succeeded in tracing. Malcolm had lived within the city of Glasgow since his arrival as an ambitious country boy but shortly after their marriage he and Elizabeth moved out to the village of Langbank where they remained for the rest of their lives. Langbank, on the railway from Glasgow to Gourock and thus conveniently sited for both places, overlooks the Clyde a few miles below the point at which the River widens into the Firth. The northern shore opposite is dominated by Dumbarton Castle and the intervening waters in Malcolm's day were crowded with all sorts of craft, including his own and the competition's paddle steamers. Initially the Clarks were tenants of Malcolm's friend, T B Seath, in a commodious apartment called East Anchor Villa until about 1888 when they bought a substantial stone house, **Craig-en-Gower**, where Malcolm died on the last day of 1910.

The final ten or so years of his life must have been galling as he watched from Langbank the gradual dissolution of the businesses he had created. Effectively the end came in 1904 with the arrival on the Inveraray run of the turbine steamer **"King Edward"** which totally outclassed the **"Lord"**. Soon after Malcolm's death, the Loch Goil & Inveraray Steamboat Company, as it was now known, gave up and its two remaining vessels, the Edinburgh Castle and the "Lord" were absorbed into the fleet of Turbine Steamers Limited, the owners of the victorious "King Edward". The "Lord" saw out the remaining years of her working life in honourable relegation to the less arduous route from the Broomilaw quayside in Glasgow to the Isle of Bute.

The Fairy Queen and the Loch Eck Tour survived longer despite all the horses having been requisitioned in 1914. The service was re-started after the First World War with motor charabancs replacing the more leisurely coaches. Final disaster struck in 1925 when, in a storm of great violent such as occasionally afflict Loch Eck, the Fairy Queen was wrenched from her moorings at Inverchapel pier and whirled downstream into the upper reaches of the river Echaig. Her grave is known locally as

the Steamer Pool. Even then the Tour continued for a few more years but by charabanc between Dunoon and Strachur until finally killed off by the advent of widespread ownership of private cars and purpose-built ferries to transport them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

Note One. Thomas B Seath (1820-1903) was the son of poor parents who came to Glasgow in 1828 in search of work. He was crippled by a childhood accident and ran away from school at the age of fourteen. He was a natural engineer and after a series of diverse jobs opened a small shipyard way up the Clyde River at Rutherglen, a location which rendered it difficult to bring completed vessels down to the Firth and effectively forced Seath to specialise in the construction of very small and even dismantleable craft. In all, over his 46 years as a shipbuilder he built 324 boats for a wide variety of purposes, including many for reassembly on inland waters, of which the Fairy Queen was but one. As his wealth increased Seath moved down river to the village of Langbank and played a leading part in its development into a prosperous residential area. Over and above common business interests he and Malcolm Clark were close friends and neighbours for many years.

Note Two. David Napier (1790-1869) preceded Thomas Seath by a full generation and was also a natural marine engineering genius. There the likeness between the two men ends. Napier's father owned a foundry and engineering works in Glasgow and, apart from encouraging his son's practical talents, saw to it that he received a formal education. In 1812 the young Napier was in charge of the contract to build the boiler for Henry Bell's pioneering steam vessel, the Comet - for which, incidentally, his firm was never paid. Napier's career thenceforward prospered with the rapid development of marine steam propulsion: he designed many sea-going vessels and established several regular services between major British ports.

In the late eighteen-twenties Napier became interested in real estate and his foresight led to the development of Kilmun and Blairmore as desirable waterside residential villages with excellent connections by steamer to Glasgow. Meanwhile he had acquired the Glenshellich estate at the head of Loch Eck which doubtless led to his project which in 1827 placed a small steamer, the "Aglaia", onto the loch, thus anticipating M T Clark's

enterprise by over fifty years. Sadly this initiative was short-lived. Apart from the alleged sabotage of the "Aglaia", David Napier's technological enthusiasm had led to the use of steam carriages for the overland sections of the route from Kilmun to Strachur: neither these experimental vehicles nor the roads they traversed proved equal to the task.

Napier may also have been ahead of his time with respect to market acceptability of his project. The New Statistical Account for Scotland (Argyll) of 1845 commented that *"though no catastrophe, happily, marked its operation, the enterprise was abandoned, as was the steamer on Loch Eck, to the great deliverance from scandal of that peaceful and interesting Highland scene".*

Note Three. Construction of the Loch Eck Coaches. Doubtless with Napier's landward failure in mind, Malcolm Clark took no chances on his linking transport and, with shrewd conservatism, placed his trust in the horse. The 11 May 1878 edition of The Argyllshire Standard reported, under the heading "The Loch Eck Route", as follows :-

"In view of the opening, on 20th inst., of the short and pleasant route to Inveraray by coach from Dunoon, along the picturesque margin of Loch Eck to Strachur, the Glasgow and Inveraray Steamboat Company, through their agent Mr.M.T.Clark of Oswald Street, Glasgow, are having built no fewer than seven new carriages. They are open carriages, strongly built, and fitted with powerful 'breaks', as befits the purpose for which they are intended, to be drawn by either two or three abreast, or four horses, as occasion may demand, and constructed to hold with perfect comfort 24 passengers each including the driver. These conveyances, it may be stated, are as elegant in appearance as they are substantial in build, being painted mainly in dark blue, picked out with red and white; on the panels of each being inscribed in gold lettering - "Dunoon, Loch Eck, Strachur, and Inveraray." It is worthy of mention that the construction.....occupied but one month; this despatch being rendered possible by the fact that our coach-builders now import from the United States naves, spokes, and other items of the framework of a vehicle of the most admirable quality and workmanship ready to be put together at once."

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

THE McBRYDE CONNECTION AND BROKEN HILL.

On 14 October 1871 a young man called **Duncan McBryde** (referred to hereafter as **D.E.McB**) sailed on the Loch Tay from Leith and landed in Melbourne on 7 January 1872. His age was declared to be twenty-two and his place of birth as Scotland. On arrival he would in all probability have gone straight to Glenara, that exquisite estate just outside Melbourne which had been quite recently created, as described in Chapter Seven, by **Walter Clark (1803-1873)**. Equally probably D.E.McB would have been introduced to Walter as an educated and trustworthy distant relative by marriage by **Archibald Clark (1823-1900)**, farmer in Inverchapel and at the time the next most senior member of the Clark family in Scotland after his elder brother James Clark of Crossbasket. Now, in Scottish/Australian circles the owners of stations frequently preferred, subject to availability, to select reliable kinsmen as managers to cover for their own absence. One exactly of this sort was **"Honest John" Clark (1827-1897)**, one time wine merchant in Manchester but now in almost complete charge of Walter's principal property at Kerarbury. D.E.McB was appointed to the parallel, if less exacting, role at Glenara. Quite certainly on making the introduction Archie would have added a piece of confidential information - then seemingly irrelevant - concerning DEMcB's parentage, which Walter then took with him to the grave following his sudden death just a year later. Walter, as told in Chapter Eleven, left a family of orphans, *"the Dear Glenaras"*, and all his estates in the trusteeship of his second cousin **John Kerr Clark of Ghoolendaadi (1838-1910)** who, already having a multitude of problems on his hands, must have been content to confirm D.E.McB as manager in Glenara.

Over the next few years D.E.McB established a close friendship with the young Glenaras, to the extent indeed that he became unofficially engaged in 1877 to the oldest daughter, **Agnes Clark (1858-1939)**, who was but nineteen years of age. This might anyway have been viewed as socially audacious, given that Aggie had substantial "prospects". More importantly, however, when the news filtered back to Inverchapel Archie saw it as his duty to 'blow the whistle' and inform the eldest male Glenara, **Walter John Clark (1859-1943)**, that his sister was innocently

contemplating matrimony with an illegitimate young man, who to boot was almost certainly the son of his own brother, **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)**, currently farming at Mantuan Downs in Queensland. Given that illegitimacy was widely regarded in that epoch as a mutation of original sin, the engagement was terminated forthwith: whereupon D.E.McB took himself and his distress a very long way from Glenara.

Meanwhile, one might ask, who were the McBrydes (or McBrides) anyway; and how did the Clarks in Inverchapel become involved with them?

Whilst no McBride is actually buried in Kilmun, there does remain in that churchyard a pair of richly informative memorial stones standing side by side which would have been put in place about 1832 and 1872, the later one *"respectfully erected by Duncan McBryde their* [his parents'] *only surviving son."* I have been unable to trace this Duncan McBryde who is not to be confused with his emigrant nephew D.E.McB: quite possibly he was a seafarer like other members of his family. The inscriptions on these monuments, the details of which are shown in Annex One, are complemented by Dunoon and Kilmun OPRs and, when added to some Cumbrian records, provide the basis for charting the McBryde Connection in **Tree K.** The following OPR extract is of particular interest :-

"December 26 1819. ***Alex'r McBride,*** *widower, Mate of the Alert Cutter, and* ***Mary Clark*** *dau'r of Duncan Clark, Tenant in Inverchapel, married 27th. inst."* This establishes the start of the Clark/McBride Connection.

Furthermore, although not recorded in any Scottish OPR, genealogical detective work overwhelmingly indicates that an illegitimate child was born about 1846 to **Anne McBride (1821-1871)**, daughter of Alexander McBride and Mary Clark, and named Duncan McBride, the probable father being **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)** the youngest son of Robert Clark Tacksman in Inverchapel. The eight year discrepancy in their ages, might cause one to wonder who seduced who! The child Duncan reappears briefly in 1648 when he is noted in the Rev'd McDonald's survey of the Strachur parish as being a "nephew" living in the household of my great-grandfather, John Clark, in Balliemeanoch but there is no further documented trace of him until he turns up in Australia in 1872. The next piece of evidence as to his identity comes in his marriage certificate of 1883 in which his place of birth is declared to be **Whitehaven** in **Cumberland**. This information, even if not entirely

accurate, was invaluable since it opened up a new channel for discovery of the McBrides' origins and background.

Unlike the Clarks, the McBrides had no deep roots in Scotland, let alone in Cowal, nor seemingly were any of them farmers. Attempts to trace the birth in Scotland of Alexander failed; then, a highly credible candidate surfaced in Ulster, thanks to IGI records on CD ROMS. He is Alexander McBride, born in 1800 (as confirmed on the Kilmun stone) in Dunseverick Parish, Antrim, his father being John McBride and his mother unrecorded. Unusually for the IGI a death is noted, Alexander's being said to have taken place in New Brunswick (the mariner's last voyage?) in 1870, a date which also coincides with the Kilmun evidence. Furthermore, the Ulster records show a spouse, Margaret (McBride?), and a child, Alexander McBride born in 1819. Unless he committed bigamy, Alexander must have lost his first wife and son at the acouchement; and subsequently wasted no time at all in crossing to Scotland and taking himself a second wife by the year end. It is difficult to imagine that Duncan Two and all the other Clarks in Inverchapel, long established as they were in a closed agricultural society, would have cared for Mary to marry an incomer, let alone a nineteen year old and recently widowed Irish sailor!

The McBride Cumbrian connections, revealed years later by D.E.McB in Australia, centred particularly on two churches, St. Nicholas in Whitehaven on the coast and All Saints in Cockermouth some dozen miles inland and was of long standing: a McBride christening at St. Nicholas had been registered as early as 1730. In the nineteenth century Whitehaven's harbour was flanked by four large collieries whence much of the production was shipped elsewhere; and what market could have been more to hand than Ulster? The picture thus emerges, implied rather than wholly proven, of the McBrydes being engaged in the coastal shipping trade, with links also into the Lower Clyde - hence Alexander's presence in Dunoon. It can be further conjectured that he was connected with Kerrs and McBrydes, merchants and shipowners, directly across the water in Greenock; and to whom about 1835 he introduced his kinsman, later to be well known in Glasgow business circles as James Clark of Crossbasket.

Alexander and Mary's family of eight were all born in the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun but averaged very short lives, with three dying in childhood and three more, all sons, before the age of thirty. Mary herself died in 1834 before attaining the age of forty following which Alexander led the survivors away to start life anew near their relatives in

Cumberland. They are recorded in the 1841 Census as living in St.Bees near Whitehaven, Alexander's profession being given as "Tide Surveyor" and again in 1851 when he is described as "Retired Officer of Customs".

The termination of the partnership with the Kerrs could well, one might suspect, have come about through personal disagreement but there is also the possibility that it had ceased to be commercially useful because Cumbrian sea-coal was no longer competitive on the Firth of Clyde. The New Statistical Account for Scotland (Argyll) of 1845 states in reference to Dunoon and Kilmun that *"the fuel now almost universally used is coal, procured generally at Glasgow, and sometimes from mines on the Ayrshire coast"*.

Alexander himself lived to the respectable age of seventy, all but two of his children having predeceased him. Anne, his only surviving daughter followed her father within a year leaving her twentyfive year old son Duncan to fend for himself.

D.E.McB, like thousands of his contemporaries, chose to take his chance in Australia but also perceived emigration as an opportunity to rid himself of the burden of illegitimacy. He therefore revised his provenance and declared himself to be the elder son of his uncle, **Robert McBride (1827-1855)** who was superficially credible as a parent and, given that he was long dead, that much more suitable. The catch was, though, that for this parentage to be genealogically sound Duncan had to reduce his age by some three years; and a carte de visite photograph dated 1877 certainly looks more likely to be that of a man of at least thirtyone. To improve the image further he provided himself with the grand-sounding middle name of Elphinstone and modified McBride to McBryde. Other evidence for the change of identity is that, in contrast to Robert McBride's two known children, Mary Ann and John, there is no record of the birth or baptism of D.E.McB in Cumberland. Finally, there are two discrepancies in the certificate recording his marriage in Melbourne in 1883: his "father" was not an engineer but a grocer; and he should have been born like his "sister" and "brother" in Cockermouth rather than in Whitehaven. Of course, had D.E.McB chosen to woo any lady in Australia except one of the Glenara girls his secret would have remained secure; but by the same token his life would have been quite different and almost certainly marked with less achievement.

DUNCAN ELPHINSTONE McBRYDE (1846?-1920).



This carte-de-visite photograph is endorsed on its reverse side in the handwriting of Bessie Searle, sister of Annie Cooper (1825-1865) second wife of Walter Clark of Kerarbury and Glenara (1803-1873) as follows:- "From Duncan Elphinstone McBryde Esqre J.P., Glenara, Bulla Bulla, Victoria. 27 April 1877" Bessie was always solicitous for the welfare of the Glenara orphans. This note might just imply that she was inclined to support Duncan McBryde's courtship of Agnes Clark, her oldest neice.

D.E.McB's retreat from Glenara and the civilised milieu of nearby Melbourne carried him over seven hundred miles away to the north-western corner of New South Wales where he became a pastoralist and part-owner of Mount Poole Station which in those days must have been virtually the end of the track: indeed, maybe it still is. Given that he had probably arrived in Australia with little or no capital, it is conceivable that the purchase of a partnership in Mount Poole was facilitated by means of a discrete loan or even a "golden handshake" from the ever generous Glenara Clarks. Agnes herself, surely a victim of convention if ever there was one, married her less than scintillating Scottish second cousin, Jack Barclay, eight years later.

But to get to Mount Poole it was necessary to pass by **Broken Hill**, whose low jagged skyline was crowned with an ironstone crust, itself of no immediate commercial value but which optimistic local stockmen on the adjacent Mount Gipps Station believed to overlay rich deposits of silver such as were already being exploited in the nearby Silverton fields. These men whose knowledge of mining was negligible pooled their wages to finance a lease and an exploratory shaft which although encountering a deposit of silver failed to attract the interest of mining speculators. As their resources dwindled the original shareholders were gradually bought out by a syndicate of more predatory entrepreneurs, many of whom - including D.E.McB - were better heeled pastoralists of the district, though there was also amongst them a sprinkling of more experienced mining investors.

Following a series of meetings at the Mount Gipps homestead and at Silverton the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited was formed in 1885, with the founders allocating to themselves without further payment the lion's share (87.5%!) of the equity. The remaining 12.5% was offered to the market against £18,000 in cash. The equity *"arrangements were set out in the prospectus, but more relevant information was absent from that vital document. There was no independent report on the mine or its assays and no indication of whether the mine was rich or poor in lead. The shareholders were the promoters and they said candidly to the public: 'You can take our word for it that this mine is rich'. One can almost hear the whispered aside: 'If we can't tell you much about the mine, it's because we don't know much ourselves."....."Within a few months the finds of rich silver under the ground and on the surface suggested that the price was very cheap."* ["The Rise of Broken Hill" by Geoffrey Blainey. Macmillan, 1968, to whom I am also indebted for much of the background information.]

The subsequent explosive development of Broken Hill, in which D.E.McB played a prominent role as Director from 1885 to 1920 and for two short periods as Chairman, is part of the history of Australia. His business and political careers are well summarised in these extracts from the Australian Dictionary of Biography prepared in 1984 by Doreen Wheeler, BHP Corporate Archivist.

McBryde *"was one of the three Melbourne directors whose constant attendance at weekly Board meetings provided steady leadership throughout more than three decades covering extensive development of the Broken Hill mine under a succession of managers, the introduction and expansion of smelting facilities at Port Pirie, the opening up of large-scale iron ore mining in the Middleback Ranges of South Australia, and the re-direction of activities from mining to the steel industry."*

"When in 1888 a private railway company was formed to connect the Broken Hill mine with the South Australian state railway system, McBryde became its Chairman [until 1916]. *The Silverton Tramway Company proved to be one of the country's most successful enterprises, paying out over a million pounds in dividends to its shareholders before 1908."*

Over the years D.E.McB's mining interests widened as did his commitments in other fields. In 1892 he invested heavily in the Mt. Lyell company in Tasmania, he was closely involved as BHP representative in various mining industry associations and from 1903 he held directorships in a couple of financial organisations. In 1891 he was drawn into colonial politics, being a member of the Victorian Legislative Council almost to the date of his death and for part of that period a state government minister. He also found time to be a Justice of the Peace, President of the Melbourne Rifle Club and in 1891 a founder member of the Royal Melbourne Golf Club. His home almost until his death was *"Kamesburgh"* (now the *"Anzac Hostel"*) in the fashionable Melbourne suburb of Brighton, an 1872 colonial style period piece, which from about 1890 until 1919 was the appropriately opulent background for a poor boy from Scotland - or was it Cumberland ? - who had struck it rich in the Outback.

In contrast to many successful immigrants, the Baillieu family for example who inter alia turned *"Kamesburgh"* into a hostel for returning servicemen, D.E.McB did not endow his memory through any act of lavish generosity. In this he was, according to Professor Blainey, quite typical of his immediate circle. *"There was a pattern in the later careers of all the men called by the Sydney Bulletin the 'Broken Hillionaires'. Nearly all were conspicuous spenders, lavish hosts in their ornate mansions, earthy in their interests though sometimes starry in speculations. They called themselves, when they had to name their occupation, 'gentlemen'. Most were not completely accepted into the society of colonial gentlemen and did not belong to exclusive clubs. They received no knighthoods; their only avenue to the honours list at that time was through philanthropy, and they were not philanthropists."* Nevertheless, Blainey goes on to say*; "Many of these men were generous as well as mean, creative as well as spendthrift. In the depression of the 1890s the most philanthropic activity was the providing of work. Any man who risked money in the search for new lodes was creating employment, irrespective of whether the search succeeded or failed."* [Blainey Op.Cit.]

D.E.McB was married at the Menzies Hotel in Melbourne in 1883 to the sister of the proprietor, **Ellen Menzies (1856-1914)**, by whom he had two daughters. He died in his sleep, still holding a book, on 24 November 1920. He left to his daughters an estate valued for probate at £55,494 which might seem rather a small fortune to show for his thirty-five years of dedication to the Australian mining industry. Possibly like many of his kind he had on occasion been somewhat *"starry in speculations"*! Alternatively, as suggestd by Professor Blaney, he might also, as a canny *"Broken Hillionaire"* of Scottish descent, have *"already given much money to his daughters in order to lessen the death duties."*

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

GARRACHRA AND INVERCHAPEL. THE WANING YEARS.

1837 had seen a phase of a typical Highland family diaspora. James Clark (1813-1876), after a brief sojourn in Newfoundland, departed to the Deanston cotton mills and Glasgow to begin a long career with James Findlay & Co.; and in the same year his cousin, Walter Clark (1803-1873), sailed for Australia on the emigrant ship Minerva. Both lost their first wives within little more than a year of marriage, made substantial fortunes, married again and founded branches of the family which endure to this day, though not all are called Clark. Their stories were told in Chapters Six and Seven. Over the years the outflow continued, some like my own grandparents going to England, some to India and yet more to Australia. There may also be other descendants of the Inverchapel stock from earlier migrations, as yet unidentified, in Canada and New Zealand.

A remanent, destined in contrast to dwindle wholly away, stayed on the Argyllshire homeland, in the persons of the descendants of **Archibald Clark (1771-1850) Tacksman in Auchafour and Heriditary Proprietor of Garrachra** and the five younger children of his brother, **Robert Clark (1775-1855) Tacksman in Blairmore and Inverchapel.** The account of the agricultural holdings assembled by Archibald and Robert was given in Chapter Five and it is now time to pick up that particular thread again, starting with the Garrachra Clarks.

When the elder Archibald died in 1850 he was succeeded by his grandson another **Archibald Clark (1835-1890)** who initially had farmer at Garvie in Glendaruel parish and later lived at Ben Corrum, a substantial mansion on the outskirts of Dunoon, which seems to have been his own property in addition to Garrachra. These Clarks never lived in Garrachra itself, because the original tacksman's dwelling had been torn down to provide material for the stock pens at the time of the clearance; anyway, the proximity of Dunoon, by then a lively and well connected town, must have been more attractive to the family than tranquillity in isolation at the head of Glenmassan. Furthermore, Archibald had developed an active public life in the municipality. He was a JP and for many years Chairman of the Dunoon and Kilmun Parochial Board and Representative to the

District Committee of the County Council. Suddenly, at the height of his local standing he was taken ill, apparently of acute pneumonia, and died at the age of fifty-five in May 1890. In the course of his next Sabbath sermon the Rev. Dr. John Cameron of the Dunoon Parish Church, as reported in the Argyllshire Standard, included the following words; *"As a landed proprietor in the parish and resident in our midst,* [Archibald Clark] *took a lively interest in the affairs and welfare of all classes of the community; and as an elder and most regular worshipper in this church, we as a congregation have been largely indebted to him for his wise counsel, his generous sympathy, and willing exertions to make our course prosperous and our fellowship edifying and pleasant. While there was not a taint of bigotry or narrowness in his nature, he loved his church with a leal and loyal devotion, and I am sure the Kirk-Session feel with me that we have lost a good man, a kind friend, and a most consistent, and upright Christian."* Archibald was buried at Kilmun, his stone bearing the inscription *"A light from our household is gone, a voice we loved is stilled, a place is vacant at our hearth which never can be filled."*

In 1864 Archibald had married **Christina Turner Whyte (1837-1916)** whose father, John Whyte (1804-1891), farmed in Balochyle which lies between Dunoon and Kilmun, and whose mother, Catherine Clark (1801-1866) was a daughter of the Clark family in Lochstrivenhead. These Clarks were not originally related by blood to those of Inverchapel and Garrachra. Over the best part of two hundred years, however, marriages such as this one took place with relative frequency between the two groups of Clarks, and the Whyte and Turner families whose members almost always lived within a "Sabbath Day's Journey" of each other. Archibald and Christina are recorded, as shown in **Tree C**, as having produced the following six children :-

Archibald Clark (born 1865), according to Daniel an elderly member of the Whyte family who lived at Sandbank by Dunoon, emigrated to New Zealand and lived in the North Island near Wellington probably earning his living as a joiner. Thus, presuming that he had offspring, some of his descendants might yet be found in New Zealand.

Catherine Clark (born1867) married George D.B.Turner, Engineer of New Denver, British Columbia, as reported in the Dunoon Observer, in March 1897. Thus there may also be kin awaiting discovery in Western Canada.

Of **Janet Clark (born 1869)** and **Mary Whyte Clark (born 1875)** I have discovered no trace. A fourth daughter, **Christina Clark (born 1873)** married William B. Foster, a marine draughtsman by whom she seems not to have had children.

Finally, there was **John Whyte Clark (1870-1962)** whom Dan Whyte referred to as ***"Uncle Johnny"***. Back in the first chapter I lamented the fact that in my initial visit to Strachur in 1949 I had failed to discover him still living in a small bungalow at the edge of the village. If local recollections are correct, he had attended one of the Scottish Public Schools, had developed more as a scholar than as a farmer and had written a history - never published and long since lost - of Cowal and the families who lived there. How fruitful that document would have been but more interesting still would have been the opportunity of talking with Uncle Johnny himself.

At the time of his father's death he was a twenty year old clerk in the Dunoon Branch of the Clydesdale Bank but thereafter took over the management of Garrachra and lived in Bernice which for a time he farmed also. There must have been a number of unprosperous years - or perhaps Uncle Johnny was not a wholly dedicated farmer - since Garrachra was sold in the mid-nineteen thirties to a Whyte cousin and close friend, **Duncan Crossick Whyte.** The latter seems to have provided the bungalow at Strachur, since it was called *"Crossick"* which suggests that John Whyte Clark was in sufficiently low water financially to need a kinsman's helping hand. Anyway, there he passed the remainder of his ninety two years, in the later few enjoying the companionship of a Miss Stocker, a retired hospital matron from Ayrshire. Duncan Crossick Whyte, also a lifelong bachelor, had predeceased Uncle Johnny by a year or two: he was accidentally drowned when attempting to rescue a ewe fallen into one of the water channels which run from Glen Lean to feed the reservoir of the Glen Tarsan hydro-electric generating station.

Thus, after something like a hundred and eighty years, the Clark association with Garrachra, initially as tacksmen and later as proprietors, came to an end. The property subsequently passed through several transitory ownerships before (circa 1990) becoming a purely sporting estate owned by a wealthy Swedish family and uninhabited except by deer and lesser game.

A similar process of gradual decline had already set in at Inverchapel following the death of Robert Clark its entrepreneurial tacksman in 1855 who, as shown in **Tree D,** had fathered extensively over a period of nearly forty years. It might have been expected that Robert would have been succeeded in Inverchapel by his oldest surviving son, **Neil Clark (1805-1890).** But Neil already by then fifty years of age was living comfortably in a villa in Innellan by Dunoon and carrying on his business as a wool agent. Also, he and his wife, **Mary Campbell (1810-1899),** were childless, perhaps by design given that, as related in Chapter Three, her family had a disastrous medical history so far as male offspring were concerned. "Uncle Neil", as he was known to his Australian kin, was reputed to be another repository of family history and legend but again, as in the case of "Uncle Johnny", nothing has survived in writing to enlighten posterity.

So, **Archibald Clark (1823-1900),** some eighteen years younger than his half brother Neil, succeeded Robert in Inverchapel at the age of thirty-two. The family doubtless hoped that he would marry - perhaps yet another Whyte or Turner girl - and ensure the succession of the tenancy but in the event he never did. Archie held Inverchapel for forty-five years until his death and on occasion fulfilled the role of family elder statesman with finely balanced judgement, in particular as a trustee for the Crossbasket Estate, a duty complicated and prolonged by the need to deal with the consequences of John Kerr Clark's machinations and downfall in Australia. Archie was quite certainly held in affection and high regard by his wider family, including the Kerr Clarks, though it is said that he had some quirky habits, such as spitting into the fireplace to the embarrassment of lady visitors. JKC himself wrote from Bath in 1889 that *"Uncle Archie was here for a few days and everybody fell in love with him. He looks as fresh as a peach; and, on his feet, up and down the hill, he is as active as a roebuck. ..... A fine old tough race, the Klärich of that generation."*

Archie's household was managed for many years by his older sister **Janet Clark (1821-1901),** a spinster, who like him lived from birth to death in Inverchapel. They were joined there in 1883 by another sister, **Mary Clark (1827-1912),** following the death of her husband, John Turner farmer in Stronchulin.

ARCHIBALD CLARK. FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL.

(1823-1900).



In the early years of his tenancy Archie was assisted by his youngest brother **Duncan Clark (1829-1897)** until the latter was persuaded to go to Queensland in about 1861 to participate as a partner in the family farming project in Mantuan Downs, described in Chapter Eight, which was almost wholly financed by equity and loans provided by their oldest brother, **James Clark of Crossbasket (1813-1876).** When that venture failed Duncan continued to farm in Australia until he had repaid the loan advanced by brother James and which was now owing to his estate. Like Archie and Janet, Duncan never married, though almost certainly he did beget a natural son, **Duncan McBryde (1846-1920)** whose story was told in Chapter Fifteen. Having paid off the debt within a very few years and after a further period in Australia, Duncan returned to rejoin his ageing siblings in Inverchapel.

Duncan's final retirement was brief and, according to a letter written by a visiting Glenara kinswoman on 31 December 1897, towards the end harrowing. *"Walter* [Walter J Clark of Glenara], *Wat* [of Crutherland] *and Jack* [Barclay] *are at Uncle Duncan's funeral today. He died on Xmas night. Softening of the brain at the last so its a happy release, poor old chap, as he was a burden to himself and every one else. He died on Saturday and this is Thursday, doesn't it seem dreadful to think that one has to keep their dead all that time in their houses. I believe any little money the old chap had to leave he has bequeathed to the J.K.Clarks. The Deil looks after his ain' truly and his brother and sisters needed it so at Inverchapel. This between ourselves!"* Clearly, the Glenaras' compact of silence did not necessarily stretch to forgiveness. Duncan's bequest was certainly unthoughtful given that farming in Britain in general and in the Highlands in particular had suffered slump conditions for several decades, a far cry from those enjoyed by Robert Clark, his father, in the eighteen forties and fifties. It is scarcely surprising that when JKC's sons, Robin and Archie, called at Inverchapel in the early nineteen hundreds the maidservant was bidden to tell them *"ye will no be welcome in this house"*. Although the rift was apparently temporary, it would not in any circumstances have occurred in old Archie's days.

An elderly man whom I met in Strachur in 1949 told me that he remembered even older folk talking of the good old days before the first World War when Archie and Duncan Clark were still farming in Inverchapel. They and their sisters were not only respected and well regarded by their neighbours in Cowal but held in great affection by their nieces, married into affluent Glasgow professional and business families who quite often took a villa at Coylet over the summer holidays

DUNCAN CLARK OF MANTUAN DOWNS, QUEENSLAND.

(1829-1897).



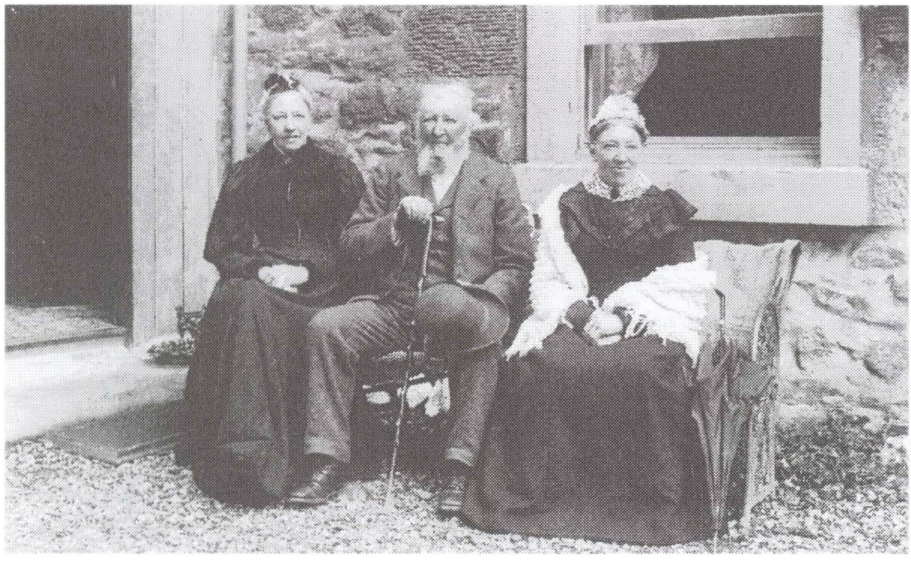
for their husbands to enjoy the fishing on Loch Eck and for themselves to see the old folk in *"the cradle of us Clarks"*. Less frequent but equally warmly welcomed arrivals were members of the Australian Glenara branch of the family. There would also have been visits in the earlier years from their youngest sister, **Robina Clark (1837-1883)**, who had married Duncan Turner Campbell, a tacksman and farmer in Duiletter by Dalmally in the more northerly parts of Argyll.

The old order in Inverchapel which had endured for some two hundred years ended with the deaths in 1900 of Archie and in 1901 of Janet. A form of trust was established to ensure that Mary Clark, as the last surviving child of Robert Clark, should end her days in her birthplace which she did in 1912. There was, however, yet to be a brief - if melodramatic - swansong for the Clark connection with Inverchapel as is related in the next chapter.

All descendants of Duncan One must have mixed feelings regarding the condition of Inverchapel today. The mountain grazing land up behind the farmhouse has long been in the hands of the Forestry Commission who with conifers doubtless make better use of the rocky slopes than the Clarks ever did with sheep. Most of the grazing land between the main road and the water is occupied by a caravan and camping site, whilst just beyond from the shallows at the edge of the loch there still protrude posts which once supported the southern pier for **"Uncle Malcolm's"** touristic service on ***"The Fairy Queen"***. Inverchapel Farmhouse is now the cherished home of Mary Murton.

Down the road in the church at Kilmun not only are four or five generations of Clarks present in the graveyard but within the building itself until quite recently brass plates still reserved pews for erstwhile worshipers from Garrachra and Inverchapel, who in the high days of mid-Victorian farming would have contributed their full share to the cost of the major restoration in 1841. The final tribute to the past is paid on a bronze plaque just inside the south door of the church bearing the family crest and motto and an eloquently affectionate inscription.

THE INVERCHAPEL REARGUARD.





CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

AMBASSADOR ARCHIE.

The life of any prominent figure, thanks to gossip, innuendo and - above all - the scrutiny of the press, is inevitably exposed to comment which can on some occasions be ill-informed and on others downright malicious. That certainly is so in the case - to give him his full title - of **Sir Archibald John Kerr Clark Kerr, P.C., G.C.M.G., first Baron Inverchapel, of Loch Eck, in the County of Argyll, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom (1882 - 1951).** Henceforth in this account he is simply called **Archie,** the name by which he was universally known to his family, friends and equals and, though not to his face, by his subordinates. There is more than enough material, both published and unpublished, relating to his life and diplomatic career to present a selection problem, even without disturbing the dust on eighty odd boxes of his official papers - as yet incompletely catalogued - in the Bodleian Library. Strangely, despite Archie playing a prominent and largely successful role as a servant of his country during the period 1939-1948, no biography was available until 1999, forty-eight years after his death, when *"Radical Diplomat"* by Donald Gillies was published by I.B.Tauris & Co. of London and New York. I am indebted to Donald both for a fruitful exchange of information which led to some modification to the draft of this chapter and for his kind permission for me to quote from his work.

Archie became a forceful and oriented character despite a childhood clouded by upheaval. Up to the age of five he had experienced a secure existence, which oscillated between the life of relative discomfort on his father's sheep station at Ghoolendaadi and the fashionable Sydney suburb of Clovelly, the preferred habitat of his mother **Kate Robertson.** Suddenly, and for a small boy quite inexplicably, the whole family was uprooted in 1887 to live in a totally unfamiliar Britain where for a while they occupied a succession of rented houses in some of its danker regions, such as Exmoor and North Wales. There is no evidence, at least during the earlier years of "exile", of any visits to Scotland which is hardly surprising given the circumstances of their departure from Australia and JKC's loss of the slightest chance of achieving his goal of succeeding to his father's estate at Crossbasket. A higher degree of stability was attained when the family finally settled in Bath in 1889. Then life took on an

altogether different aspect when JKC returned to Australia about 1894 and Kate assumed sole control of her childrens' upbringing and introduction to the adult world, a task which she performed with the utmost success. JKC died in Sydney in 1910 and was buried at Ghoolendaadi. Archie never saw his father again during the intervening sixteen years.

Kate was the predominant influence in Archie's development. He inherited from her the belief that to nurture family cohesion and continuity is a basic purpose in life, which in the event he did not entirely manage to fulfill. Kate, like other mothers of strong character, such as those of Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan and Edward Heath, urged her sons towards achievement and used whatever influence she could muster to promote their chances: for example, so it is said, she persuaded Mr.Balfour to get Archie appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office in 1910 from which point of advantage he progressed via public examination to entry into the consular service about a year later. This could have been a shrewd tactic since he had been educated at Bath College and Heidelburg University rather than Oxbridge, then the almost exclusive source of novice diplomats. Non-conformity in background could also explain the lack of respect for convention which progressively characterised Archie's public career and which along the way earned him the enmity of some of his more prosaic seniors.

Archie's feeling for family was interwoven with a passion for Scotland and all things Scottish; and, following his mother's example, he suppressed so far as he could any reference to their immediate Australian roots. Despite on occasion overdoing it, he demonstrated that pride in his origins which is often strong in Scottish expatriates; and in his case why not? His Clark ancestors had until a few years previously farmed Inverchapel as Campbell tenants for almost two hundred years and his great-great grandfather, Duncan, quite probably served the Hanoverian cause with the Campbell Militia in 1745. The Robertsons had died for the Stewarts in numbers at Culloden and many of the survivors were subsequently banished from Scotland. Being furthermore of an inventive turn of mind, Archie is reputed to have claimed that his first spoken tongue was the Gaelic which he is hardly likely to have acquired in New South Wales. Truth was similarly stretched when, having brought his father's body from Ghoolendaadi to the Sanctuary at Inverchapel, the grave was inscribed as being that of John Kerr Clark of Crossbasket, filial piety thus combining with wishful thinking.

Another facet of Archie's character, again perhaps inherited from Kate, was an ability to accumulate a wide circle of friends, not necessarily close

but certainly influential, entertaining or both. His sociability at the higher level is indicated by membership of the Turf, Buck's and Pratt's Clubs. Nonetheless, he comes across as having been essentially his own man, a person not readily influenced by others: one therefore wonders how many people might truly have been described as intimate friends. The choice of clubs may also be significant in that none is a likely place in which to encounter many other bureaucrats, perhaps reflecting the disdain which Archie developed for the ways of working of his own branch of the public service.

During his initial years in the Consular Service he was posted around the world, to Berlin, Buenos Aires, Washington, Rome and Teheran, following which in 1917 he was transferred to the Foreign Service itself for duties in London. There he served with increasing impatience to join the Army after the death in action of his older brother, Robtson Kerr Clark. He was persistently and apparently maliciously thwarted in this intent by a senior Foreign Office mandarin until June 1818 when he was belatedly released to serve briefly at the age of thirty-six as a private soldier and officer cadet in the Scots Guards. At the Household Brigade's training centre Archie made a considerable impression and established lifetime friendships with several much younger men, including the future Duke of Argyll. On this limited military interlude Donald Gillies comments that *"a wealth of risqué stories and expert knowledge of classical and modern erotica were further intriguing features which made Clark Kerr something of a star in the barrack room."*

Thus, this may be as appropriate a juncture as any at which to consider the frequently raised question, to which of course there can be no definitive reply, of Archie's sexual ambivalence. His biographer records that he enjoyed long-term romantic friendships with women, including *"Louvima Knollys, the rather flighty daughter of the highly-strung Lady Knollys, Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber"* and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon the future Queen and Queen Mother. Archie privately recorded his grief when both these ladies became engaged to others but it must be unlikely that he could ever have expected parental consent at least in the case of Lady Elizabeth, eighteen years younger than himself and the daughter the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne. A particularly unlikely relationship established in Berlin in 1908 and which endured until her death was with Princess Sophie, sister of the Kaiser and future Queen of Greece: she was twelve years older than Archie. An element of unreality haunts all these putative heterosexual affairs.

Insinuations have abounded over the years in the press and elsewhere that Archie was homosexual and these are reinforced by the knowledge that he was brought up under powerful maternal influence. However, had there been any tangible substance to these suggestions, his detractors within the Foreign Office would hardly have passed up the opportunity for his professional destruction. My own guess, for what little it is worth, is that Archie was basically ambisexual but leaned in the homo direction and that throughout his life he sought a solution to this embarrassing dilemma: hence his interest in the widest possible range of sexual theory which he may or may not have fully translated into practice.

Meantime in May 1914 Archie had signalled his devotion to Scotland and family tradition by the purchase of Inverchapel Farmhouse and its adjacent lands from the Campbell-Wyndhams, descendants of the Campbells of Dunoon who had been hereditary proprietors since the late sixteenth century. The transaction must have been financed thanks to a Ghooendaadi cash flow augmented after JKC's death but even so a mortgage of £1,000 was taken out. Archie, unlike many of his friends, was never a rich man but he took care to disguise the fact. His ex-personal servant Eugene Yost, about whom more below, once surprised me by remarking that Lord Inverchapel had told him that he "*had lost a fortune in the Wall Street crash of 1929*"; but a fortune must be acquired from somewhere before any part of it can be lost!

In 1919 Archie was promoted to the rank of First Secretary and posted to Tangier as Consul General where he served for two or so years before being transferred to Cairo. For what the story is worth, the News of the World reported many years later (May 1979.) that during this period *"he was a discreet but regular visitor to male brothels in the Kasbah."* Anyway, the tale can hardly have traversed the breadth of Mediterranean to Cairo where Archie, recently promoted to Counsellor, served for much of his time as Acting Minister and effectively immediate deputy for diplomatic matters to the High Commissioner, **Lord Allenby**. The Allenby association provided much practical experience in diplomacy but temporarily harmed Archie's career. The great man, to put it mildly, was "over the top" and his judgement in the afternoon was clouded by gins and tonic: in consequence of which he was held to blame for damaging Anglo-Egyptian relations during a particularly sensitive period. Whitehall's disapproval rubbed off on Archie and consequently his next posting was to a backwater.

Concurrently with his service in North Africa Archie must have organised, from afar or whilst on leave, the construction of Inverchapel Lodge, an

unpretentious house of granite and slate in well-wooded grounds a little above the shore of Loch Eck, some few hundred yards north of the farmhouse where so many of his ancestors had been born. Over the years he created a garden of rhododendrons and azaleas many of which came from the far larger estate of his friend and neighbour, John Younger of Benmore. After completing The Lodge he created The Sanctuary nearby, as a family burial ground where his father, John Kerr Clark, was re-interred about 1922 to be followed by his younger unmarried sister, Muriel (or Duttie) in 1925. After Muriel's death Archie took on total responsibility for the care of their mother.

In that same year Archie was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Central American Republics, based on Guatemala, and it was here that Kate died in July 1926. His oldest sister Margery wrote from Ghoolendaadi to her Glenara cousin Walter in August: *"....I heard further news from Archie....a day or two ago, and he says that our beloved little Mother died on the 6th. July of heart failure after a few days illness. He was leaving a day or two later to take her to Inverchapel and put her beside Father and Duttie in the little sanctuary he planned out when we sent Father's remains home a few years ago. It is under a big rock in the middle of a bit of flat ground, about 2 acres in extent, where Father and Aunts Robina and Mary used to play as children. Archie had it planted with fir, spruce and larch, and soon it will be a thick little wood with a big oblong clearing in the middle covered with heather. Mother herself planted 13 oak trees round it representing Father and herself and their eleven children. .... my heart aches for him in his loneliness and desolation .... "* (This reference to eleven children was initially confusing in that only seven came with their parents to England in 1887, the difference being explained by the children whom Kate had lost by miscarriage.)

Archie's next posting was as Minister to Chile in 1928 whither he took with him the reputation of being, despite charm and good looks, decidedly inaccessible to the ladies. This condition lasted barely a year before he astounded local society, the diplomatic corps and his own kin by marrying, at the age of forty-seven, **Maria Teresa Diaz Salas**, the nineteen year old daughter of a long established and well-heeled Chilean family. **"Tita"**, as she was universally called, was petite, exceedingly beautiful and, at that stage of life, of an exuberant and not over-serious nature.

Some twenty years later an American magazine recorded the story *"that young Tita, intrigued by Clark Kerr's famous indifference to feminine wiles, bet several girl-friends she could break down his resistance"*. Be that as it may, one might guess that the skein of romanticism in Archie's nature led him to envisage a future featuring an enduringly beautiful - yet mature - Tita who would share his joy in Scotland, reincarnate the virtues of his much loved mother and give him heirs to establish the new Inverchapel dynasty. Sadly, this was not to be because quite early in the marriage Tita lost a son at birth and was unable to bear other children.

After Santiago de Chile came Stockholm (1931 - 1935), the last post in which Archie carried less than ambassadorial rank. Tita doubtless brightened the scene; and Archie's burgeoning reputation for eccentricity and exaggerated Scottishness was enhanced by the addition to the Embassy establishment of his personal piper, **Pipe-Major Brown**, to bring colour to official occasions. Stockholm, despite the minor tribulations of a royal visit by the Prince of Wales and his brother the Duke of Kent, must have seemed a period of calm, even boredom, preceding the burdens, probably life-shortening, of wartime diplomacy soon to descend upon Archie's shoulders.

Meantime he was created KCMG and assigned to Bagdad (1936-1938) again accompanied by Tita whom a member of the Iraqui royal house, probably the erratic King Ghazi himself, nicknamed *"The Pocket Venus"*. It is not recorded whether Pipe-Major Brown also formed part of this mission which was unexpectedly foreshortened by his urgent recall to London for briefing for the unscheduled but critical assignment as Ambassador to Nationalist China, his predecessor, Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen, having been seriously injured in an attack on his car by low-flying Japanese aircraft.

This was the point at which Archie's career stepped up into overdrive and his diplomatic talents became utilised to the utmost. Behind lay the days of coping with life lacking either an Oxbridge degree or an entry in Burke and of stepping delicately through the minefields of snobbery and convention. Henceforth he was to be present at the making of history and at the elbows of those who made it.

"TITA". MARÍA TERESA DIAZ SALAS.

LADY INVERCHAPEL.

1909-1987.



This sketch was made by Sir Oswald Birley R.A.
soon after the Clark Kerrs returned to Europe in 1935.

The mission to China was established initially in Shanghai where on one occasion Archie and Tita entertained for dinner an equally eccentric neighbour from Loch Lomond, Major Patrick Telfer Smollet, whose obituary records that *"Clark Kerr's glamorous Chilean wife, Tita, surprised the guests after dinner by standing on her head, no doubt,"* Telfer Smollet reflected, *"a flamboyant Latin gesture aimed at the restraint of British society."* Shortly thereafter the embassy moved to Chungking and life became decidedly tougher.

Archie's achievements in China over the next several years are well described by the following extracts from the Dictionary of National Biography written by a friend, Lord Robert Cecil. *"There had so far been nothing remarkable about his career; but his appointment in 1938 to be ambassador in China and the distinction with which he discharged his duties there placed him at one stride among the leading diplomatists of his day. The post required not only negotiating skill but physical courage; ..... Clark Kerr and his Soviet colleague were the only members of the diplomatic corps to remain in Chungking in spite of the bombing and so earn the respect of the Chinese. He needed every asset he had; whilst British sympathies were with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, it was not possible to help him openly for fear of provoking Japan into declaring war. Even after Pearl Harbour (December 1941) resources were so stretched that little could be done beyond providing loans. Clark Kerr did much by his bearing and fortitude to convince the Chinese of Britain's ultimate intention and capacity to aid them."*

Another view of Archie in Chungking is provided in the memoirs of Sir William Hayter, then a quite junior member of the foreign service. *"The Ambassador ..... was a remarkable man and rather an odd character. He had many defects. He was something of a bully and a tease; his first invitation to us on arrival was not to his house but to a Chinese restaurant where we were forced, under his critical eye, to manipulate chopsticks for the first time ..... "* [It is inconceivable that this invitation to dine out was intended to embarrass incoming juniors. More likely it was to shelter Tita from a hostesses's problems in a beleaguered and unfamiliar country.] Hayter goes on to say: *"He had various affectations; for instance he would only write with a quill pen, and keeping him supplied with goose-quills in war-time Chungking imposed a tiresome and unnecessary burden on his staff."* [This quirk, carried by Archie to extreme, was in imitation of his grandfather, James Clark, who in the eighteen-thirties had, as recounted in Chapter Six, at an interview with Kirkman Finlay critical to his future career declined to write with a steel nib and then kept the great man waiting whilst he prepared a goose-quill.

He got the job of course!] Hayter's further comments are of greater relevance: "He *was very vain of his appearance and took endless pains with the help of masseurs, to keep his figure trim. He was not good on paper, and almost all his drafting was done by his staff. But with all these flaws he remained a powerful Ambassador. He impressed his personality so that you could not help competing for his favours. Most foreigners in China in those days thought that the avenue to influence was by pleasing Madame* [Chaing Kai-Shek]; *but Clark Kerr somehow created the impression that he didn't take her seriously, so she found herself trying to please him. He affected left-wing views and said openly that Chou En-Lai* [ultimately the creator of the People's Republic] *was worth all the Kuomintang rolled together (he was quite right of course)."*

One detects in Hayter's account a touch of antipathy which might have been mutual: he could have appeared to Archie to be a rather humourless and pompous young man. Other diplomats, such as Sir Edward Tomkins later Ambassador in The Hague and Paris, have particularly remarked on Archie's kindly interest in his juniors which often continued beyond the periods in which they were actually serving with him.

Shortly before Archie left Chungking in February 1942 he was promoted G.C.M.G., and awarded the Order of the Brilliant Jade by Chaing Kai-Shek. At some earlier juncture Tita had preceded him homewards and this marked the start of a period of separation which ended in divorce in 1945. Thus, Tita did not accompany him on his next appointment to Moscow where Archie presented his credentials to Stalin in a Kremlin bomb-shelter during a German air-raid in March 1942. The D.N.B. records that *"he went with a warm recommendation to Stalin from (Sir) Winston Churchill, who described him as 'a personal friend of many years standing' ".*

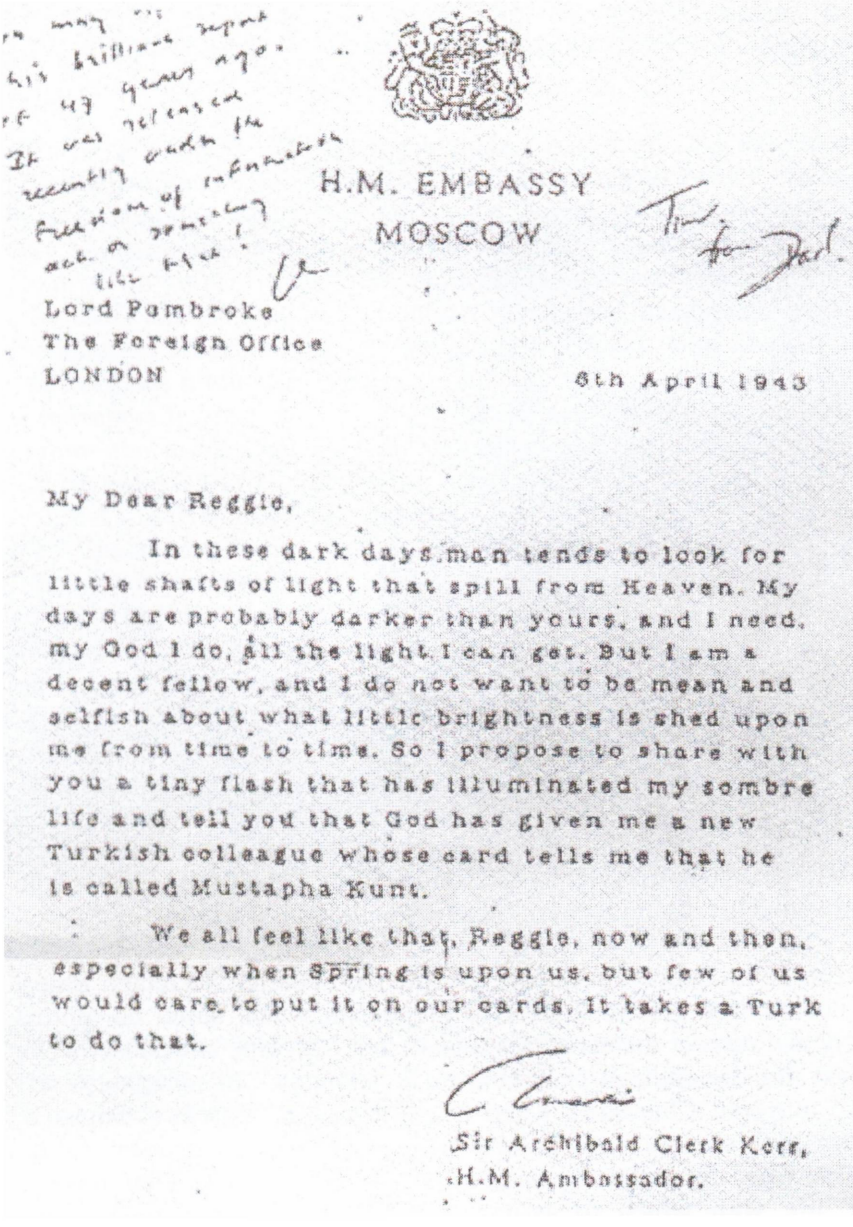
These less than formal circumstances in which his credentials were presented were heightened by the fact that Stalin was examining a sample "tommy-gun", from a recently arrived American aid consignment, with which he playfully threatened to shoot his Foreign Secretary, Molotov. It turned out that both Archie and Stalin were avid pipe-smokers but their non-official discussions came to cover more intimate subjects: some years later Archie, according to his ex-Press Secretary Frank Giles, shocked his audience in a Washington ladies' club - doubtless with intent - by asserting that *"there was only one thing to discuss with Stalin - and that was **SEX!**."*

Although out of sequence, this may be the point at which to quote Giles further on that subject. Archie *"very kindly lent me his house in Scotland for my honeymoon in 1946, after his departure for Washington. It was not the baronial seat he had led me to expect, but a modest bungalow* [sic!] *overlooking a loch in Argyllshire. It had nonetheless some good things in it, including a fine, glassed-in Chippendale bookcase. Within, the spine titles temptingly visible through the glass, was a notable collection of rare and limited editions of erotica. They were all it was possible to read, for the doors were locked and no one knew where the key was. Collecting erotica does not, of course, make someone a sex maniac. But it does suggest certain tastes and proclivities."* This interesting if ungracious acknowledgement of Archie's generosity was written years later by Giles in his role of journalist.

Quite undoubtedly, his tour of duty in Russia was the high point in Archie's career. By establishing a rapport with Stalin he was better able to assuage the tyrant's impatience at the Western Allies' seeming dilatoriness in opening a Second Front across the English Channel. He was also successively at Churchill's elbow during the vital Conferences of Moscow (1942), Teheran (1943), Yalta (Feb.1945) and Potsdam (July 1945). Sir William Hayter who himself served in Moscow, though after Archie's time there, commented that *"Mikoyan and the other Soviet leaders used to say that he was the best British Ambassador they had known (their opinion of his predecessor, Sir Stafford Cripps was, I fear, not high)."* Nevertheless, despite his continuing good relationship with Stalin himself, Archie harboured no illusions as to the underlying brutality of the regime to which he was accredited and had angry confrontations with lesser leaders, particularly Molotov, on such subjects as Russian treatment of Poland and attitude towards the Polish government in exile in London.

When in early 1946 Archie was to leave Moscow Stalin made several presents, including the "tommy-gun" which had brought humour to their first meeting. This weapon caused embarrassment after his death when it turned up in a cupboard at Inverchapel Lodge. Even stranger was the favour which Stalin granted at Archie's request by ordering an exit visa to be granted to his valet, Yevgeni (later known as Eugene) Yost, particularly since the latter was looked upon askance by the internal security services. His family was of Germano/Ukrainian origin and his grandfather, according to Yost, was a millionaire industrialist who disappeared into Siberia together with most of his family during the 1932 purges. Yevgeni was spared on account of his youth.

HUMOUR IN THE MOSCOW GLOOM.



H.M. EMBASSY
MOSCOW

Lord Pembroke
The Foreign Office
LONDON

6th April 1943

My Dear Reggie,

In these dark days man tends to look for little shafts of light that spill from Heaven. My days are probably darker than yours, and I need, my God I do, all the light I can get. But I am a decent fellow, and I do not want to be mean and selfish about what little brightness is shed upon me from time to time. So I propose to share with you a tiny flash that has illuminated my sombre life and tell you that God has given me a new Turkish colleague whose card tells me that he is called Mustapha Kunt.

We all feel like that, Reggie, now and then, especially when Spring is upon us, but few of us would care to put it on our cards. It takes a Turk to do that.

Sir Archibald Clerk Kerr,
H.M. Ambassador.

This document was released from the Foreign Office archives under the Freedom of Information Act in the late nineteen-nineties.

Yost accompanied Archie to Washington and served him for a period at Inverchapel after his retirement to Scotland. When I last met him in 1999 he was alive and well in Rothesay on the Isle of Bute genially running an ice-cream parlour [the ice-creams incidentally were delicious]. After leaving Archie's employ he had married a Scottish girl whom he subsequently divorced; but not until they had produced numerous children.

Before Washington there was a short interlude. The D.N.B. records that *"in January 1946 Clark Kerr went for four months as special ambassador to the Netherlands East Indies, where the Indonesian nationalists were exploiting the aftermath of the war to achieve their independence. He could accomplish little in so short a time, beyond providing a first-hand account of a confused situation."* Archie had taken Yost and Giles with him to Batavia [now Jakarta] and the latter sketches a more personalised account of this period. *"The Clark Kerr mission was not a success. For three months we tried, unavailingly, to establish a basis of compromise between the Dutch colonial authorities and the Indonesian nationalists and their claims. It was a boring time, and none was so bored as Archie. One thing he did do was to draft in his best quill-pen script, a letter of thanks to Stalin for the gifts of caviar, brandy, panther skin and ' the young Soviet masseur'.* [The "tommy-gun" was not, it seems, mentioned!] *For the rest he spent most of the day reading French novels* [probably by his favourite Proust] *and the recently-published Social History of England by Trevelyan. Yost looked after him and gave him massage."*

On conclusion of the mission to Batavia Giles returned to journalism. Archie, after reporting to The Hague and London, went on to Washington, whither, much to Foreign Office misgivings, Yost went also to provide a continuity of service to his recently-ennobled master. In splendid lairdly fashion he also took his own butler, Maddox, and Pipe Major Brown who had enlivened his dining room in the pre-war days in Stockholm.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the then Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, committed a serious error of judgement when, based on mutual empathy and respect for his achievements in Chungking and Moscow, he proposed the appointment of Archie to Washington. In some ways this mistake mirrored Churchill's when he appointed Sir Stafford Cripps to Moscow: both choices were failures to select horses for courses. After some five years of continual pressure during which he lacked any form of private life with which to assuage the strains of professional semi-isolation, Archie was exhausted, growing increasingly eccentric and indifferent to the opinions of his peers and of the world as a whole. His

H.M. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



This photograph was taken in San Francisco towards the end of Archie's tour of duty in the U.S.A. by Karsch of Ottawa. (By Courtesy of the Hulton Getty Picture Collection.)

temperament, moreover, suitable as it had been for wartime responsibilities, did not fit with the perceived norms of peacetime diplomacy which he held in unconcealed contempt. To make matters worse in many American eyes, not only was he was an avowed supporter of the recently-elected Labour Government but he continued to assert that the Soviet Union, or at least Stalin himself, could still be trusted by the West. Furthermore he was not versed in matters of global economics which had become the concern of the immediate post-war epoch and which urgently required solution before the already threatening Cold War fully materialised. In a word, Archie had become obsolete virtually overnight, the victim to a phenomenon more familiar to later generations than to his own. Sir Edward Tomkins commented to me that, in common with almost all his contemporaries, Archie simply could not immediatly grasp that in pursuit of victory Britain sacrificed the industrial weight it had possessed at the start of the war and that, like it or not, future of the western world rested entirely in American hands.

Maybe, writing many years later, Frank Giles overlooked that more important point when he said that *"all might have passed off quietly had it not been for Archie's exhibitionism. He was given to pricking balloons and challenging other people's values. Though generally kind and considerate, he liked shocking people by some extravagant or outrageous statement which he himself did not necessarily believe. Moreover he found the Washington post, which should have been the crowning glory of a long and distinguished career, strangely unsatisfying. Though he had many American friends around the world, particularly among American newspaper correspondents, the hot-house atmosphere of Washington, the earnestness which runs through so much conversation there, left him moody and often uninterested. He also seemed to lack the most rudimentary knowledge of savoir-faire, as defined by American usage."* Sir William Hayter adds comment in similar vein. *" I once asked Joe Alsop* [the much respected Washington columnist] *how he was doing. 'Not well,' said Joe. There are two things wrong. He makes jokes, and they don't always come off. And he does not suffer fools gladly; there are too many important fools in Washington".*

But to compound the problems arising from Archie's failure to come to terms with the Washington environment, another more sinister issue was arising, namely that of security. The British Embassy was privy to much highly classified information concerning U.S.-British collaboration in nuclear development; and leakage of highly sensitive scientific material from Canadian sources to the Russians had already been discovered.

EUGENE (OR YEVGENI) YOST). BORN 1921.
ONETIME PERSONAL SERVANT TO LORD INVERCHAPEL.



Quite correctly as it ultimately transpired, the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. suspected that there was also a "mole" in Archie's Embassy. His frequently reported boast that *"I have a Russian slave in the Embassy given me by Stalin"* led security speculation to point briefly, if ludicrously, towards Yost. Ironically, the only person seriously to promote this possibility seems to have been the true culprit, **Donald Maclean acting Head of Chancery**, who feared that the Russians might have set up a cross-check on his own activities. Maclean accordingly, in his official capacity, drew Archie's attention to this potential security risk in an attempt to have Yost sent back to the U.K. There was never the slightest suggestion even in those nervous times to question the integrity of Archie himself. In fact Archie did in the end accept that Yost's presence in the Embassy was an avoidable embarrassment and dealt with the matter with the kindness which typified his consideration for those below him. Rather than send him away publicly, he took him on leave with him to Scotland in the summer of 1947 and there informed Yost that he would not be returning to Washington but would work in the house or on the farm at Inverchapel until Archie's retirement, now not far off. Maclean defected, together with Burgess, in May 1951, two months before Archie's death. Coincidentally, thanks to the lottery of Foreign Office posting both Burgess and Philby ,"The Third Man" who did not finally run for it till 1963, had also in other times and stations worked on Archie's staff.

To the surprise of many, Archie in August 1947 had remarried Tita who returned with him and took over, insofar as moved to do so, as chatelaine of the British Embassy. Like Archie, Tita disliked the formal occasions which as Ambassadress she was bidden to attend and escaped whenever possible to the more relaxed society of friends in New York: these absences needless to say provoked comment in Washington social and diplomatic circles. However she did not have to endure the tedium of protocol for long and, despite some prior speculation to the contrary, she returned with Archie to Scotland on his final retirement on grounds of ill health in March 1948. The chill humidity of the Argyllshire climate was not at all to Tita's liking and, according to the late Lord Muirshiel who was married to one of Archie's nieces, she paid frequent visits to London; otherwise, when in residence at Inverchapel she spent much of her time in bed.

There is every indication that, apart from such concern as he might have felt for Tita's restlessness, Archie took the opportunity for the peaceful enjoyment of his eccentricities which his brief years of retirement afforded. On some occasions he walked up alongside Loch Eck to Strachur where he is still remembered affectionately as being dressed so shabbily that passing strangers mistook him for a tramp.

He pursued to the full his lifelong fascination with farming and rural matters - he had once expressed surprise that neither Stalin nor Molotov knew how to kill a hare - and organised minor improvements about his really quite modest estate. There is an engaging story, recounted by the Rev.Alexander Gillon, Parish Minister of St.Munn's Church at Kilmun, of a small incident in Archie's later years. *"He was much disconcerted because a wall on the edge of the estate kept falling down, despite many efforts to repair it. He came to the conclusion that there was a hex on the dyke and purposed to rebuild the faulty section with stones forming a cross in the hope of allaying the spell. The day was set for this task and the stones ready when, pedalling up from the Kilmun Post Office came the one-legged postie bearing a telegram from the Foreign Office.* ***'URGENT. COME SOONEST.'*** *The good Lord humphed and hawed and at last scribbled a reply onto a wee scrap of paper and returned to the task in hand. The message read* ***'COMING TOMORROW. EXORCISING WITCH TODAY.'*** *Back at the Post Office the message was much scrutinised, with much scratchings of the head. Then knowing how fond the Laird was of his dogs they deciphered the muddy scribbles to their satisfaction and sent off the message:-* ***'COMING TOMORROW. EXERCISING BITCH TODAY.'***

Archie had been suffering from an enlarged heart for a number of years but his death came suddenly and unexpectedly in hospital in Greenock on 5 July 1951: it might have been accelerated by the effects of a motor accident in 1949 in which both he and Tita had been seriously injured but more probably by the revelation a bare month earlier of McClean's treachery. Tita returned very shortly to America, and married an elderly businessman after whose death she returned to Santiago de Chile where she herself died in 1987.

The funeral was held only four days later, on Monday 9 July, which must presumably explain the total absence, as Archie would doubtless have preferred, of any "Great and Good" personages from diplomatic or governmental circles [There was of course a more formal memorial service sometime later in London]. Just family, friends and a multitude of local people attended the service which was described by The Dunoon Observer as being *"carried through without fuss and unnecessary ceremony, and as befitting the deceased's unconventional spirit, was largely attended and was preceded by a simple but impressive service in St.Munn's Church, Kilmun, conducted by the Parish Minister, the Rev.Alexander Gillon. Lady Inverchapel, accompanied by close relatives, occupied one of the front pews.*

"On leaving the Church the cortege wound its way along the road to Inverchapel where Pipe-Major Douglas Brown who was Lord Inverchapel's piper in Sweden for three years played 'The Flowers o' the Forest' at the head of the procession from the road to the burial ground [The Sanctuary] ..... *and while the committal prayer was being spoken ..... the mourners took their last leave of a patriotic Scotsman and a devoted servant of his country.*

"In deference to a wish expressed by Lord Inverchapel, the lively pipe tune, 'Happy we've been a' the gither' was played by Pipe-Major Brown as he headed the mourners away from the graveside."

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

THE SCOTTISH DOCTORS IN YORKSHIRE.

The first names mentioned in Chapter One of this story were those of my grandparents, **Doctor Duncan McCallum Clark (1855-1927)** and **Janet Nichol (1849-1927)**. Thereafter, apart from a brief mention of Duncan at the tail end of Chapter Thirteen, the mosaic of family history has deferred their reappearance until now. Regrettably, in contrast to our distant Australian kin, our branch of the family has preserved but a few photographs and just a single document. So, given that I am the only surviving family member who can remember my grandparents, my memory must, faute de mieux, serve as a contributory source of information.

Duncan Clark was born and brought up on the farm, Balliamenoch by Strachur, of which my great-grandfather was tenant from about 1845 until his death in 1881. Duncan was educated at the Burgh Parish School in Inveraray where he must have done well, judging by his fifteen year old scholarly achievements as listed in his school prize (the surviving document) and the fact that he passed into Glasgow University at the age of seventeen. I recall my father telling me that in those times many students from Highland families used in mid-term to return briefly to their homes on *"Oatmeal Sunday"* to replenish the stock of their staple foodstuff: I cannot help but wonder whether my grandfather was one of these. Certainly, there was already a vast difference in wealth between those Clarks who had migrated to Glasgow or Australia and those who remained in Cowal.

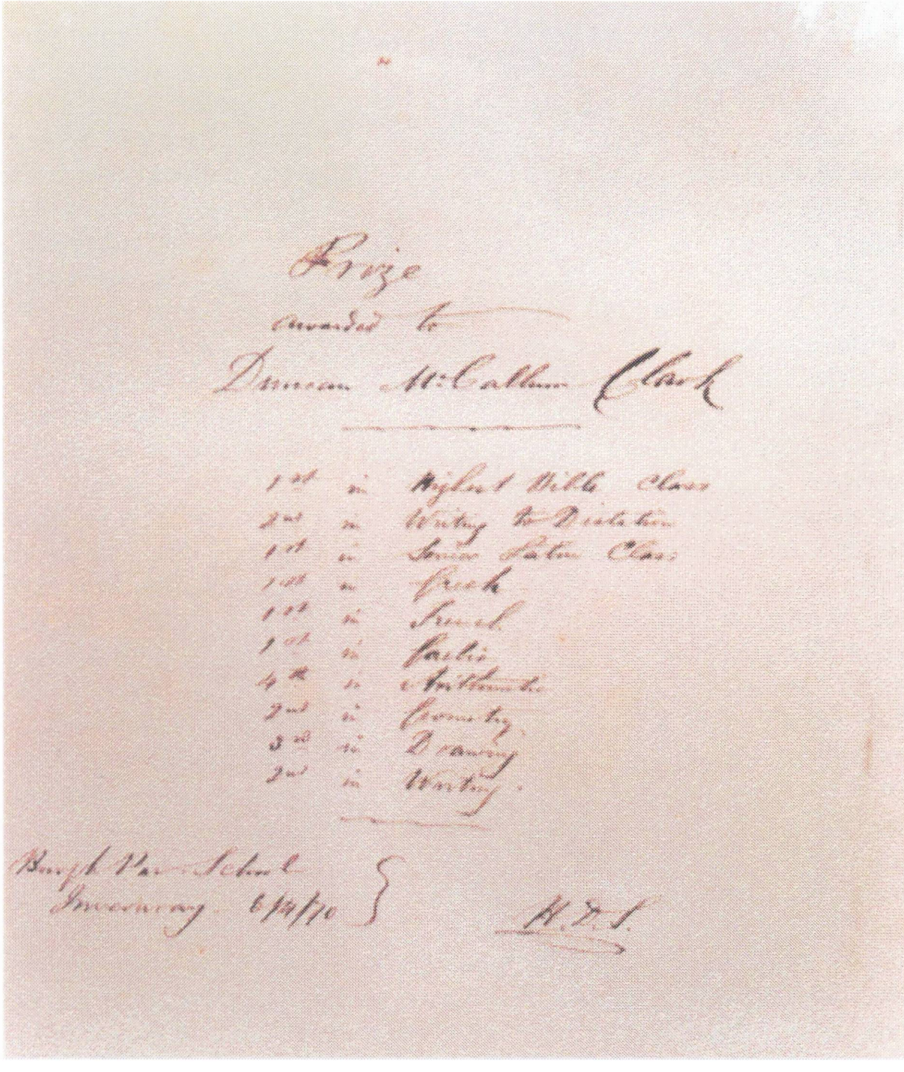
A few months before Duncan went to the Glasgow medical school the family in Balliamenach were stricken by the death at the age of forty-nine of his mother, Mary McCallum. For several years he worked the Winter Term only, and his graduation was retarded until 1879, regarding which the Archivist of the University of Glasgow commented: *"it is possible that family or financial circumstances hindered his career*". That seems to be a probability given that it was an epoch in which Highland farming was in depression and his father, the widowed *"Botach Mor"*, was already elderly and probably ailing (he died in 1881 aged seventy two of Angina Pectoris, the death certificate being signed by his own son). Duncan would certainly in such circumstances have felt it to be his duty to pull

his weight on the farm in the spring and summer periods. He suffered no long term disadvantage, however, and his ultimate qualifications were LRCP (Edinburgh) and LFP&S (Glasgow).

Some three miles from Balliamenoch looking down upon the road towards Loch Eck and Dunoon stands the farm of Invernoaden, presently the home of **Willie Montgomery** and his family, and thus well within the usual Sabbath Day's courtship range. At that time Invernoaden was occupied by **John Nichol (1815-1905)** and his wife **Elizabeth Hare (1821-1896)** and their several children. Their oldest daughter Janet was already betrothed to a Nichol cousin and a full eight years older than Duncan; but this must certainly have been a love match, perhaps also a well kept secret between them, because she waited patiently for him to qualify. Despite long remembered local disaproval of the broken betrothal, the Nichols must have accepted the inevitable and Duncan and Janet were married at Invernoaden in 1880 *"after Banns according to the Free Church of Scotland"*. One of the witnesses was Duncan's rather older first cousin and lifelong friend, **Malcolm Turner Clark (1840-1910)**, General Manager of the Glasgow and Inveraray Steamboat Company. Thus, contrary to the romantic tale told me back in 1949 by Miss McCallum, they did not *"run away to England!"*. They went no further than Eskdalemuir in Dumfriesshire, where Duncan already held a public appointment as Medical Officer of Health, and lived there until 1886 when they moved southward in a more deliberately planned manner.

I am much indebted to Margaret Maxwell of Gatehouse of Fleet, a Nichol descendant and as we calculated my third cousin, for sharing with me the fruits of her extensive researches into her own family origins. The earliest person of whom Margaret can be wholly sure is a Robert Nichol, born about 1690 and thus an almost exact contemporary of Duncan One, who farmed Mangerton in the parish of Castleton in the County of Roxburgh, probably as a tenant of the Duke of Buccleugh. Several further generations of Nichols were sheep farmers in Roxburghshire or just over the English border in Northumberland but sometime in the eighteen-forties one of them, **Robert Nichol (1792-1873)** a great-grandson of the aforementioned Robert, was among several interrelated Border farmers, such as Armstrongs in Glenshellich and Andersons in Strachurmore who moved northwards to take tenancies in the parish of Strachur. Robert Nichol followed Duncan Clark (1792-1877), my grandfather's uncle, into Ballimore when the latter moved up to Succoch and would doubtless have encouraged his nephew, John Nichol, Janet's father, to return to farming and to apply for the tenancy of Invernoaden sometime in the eighteen-fifties.

A SCHOOL PRIZE AT INVERARAY-1870.



I found this inscription on the flyleaf of a book which has miraculously survived countless house moves. The prize itself was a collection of The Works of Jonathan Swift, published in Edinburgh by William P Nimmo in 1869.

For a period John Nichol had abandoned life on the land for the drapery trade in the English shire of Bedford where he married Mary Hare in 1845 and where their two oldest daughters were born, including Janet in 1847. I am not sure whether Mary Hare was Scottish or English.

After a sojourn of several years in Eskdalemuir, Duncan and Janet were tempted to move southwards into England and to prospects which at the time appeared just as bright as those which had lured other members of the family to Australia. Throughout the nineteenth century mining engineers had been pushing the huge South Yorkshire coalfield eastwards from the Pennines and by the eighteen-eighties sinking ever larger and deeper pits, such as Dinnington, Thurcroft, Kiveton Park and Shireoaks, in erstwhile wholly rural country. These mines remained economically viable - more or less - for about a century and altered the nature of the district for ever. Whole new communities were created close to the collieries and older agricultural villages nearby, such as Anston and Harthill, were expanded. Opportunity for additional doctors followed and my grandfather set up a new practice in Anston. About the same time his younger brother **Malcolm Robert Clark (1857-1924)** joined the partnership, basing himself at Harthill, and a little later **J T Scott (c1860-c1929)** came to live for the rest of his life in a cramped little apartment above the surgery in less than attractive Dinnington. Neither Malcolm nor "Scottie" married, though Malcolm had a long-serving housekeeper, **Ethel Hedworth**, who after his death transferred her devotion to the rest of the family. Up to the mid-nineteen-thirties *"Big Ethel"*, thus designated to distinguish her from *"Little Ethel"* the housemaid, would descend on our household at Anston every Christmas and take total control of the kitchen. She blatently spoilt us children but we would have returned her affection anyway.

From both the indigenous agricultural society and the relatively recently established mining labour force the call for medical services grew and the original three partners added the labours of two or three assistants to their own. Geographically the practice covered a wide area and apart from the three main surgeries there were mini surgery/consulting rooms - i.e. in some old body's parlour - in smaller villages such as Woodsetts, Thorpe Salvin, Letwell and Woodall. In those days, given the total absence of public transport, the doctor had to go to his patient, quite the reverse of the NHS system which now prevails a century later. So, in the early years the partners did their rounds on horseback or by pony-trap, inevitably

JANET NICHOL CLARK. 1849-1927.



consuming many working hours. The advent of the motor car, for practical purposes about 1905-1910, must have materially reduced the wear and tear on dedicated professionals as well as massively augmenting their productivity.

The centre of the practice was a very plain looking house, originally of four or five bedrooms, in the High Street of Anston. Curiously, it never seems to have had a formal name, being referred to in the village simply as *" The Doctor's "*. Before my grandfather's time it must have been a livery stables because surrounding a cobbled yard were a large coach-house and extensive quarters for horses and nearby about twenty acres for them to be pastured on. Over the years Duncan and Janet Clark, became closely involved in the village life of Anston: their unpretentious Scottish manner would have immediately appealed to Yorkshire people and paved the way through rapid acceptance to universal popularity. Janet throughout her life was immersed in practical good works and Duncan gave generously after his financial affairs dramatically improved.

Whilst the practice anyway steadily prospered, a wholly unforeseen augmentation of fortune came about through of some of Duncan's old Glasgow University friendships with engineering contemporaries who on graduation had gone to work in South Africa and came to stay with Clarks at Anston when on leave in Britain. The visitors not merely brought as gifts the mounted heads of High Veldt animals which for many years adorned the hall and staircase but also inside knowledge of those gold producers which would shortly captivate the London Stock Exchange. Grandfather Duncan was by no means alone in the frenzy to speculate on the Rand: a rage swept the country, the like of which has been seen recently, (1999-2000), in the form of demand for Information Technology stock. *"The Old Man"*, as he was referred to even then within the family, demonstrated his zeal for investment by having a telephone line laid some two miles over the fields to Kiverton Park railway station so as to keep in touch with the market. In that era the railways alone possessed a complete telegraphic network which for a few years provided some station masters with a useful secondary income. After a period of prolonged success Grandfather came to believe that his own insight was now sufficient for him to speculate unaided. Inevitably his capital gains diminished but not before he had made major improvements to the house by way of a handsome extention in cut stone and the installation of a bathroom and indoor water closets to obviate.

THE DOCTOR GOES SHOOTING.

DUNCAN McCALLUM CLARK. 1855-1927.



I believe that Grantfather also contributed to the restoration of the peal of bells in the Anston parish church of which he was a churchwarden; and he certainly provided the village band with a completely new set of instruments: for many years afterwards it was known locally as Clark's Band. On Christmas Day morning the Band customarily paraded through the village, halting to deliver a special voluntary outside *"The Doctor's"* at about the plum pudding stage. By the nuts and Stilton stage they were followed by the hand-bell ringers who had also been equipped by our grandfather and came to set out their act around the dining table. I recall that on one occasion my younger brother Duncan, a mischievous child, crawled under the table and sabotaged the performance by rearranging the bells unnoticed by the ringers. Family Christmas Dinner at Anston was an important annual fixture: I am glad to say that it still is a three-line-whip occasion three generations later, though we do not suffer medically inspired interruptions. My mother used to tell of an occasion when an urchin arrived with the message that *"t'doctor must come right away to Mest'r Ely: 'e can't get 'is bref; and send young John, not t'owd bugger!"*. My father rose from the table, brought a bottle of medicine from the surgery and said to the boy: *"Mest'r Ely regularly stuffs himself with roast pork every Christmas. Tell him to take this medicine and that I will see him before New Year - if he survives that long!"*

Grandfather's great joy was shooting, principally in the countryside of South Yorkshire. However , thanks to his reputation as one of the finest shots in the district, he was also sometimes invited to grander levels of the sport on the Derbyshire grouse moors. I cherish the picture of him dressed, quite obviously, for one of the more homely rough shoots in the fields between Anston and Kiverton Park, then abundantly stocked by nature with partridge and hares.

My father, **John Nichol Clark (1888-1938)** and his brother, **Malcolm William Clark (1890-1964)** were born at Anston and educated, probably as weekly boarders, at Retford Grammar School, some dozen miles down the railway from Kiverton Park. Their school days were not wholly idyllic and their father, according to family legend, had occasion to go down to the school to berate their bullying form-master.

CAPTAIN JOHN NICHOL CLARK. (1898-1938.)



After school at Retford my father moved on to the medical faculty in Edinburgh. He qualified just a couple of years before the First World War which for him, as for many others, proved to be a harrowing period from which he never truly recovered.

He enlisted in the Royal Army Medical Corps and was posted as Regimental Medical Officer to the 6th. Battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment. This unit, recruited figuratively speaking straight from the plough, was sent to the Suvla Bay sector of the Gallipoli theatre of war. Its first objective, the seizure of a feature called Chocolate Hill, was achieved within a few hours of landing with elan and quite light casualties. The General Staff, typically, failed to have reinforcements to hand and Chocolate Hill was soon retaken by the Turks. Thereafter the campaign deteriorated into a squalid bloodbath in which almost all of the Lincolns became casualties, one of whom was my father who, after losing all his medical orderlies, was evacuated with a large hole in the leg. Many such British territorial batalions suffered quite as heavily as their Anzac comrades, though rather more silently. My father saw further service in the Eastern Mediterranean before being transferred to France in good time to be present at the battle of Passchendaele. There followed many months in the trenches and recovering the wounded from no-man's-land; and, as an additional trauma, he was the sole survivor from a dugout demolished by a large-calibre German shell: he was finally evacuated with enteric fever contracted during the British retreat of March 1918. His brother, Malcolm, also served in the Great War, as an infantry officer with the York and Lancaster Regiment and was wounded in France.

On leaving the army my father was warned that his heart needed a long rest and advised to take for at least a year or two non-demanding posts, such as ship's doctor. This counsel of perfection could not be followed. The three old partners in the family practice had been overburdened throughout the war years and were ageing rapidly; moreover there was an acute shortage of junior doctors. Instead of seeking light duties, my father tackled a mountain of work which progressively led to irreversible illness and death at the age of fifty. In 1920 he married my mother, **Dorothy Denbigh (1889-1972)** who came of a Liverpool trading family whose private firm, Denbigh & Cowan, like Clark Wilson of Glasgow and London, was already past its most prosperous epoch.

For several years my parents lived with the older generation in Anston until in 1924 my great-uncle Malcolm in Harthill died and they moved - one imagines with relief - to occupy his house and take care of that end of the practice. The house itself was in some ways similar to that at Anston

MALCOLM WILLIAM CLARK. (1889-1964.)



but infinitely more attractive. Malcolm's will, apart from making generous and well deserved provision for "Big Ethel" and Samuel Hunter his Scottish chauffeur/gardener, was a disaster in that he left the residue to his older brother, our grandfather, thus ensuring double payment of Death Duties in due course.

My grandfather, Duncan McCallum Clark, died in 1927 and was followed within five weeks by his wife, Janet Nichol. Both had been immensely popular in the village of Anston and their funerals were attended not merely by most of the local "great and good" but by hundreds of patients and their families. There was not room for all in the church. The vicar, the Rev'd Hodson, uttered the final word when, speaking of our grandmother, he said: *"Never before have I been privileged to bury a saint."* In commemoration of their parents lives my father and his brother Malcolm made a contribution to further improvements to the peal of bells way beyond what either could sensibly afford.

As my father was now senior partner he brought his family back to Anston and the struggle to cope with ill health and to hold a shrinking practice together, in which effort he was resolutely supported by our mother. He had almost emulated our grandfather as a shot and it was therefore fitting that, but a few days before he died in his sleep in November 1938, my mother drove him to a spot on the Kiverton Park road, whence he downed his final brace of partridge driven by his friends in the local shoot, a "left and right" of course. There was not sufficient space in Anston church for this funeral either.

I would not wish to finish this mildly autobiographical chapter with over-emphasis on death. Our parents, despite immediate and impending problems, saw to it that my brothers and I enjoyed thoroughly happy childhoods and a home to which it was always total delight to return from boarding school. The dogs were always waiting in the yard to greet us: they seemed to know when we were coming and along with us the prospect of long walks in the woods and fields and the wild ritual of chasing our bicycles at top speed down a nearby green lane. In those days, at any rate in the British countryside, children enjoyed a licence to roam quite unknown only two generations later. In due course and all too soon circumstances brought that regime to a close but not before our parents had bestowed upon us the priceless knowledge of freedom.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

YEAR 2000 TO YEAR 1695. A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE.

I have now recorded, as completely as I am able, the three-hundred-year story of the Inverchapel Clarks extending over up to ten generations, and have drawn into the picture as appropriate some of the families with whom, for better or worse, we intermarried. Save in several Family Trees and the present chapter, very limited reference is made to the living descendants of Duncan One because their stories are not yet complete. I like to think, though, that some may be disposed to build from the present work in their own time and style.

This history, however, concerned as it primarily is with the people who compose ***"The Inverchapel Pyramid"***, only fully takes shape when placed against the background of their two principal habitats, the Highlands of Scotland and Australia, both of which countries underwent total transformation over the same period.

Inverchapel is located with fair access via Dunoon and the Clyde to the outer world but the people who lived there around the start of the Eighteenth Century entirely pertained by descent and custom to the Highlands. Quite certainly Gaelic was their first language and they accepted clan obligations such as supporting the Campbell rebellion of 1685.

However in 1707, when Duncan One was only twelve years old, there came the first of the two political developments which were to trigger massive change: the Act of Union with England provided Scotland with the opportunity for full participation in the military and commercial developments which led to the creation of the British Empire. On balance over the years the Scottish nation has benefited hugely from the partnership which they entered into by the decision of their own Parliament, a choice which, as is their right, they may one day see fit to reverse.

The second major event was the extinction for all practical purposes in 1746 of Stewart pretentions to the throne of the recently united kingdoms on the battlefield at Culloden, which Duncan One himself could conceivably have witnessed. This in turn led over a few decades to the destruction of the clan system, a development often propelled by the self-interest of the chiefs themselves. The introduction of new breeds of sheep provided a powerful incentive to effect clearances, in consequence of which the hitherto chronic overpopulation of the Highlands was reversed for ever. There was in any case demand for labour in the mines, mills and engineering works of the new industrial areas to the south: for others emigration to the colonies or to England provided an alternative solution and the enlistment of many thousands of young men into the newly raised Scottish infantry regiments ensured an ageing residual population in the glens. Further damage was caused by dispropotionate casualties suffered by Highland families during the two world wars of the twentieth century. The upshot of these upheavals is that whilst relatively few Highlanders live in the land of their forebears, the whole anglophone world is sprinkled, nowhere more so than Canada and Australasia, with Scottish family and place names. To the best of my knowledge not a single descendant of Duncan One remains in the Highlands and precious few elsewhere in Scotland but there are at least thirty in Australia; and in England which did not figure as a destination at all until the eighteen-eighties, at least a further sixty-seven. To these must be added McNaughtons in Canada and, more recently, Waterlows in Tennessee, together perhaps with others whom I have not been able to identify.

The Highlands have endured demographic shrinkage but no political change could ever damage their enduring asset, the beauty of their coasts, lochs and mountains. Tourism may be regarded by some as a poor substitute for tradition but directly and indirectly it does bring a staple livlihood to many of the few who remain. One can but toast the perception of Queen Victoria at Balmoral - coupled of course with that of Uncle Malcolm with his *"Famous Loch Eck Tours"* - in marking the route at least to partial salvation.

Yet as the Highlands declined a whole new nation was being created, initially powered by agriculture and mining, in a virtually empty continent on the inverse side of the globe. Once the Australian colonies ceased to be treated as a dumping ground for criminals, they evolved at high speed via provincial self-government to a unified Commonwealth with its own strongly individualistic character and increasingly respected throughout

the remainder of the civilised world. In the eighteenth century the principal emigration out of Britain had been transatlantic but from the early nineteenth century onwards Australia and New Zealand became equally attractive destinations for Scottish migrants in particular, in part because the herding of sheep, a prime cause of population decline at home, was paradoxically a potent factor in the economic growth of the antipodean colonies and offered new opportunity for shepherding skills. The three Clark migrations to Australia, spread over rather more than a century, between 1837 and 1947, were all sheep-related to begin with.

Whereas in the early part of the eighteenth century the Clarks in Cowal had been engaged exclusively in agriculture, today, in the year 2000, only two families descended from Duncan One earn their living on the land. **Henrietta Johnston (born 1958)**, a great-great granddaughter of Walter Clark (1803-1873) of Glenara, and her husband **Joe Camilleri (born 1954)** have a relatively small farm near Ballarat in Victoria where they breed cattle and fine wool merino sheep.

My brother **Duncan Clark (born 1924)**, a great-great-grandson of Duncan Two (1751-1820), the third and last farmer immigrant came to Australia in 1947 after war service in the Merchant Navy and had the good fortune to marry into one of the oldest pioneering families in Western Australia. A veritable dynasty had been founded by **William Forrest (1819-1899)** and **Margaret Hill (1821-1895)** both of whom had been born in Scotland: they reached Australia in 1842 just five years after Walter Clark of Kerarbury and Glenara had buried his first wife on arrival in Sydney. William and Margaret Forrest had ten children and forty-three grandchildren: one of their sons was a leading explorer who became Prime Minister of Western Australia and a peer; and another was the Lord Mayor of Perth.

Duncan Clark and his wife **Betty Forrest (born 1919)**, after just surviving the consequences of a bush fire in their early years, created their own splendid property near Boyup Brook, which was faute-de mieux informally christened by the rest of us ***"Clark Park"*** because its founders modestly thought that a mail box number sufficed as an address. ***"The Park"*** is now called ***"Benbullen"*** and managed by Duncan and Betty's son and successor **Ian Clark (born 1959)** and his wife **Jenny Stuckly (born 1956)** who have introduced new crops, such as vines and oil-seeds, and operate a cereal harvest contracting business in order to escape from traditional dependence on the sheep.

For most of Duncan One's descendants around the world, agriculture has gradually been replaced by the professions and business, a sea change starting in the early nineteenth century and facilitated initially by an ingrained Scottish respect for learning backed by what was reputedly the best school system of its time in Europe. Almost certainly the average tacksman in Argyll was markedly better educated than his yeoman counterpart in rural England. Our first professionals were James and Robert Clark, the soldier brothers from Garrachra, and the first businessmen James Clark of Crossbasket and Malcolm T. Clark from Succoch. They have been followed by more soldiers, doctors, engineers schoolmasters and clergymen in the professions; and in a myriad of business activities pursued with a widely varying degree of success.

This shift in emphasis in family occupations not only reflects a breadth of choice unimaginable three hundred years ago but the parallel replacement of land ownership or occupation as the prime – but rather inflexible – indicator of wealth and status in favour of a balanced portfolio of property, moneyand relatively realisable assets.

Could Duncan One in the year 2000 step down from the apex of ***"The Inverchapel Pyramid"*** to view its base, I suspect that with some reservation he would be pleased with what he sees. None of us, to the best of my knowledge, are elders of the Kirk but we are all - nowadays quite unfashionably - married to the mothers or fathers of our children and our collective divorce rate is pathetically low by whichever national average one measures. Wherever he looks the old man will recognise the characteristics, shared with his own generation, of strong individualism combined with belief in family. Indeed, after a moment or two of hesitation the old man would surely be inclined to give the nod to our continued use of the motto still legible on his gravestone at Kilmun, ***"Free for a Blast"***.

ANNEX ONE.

CLARK AND RELATED FAMILIES' GRAVES AT KILMUN.

The most prolific source of information concerning the earlier generations of the Clarks and closely related families are inscriptions on gravestones and memorial stones which have quite recently (1999) been catalogued.

THE INVERCHAPEL AND GARRACHRA CLARK FAMILIES.

B57. This burying place belongs to DUNCAN CLARK farmer in Inerchapple and REBEKKAH CAMPBELL his spouse and their children 1779 the above DUNCAN CLARK died 3rd August 1782 aged 87 years and his spouse as above died 20th May 1781 aged 74 years

B50. Here lyes the corpse of JOHN MAINS late skiper in Greenock who died Nov.3rd 1778 aged 35 years and is appointed for MARY CLARK his wife and their children

B58. Here lyes the remains of WALTER CLARK late farmer in Inerchapple who died September 27th 1779 aged 41 and is appointed for JANET CLARK his spouse and their children

B56. Duncan Clark late farmer Succouth Strachur in memory of his beloved wife RACHAEL TURNER who died 22nd January 1863 aged 64 also their daughter JANIE McGOWAN died 12 November 1866 aged 22 years also the above DUNCAN CLARK who died 2nd January 1877 aged 85 years and their daughter JANET died 6th February 1919 aged 88 years also his father DUNCAN CLARK Farmer in Inverchapel who died 21st January 1820 aged 69 years and his mother ANNIE JENKINS died 12 January 1836 aged 74 years and their son ROBERT died 31 October 1825

A36 (Extract from) Erected to the memory of.....CATHERINE TURNER wife of Walter Clark farmer Torabus Islay who died there 25 September 1856 aged 54

B59 and B61. Erected to the memory of REBECCA CLARK who departed this life 16th September 1810 aged 31 years this memorial is raised by her husband Robert Clark Tacksman of Blairs and Gairletters This being the burying place intended for himself and his family MARGARET CURRIE wife of above Robert Clark Inverchaple died April 20th 1879 also SUSAN CLARK daughter of above and widow of Patrick Smith died January 1882 also JANET CLARK daughter of above ROBERT CLARK of Inverchaple died February 1861 aged 79 years

B60. In memory of ARCHIBALD CLARK farmer Inverchappel born 18th September 1819 died 4th June 1900

1.7. In memorium JOHN TURNER late farmer Stronchullin died 30th April 1883 aged 55 years MARY CLARK wife of John Turner died 20th December 1912 aged 85 years DUNCAN CLARK died 25th December 1897 aged 68 years

B70. Erected by Archibald Clark tacksman of Achafour in memory of NIEL CLARK his only child who died February 2nd 1835 aged 33 year

3N. In loving memory of ARCHIBALD CLARK J.P. of Garrachra who died at Bencorrum Dunoon 11th May 1890 aged 55 years and of his wife CHRISTINA TURNER WHYTE who died at Blarevhin Kirn 9th February 1916 aged 79 years also their son JOHN died 23rd December 1962 aged 92 years

"A light is from our household gone a voice we loved is stilled
a place is vacant at our hearth which never can be filled"

THE LOCHSTRIVENHEAD CLARKS.

B69. Sacred to the memory of NEIL CLARK farmer Ballimore Lochstrivenhead died 22nd June 1863 aged 56 years also his daughter CATHERINE died 26 May 1853 aged 6½ CHRISTIAN FLETCHER his wife died 6th December 1895 aged 71 years

Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy

B71 In memory of ARCHIBALD CLARK who died at Ardtaraig 2nd September 1854 aged 20 years Deeply regretted by his sorrowing relations The living know that they must die but all the dead forgotten lie
Their memory and their name is gone alike unknowing and unknown

B72 Sacred to the memory of JAMES CLARK who died at Ardtaraig 11th December1879 aged 71 years of his wife CHRISTINA WHYTE who also died there 16th August 1890 in her 78th year Also CATHERINE their daughter who died 2nd August 1893 aged 51 years

THE McBRIDE CONNECTION.

B46. In memory of ALEXANDER McBRIDE who died March 1830 aged 13 months and of THOMAS McBRIDE who died 21st February 1832 aged 8 years children of ALEX. McBRIDE and MARY CLARK his spouse

B47. In memory of MARY McBRIDE who died 11th May 1833 aged 4 months and of JOHN McBRIDE who died 4th August 1852 aged 26 years and of JAMES McBRIDE who died 28th October 1852 aged 22 years and of ROBERT McBRIDE who died 16th November 1855 aged 28 years and of ANNE McBRIDE who died 11 April 1871 aged 50 years children of ALEXANDER McBRIDE who died 7th September 1870 aged 70 years and of MARY CLARK his spouse This stone is respectfully erected by Duncan McBryde their only surviving son

THE CAMPBELL CONNECTION.

C19. This is the place appointed for the burial of ROBERT CAMPBELL in Inerchapple
Non Est Mortale Quod Opto (What I desire is not mortal)
[This is probably the Robert Campbell in Inverchapel, forester to the Duke of Argyll who died between 1732 and 1747.]

D2. In memory of their children PETER died 24th August 1822 aged 21 - DONALD 22nd May 1824 - 16 ROBERT 7th September 1826 - 21 JOHN MAINS 1st August 1831 - 32 ARCHIBALD 5th March 1832 - 19 ALAN C. born 15th July 1815 died 19th August 1839 - aged 24 Erected by ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of the family of Craignish Lt. in the 79th Regiment of Foot and MARY MAINS his spouse 1832

D3. In memory of NEIL CLARK beloved husband of MARY CAMPBELL who died 27th November 1897 at Inellan and the above MARY CAMPBELL who died at Inellan 29th August 1899 aged 89.

ANNEX TWO.

ORIGINS OF THE SURNAME CLARK AND NOTES ON SOME SCOTTISH CLARK FAMILIES USING THE SAME ARMS, CREST AND MOTTO.

The surname of Clark, though variously spelt, is endemic in England, Ireland (aka O'Clery), and above all in Scotland (aka McChlerich). Like Smith or Wainwright or Dempster it is occupational in origin rather than tribal (as in McLachlan, Lamont or Campbell) or regional (as in Nairn, Fyffe or Lauder). There is, however, a dispersed form of geographical association in that the name Clerk/Clerk/Clarke derives from the fact that its earliest bearers were literate - a relatively rare accomplishment in the Middle Ages - implying in turn provenance from the vicinity of a religious house, of which the Church of Saint Munn in its day an important base for Christian teaching is an outstanding example. Thus it comes as no surprise to find that the Old Parish Records in and near to the Cowal district of Argyll frequently mention the name of Clark. Apart from those of Inverchapel, Garrachra and Lochstrivenhead who figure in this history, there were many more, apparently unrelated Clarks in southern Argyll particularly at the head of Loch Goil and along the shores of Loch Fyne. The frequency of the name combined with the humbleness of its origin (causing sasines and other documentary references to be scarce) render Clark family history difficult to research earlier than the Eighteenth Century.

Passing reference should briefly be made to Clan Chattan, in origin a confederation under Mackintosh hegemony situated in the area of Lochaber and Badenoch, one of whose minor septs was styled Clan Clark or Chlerich which would similarly derive from monastic associations but in North Eastern Scotland. There is scant likelihood of the forebears of any Argyllshire Clarks having direct connection with Clan Chlerich, given that the breadth of the Highlands lay between them and that "our" Clarks would mostly be Campbell tenantry anyway. It is, incidentally, possible to visit touristic haberdashers in Edinburgh or even Dunoon and purchase a length of Clan Clark tartan, designed in attractive shades of blue but, in my view, mainly provided for the benefit of gullible visitors

of our name (though I must confess to possession of a Clark necktie myself!). This modern tartan is a more colourful variant of the black and white *"Breacan na 'n Clerich"* originally designed to be worn by the bodyguards of Highland clergymen and more likely in its day to have been seen in Inverness than Argyll.

Apart from the Inverchapels, several other Scottish families of Clarks have made use of the crest of a huntsman sounding a horn and the motto ***"Free for a Blast."*** It would be agreeable to have been related to one or all of these but in fact it seems we are not. Nevertheless, there is, according to Sir Ilay Campbell who has taken me by the hand in these matters, nothing inherently heinous in multiple use of crests and coats of arms. *"It is quite usual in Scotland to find unrelated families of the same surname adopting similar - sometimes identical - arms, and some* ***allusion*** *to the 'Chief of the name's arms' is in fact much encouraged by Lyon Office, to families of the name when recording arms officially. This is in recognition of presumed common origin, provable or not, failing which 'Kinship' of a more emotional type - Clanship perhaps would be a better word. This would not be the case in England!"* We should be thankful that this rule of thumb regulating the practice of *"allusion"* is stretched to cover occupational surnames as well as clanship because, as related below, it is pertinent to the heraldic aspirations of the Inverchapel Clarks.

Sir Ilay goes on to say: ***"The Clerks of Penicuik*** [in East Lothian] *seem to have been first off the mark with recording arms at L.O., 1672-7 being the official date, though this was the period during which the new records were compiled (the old ones having been lost at sea, returning to Scotland after Cromwell removed them - or so it is said). The family may well have been using them before that date as they were proprietors of land in Badenoch, before falling out with their Superior the Earl of Huntly in the late 16th. Cent.* [This mention of Badenoch suggests that the Penicuik Clarks might have had distant Clan Chlerich/Clan Chattan origins. Furthermore two features, namely a boar's head and a *"fesse cheque"*, which occur in the Penicuik arms also appear in those of Clan Chlerich as recorded in The Celtic Monthly of March 1898].

"The crest alludes to the story - probably no more than that - that the freehold of Penicuik was held from the crown with a 'redendo' that any time the King came to hunt on the Burghmuir at Edinburgh, the laird had to sit upon the 'Buckstone' and blow three blasts on his hunting horn!"

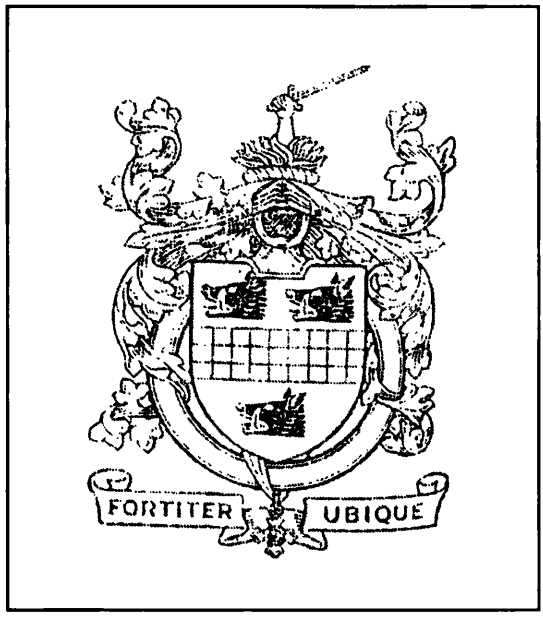
[An early version of the Penicuik arms matches this legend in that they feature three hunting horns]. *"The story, if it has any foundation at all, must refer to a much earlier grant of the lands to a previous laird of Penicuik, as John Clerk only bought the lands in 1646, after making a fortune from commercial activities in France. Anyway it is he who seems to have adopted the crest and motto. As the first Clerk (or Clark) to record arms Penicuik is taken to be Chief of his name and other Clerks (or Clarks) aspiring to the use of coat armour would be likely to base their arms (and sometimes crest) on those of Penicuik."* This story sounds marginally more credible than the one that follows and certainly more so than either of the Inverchapel legends recounted in Chapter One!

Yet another version of the Penicuik story was told me many years ago by the late Sir Andrew Clark Q.C., who did not press his family's case with quite his renowned courtroom vigour. *"There is a delightful old family legend (which I should imagine is pure fiction) that the original founder of our family was a serf who was chief keeper to Earl Percy in or about the 14th. Century, who sounding the alarm on his hunting horn saved the Earl's life; in recognition of which he was given his freedom and a small plot of land. His son, James, is reputed to have been taught to read and write by Earl Percy's chaplain and was thereafter known as James the Clerk - Hence Clark and our family motto "Free for a Blast". - Great fun, but very unauthenticated!"*

The most recent matriculation of arms of the Clerks of Penicuik was awarded by the Lord Lyon's Office to Sir John Dutton Clerk, 10th Baronet, in 1978. It is an elaborate collage with added modern features which need not concern us but its more ancient essentials are described heraldically as: *"videlicet :- Or. A fess chequy Azure and Argent between two crescents in chief Gules and a boar's head carped in base Sable."* The motto *"Free for a Blast"* above the arms is supplemented by another below them which reads *"Amat Victoria Curam"*.

Sir Ilay Campbell continues: ***"Braleckan*** [located close to Sir Ilay's home at Crarae on the shores of Loch Fyne] *came next in 1754 and Mavisbank third in 1773."* I have somewhere on file a record of a letter written in great indignation by the head of the Penicuiks to admonish Clerk of Braleckan, who happened also to be his son-in-law, for unauthorised use of the crest and motto. This may account for the fact that a Braleckan Clerk tombstone of about 1676 in Inveraray came to bear a totally different crest and motto, although the boar's head(s) and *"cheque fesse"*

remained in the coat of arms and are thus features in common with those of Penicuick. The Braleckans have long since disappeared from their habitat, though their burial ground is still to be found deep in the woods nearby, beyond the Crarae Quarries. I have been told that some of their descendants may live to this day in Inveraray.



Clerk of Braleckan.

Before finally coming to the Inverchapel Clarks, mention must be made of the **Paisley Clarks** and their numerous descendant branches whose name in its day was consonant with that of sewing cotton. The business was founded in the late eighteenth century by a weaver from Ayrshire, James Clark, who became a middleman in what was then still partially a cottage industry. The family developed into manufacturers of sewing thread which had exclusively used silk as its raw material until supply of was seriously interrupted by the Napoleonic Wars. The Clarks then devised means of using cotton in replacement of silk and in consequence, together with the Coats family, made Paisley the world centre for sewing thread manufacture.

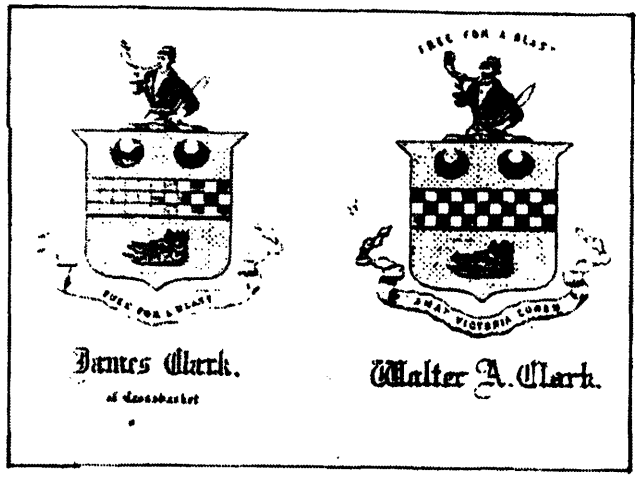
These Clarks became seriously rich, their wealth being demonstrated by the donation of a splendidly Victorian Town Hall to Paisley outside which stand several statues depicting the benefactors: they also endowed scholarships to Glasgow University. Around the turn of the century the

business was amalgamated with that of Coats, upon which the Clarks seem to have severed for ever their links with sewing thread and Paisley and applied their talents elsewhere. One descendant was the life peer, Lord Clark the distinguished arts scholar who, I understand, did not record arms on his ennoblement. His son the late Alan Clark (1928-1999), historian and Conservative ex-minister, was up to his death Member of Parliament for Chelsea and Kensington and the exponent of controversial views on a wide range of issues. Some of the Paisley Clarks, including at least one branch in Northern Ireland have been granted, or have made use of, similar arms, crests and motto as Penicuick.

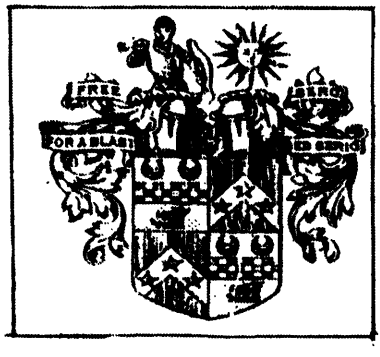
Insofar as the crest and motto are concerned, the Inverchapel Clarks began to be heraldically *"allusive"* about 1780, probably rather earlier than the Paisleys, when Duncan One ordered the first stones in the Kilmun family group for his second son, Walter Clark (1738-1779), and for himself and his wife Rebekkah Campbell. Thereafter the crest and motto, as shown in Chapter One, remained virtually unaltered to this day whether adorning gravestones, signet rings or bookplates. The accompanying early Inverchapel coats of arms are a different matter. The arms on the Kilmun gravestones, carved incidentally by a more than averagely skilled mason, figure what appears to be a fowling-piece at the top [surely an anachronism], a *fesse cheque* across the middle and a *stag statant* below, the latter apparently in reference to the legendary huntsman on the slopes of Beinn Mhor. Thus the only symbol in common with Penicuik and Braleckan is the *fesse cheque.* Thereafter the graves of two succeeding generations play it safe and only feature the crest and motto. I would tentatively suggest that Duncan One was moved to *allusion* in an attempt to match the one generation old Campbell connection.

The use of a coat of arms is not resumed until the third and fourth generations after Duncan One and then mainly in the form of bookplates from the libraries of James Clark of Crossbasket (1813-1876) and his son Walter A. Clark of Crutherland (1858-1913) but also of pieces of

silverware and ceramics. I believe there may be carvings along these lines on a wall at Crossbasket and and on the family tombs in Hamilton. These arms are thoroughgoing *allusions* to those of Penicuik. Moreover, these descendants of Duncan One seem, like him, not to have obtained matriculation at the Lord Lyon's Office.



Clark of Crossbasket and Crutherland Book Plates.



Struan Robertson Kerr Clark's Book Plate.

The Ghoolendaadi Kerr Clarks who sometimes pretended to be Crossbasket Clarks – which they were by descent but not by inheritance - quartered the Clark arms with those of the Kerrs' cheveron and mullets, as shown by the bookplate of Struan Robertson Kerr Clark (1876-1915). The additional motto *"Sero Sed Serio"* and the sun symbol is generally used by Kerrs, including the head of the House of Lothian. There is no record of these arms being matriculated at the Lord Lyon's Office.

Seemingly, the first official matriculation of arms for any Inverchapel Clark was dated 1948 following upon Archie's ennoblement. A beautifully crafted replica of that product, devised by the Lord Lyon's Office, is reproduced on the bronze plaque covering his grave in the Sanctury. I chose not to reproduce it here because it seems to be an overcomplex elaboration of that shown opposite on his elder brother's bookplate.

ANNEX THREE.

THE CAMPBELL CONNECTION. A RECONSTRUCTION.

THE CLARK TENANTRY.

Archibald Clark
Farmer in Balingowan
died 1686.

Neil Clark
in Balingowan 1685
Listed Rebel 1685
in Curr 1692 (Fencible)
in Curr 1695 (Hearth Tax)
Birth and Death Dates Unknown.

D1.

Duncan Clark (Duncan One)
1695-1782
Farmer in Inverchapel.

Married c 1732

Rebekkah Campbell (aka Beatrix)
1707-1781

D2.

LINE ONE.
Robert Clark
c. 1735-1795
Tacksman in .Garrachra.
Married c 1761
Jennet Whyte
Dates Unknown.
Creditor of Hugh Campbell of Leix.

LINE TWO.
Walter Clark
1738-1779
Farmer in Inverchapel.
Married 1767
Janet Clark
Dates Unknown.

LINE THREE.
Mary Clark
1743-1778
Married
John Mains
1742-1778
Ship's Captain of Greenock.

LINE FOUR.
Niel Clark
Born c 1745
Tenant in Garrachra.
Married 1773
Margaret Telfer
1752-1845

LINE FIVE.
Duncan Clark (Duncan Two)
1751-1820
Farmer in Inverchapel.
Married 1785
Agnes Jenkin
1762-1836.

THE CAMPBELLS OF DERGACHY.

Ewen Campbell
The Seventh of Dergachy
died 1677.

Married

Janet Campbell
Dates Unknown.

Three Daughters and one Other Son.

Donald Campbell
of Knockamallie
est.c1680-1711
Grave at Kilmun.

Iain Campbell
The Eighth of Dergachy
Listed Rebel 1685
Dates Unknown.

Robert Campbell (or Donald)
est c.1740-c1793
Captain Royal Marines
Tacksman in Inverchapel in 1775.

D3.

Married

A Daughter Of Hugh Campbell
The Sixth of Leix.
Possible Name
Mary.
Dates Unknown.

Robert Campbell
1766 - post 1780.

THE CAMPBELLS OF LEIX.

Hugh Campbell
The Sixth of Leix
Est. c. 1660-1723.

Married 1685

Beatrix Campbell
of Torne
Dates unknown

Archibald Campbell
The Seventh of Leix
Living in 1724.

Married 1765

Margaret Campbell
Dates Unknown

Colin Campbell
Merchant in India and later in South Carolina.
Died 1782.

John Campbell
Born out of wedlock in Calcutta.
Dates Unknown but probably living c 1800.

Hugh Campbell
The Eighth of Leix
Died 1789.
Married 1767
Margaret Campbell
of Strachur
Died1805.

Three Daughters

Two Other Daughters
Both Living in 1792.

SOURCES Gravestone inscriptions at Kilmun.
Old Parish Records (defective).
Argyll Justiciary Records.
Sundry Wills and Sasines
Paton's Abstracts
Rebel Lists of 1685.
Fencible Lists of 1692.
Colin Campbell. A Note on the Campbells of Leix.
G. Harvey Johnson. The Heraldry of the Campbells.

REVISED October 1999

POINTS OF POSSIBLE DOUBT.

D1. Was Duncan One a son of Neil Clark? Probably "yes", given that his father and grandfather were Dergachy Tenants, close neighbours and shared a loyalty to the Earls of Argyll in common with Robert Campbell in Inverchapel. Duncan may also have named his third son Neil after his own father. He seems to have broken the more customary naming pattern by naming his first and second sons Robert and Walter, in recognition of the newly acquired Campbell Connection, after his father-in-law and the influential Rev'd Walter Campbell of Dunloskin.

D2. Was Rebekkah the daughter of Robert Campbell? There is no entry in the (defective) OPRs for such a birth. However the fact that Duncan One and later Duncan Two farmed Inverchapel on behalf of Robert's absentee son Daniel Campbell suggests a strong family connection.

D3. Who was Robert Campbell's wife? There is no record of his marriage but one could guess that she would be another Campbell in which case she might well have been a daughter of the related house of Leix recently returned to Cowal. A further pointer in this direction is the probability that following normal custom Rebekkah (aka Beatrix) would have been named after her grandmother Beatrix Campbell of Torne.

ANNEX FOUR.

SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Apart from the gravestones at Kilmun, Censuses, Parish Records and the Johnston Papers, the following documentary sources have been quoted or consulted and are acknowledged with appreciation.

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and on 21 April 1996 Article "How Snobbery Made a Nation Great" by Andrew Roberts.

Miscellaneous Documents and Sources.

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The New Statistical Account for Scotland (Argyll 1845).

THE FIRST DUNCAN AND HIS FAMILY.

TREE A.

NEIL CLARK
BORN BALINGOWAN c 1665
FARMER IN CURR AND ORCHARD
ARGYLL REBEL 1685
(PROBABLE PARENT)

ROBERT CAMPBELL
c 1660 - pre 1747
"THE DUKE'S FORESTER"
TACKSMAN IN INVERCHAPEL
ARGYLL REBEL 1685
(PROBABLE PARENT)

DUNCAN CLARK — MARRIED c 1730 — **REBEKKAH CAMPBELL**
1695 - 1782
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL

(aka BEATRICE)
1707 - 1781

LINE ONE

ROBERT CLARK
c 1735 - 1795
TACKSMAN IN GARRACHRA
MARRIED c 1761
JINNET WHYTE
DATES UNKNOWN
PROBABLY BORN GLENMASSAN

DUNCAN CLARK
BORN 1762
NOTHING KNOWN

DONALD CLARK
BORN 1764
NOTHING KNOWN

NIEL CLARK
BORN c1767
TACKSMAN IN GARRACHRA
MARRIED c1794
HELEN McPHARLANE
DATES UNKNOWN

EIGHT CHILDREN OF
WHOM NOTHING KNOWN

CATHERINE CLARK
c 1770 - 1837+
MARRIED 1788
ARCHIBALD CURRIE
1762 - 1822
FARMER GARRACHORAN

LINE TWO

WALTER CLARK
1738 - 1779
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL
MARRIED 1767
JANET CLARK
DATES UNKNOWN
PROBABLY BORN LOCHSTRIVENHEAD

ARCHIBALD CLARK
1768 - 1850
BORN KILMODAN
TACKSMAN AUCHAFOUR
PROPRIETOR GARRACHRA
MARRIED c 1800
JANET CLARK
(GARRACHRA COUSIN)
1774 - c 1801
(SEE TREE C.)

DUNCAN CLARK
1771 - post 1806
BORN KILMODAN
MARRIED 1779
ISOBEL McKELLAR
(DATES UNKNOWN)

WALTER CLARK
BORN 1800
TO NEW ZEALAND ?

ISABELLA CLARK
BORN1806

NIVEN CLARK
BORN 1773
BORN GLENMASSAN
DIED IN INFANCY

ROBERT CLARK
1775 - 1855
BORN INVERCHAPEL
TACKSMAN BLAIRMORE
AND INVERCHAPEL
MARRIED FIRSTLY c 1799
REBECCA CLARK
(GARRACHRA COUSIN)
MARRIED SECONDLY 1813
MARGARET CURRIE
1791 - 1876
(SEE TREE D.)

ALEXANDER CLARK
1778 -c 1820
BORN INVERCHAPEL
MARRIED c 1800
ANNE CAMPBELL
c 1778 - pre 1830
(SEE TREE F.)

LINE THREE

MARY CLARK
1743 - 1778
MARRIED 1774
JOHN MAINS
SHIP'S CAPTAIN OF GREENOCK
1742 - 1778

MARY MAINS
1774 - 1832+
MARRIED c 1797
LIEUTENANT **ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL**
c 1770 - 1832+

SIX SONS
ALL DEAD BY 1839.
NO APPARENT ISSUE.

MARY CAMPBELL
1810-1899
MARRIED c 1835
NEIL CLARK
1805-1890
NO ISSUE

LINE FOUR

NEIL CLARK
BORN 1745
TENANT IN GARRACHRA
MARRIED 1773
MARGARET TELFER
1753 - 1845
(SEE TREE B.)

LINE FIVE

DUNCAN CLARK
1751 - 1820
TACKSMAN IN INVERCHAPEL
MARRIED 1785
AGNES OR ANNE JENKIN
1762 - 1836
(SEE TREE J.)

REVISED FEBRUARY 2000.

THE McBRYDE CONNECTION.

TREE K.

DUNCAN CLARK ONE — MARRIED — **REBEKKAH CAMPBELL**
1695-1782 — c 1730 — 1707-1781
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL — aka BEATRICE

LINE FIVE

DUNCAN CLARK TWO — MARRIED — **AGNES (or ANN) JENKIN**
TACKSMAN IN INVERCHAPEL — 1785 — 1762-1836
1751-1820

JOHN McBRIDE
AND
ANNE (McBRIDE?)
DATES NOT KNOWN

THIRD DAUGHTER

MARGARET (McBRIDE?) — MARRIED FIRSTLY 1819 — **ALEXANDER McBRIDE** — MARRIED SECONDLY 1819 — **MARY CLARK**
DIED 1819 — MARINER — 1796-1834
BORN c1800
DUNSEVERICK, ANTRIM
DIED 1870
NEW BRUNSWICK

ALEXANDER McBRIDE
BORN AND DIED 1819

ANNE McBRIDE
1821-1871
BORN DUNOON AND KILMUN
BORE ILLEGITIMATE SON
BY DUNCAN CLARK
1829-1897
OF INVERCHAPEL BRANCH

DUNCAN McBRIDE
1822-1872+
BORN
DUNOON AND KILMUN

THOMAS McBRIDE
c.1824-1832
BORN
DUNOON AND KILMUN

JOHN McBRYDE
c.1826-1852
BORN
DUNOON AND KILMUN

ROBERT McBRIDE
1827-1855
BORN
DUNOON AND KILMUN
DIED COCKERMOUTH
MARRIED 1849
MARY ASHBRIDGE
BORN 1825

ALEXANDER McBRIDE
1829-1830
BORN AND DIED
DUNOON AND KILMUN

JAMES McBRIDE
1830-1852
BORN DUNOON AND KILMUN
MARINER
DIED ST. BEES
NEAR WHITEHAVEN

MARY McBRIDE
BORN AND DIED 1833
DUNOON AND KILMUN

DUNCAN McBRIDE
AKA DUNCAN ELPHINSTONE McBRYDE
c1846-1920
MARRIED 1883
ELLEN MENZIES
1856-1914

MARY McBRYDE
BORN 1886

ALICE McBRYDE
BORN 1889

MARY ANN McBRIDE
BORN 1850 IN COCKERMOUTH

JOHN ASHBRIDGE McBRIDE
BORN 1852 IN COCKERMOUTH

REVISED FEBRUARY 1999.

THE GARRACHRA CONNECTION AND THE SOLDIER BROTHERS

TREE B.

DUNCAN CLARK (ONE)
1695-1782
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL
AND
REBEKKAH CAMPBELL
1707-1781

JAMES TELFIER
FARMER IN GLENLEAN
AND
JANET McKINDLAY

LINE FOUR

NEIL CLARK — MARRIED 1773 — **MARGARET TELFER**
BORN 1745
FARMER IN GARRACHRA
1752-1845

JANET CLARK
1774-c1801
MARRIED c1799
INVERCHAPEL COUSIN
ARCHIBALD CLARK
1771-1850
TACKSMAN IN AUCHAFOUR
AND LATER
PROPRIETOR OF GARRACHRA.
(SEE TREE C.)

JAMES CLARK
1776-1809 or1810
LIEUTENANT IN
71st. HIGHLAND
REGIMENT OF FOOT
DIED UNMARRIED
AT ASHFORD, KENT
OF WALCHAREN
FEVER.

BEATRIX CLARK
(OR REBECCA)
1778-1810
MARRIED c1799
INVERCHAPEL COUSIN
ROBERT CLARK (COUSIN)
1775-1855
TENANT IN DRIEP
AND LATER TACKSMAN IN
BLAIRMORE AND INVERCHAPEL.
(SEE TREE D.)

DUNCAN CLARK
BORN 1780
NOTHING KNOWN.

SUSANNA CLARK
1782-1832
MARRIED 1804
ANDREW McKINDLAY
BUILDER IN CARDROSS
1773-1838.

MARGARET McKINDLAY
1807-1838
MARRIED 1835
WALTER CLARK
1803-1873
ex-INVERCHAPEL
LATER PARTNER IN
KERARBURY AND
PROPRIETOR OF GLENARA
VICTORIA.
(SEE TREE F.)

JAMES McKINDLAY
1813-1900
ACCOMPANIED SISTER
AND BROTHER-IN-LAW
TO AUSTRALIA AND
FOUNDED OWN DYNASTY,
THE McKINDLAYS
OF IVANHOE N.S.W.

FIVE OTHER CHILDREN,
SEVERAL OF WHOM
ALSO EMIGRATED
TO AUSTRALIA.

MARGARET CLARK
BORN 1787
NOTHING KNOWN

ROBERT CLARK
1789-1853
LIEUTENANT
68th. REGIMENT OF FOOT
UNMARRIED
LATER TACKSMAN IN
ARDYNE PARK

REVISED FEBRUARY 2000.

ARCHIBALD CLARK, TACKSMAN IN AUCHAFOUR AND HERIDITARY PROPRIETOR OF GARRACHRA, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

TREE C.

DUNCAN CLARK (ONE) AND REBEKKAH CAMPBELL
1695-1782 | 1707-1781

LINE TWO

WALTER CLARK AND JANET CLARK
1738-1779 | DATES UNKNOWN

ARCHIBALD CLARK — MARRIED 1829 — **JANET CLARK**
1771-1850 — 1774–c 1801
TACKSMAN IN CLOINLETTER AND AUCHAFOUR AND FROM 1839 HERIDITARY PROPRIETOR OF GARRACHRA. — DAUGHTER OF NEIL CLARK TENANT IN GARRACHRA.

NEIL CLARK — MARRIED 1829 — **CATHERINE McLEAN**
1801-1835 — DATES UNKNOWN
TACKSMAN IN CLOINLETTER — DAUGHTER OF ARCHIBALD McLEAN OF INVERCHAOLIN PARISH.

JOHN WHYTE — MARRIED 1831 — **CATHERINE CLARK**
1804-1891 — 1801=1866
FARMER IN CORRASK AND BALOCHYLE. — DAUGHTER OF DUNCAN CLARK TACKSMAN IN BALIMORE. LOCHSTRIVENHEAD.

JANET CLARK
BORN 1832
NOTHING KNOWN

ARCHIBALD CLARK — MARRIED 1864 — **CHRISTINA TURNER WHYTE**
1835-1890 — 1837-1819
FARMER IN GARVIE AND LATER IN BEN CORRUM, DUNOON. HERIDITARY PROPRIETOR OF GARRACHRA.

ARCHIBALD CLARK
BORN 1865
PROBABLY EMIGRATED TO NEW ZEALAND.

CATHERINE CLARK
1867-1897+
MARRIED 1897
G.D.B.TURNER
ENGINEER OF
NEW DENVER
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

JOHN WHYTE CLARK
1870-1962
HERIDITARY PROPRIETOR OF GARRACHRA AND FARMER IN BERNICE.
UNMARRIED.

CHRISTINA CLARK
1872-1932+
MARRIED
WILLIAM B. FOSTER
1872-1932
MARINE DRAUGHTSMAN.

MARY WHYTE CLARK
BORN 1875
NOTHING KNOWN.

REVISED DECEMBER 1998.

ROBERT CLARK TACKSMAN IN BLAIRMORE AND INVERCHAPEL AND HIS FAMILY.

TREE D.

DUNCAN CLARK
1695-1782
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL

MARRIED c 1730

REBEKKAH CAMPBELL
(aka BEATRICE)
1707-1781

LINE TWO

WALTER CLARK
1738-1779
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL

MARRIED 1767

JANET CLARK
PROBABLY BORN LOCHSTRIVENHEAD
DATES UNKNOWN

(THIRD SON)

REBECCA CLARK
1778-1810
DAUGHTER OF NEIL CLARK
(LINE FOUR)
TENANT IN GARRACHRA

MARRIED FIRSTLY c 1799

ROBERT CLARK
1775-1855
TACKSMAN IN BLAIRMORE
AND GAIRLETTER AND
LATER IN INVERCHAPEL

MARRIED SECONDLY 1813

MARGARET CURRIE
1791-1878
DAUGHTER OF
ARCHIBALD CURRIE
TENANT IN BLAIRBEG
AND LATER IN INVERNOADEN

WALTER CLARK
1800-pre 1853
OCCUPATION
UNKNOWN
MARRIED 1823
MARY FERGUSON
DATES UNKNOWN

NEIL CLARK
1805-1890
FARMER IN LITTLE ARDYNE
LATER WOOL FACTOR
IN INELLAN
MARRIED c 1835
MARY CAMPBELL
1810-1899
NO ISSUE

REBECCA CLARK
1807-1857
MARRIED 1834
PETER McNAUGHTON
1810-1871
FARMER IN STRACHUR
MANY OFFSPRING
DESCENDANTS IN CANADA

JOHN CLARK
1827-1897
WINE MERCHANT
IN MANCHESTER
LATER MANAGER IN
KERARBURY, VICTORIA

REBECCA CLARK
c1825-1920
HOUSEKEEPER TO
ARCHIBALD CLARK
OF GARRACHRA

JAMES CLARK
1813-1876
MERCHANT OF
CROSSBASKET CASTLE
LANARKSHIRE
MARRIED (1) c 1837
MAARGARET KERR
1815-1838
MARRIED (2) c 1846
AGNES BARCLAY
1824-1863
(SEE TREE E.)

ALEXANDER CLARK
c 1816-pre1855
PROBABLY DIED
IN CHILDHOOD

SUSAN CLARK
1819-1882
MARRIED 1866
PATRICK SMITH
MERCHANT IN MANCHESTER
BORN 1809
NO ISSUE

JANET CLARK
1821-1901
SPINSTER
LIVED AND DIED
AT INVERCHAPEL

ARCHIBALD CLARK
1823-1900
BACHELOR
FARMER
IN INVERCHAPEL

MARGARET CLARK
1825-1878
MARRIED
ROBERT BARCLAY
1816-1868
MANUFACTURER
OF CATRINE
AYRSHIRE

MARY CLARK
1827-1912
MARRIED c 1855
JOHN TURNER
1828-1883
FARMER IN
STRONCHULIN
NO ISSUE

DUNCAN CLARK
1829-1897
BACHELOR
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL
AND LATER IN
MANTUAN DOWNS
QUEENSLAND

ROBINA CLARK
1837-1888
MARRIED 1868
DUNCAN TURNER
CAMPBELL
DATES UNKNOWN
TACKSMAN IN
DUILETTER, DALMALLY
THREE CHILDREN RECORDED

REVISED NOVEMBER 1998.

JAMES CLARK OF CROSSBASKET CASTLE AND HIS FAMILY.

TREE E.

DUNCAN CLARK — MARRIED — **REBEKKAH CAMPBELL**
1695-1782 — c 1730 — aka BEATRICE
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL — 1707-1781

LINE TWO.

SECOND SON
WALTER CLARK
1738-1779
AND
JANET CLARK

THIRD SON
ROBERT CLARK
1775-1855
AND
MARGARET CURRIE

MARGARET KERR — MARRIED — **JAMES CLARK** — MARRIED — **AGNES BARCLAY**
c. 1815-1838 — FIRSTLY — 1813-1876 — SECONDLY — 1824-1863
DAUGHTER OF — 1837 — OF CROSSBASKET CASTLE — 1845
JOHN KERR — MERCHANT IN GLASGOW
MERCHANT OF GREENOCK

JOHN KERR CLARK
1838-1910
OF GHOOLENDAADI. NSW
MARRIED c. 1870

DAUGHTERS OF SIR JOHN ROBERTSON — - - → **KATE ROBERTSON**
1816-1891 — 1846-1926
AGRICULTURALIST AND POLITICIAN. — (SEE TREE G.)

ROBERT CLARK
1847-1876
MARRIED c. 1875
MAGGIE ROBERTSON
c. 1850-1936
WHO LATER MARRIED
NICHOLAS MIKLUHO MACLAY
1846-1888
SCIENTIST AND EXPLORER

JAMES BUCHANAN CLARK
1849-1878
MARRIED c. 1869 IN USA
MAREY THOMAS ROWE
1851-1914
BORN IN BROOKLYN

JAMES CLARK
c. 1870 -1909?
BORN IN BROOKLYN

WALTER CLARK
1873-1890
BORN IN JAVA

ROBERT CLARK
1875-1876
BORN AND DIED IN JAVA

AGNES CLARK
BORN 1852
MARRIED
JOHN HENDERSON
GLASGOW MERCHANT

MARGARET CLARK
BORN 1853
MARRIED
ROBERT HENDERSON
GLASGOW MERCHANT

ALICE SUSAN CLARK
BORN 1856
MARRIED
JOHN McKIE LEES
SHERRIFF. LANARKS

WALTER A CLARK (WAT)
OF CRUTHERLAND
1858-1913
MARRIED 1882
ANNIE CLARK
1861-1890
DAUGHTER OF
WALTER CLARK
OF GLENARA. VICTORIA
(SEE TREE H.)

MAREY HELEN CLARK
1861-1927+
MARRIED 1881
PEARCE CAMPBELL
1853-1924
GLASGOW BUSINESSMAN

REVISED FEBRUARY 2000.

ALEXANDER CLARK, FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

TREE F.

DUNCAN CLARK — MARRIED — **REBEKKAH CAMPBELL**
1695-1782 — c. 1730 — (aka Beatrice) 1707-1781
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL

LINE TWO)

WALTER CLARK — MARRIED 1767 — **JANET CLARK**
1738-1779 — DATES UNKNOWN
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL — PROBABLY BORN LOCHSTRIVENHEAD

ALEXANDER CLARK — MARRIED — **ANNE (or AGNES) CAMPBELL**
1778-c.1820 — c. 1800 — c. 1778-c. 1825/1828
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL

- **JANET CLARK** b. 1801
- **MARY CLARK** c. 1804-pre.1866, MARRIED 1824, **DONALD BELL**
- **FLORA CLARK** b. 1807
- **COLIN CLARK** b. 1810
- **ARCHIBALD CLARK** b. 1813
- **ALEXANDER CLARK** b. 1818
- **ROBERT CLARK** b. 1818

MARGARET McKINDLAY — MARRIED — **WALTER CLARK** — MARRIED — **ANNIE COOPER**
1807-1838 — FIRSTLY — 1803-1873 — SECONDLY — 1825-1865
NO ISSUE — PROPRIETOR KERARBURY AND GLENARA — 1857

- **AGNES E. CLARK** 1858-1939, MARRIED 1886, **JOHN BARCLAY** 1853-1910, NO ISSUE
- **WALTER J. CLARK** BRIGADIER GENERAL 1859-1943, MARRIED 1884, **MARY JOHNSTON** 1862-1948
- **ANNIE CLARK** 1861-1890, MARRIED 1882, **WALTER CLARK** OF CRUTHERLAND 1858-1913, SEE TREE J.
- **ALISTER CLARK** 1864-1949, MARRIED 1888, **EDITH RHODES** 1862-1951, NO ISSUE
- **JESSIE CLARK** 1865-1929, MARRIED 1891, **HEATON RHODES** 1861-1956, NO ISSUE

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSTON 1887-1962 — MARRIED 1923 — **JESSIE MARY CLARK** 1889-1984

BRONWEN GRIEVE BORN 1926 — MARRIED 1957 — **DR. STEWART CLARK JOHNSTON** BORN 1925

- **MARY CHRISTINA JOHNSTON. b 1958**, MARRIED 1988, **BOYD McK CARTER b 1955**
  - JESSIE GRIEVE CARTER, BORN 1991
  - ANNIE MARGARET CARTER, BORN 1993
  - GORDON McKINNON CARTER, BORN 1996
- **JANET GRIEVE JOHNSTON b 1960**, MARRIED 1988, **PETER RAWDON CHOMLEY b 1958**
  - BERNARD JOHNSTON CHOMLEY, BORN 1993
  - LACHLAN JOHNSTON CHOMLEY, BORN 1995
- **WILLIAM STEWART JOHNSTON b 1961**, MARRIED 1995, **AMANDA WOOTTON b 1964**
  - GEORGE WOOTON JOHNSTON, BORN 1999

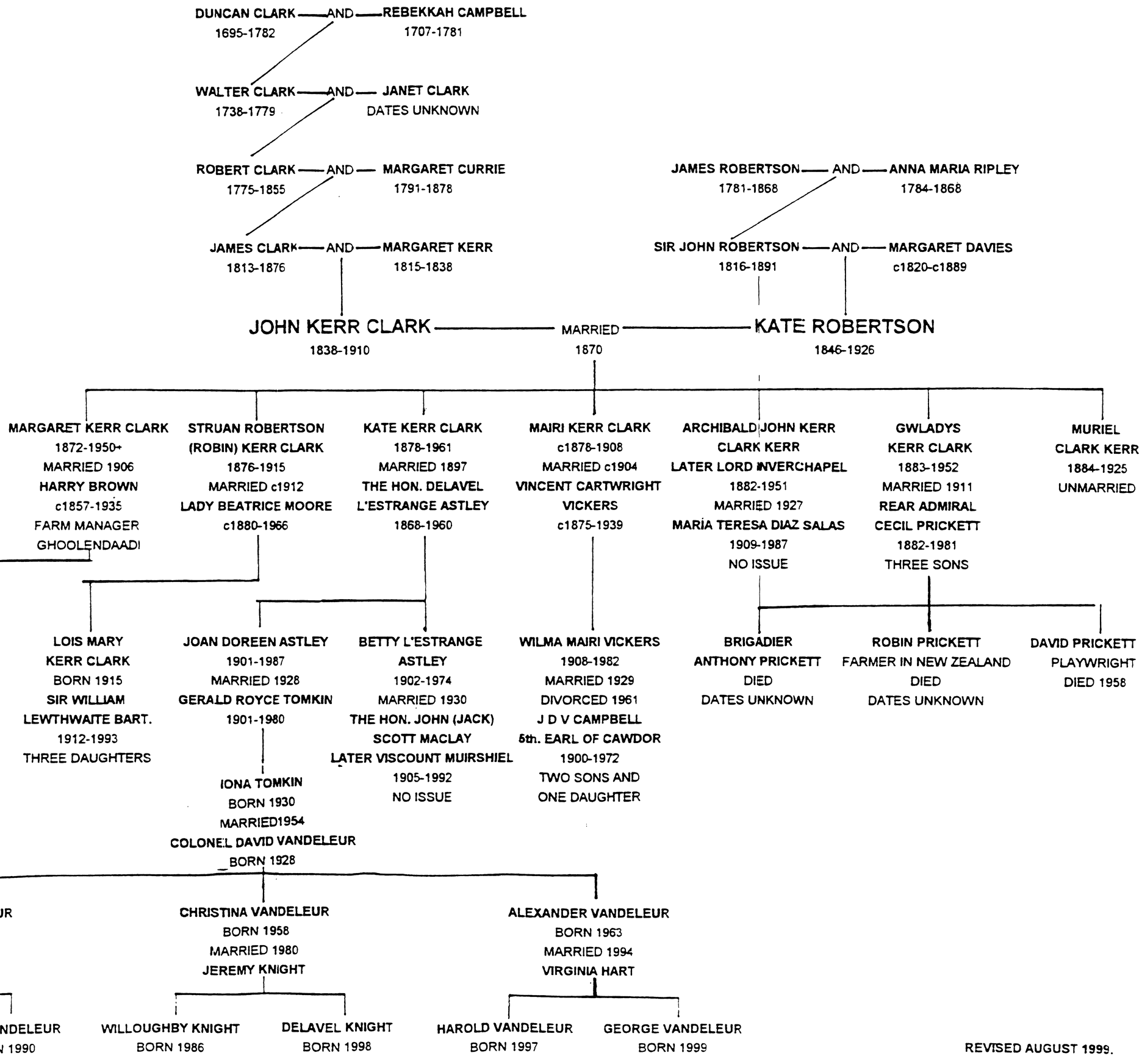
THE REV'D CANON DONALD WALTER JOHNSTON BORN 1928 — MARRIED 1955 — **ELIN PØDENPHANT LARSSON** BORN 1933

- **HENRIETTA LARSSON JOHNSTON b 1956**, MARRIED 1988, **JOSEPH CAMILLERI b 1954**
  - SARAH ELIN CAMILLERI, BORN 1989
  - PETER EMANUEL CAMILLERI, BORN 1994
- **JESSIE ENA JOHNSTON b 1960**, MARRIED 1991, **ANTHONY JOSEPH WRIGHT b 1958**
  - CARL WILLIAM WRIGHT, BORN 1992
  - ALAN DANIEL WRIGHT, BORN 1995
- **ENA KATRINE JOHNSTON b 1961**, MARRIED 1994, **DAVID RAJ VASUDEVAN b 1964**

Revised February 2000.

THE FAMILY OF JOHN KERR CLARK AND KATE ROBERTSON.

TREE G.



REVISED AUGUST 1999.

...LTER CLARK OF CRUTHERLAND ...S DESCENDANTS

TREE H.

JAMES CLARK
OF CROSSBASKET
1813-1876
(SEE TREE E.)

WALTER CLARK
OF GLENARA
VICTORIA
1803-1873
(SEE TREE F.)

WALTER CLARK — MARRIED — **ANNIE CLARK**
OF CRUTHERLAND LANARKSHIRE — 1882 — 1861-1890
1857-1913

IAN ARCHIBALD CLARK
1883-1957
MARRIED 1916
DIVORCED c1950
MAISIE BRISCOE
1894-1976

MAUDE HELEN CLARK
1884-1960
MARRIED FIRSTLY c1908
SUBSEQUENTLY DIVORCED
AXEL CAMPBELL KROOK
DATES UNKNOWN

MARRIED
SECONDLY 1924
MAJOR GENERAL
REGGIE HOWLETT
1882-1942
NO ISSUE

WALTER St.CLAIR CLARK
1886-1960+
MARRIED 1915
IRIS STEARNS
XXXX-1941
NO ISSUE

MARGARET BEATRIX CLARK
1888-1957
MARRIED 1911
ARTHUR GERARD ROBINSON
DIED 1954

JULIA MARGERY CLARK
BORN 1917
MARRIED AND DIVORCED
PETER HALES COLEMAN

- MICHAEL COLEMAN
  BORN 1943. UNMARRIED.
- CHRISTOPHER COLEMAN
  BORN 1947. UNMARRIED.

EDWARD JAMES CLARK
1918-1997
MARRIED 1947
SHEILA McLOY
BORN 1921

- **JUNE CLARK**
  BORN 1949
  MARRIED 1978
  RODERICK MILL
  BORN 1945
  - JAMES MILL
    BORN 1982
  - ANNA MILL
    BORN 1986
- **ROBERT CLARK**
  BORN 1951
  MARRIED 1979
  ANNE AMOROSO CENTENO
  BORN 1951
  - GIULIA CLARK
    BORN 1981
  - OLIVIA CLARK
    BORN 1985
- **HARRY CLARK**
  BORN 1954
  MARRIED 1985
  WENDY STENNETT
  BORN 1960
  - OLIVER CLARK
    BORN 1991
  - ARCHIE CLARK
    BORN 1995
- **SARAH CLARK**
  BORN 1963
  MARRIED 1998
  MALCOLM TURNER
  BORN 1964
  - JACK CLARK
    BORN 1998

LT.COL. ARCHIBALD BRISCOE CLARK
BORN 1922
UNMARRIED

HEATHER KROOK
BORN 1909
MARRIED1933
DENNIS BUTLER
DATES UNKNOWN

- WENDY BUTLER
  BORN c 1936
- MARK BUTLER
  BORN c 1938

PATIENCE (PAT) KROOK
1912-1992
MARRIED 1937
NORMAN McCASKIE
1911-1968

- PATIENCE McCASKIE
  BORN c1940

DIANA ROBINSON
BORN 1912
MARRIED 1938
BRIGADIER GEOFFREY GAMBLE
1896-1970

- **ROBIN GAMBLE**
  BORN 1940
  MARRIED
  PRISCILLA CATCHPOLE
  BORN 1950
  - THOMAS GAMBLE
    BORN 1979
  - AMELIA GAMBLE
    BORN 1981
- **HUGO GAMBLE**
  BORN 1946
  MARRIED 1978
  ANNABELLE PHILAMORE
  BORN 1947
  - JAMES GAMBLE
    BORN 1979
  - LUCINDA GAMBLE
    BORN 1981
  - ROSEMARY GAMBLE
    BORN 1984

HELEN ELIZABETH (BETTY) ROBINSON
1914-1970
MARRIED 1938
SIR THOMAS WATERLOW BART.
1911-1981

- **SIR GERARD WATERLOW BART.**
  BORN 1939
  MARRIED 1965
  DIANA SKYRME
  - AMANDA WATERLOW
    BORN 1968
  - JAMES WATERLOW
    BORN 1970
- **SIMON WATERLOW**
  BORN 1941
  MARRIED 1971
  JANE UNDERHILL
  - CAROLINE WATERLOW
    BORN 1973
- **JOHN WATERLOW**
  BORN 1945
  MARRIED 1972
  CAMILLA FARMER
  - RUFUS WATERLOW
    BORN 1976
  - ALEC WATERLOW
    BORN 1980

CAPT. JOHN ROBINSON MC
THE NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT
1919-1944
KILLED IN ACTION AT ANZIO.

REVISED FEBRUARY 2000.

DESCENDANTS OF DUNCAN CLARK TWO, FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL.

TREE J.

DUNCAN CLARK (ONE — MARRIED — **REBEKKAH CAMPBELL**
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL — c1730 — (aka BEATRICE)
1695-1782 — 1707-1781

DUNCAN CLARK TWO — MARRIED — **AGNES (or ANN) JENKIN**
FARMER IN INVERCHAPEL — 1785 — 1762-1836
1751-1820

- **JANET CLARK** — BORN 1786
- **WALTER CLARK** — (TORABUS, ISLAY) 1791-1859 — MARRIED 1830 — **CATHERINE TURNER** 1799-1856 — NO ISSUE
- **DUNCAN CLARK** — (SUCCOCH) 1792-1877 — MARRIED 1826 — **RACHEL TURNER** 1799-1863
- **ANDREW CLARK** — BORN 1794
- **REBECCA CLARK** — BORN 1795
- **MARY CLARK** — 1796-1834 — MARRIED 1819 — **ALEXANDER McBRIDE** 1800-1870 — (REF. TREE K.)
- **ROBERT CLARK** — 1799-1825
- **REBECCA CLARK** — BORN 1802
- **JOHN CLARK** — (BALLIEMEANOCH) 1804-1881 — MARRIED 1854 — **MARY McCALLUM** 1823-1872
- **ANNE CLARK** — 1808-1848+

MARGARET CLARK — 1830-1899 — MARRIED c1860 — **REV'D DUNCAN McNICHOL** 1829-1918

ANNE CLARK — BORN 1832 — MARRIED 1869 — **DONALD McARTHUR** BORN 1830

JANET CLARK — 1834-1919 — UNMARRIED

MARY CLARK — BORN 1836 — MARRIED 1862 — **REV'D ROBERT ROSE**

DUNCAN CLARK — BORN 1838

MALCOLM TURNER CLARK — 1840-1910 — MARRIED 1870 — **ELIZABETH ROY** DATES UNKNOWN

JANE CLARK — 1843-1866 — MARRIED c1864 — **xx McGOWAN**

Dr.DUNCAN CLARK — OF ANSTON, YORKS. 1855-1927 — MARRIED 1880 — **JANET NICHOL** 1849-1927

Dr.MALCOLM CLARK — OF HARTHILL, YORKS. 1857-1924

ROBERT CLARK — 1859-c1920

Dr.JOHN NICHOL CLARK — OF ANSTON, YORKS. 1888-1938 — MARRIED 1920 — **DOROTHY DENBIGH** 1889-1972

MALCOLM WILLIAM CLARK — 1889-1964 — MARRIED 1924 — **HELENA BODY** 1896-1985

- **IAN MALCOLM CLARK** — BORN 1921 — MARRIED 1950 — **PAMELA SUSAN PETHERICK** BORN 1929
  - **ANDREW DUNCAN CLARK** — BORN 1951 — MARRIED 1980 — **MIRANDA BLECKLY** BORN 1956
    - CHILDREN
    - **JENNIFER FRANCES CLARK** BORN 1986
    - **JONATHAN PAUL CLARK** BORN 1989
  - **SIMON ALASTAIR CLARK** — BORN 1954 — MARRIED 1985 — **PENELOPE LUCAS** BORN 1958
    - CHILDREN
    - **VENETIA BRIDGET CLARK** BORN 1986
    - **SOPHIA HELEN CLARK** BORN 1987
    - **ALASTAIR NICHOLAS CLARK** BORN 1989
  - **NICHOLAS JOHN CLARK** — BORN 1957 — MARRIED 1988 — **ANNE BARSON** BORN 1958
    - CHILDREN
    - **STEPHANIE RACHEL CLARK** BORN 1987
    - **KATE CLARK** BORN 1991
    - **MATTHEW CLARK** BORN 1995
  - **JACQUELINE IONA CLARK** — BORN 1962 — MARRIED 1992 — **ANDREW LOHAN** BORN 1963
    - CHILDREN
    - **NICOLE ALEXANDRA LOHAN** BORN 1994
    - **HUGH LOHAN** BORN 1997
- **DUNCAN EVERETT CLARK** — BORN 1924 — MARRIED 1956 — **BETTY FORREST** BORN 1919
  - **JOHN EDGAR CLARK** — BORN 1956 — MARRIED 1990 — **JULIE-ANNE STEER** BORN 1953
- **ALAN DENBIGH CLARK** — BORN 1926 LAST HEARD OF IN CANADA IN 1972
- **IAN DAVID CLARK** — BORN 1959 — MARRIED 1983 — **JENNIFER FRANCES STUCKLY** BORN 1956
  - CHILDREN
  - **ROWAN DANIEL CLARK** BORN 1989
  - **SAMUEL LEWIS CLARK** BORN 1991
  - **MATTHEW NICHOLAS CLARK** BORN 1993
- **JOHN ROY CLARK** — BORN 1925 — MARRIED 1952 — **ELSIE COULDWELL** BORN 1919
  - **IAN MALCOLM CLARK** — BORN 1961 — MARRIED 1983 — **NADINE COLE** BORN 1960
    - CHILDREN
    - **RYAN CLARK** BORN 1981
  - **JANET ELIZABETH CLARK** — BORN 1955 — MARRIED 1972 — **BRIAN EDWARD DODD** BORN 1952
    - CHILDREN
    - **MARK JONATHAN CLARK** BORN 1973
    - **SARAH CHARLOTTE CLARK** BORN 1980

REVISED FEBRUARY 1999.

GLENARA IN 1867. THE ESTATE CREATED TEN YEARS EARLIER BY WALTER CLARK (1803 – 1873).

Oil on canvas by Eugene von Guerard (1811 – 1901). Now in the care of National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

