

Stone Walls: A Different Approach ©

STONE WALLS is an on-going project to examine the History and Migrations of the various branches of a Scots-Irish family, the Agnews of Ulster and Galloway. All segments are interim working papers presented so that readers can follow and comment on topics as they develop. Over time added data and documentation may alter interpretations and conclusions. J. Marie Agnew-Marcelli, Ph.D.

Part 2. James Agnew of Marsh Creek and the Agnews of Dalreagle

INTRODUCTION

It behooves the historian to never gratuitously introduce scandalous material but, likewise, he is no historian who prunes out reliable, if embarrassing, content that can explain otherwise puzzling facts to achieve a more admirable chronicle. Ancestors were human, and fallible.

Dalreagle History Continued: Additional material, although still incomplete, has come to light that should be considered as it now appears it could account for the Dalreagle arms on the Pennsylvania armorial gravestone.

More Heraldic Evidence:

Actually the Dalreagle arms appear *twice* in the later 18th century Colonies; first on James Agnew's 1770 tombstone in Pennsylvania where no connection is documented, and later, on the 1790's bookplate of a James Agnew of New York entered in the Gore Roll of Arms¹ in use in early America. The engraving illustrates, but does not identify the Dalreagle differencing. The entry note is in regular type face which the compilers used to suggest there was some contemporary evidence connecting these arms with the New York man. No details were given.

In fact, Sir Crispin in his 2003 article² on the Dalreagles raised the question whether this New York James Agnew could be James Agnew, youngest son of Alexander 1st of Dalreagle, born 5 October, 1712. The bookplate with the Dalreagle arms is very well known among American bookplate collectors and the identity of the engraver is believed to be a Peter R. Maverick, a celebrated engraver in New York City from about 1786 – 1811. He is known to have been working in adjacent New Jersey even earlier, from the 1770's.

¹ Source <http://www.americanheraldry.org/pages/index.php?n=Roll.A?action=print>

² Agnew Association Newsletter (Scotland) 2003

There was a James Agnew in that period recorded in the 1810 Federal Census living in the 8th ward of Manhattan. The household consisted of 1 male and 2 females under age 10 (b. 1800-1809), one male age 26-44 (b. 1756-1774) 1 female age 26-44. No other Agnew households were listed nor were there any in 1790 and 1800 but canvassing was likely very incomplete.

Two City Directories, Longworth's for 1798, and for 1813, were examined.

The engraver, Peter R. Maverick was confirmed as working at 65 Liberty Street in 1798 and 115 Liberty in 1813. Early in his career he did many bookplates, decorative engravings for books, bibles, etc and seals but by the 1790 bank notes had largely replaced bookplates, etc in his output. However, the city was occupied by the British from September 1776 to November 1783 and was the center for the British command so that legions of officers and men stayed, lived or passed through New York in those 7 years. Certainly they did business there with the firms and artisans. Several Agnew officers were there during the period. It can be assumed that talented engravers like Maverick would have engraved silver, cards, book plates, etc. for officers who, passing through would have learned of promotions, honors or inheritances that necessitated changes in these aristocratic trappings. Maverick must have accumulated many authentic British armorial designs.

In the 1798 directory 2 Agnew entries appear:

John, a tobacconist at 308 Water St
Andrew, carpenter on Greenwich Road

In the 1813 directory 4 Agnew entries

James, grocer at Greenwich opposite the state prison
John, tobacconist *and merchant*, 313 Water St³
Phoebe, cook, 15 Reed
Samuel, laborer, 5 Little Water St.

Elsewhere there were entries for various names *at Agnew's Wharf!*⁴

Before assuming that none of these men would have an engraved bookplate, bear in mind this is not London but a rapidly expanding almost frontier town (New York State was only settled in a narrow band of 10-15 miles on either side of the Hudson along the 150 miles up to Albany) and Indian titles were still in place until well after the end of the American Revolution in 1783. Even the wealthy van Rensselaers with their thousands of acres of Manors and hundreds of tenants expected every son to apprentice to a trade. Merchants, ship owners – and wharf owners dominated controlled the town in the 18th century.

Tentative conclusion: The James Agnew of New York 1810 is far too young to be the youngest son of Alexander 1st of Dalreagle born in 1712. However, since we have *no information on the progeny of the 3 younger Dalreagle sons, Andrew, Alexander or James*, he could be a son or

³ Clearly he had prospered

⁴ No further information to date but it *might* reflect John's expanded entry.

grandson of any of these 3 Dalreagle cadets. Only for his heir Patrick is any information available and that is minimal.

The Gore Roll also illustrates the “undifferenced Scottish arms of Agnew of Lochnaw” for John R. Agnew (of Philadelphia, 1793) but in italic to denote there was “no known contemporary evidence connecting the arms with that person.” He has yet to be traced but there were Agnews in the Philadelphia region and Chester County and the British also occupied it for a time. Philadelphia itself was a more sophisticated city and its artisans could readily accumulate armorials over time from both occupying forces and upper class clientele beginning in the later 1600’s on. Access to heraldic design is much more easily explained than the presence of those with right to display them.

The Dalreagle branch in Sir Andrew’s *Hereditary Sheriffs of Wigtownshire*.

I have long been aware that Penelope Agnew, youngest child and 11th daughter of Andrew Agnew, 9th Sheriff of Wigtownshire, married Alexander Agnew, eldest son and successor of Patrick 2nd of Dalreagle. This I assumed was simply another example of the frequent marriage of cousins to retain assets in the control of the chiefly family.

However, the *Hereditary Sheriffs of Wigtownshire*⁵ is otherwise largely silent on the legitimated line of Dalreagle and such comments as do appear usually refer to Penelope and her son but omit her husband. She received a dowry of 6000 marks from her father but, elsewhere, in a curious statement again referring to “dowry”, are recorded a long list of what are undoubtedly Dalreagle – not Lochnaw - properties which must refer to her widow’s “terce”, or “life-rent”.

No descent for the Dalreagle line is include with those pedigrees of Lochnaw and the other cadets in Appendix I of *HSW* Vol.II, p 429 *et seq.*

Underlying the scanty comments is a hint of rejection and even bitterness. As I have learned more, I have come to understand better the sad burdens from this period that fell particularly on Sir Stair.

The Dalreagle Line Omissions from the Sir Andrew’s *Hereditary Sheriffs of Wigtownshire*

It was only last year that I encountered the marriage record of Penelope and Patrick which took place on 5 May 1763 at St. Martin in the Fields (Westminster), London.⁶ The only witness was a Cathrine Nithscale (sic) written in a shaky, inexperienced hand. This smacks of an elopement, but, knowing that only four of her 10 older sisters married, Penelope must have been an enterprising young woman, who at an “aging” 27, may have decided she was not going to join them in spinsterhood. It proved to be only the first example of a less than staid nature. Penelope

⁵ *HSW* v. ii, 200,230, 329.

⁶ Findmypast, *Westminster Marriage Transcriptions*

may have been visiting in London at that time as her brother, Sir James, is recorded as renting a house on St. James Street in Piccadilly a fortnight before.⁷

Dalreagle I

Alexander, the 1st of the Agnews of Dalreagle, was the illegitimate son of Sir Andrew Agnew, 10th Sherriff. When he grew up, his father found him a minor clerical position in the Wigtown County Administration where he prospered. In 1684 he was listed as Sheriff's Clerk and already held a number of properties and leases.⁸ In 1686 he was legitimated by Crown Charter⁹. The Hearth Money rolls of 1695¹⁰ record him living in a house with 6 chimineys in Wigtown near his future father-in-law, the Provost of Wigtown (in a similar dwelling) and having subtenents in several parishes. As evidence of his high favor with his father, he served as witness to the 10th Sheriff's will and verified it before the Court at the 10th Sheriff's death in 1702. (and bitterness of the legitimate heirs over this slight still echoes in the *HSW*)

Within 2 years of his father's death he had succeeded in acquiring still more property including Dalreagle, Myrton McKie, - whose name he promptly changed to Myrton Agnew. He also married Mary, daughter of William Coltran, Provost of Wigton *and* Commissioner of Estates, by who he had 4 sons and 2 daughters (see previous paper).¹¹

Before he died in 1730 Alexander I of Dalreagle acquired further property, adding Fyntalloch and Glenruther to his estate. In the period when the various Navigation Acts barred Ireland from shipping cattle directly to the English market, he apparently followed the many canny Galloway families with substantial land who ignored low-return farming to make good money by shipping (more usually, smuggling) Irish cattle to fatten in Galloway. These were then sold in England as "Scots" bred.¹²

Thus, Alexander had a substantial estate to pass to his eldest son.

Patrick, 2nd of Dalreagle. (b. ca. 1705 – d. 3 Aug 1758) married Mary Stewart of Penninghame (b. bef. 1714).¹³ The couple had 3 children, his heir, Alexander, born 6 October 1722, another son, William, n.d. and a daughter, Agnes .

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Westminster Rate Books 1634-1900 Transcriptions*.

⁸ Hearth Money Rolls, Wigtownshire, 1695 ref

⁹ Crown Charter, March 1686

¹⁰ Parish List of Wigtownshire, 1684

¹¹ Patrick, Margaret, Andrew, Alexander, James and Eliza

¹² Agnew, Maj. Douglas, *Whites of their Eyes*; Agnew Association, Edinburgh; 1982. Pp. 146 -173

¹³ [Note: Mary Stewart's descent has not been established. After the Conventer troubles and attendant crushing fines the various Penninghame Stewart families of Ochiltree, Castlestewart, Fintalloch, etc. were in serious debt. Land records, are a tangle of shifting "ownership", sometimes every 2 to 3 years. Maxwells, Gordons and assorted Agnews; David, Collector of Customs and Nathaniel Agnew of Ochiltree (both of Dalreagle), the Dalreagles themselves – were sometimes lenders or sureties. Wills and deeds were missing names and even McKerlie seems to despair of recording an orderly history of land transfer "when so many in the district were in trouble."]

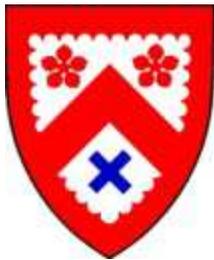
Information on the family history of the first 3 generations of the Dalreagle Agnews in usual sources is very limited beyond the October 1762 vignette reported by Boswell (see previous paper) who found them quiet and hospitable.¹⁴

At Patrick's death in 1758 Alexander the 3rd of Dalreagle, as heir, received the Dalreagle and Myrton Agnew estates. Moreover, in spite of the generally desperate state of many Galloway landholders of the period, he was able to settle Fintalloch on his second son, William.

William had already received an M.A. from Glasgow University in 1747, held a commission in 1755 as Ensign in the 37th Foot and was a Lieutenant in the 24th Foot at his father's death, rising eventually to Lt. Colonel in the 24th. He married yet another Mary Stewart, not otherwise identified. He is recorded as living at Fintalloch and apparently had issue. His death occurred at Heathfield, County Roscommon, Ireland, June 1784.

Over the period from 1753 to well after 1770 several Agnews including some specifically identified as of Dalreagle or Ochiltree¹⁵ are recorded by McKerlie as holding sasine to the 40 shilling land of Ochiltree¹⁶. Among them were David, Alexander, Nathaniel and George. Nathaniel was a very active attorney during the Stewarts' debt problems but it is not clear how the longtime Stewart holding of Ochiltree suddenly ended in the hands of this clutch of Dalreagles. How they fit into the Dalreagle descent is not yet known.

However, their continuous recording in later 18th century Galloway would seem to eliminate any likelihood of a blood connection to James of Marsh Creek in Pennsylvania.



It is Alexander the 3rd of Dalreagle, however, who is *central* to the question of the source of arms on the 1770 tombstone of James Agnew's in Pennsylvania. It was he who matriculated the arms officially recorded on 1 January 1760 at the Court of the Lord Lyon. This limits the period in which knowledge of heraldic specifics could be transmitted from Scotland to North America. Even if the tombstone was carved several years after James's death, the relatively crude execution plus the related motifs on Agnew and other monuments in the time period and locale suggest an upper limit of 1780-82 – a scant score of years.

The 3rd *laird of Dalreagle* was educated at Glasgow University (M.A. 1750) , trained as an advocate (1754) specializing in military law and apparently spent his entire career in the Judge Advocate's Department.

¹⁴ In fact Sir Crispin devotes only one-half page to them in his article on the Dalreagle line which appeared in the 2003 issue of the International Agnew Newsletter concentrating instead on the Dalreagle activities in India and Australia.

¹⁵ Ochiltree is a portion of Fintalloch; both place names have been linked to cadets of Dalreagles in various sources.

¹⁶ McKerlie Vol II, pp 126-27; 1906.

As indicated above he married Penelope, 11th daughter of Andrew Agnew, 3rd Bt. of Lochnaw, on 5 May 1763 in London at which time he was described in his marriage notice as a lieutenant colonel although he does not appear on the Army List. It may be a local or honorary rank. By 1765 he was Deputy Judge Advocate and Clerk of the Courts Martial in North Britain and the next year was promoted to Judge Advocate. Alexander and Penelope's only child, a son named Patrick Alexander, was born in 1764¹⁷. On 3 January 1768, before the little boy's 4th birthday, his father died suddenly of unknown causes.

Penelope, now a young widow with a toddler, had control of a 6000 merk dowry and a life interest two Scottish estates, Merton Agnew and Dalreagle.

ENTER THE ADVENTURER

In the event Penelope fell under the control or went with open eyes into the hands of perhaps the most consummate and remarkable of the Irish and Scottish Adventurers who populated the outrageous society of the 18th Century: Lauchlin Maclean. Moreover, he had the opportunities, talent, name recognition, the breadth of contacts and social impact in America to make him a later indirect conduit for Dalreagle information to the colonies. A silver-tongued social climber himself he was likely to catch the attention of the similar-minded and be remembered.

Lauchlin was born about 1727, eldest son of Rev. John Maclean vicar of Billy, County Antrim by Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Phillip Mathews, rector of Ballemoney. He was educated at John Dennison's school in Belfast and Trinity College Dublin, 29 May 1746, aged 18, where he was a contemporary and friend of Edmund Burke. He capped this with an Edinburgh Univ. MD in 1755.

In the same year he married Elizabeth Hewitt, daughter of John Hewitt, MD, former physician to Czar Peter III. They had no children and parted permanently in 1768.

In 1756 Lauchlin and his wife emigrated to Pennsylvania where he set up a practice with another Edinburgh graduate, John Stuart. Benjamin Franklin together with London trained Dr. Thomas Bond and Benjamin Rush, another University of Edinburgh MD, had already established both a hospital and medical school (1751) along Edinburgh lines so the city had a reputation for up-to-date medical practice. In this milieu, a first class European degree became an asset and ambitious doctors found the medical institutions aided practice and improved their own status. Patronized by prosperous families, these men acquired wealth and so commanded respect for their social position as well as for their professional standing.¹⁸

In this setting the practice did well and the partners became widely known and respected not just among the colonial gentry but among senior officers of the British regiments in the North

¹⁷ Oddly, an exact birthday has not been reported.

¹⁸ ¹⁸ <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44807198.pdf> Shryock, RH *Eighteenth Century Medicine in America*



American theater of the Seven Years War (a.k.a French and Indian War). Laughlin and his Scottish wife were socially active in Philadelphia at all levels. His medical talent, general knowledge and wit - in spite of a terrible stutter - made him well-known and long remembered in America ¹⁹

In the prior “intercontinental wars viz. *King William’s, Queen Anne’s and King George’s* the colonies were largely left to their own efforts . Most organized and fielded their own small militias. The pacifist Quaker Assembly did nothing and individual isolated settlements were left to struggle and suffer on their own. During these earlier hostilities major incursions were in the northern and southern colonies. By 1754, however, Pennsylvania settlements were the key to the Ohio country and French-coordinated Indian attacks

left ravaged farms, scalped bodies and a horde of panicked refugees pouring east into the Quaker-dominated area. The British forts ringing the Great Lakes fell readily into French hands.

Britain finally realized that they were at serious risk of losing their North American holdings to France and began to devote men and material to redressing the error.

Senior generals and crack regiments were being sent to the colonies and Canadian theatres and new regiments recruited. At the time there was no established military medical service and Lauchlin Maclean volunteered. He served from November 1757 as surgeon to the famed 60th *Regt of Foot*, better known as the Royal American Rifles.²⁰

Neither was there any real supply network in the North American combat area. With a good education, drive and high intelligence Lauchlin took on, not just basic medical and surgical duties but began organizing the services needed for the overall well-being of the troops from shelter, food, sanitary services, etc., in effect creating commissary services.

Sometime after the 60th Regiment actually began to campaign up the Hudson toward the French forts on Lake Champlain it was joined by the Virginia Colonial Regiment and the first elements of a Pennsylvania unit. The Quaker-dominated colony had *no* provision for defense until Benjamin Franklin’s bill of 1755 forced them into providing encouragement and material assistance to the isolated settlements to organize and equip local companies of “Associators” and

¹⁹ Graydon, Alexander. *Memories of a life passed chiefly in Pennsylvania within the passed sixty years*; Harrisburgh, 1811; p. 33. As a 16 year-old, the author saw Dr & Mrs Maclean during their frequent, sometimes, daily visits with his grandparents. Graydon’s recollections, after a lifetime of distinguished American military and government service, described Maclean as a doctor of great skill and a man of wit and general information but with a severe speech impediment (stuttering) in spite of which he later stood for Parliament.

²⁰ Known as The Royal American Regiment of Foot, it was the first in the British Army to recruit experienced, foreign, protestant officers and to train soldiers to fight in colonial style to avoid the catastrophe that befell Burgoyne whose troops were trained for European set battles.

create some coordinated defense. By the next year the colony had enough organized companies so that Pennsylvania units were joining the British campaign, especially the 60th Foot.

That is pertinent to our purpose, most particularly because during the long Champlain and Canadian campaigns both the Virginia and Pennsylvania colonial regiments and the 60th had their all their grenadier companies combined into a single special unit known as “Agnew’s Grenadiers”, under the command of Lt. Col. James Agnew of Howlith Hall²¹. Lauchlin Maclean was the temporary surgeon to this special unit²² with officers and men drawn from various units of Virginia and Pennsylvania²³. [James Agnew, a decade later and a general, would die from a sniper’s bullet in Germantown, during the American Revolution. ²⁴]

With the final campaign of 1760 Montreal fell and the battle for Canada was over. Laughlin Maclean returned to his private practice in Philadelphia.

However, the Seven Years War was not over, only the scene had shifted and Dr. Mclean’s talents had not been forgotten. In 1761 Laughlin accompanied Major- General Robert Monckton on the expedition to conquer Martinique as Commissary of Provisions and Supplies, private secretary and unofficial medical advisor! While in the West Indies he purchased considerable land in his own name and that of others, including General Monckton.

In November of 1763, with hostilities of the Seven Year’ War ended, Lauchlin Maclean returned to England. He moved to Paris the following April to manage business resulting from his land purchases - leaving his wife in London. In France, he became involved with several out-of-office British politicians, including the disgraced John Wilkes. Lauchlin resolved to become a politician²⁵ when he realized that the corrupt system of politics then in vogue in Britain was the surest route to financial and social success. Meanwhile he continued in Paris with his land business, amused himself becoming a consummate roué and used his connection with the Burkes to act as Wilkes intermediary with the new administration in London.

Two years later, in December 1765, he returned to London (and his wife) to pursue his claims to office and was rewarded with the lieutenant governorship of St. Vincent. The position required residence and was not lucrative but offered prospects for private gain.²⁶

Before he could take up this post, in April 1766 he saw an opportunity in the speculative boom in East India stock. Organizing large-scale combined operations in London, Amsterdam and Paris

²¹ Agnew, Maj. Douglas, *Whites of their Eyes*; Agnew Association, Edinburgh; 1982. Pp. 110-113

²² Fryer, Mary Beacock (1996-07-26). Allan Maclean, Jacobite General: The life of an eighteenth century career soldier (Kindle Locations 1117-1121). Dundurn. Kindle Edition.

²³ Men from Marsh Creek were wounded in this campaign and returned home. See earlier papers.

²⁴ Ibid. *Whites of their Eyes*; p. 118.

²⁵ Fryer, Mary Beacock (1996-07-26). Allan Maclean, Jacobite General: The life of an eighteenth century career soldier (Kindle Locations 1283-1285). Dundurn. Kindle Edition.

²⁶ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/maclean-lauchlin-1727-78>

markets that allowed quick purchase or sale on the continental exchanges and using private sources with advanced knowledge of events led initially to great success for Lauchlin and numerous prominent men in the Administration. Three years later in May-June 1769 the price of East India Company stock collapsed and financial panic followed. The politicians who participated in the scheme suffered heavy losses but Maclean was totally ruined with debts amounting to £ 90,000 (at a time when £ 2000 to £ 6000 was considered a fortune). Silver-tongued to the last Lauchlin managed to avoid debtors prison by convincing his creditors that they would be better served if he were given the opportunity to rebuild his fortune.

In the interim he had become a Member of Parliament serving the pocket borough of Arundel from 1768 to 1771 under the auspices of Sir George Colebrook.

During his political career he held the offices of: Lt-Gov. of St Vincents 1766; Under-secretary of State responsible for American business (under Lord Shelburne) Oct 1766-June 1768; and subsequent to the stock debacle: Superintendent of Lazarettoes (a sinecure) 1771; Collector at Philadelphia 1772; Comptroller of Army Accounts Bengal 1772-73; and Commissary of Musters Bengal 1773.

On the personal side, Maclean continued an active round of liaisons with women of all levels of society including “ladies of quality” some of whom bore his illegitimate issue.

Lauchlin and his wife, Elizabeth (who must have been a tolerant soul) parted permanently in 1768 supposedly on the ground of failure to produce an heir. Elizabeth Hewitt Maclean was said to be a longtime friend of Penelope Agnew dating back to Edinburgh days. This was likely how Penelope and Lauchlin became acquainted.

PENELOPE AGNEW, LIFE AS A WIDOW 1768 - 1772

Now in mid 1768 she was the recent wealthy widow of Alexander 3rd of Dalreagle and Lauchlin Maclean was in disastrous financial trouble. Somehow Maclean seems to have persuaded Penelope that marriage was possible and by 1769 they were openly cohabiting in London.

The following summer on 29 June 1770 Penelope Agnew gave birth to a son whom Lauchlin named John Maclean. The couple appeared happy and continued to live together until on 2 May 1772 Penelope died giving birth to a daughter the disconsolate father named Harriet. Penelope's funeral from St. Mary's Church followed. At the time Lauchlin described her death as the greatest personal tragedy of his life.²⁷

Lauchlin set up a household to look after the children, his son and daughter and Penelope's orphaned son, Patrick Alexander, 4th of Dalreagle, of whom he was very fond and wished to adopt.

²⁷ Fryer, Mary Beacock (1996-07-26). Allan Maclean, Jacobite General: The life of an eighteenth century career soldier (Kindle Locations 1747-8. Dundurn. Kindle Edition. P.

Agnew, Maj. Douglas, *Whites of their Eyes*; Agnew Association, Edinburgh; 1982. pp. 147-48

That same year he had acquired a good post in India which was followed by a more lucrative one along with the brevet rank of colonel.

These positions required regular travel to India, and following standard practice in 1774 he made a will to provide for the children. In it, 4 years after her loss, he describes Penelope as “My dearest beloved and regretted more than wife, Penelope”. If his initial intent had been financial gain, it had clearly become far more. His estate he left to the children by Penelope. To the young Dalreagle he left £300 per year until age 25 his paternal estates might be improved and the hope the lad would adopt the Macleane name and arms. While in Madras that year Macleane took time in April 1774 to see that both his son, John (not yet 4) and Patrick Alexander Agnew (age 10) were enrolled as ensigns in Madras European Regiment. These were valuable assets that could later be taken up or sold. In fact, both boys did.

Patrick took up commission and eventually achieved the rank of Major General and earned the respect and regard of Lord Cornwallis and Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington.²⁸

John Macleane rose to Major in the 5th Madras Cavalry. Harriet followed her brother to India where she married Colonel Mark Wilks, had 2 children but died in London at age 33. The children were raised by Harriet’s old nurse.²⁹

Macleane returned safely from that voyage in August 1775 but set off again 1776 for more hectic negotiations. He set out on the return voyage to England on 21 September 1777 on the naval sloop *Swallow* which called at Cape of Good Hope in November but was believed to have been lost with all hands in the Bay of Biscay during February 1778.

Summary - Lauchlin Macleane - He was large, ugly and spoke with a severe stutter but also highly intelligent, witty, resourceful, brave, wholly without scruple, disreputable in both private and public life but capable of winning (mistaken) confidence of a wide range of people³⁰. Still he could be thoughtful and helpful to soldiers in his care, and various people of ordinary status in need of assistance dealing with bureaucracy, military or political. His wide circle of contacts and acquaintances – whether friendly or not- and political and military connections on 3 continents ensured he would be newsworthy – Even more so in an era where gossip was a major source of “sport” and entertainment.

Moreover, he was well known to the printing and publishing world of his day as he wrote with great style, was the author of a number of contributions to the Press and anonymous pamphlets and has been suspected of writing the Letters of Junius which appeared squarely in the midst of his London political career but neither before or after. With a life punctuated by attention

²⁸ Agnew, Maj. Douglas, *Whites of their Eyes*; Agnew Association, Edinburgh; 1982. Pp. 149-173

²⁹ Fryer, Mary Beacock (1996-07-26). Allan Maclean, Jacobite General: The life of an eighteenth century career soldier (Kindle Locations 3311-3314). Dundurn. Kindle Edition. P.

³⁰ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/macleane-lauchlin-1727-78>

catching events he was the most spectacular of the Scottish and Irish adventurers of an age that may represent the pinnacle of such daring.

There seems little doubt that his name would guarantee publication in both England and America where the London papers continued to be passed around until they disintegrated and gossip was one of the few activities that brightened a life of endless routine.

Conclusions: While there still remains a very slight possibility that James of Marsh Creek *might* descend from one of the 2 or 3 untraced sons of the 1st Dalreagle, all other males are too young and almost universally accounted for.

The inevitable notoriety of Dr. Lauchlin Maclean from contacts and activities during his residence in Pennsylvania and his service in the French and Indian War to his election as MP plus various later government positions - especially his 1772 appointment as *Collector at Philadelphia* - would surely have made his name and activities newsworthy in London and Philadelphia. The added titillation offered by the unfortunate very public liaison with widow Penelope Agnew could only have added to reader interest - and offered the possibility of illustration of the Dalreagle arms to emphasize her high status. Artisans and status-seeking families not fully aware of the niceties of heraldic details would be quick to pick them up. After all, to most Americans Agnew arms were, and are, are just that –“Agnew” arms! This was backwoods Pennsylvania – not the hide-bound Puritan enclave of Boston.

Note. Because of the extremely limited availability of Major Agnew’s book, *The Whites of Their Eyes* in libraries and other public sources, an Appendix consisting of the 4 pages applicable to this paper are attached to permit verification of citations.

Next paper will begin a detailed examination of the content and sources of Mary Virginia Agnew’s *The Book of the Agnews*.

Part 2. James Agnew of Marsh Creek and the Agnews of Dalreagle

APPENDIX I

At the First Agnew Gathering in 1985 I had the delightful privilege of meeting Major Douglas Agnew who had written *The Whites of Their Eyes, A Military History of the Agnews of Lochnaw*. This had been privately published 2 years earlier in 1982 by the Agnew Association in Edinburgh. A handful of copies remained and I fortuitously acquired one. It is a masterful review of the military history of the Agnews with copious documentation but it is equally enjoyable for the personal and family details that are too often missing in such work. Many of the individuals come alive in the vignettes written with much grace and humor and it fills a gap that has long been missing in the *family* side of history.

Anyone with serious interest in the Agnews of Lochnaw would find this a marvelous source for those who were little remarked or remembered over many generations as well as the heralded ones readily found in the great compendia. Its one weakness is the lack of an index for a volume packed with names.

The greater problem is its limited availability. World Catalogue lists it in a single library in Ireland, 3 in Canada, *none* in Australia and 3 in the US. Because I relied on Major Agnew for confirmation of numerous details and because I wanted to acquaint more - especially younger generations world-wide – with its existence and value – I attach scans of the 4 pages from which I drew information.

GMAM

Note to American Readers : The Title quote is NOT from the Battle of Bunker Hill.

THE WHITES OF THEIR EYES

An account of the military and naval adventures of the
Agnews of Lochnaw from the formation of the
First Scottish Regiments in 1639

y

MAJOR DOUGLAS AGNEW

"Dinna fire till ye see the whites of their e'en!"
Sir Andrew Agnew at Dettingen

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CHAPTER XI

THE COASTS OF COROMANDEL

Patrick Alexander Agnew, 1764-1813 Major, Madras European Regiment, Colonel, 21st Madras Native Infantry, and a Major-General.

"On the coast of Coromandel Dance they to the tunes of Handel."

Sir Osbert Sitwell, Bart.

I

Alexander, the first of the Agnews of Dalreagle, was an illegitimate son of Sir Andrew Agnew, the 10th Sheriff. When he grew up, his father found him some small office in the county administration, and before the end of the seventeenth century he had risen to be Sheriff Clerk. He prospered, and by 1704 he was affluent enough to take the sasine of the Barony of Myrton. The same year he married Mary, daughter of William Coltran of Drumorrall, the Provost of Wigton, who was also a Commissioner of Estates, and the next year a deed shows him as in possession of 'Dalreagle, Creochs, Ballard and Castle Agnew'. Before he died, he had added Fyntalloch and Glenruther to his properties, and it is probable that from these lands he had built up a nice business in fattening the Galloway

cattle for the southern markets. Moreover, he had quite a conceit of himself, for he altered the old name of Myrton McKie to Myrton Agnew.

Patrick, the eldest of the family of four sons and two daughters, succeeded him in 1730, and dying in 1758, left Fyntalloch to his younger son William, then in the 24th Regiment, while Myrton Agnew and Dalreagle went to the elder, Alexander. Alexander had been trained as an advocate in Edinburgh, and specialized in military law. The notice of his marriage on the 5th May 1763, in the Scots Magazine describes him as a lieutenant-colonel, but as no Army List records this, if it is not a misprint, it must have been some honorary or local rank in the Judge Advocate's Department. Certainly, by 1765 he was holding the part of Deputy Judge Advocate, and Clerk of Courts Martial in North Britain. The next year he was promoted to Judge Advocate, and thought himself distinguished enough to matriculate his arms, which

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are recorded by Lyon King of Arms as those of his great-grandfather, Sir Andrew, "Argent a chevron between two cinque foils in chief gules and a saltire coupé in base azure", but with the additive for difference "within a bordure engrailed of the second". And then, suddenly and speedily, on a cold winter's day in London in January 1768, he died.

His disconsolate widow, left with a small son christened Patrick Alexander, not yet four years old, was left with a life interest in the Dalreagle and Myrton estates. She also had control over her dowry of 6000 merks, given her by

her father, Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, the 12th Sheriff, for she was Penelope, the 16th of his seventeen children.

Soon, alas, she was to fall into bad hands. An upstart political adventurer, one Lauchlin Maclean, attracted no doubt by her possessions, made his proposals to her. Born in Antrim, he had at one time been surgeon to Agnew's Grenadiers during the advance on Montreal. He has, however, achieved rather greater notoriety for being one of the select band who may be considered to have been the anonymous author or the well-known 'Letters of Junius'. He certainly had a charming tongue, was brave, tough and crooked, and possessed an incredibly ugly face, a combination that young women have been unable to resist before and since. Penelope failed too.

The fact that Maclean already had a wife in Edinburgh, who she probably knew quite well, was somehow got over. There is evidence in the Letters that could be construed to show that he was able to overcome her scruples and to persuade her that marriage was possible; certainly he promised to care for her young son, and this he fulfilled, for later he was to record that he wished the boy to take his name and arms. Maybe Penelope was deceived, maybe she knew the road she was going and did not give a damn. Enough that by 1769 they were happily cohabiting in Lambeth, and with some success, for a boy was born the next year.

In 1772 there is the ominous entry that William Boyd had sasine of Myrton Agnew, so perhaps Maclean had found a way round his predecessor's carefully drawn will, but he

was to have no more opportunities, for the next May, Penelope died giving birth to a daughter. Maclean was heartbroken. Whatever his earlier motives, he had grown to love Penelope dearly, and he recorded her

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death as the greatest personal tragedy of his life. Four years later, drawing his will, he refers to her as "My dearest, beloved and regretted more than wife Penelope". She must have brought him great happiness to earn such an epitaph, and for that much may be forgiven her.

In other ways his luck had just changed. After years of penury, he had just obtained the profitable job of Commissary General to the Army in Bengal, with the rank of Colonel. Full of sorrow, he sailed for India a month after losing Penelope. By March the following year he was on sick leave on the coast of Coromandel, due to overwork. As the over-work had included obtaining posts for half a dozen of his friends in the Commissary's Department, it was possibly not infelicitous. Bengal becoming a little too warm for him in more ways than just the climate, he came home in 1775 to present the case of Warren Hastings to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, and also representing Nawab of Arcot as his personal agent.

Two years later, he left again for India — leaving his mistress, and the nurse of his children, both in the family way — and returning round the Cape of Good Hope, sailed from Cape Town in December. He was never seen again, for the ship in which he had passage was lost with all hands.

To his children by Penelope, he left his estate, described at some length, and to his adopted son, Patrick Alexander Agnew £300 yearly until "he attains the age of 25", that his paternal estates may be improved without diminution and in the hope that he would adopt the name and arms of Maclean.

And with this last blast of his infernal cheek his story ends, for he had by now not a penny piece to bless himself with, was heavily in debt, while the arms he so proudly boasted were found to have been quietly purloined from someone else and never to have had the blessing of Lyon King.

But long before this, Patrick Alexander's uncle, Sir Stair Agnew, had stepped in. It was bad enough having a sister living in sin in London; such luxuries were usually confined to the male members of the family; but the thought of an Agnew changing his name to that of some obscure Irish adventurer of doubtful Highland descent was too much. Patrick was swept back to Galloway, to be brought up in the family circle; in a suitable manner as became the Laird of Dalreagle.

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Only one last gift remained. It was to settle the whole course of Patrick's life. We have seen Maclean jobbing industriously for his friends in Calcutta. There is one more appointment that must be laid at his door. Agnew family influence in the East Indies, so far as we know, did not exist while Maclean was in Madras in the spring of 1774. It is therefore no surprise to see that on the 12th April that year Patrick was appointed an ensign in the Madras European Regiment. It would have been a sound business investment for a boy he was fond of. Later he could either take the post or sell it, meanwhile he acquired seniority. That the boy was only ten years of age was quite beside the point. A job was a job and advantage must be taken when it offered.

II

The regimental lists of the Madras European Regiment show Patrick as "In England, on leave" in 1779. More probably he was still at school in Scotland, and as yet had never had his first sight of Fort St. George from the decks of a merchantman. The fort at Madras was the stronghold of the defence and administration of the small territory that the East India Company held on the Coromandel Coast. A similar one at Bombay, and a larger one embracing the province of Bengal and centred on Calcutta, were the extent of the company's possessions in India. Outside these boundaries their influence extended only so far as they could make treaties with the native rulers, and was restricted by the pressures of their trading competitors, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese.

As Patrick was growing up, England was losing her American Colonies, and at the same time laying the foundations of her Indian Empire. During the years of the French Revolution which followed, he was to see and share in the steady expansion of his country's influence over the greater part of the sub-continent, and overseas to Ceylon, Java and the Dutch East Indies. He was to show his ability and mettle, and to gain promotion in a series of campaigns, to be unfairly accused and to be sent home almost in disgrace, to prove his detractors wrong, and to return to serve with honour in his last campaign.

He must just have gone East in the early 80s, and soon we have evidence enough to show that he had the education and breadth of vision to become a good staff officer. On leave in