

ARGYLL  
ESTATE  
INSTRUCTIONS



1771-1805

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FOURTH SERIES

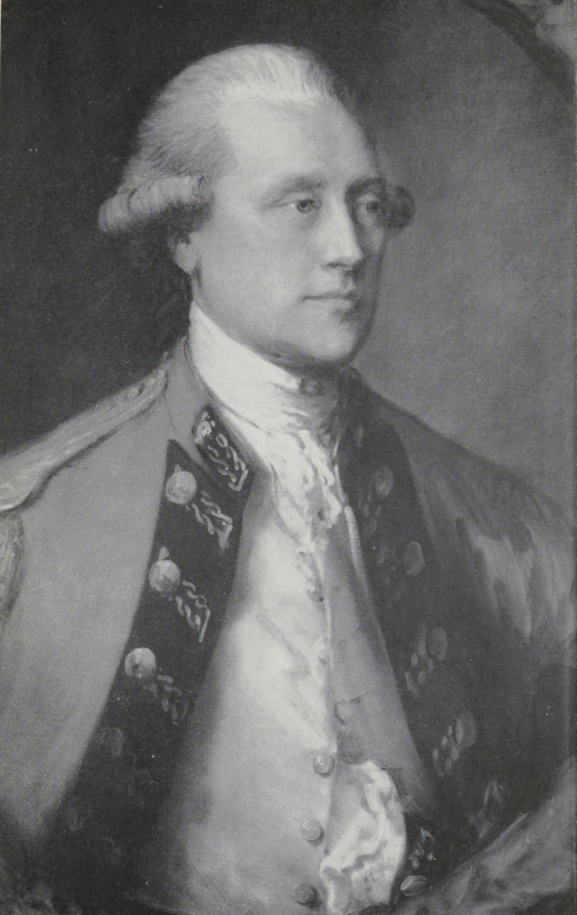
VOLUME I

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Argyll Estate Instructions

*frontispiece*, John, fifth Duke of Argyll, by Gainsborough







# Argyll Estate Instructions

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MULL, MORVERN, TIREE

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1771-1805

*edited by* Eric R. Cregeen M.A.



EDINBURGH

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1964

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## PREFACE

My special thanks are due to His Grace the Duke of Argyll for permission to publish the documents which follow and for his kindness, over a number of years, in according me access to the papers at Inveraray Castle and generous hospitality. I have benefited much from his wide knowledge of the Argyll family papers.

The portrait of the 5th Duke is reproduced here, from the original at Inveraray Castle, by kind permission of the present Duke and through the generous co-operation of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. I am greatly in debt to Miss Marion Campbell for placing her family papers at Kilberry Castle at my disposal and for permission to quote from the Knockbui papers. Mr Allan MacDougall, Cornaigmore, Tiree, has generously permitted me to make use of a 19th-century tracing of James Turnbull's map of Tiree in the editing of the text and the preparation of one of the maps. I am indebted to my wife for assisting me in preparing the maps, and for the re-drawing of the maps to Mr Ian Adams.

I have been saved an immense amount of labour by Mr John Simpson, who prepared the index, and Miss Isabel Catto, who assisted me in preparing the text. Dr I. F. Grant first encouraged and sponsored the idea of publishing the instructions, and my editorial labours have been wisely guided by the late Dr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville and by Professor Gordon Donaldson and Mr Grant G. Simpson. I owe them my sincere thanks, as also to the Rev. William Matheson, Mr David Murison and Mr Duncan Hunter for expert advice on philological matters, and Mr B. R. S. Megaw and Dr Alan Gailey for their interest and fruitful suggestions. I have had the benefit of scholarly criticism from Professor Sydney Checkland, Dr Roy Campbell and Dr J. H. Plumb. Father James Webb and Mr Duncan Colville of Campbeltown, and Mr Robert D. Carr, Argyll County Planning Officer, have helped me out of their profound knowledge of Argyll, and Miss Mary Cosh from her intimate acquaintance with the ducal records.

My researches have been assisted by the willing help of the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Record Office, the University of Glasgow Library, the Argyll County Library and Campbeltown Public Library. My thanks are due to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland and to the University of Glasgow for enabling me to devote a year as a Carnegie Fellow to these researches. My release from my duties as Resident Tutor in Argyll during this period would not have been possible without the generous co-operation of my colleagues in the Extra-Mural Department and also of the Argyll County Education Committee.

Finally I have to express my gratitude to my wife and to my friends and students in all parts of Argyll. Their constant interest and encouragement have played an indispensable part in my researches.

Eric Cregeen  
*Kilmichael Glassary,*  
*Argyll.*



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*A generous contribution from the  
Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland  
towards the cost of producing this volume  
is gratefully acknowledged by the  
Council of the Society*

## INTRODUCTION

THE present volume contains the instructions which John, 5th Duke of Argyll, gave to his Chamberlain of Mull and Morvern and his Chamberlain of Tiree.<sup>1</sup> They reflect the interests and work of an exceptional man. He was born in 1723, the second son of General John Campbell of Mamore and Mary Bellenden, his wife. He had a distinguished military career, but saw no action after early service abroad and in the 'Forty-five when he served under General Hawley at Falkirk and under the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden.<sup>2</sup> He represented the Glasgow burghs in Parliament from 1744 until his father succeeded to the dukedom of Argyll in 1761. He was briefly in Parliament again, sitting for Dover in 1765, but in 1766 he was created a peer of Great Britain with the title of Baron Sundridge of Coombank and in 1770 he succeeded his father as 5th Duke of Argyll.<sup>3</sup> From then until his death in May 1806 he was absorbed in the management of his great estate and in the development of the whole Highland area.

The Instructions show us one of the most able and energetic landlords of his day going about his business, changing the face of the land, moving populations, setting down towns and villages, founding industries, meticulously controlling the life of the inhabitants of his estate. Yet it was partly a trick of circumstance that turned the Duke's energies into these channels and away from the political career which he would certainly have followed if it had been open to him. The tradition of the family dictated it. Its members had, one after another, played a leading role in the history of Scotland and had helped to shape the destinies of the country.

<sup>1</sup> It is hoped to publish the 5th Duke's Instructions to his Chamberlain of Argyll and his Chamberlain of Kintyre in a future volume. The present introduction is largely confined to a discussion of the districts to which this volume refers. It is not intended to be exhaustive. Much of it is based on unpublished papers at Inveraray Castle, in the National Library of Scotland and other public collections, and in private hands. In the interests of economy of space, references have been kept to a minimum.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke was Colonel of the 54th Regiment of Foot and of the Argyllshire Fencibles. He was Commander-in-Chief of the army in Scotland in 1762 and 1767-78, and was created a Field Marshal in 1796. When he died, he was the senior field officer in the British Army, excepting only the Duke of York. (*Scots Peerage*, I, 386-7.)

<sup>3</sup> H. Paton (ed.): *The Clan Campbell*, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1916), p. xx; A. McKerrall: *The Clan Campbell* (1953), 23-5; *Scots Peerage*, *ut supra*.



They had espoused the Reformation, and for more than a decade in the religious struggles of the mid-seventeenth century the kingdom had been dominated by the massive figure of the Marquis of Argyll. Among the Duke's immediate predecessors, the 2nd Duke and his brother, the 3rd Duke, had frequently enjoyed vast power and patronage in the northern kingdom. They were the principal pillar in Scotland of the Whig and Protestant cause with whose fortunes those of the house of Argyll rose and fell. The dukedom conferred on the 10th Earl in 1701 was a reward for a family which had twice in a century suffered forfeiture and execution for this cause. The accession of George III, the rise of Lord Bute, and the jockeying for position inevitable at the beginning of a new reign, meant for the house of Argyll the loss of the ascendancy in Scotland which they had come to regard as a birthright.

The 5th Duke did not cease to be active in politics, but exclusion from high office gave him time and leisure for other things. One can think of few major enterprises in the Highlands in which he did not play a leading part. He was one of the pioneers of the Crinan Canal,<sup>1</sup> Governor of the British Society, founded in 1786 to develop the resources of the Highlands and in particular the fishing industry,<sup>2</sup> and first President of the newly formed Highland Society. But it was his estates in Argyll that enabled him to express his passion for improvement. Once again, as under the 3rd Duke, the domanial lands at Inveraray were the focus of vast and expensive schemes of building and improving, and from here his apparently inexhaustible energy flowed out in orders that penetrated to the remotest corners of his estate.

It is surprising to realise that, until he grew old, he passed most of his time in London, and rarely spent more than several months in the year at Inveraray and Rosneath. Technically he was an absentee landlord, but in actuality he controlled his estate with tighter reins than any of his predecessors and most of his contemporaries and had a far more intimate and detailed knowledge of his lands and tenants than did the 3rd Duke. Absence brought no real interruption to the Duke's interest and activity. He had a regular correspondence with James Ferrier, his Edinburgh agent, and with his chamberlains. He required a weekly budget of news from his

<sup>1</sup> See p. 45, n. 1, below.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 155, n. 1, below.

Rosneath chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> and his own letters burst with advice on crops, prices, the treatment of animal ailments and whatever else seemed relevant to the better management of his lands. Meanwhile his Instructions, given in person at the time of the October meeting at Inveraray for the clearing of accounts, were in the hands of each chamberlain to reprove his past errors, encourage his zeal and control his future activities.

The Duke's interest in improvement was to a great extent controlled by the need for revenue. The management of a Highland estate was then, as now, a matter of business. This was an age of fast-rising rents, but it was also an age of insolvent landlords. In the county of Argyll, the two hundred proprietors of the middle of the century had dwindled to 156 by the end of it.<sup>2</sup> There is scarcely an estate that comes to one's attention but is encumbered by debts, a large part of them due to a more lavish style of living.

The old chief, as Dr. Johnson observed, had lost his prestige as the leader of his followers, and must compensate by a larger income and grandeur of living.<sup>3</sup> The Highland chiefs followed in the wake of such pioneer-lairds as Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy (1693-1790), who from about 1728 devoted much of his estate on Lochfyneside to the grazing of cattle for the market, went in for extensive cattle-dealing, and raised the rental to fourfold its earlier level in the sixty following years. Even so, this practical and long-headed laird was often financially embarrassed, and by 1786 was in debt to the tune of £8,000.<sup>4</sup>

It was clear that careful financial management would be indispensable if the Argyll estate was not to fall into similar but much greater embarrassment. The 5th Duke had the experience of his predecessors to guide, and, at times, to warn him. They had long led the field both in the magnificence of their expenditure and in the development of the resources of their estate. The beginnings of commercial management can be seen at least as early as the 9th Earl of Argyll's time in the third quarter of the seventeenth century,<sup>5</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Robert Campbell, known as Baillie Rosneath. The terms 'chamberlain', 'factor' and 'baillie' were at this period used synonymously.

<sup>2</sup> J. Smith: *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll* (1805), 14.

<sup>3</sup> S. Johnson: *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1825), 117-118.

<sup>4</sup> Knockbuy papers at Kilberry Castle; Trust Disposition dated April 20th, 1787, Scottish Record Office, Reg. of Deeds (Dalrymple), vol. 251, fo. 57.

<sup>5</sup> A. McKerral: *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (1948), 86.

it was the 2nd Duke, who succeeded in 1703 and died in 1743, who finally broke with tradition, removed the great tacksmen and so established the principle which might lead to the expansion of the commercial opportunities open to him and his successors.

The apogee of the improving movement was reached under the 3rd Duke of Argyll, who succeeded his brother in 1743 and died in 1761. Inveraray became the focus of improvements of unprecedented splendour and expense. The new town of Inveraray was begun, the new castle built, and the surrounding policies developed as gardens, farms and woodlands. These works in some years absorbed almost the whole of the property rents of the Argyll lands. Such immense outlays were made possible by the Duke's considerable revenues from his lands, offices and prerogatives. These he augmented by expanding the domain lands in the neighbourhood of Inveraray and Rosneath, and exploiting them fully by grazing cattle for the market, by selling farm produce and growing timber for sale to the new iron foundry on Lochfyneside. Domanial rights were extended to include minerals, fishings and timber wherever they were on the estate.

Rents, too, could be increased, now that the tacksmen were removed, though the increase was governed by the resources of the tenantry. The gross revenue from the lands in Argyll (including the small neighbouring estate of Rosneath) rose from about £5,000 in 1703, when the 2nd Duke succeeded, to £6,687 in 1743, when his brother inherited, and nearly £10,000 in 1761 at the 4th Duke's succession. Since feu-duties and teinds were relatively static, most of the increase is attributable to rents and domanial products. In the eighteen years of the 3rd Duke's administration the increase in rents was of the order of 40 per cent. and over the whole period from 1703 to 1770 rents on the average roughly tripled.

The 5th Duke inherited a princely estate in Argyll. It had reached the limits of its long career of expansion and now extended from Kintyre in the south to the confines of Inverness-shire in the north, and from Cowal and the tamed magnificence of Inveraray in the east to Coll and Tiree in the west.<sup>1</sup> The rent-paying property lands were probably not less than five hundred square miles, but, as superior, the Duke was ultimate owner of the greater part of a

<sup>1</sup> For maps of the Argyll estate c.1779 and of the island of Tiree in 1768, see end-pocket in this volume.

county of three thousand square miles, and beyond Argyll of all or part of the estates of chieftains like Clanranald and Glengarry.

He had besides a number of properties elsewhere: Rosneath in Dunbartonshire, the lands of Castle Campbell in Clackmannanshire, the Kinneil estate in West Lothian and others of less importance. This collection of Scottish estates formed a principality perhaps greater in extent than any other in these islands. Combined, they yielded a gross revenue, in 1770, of nearly £13,000, the bulk of it derived from his lands in Argyll. His revenue from Argyll was made up of rents, feu-duties and teinds, as follows:

Rents (including the domanial lands in his own hands)	£7,539
Feu-duties	1,551
Teinds (most of which were paid out again in stipends)	1,194
	<hr/> £10,284 <sup>1</sup>

After paying the expenses of management, land-tax and other public burdens, the Duke received about £9,000 nett. The amounts collected in 1770-1 by the chamberlains of the various districts in which the estate was organised were:

The lands in the Argyll Collection <sup>2</sup>	£2,965
Kintyre	£4,811
Mull and Morvern	£1,656
Tiree and the two ends of Coll	£852

It is clear that the lands in the 'Argyll Collection'—the ancient core of the estate in central Argyll, under the management of the Chamberlain of Argyll—yielded considerably less than the lands that had been gained from the Macdonalds and the Duart Macleans. The fall of the Macdonalds had brought the Knapdale lands to the house of Argyll in 1476, and the valuable Kintyre estate in 1607. The annexation of the Duart lands had brought them truly vast territories in Mull, Morvern and the islands of Tiree and Coll (1674). To reward friends, to ensure a military following, and to preserve order

<sup>1</sup> This is the total gross revenue from the Argyll lands, excluding other properties outside the county. The total of £12,055 given on p. 4, n. 1, below, includes the small estates of Rosneath, Rachean and Campbell, but not Kinneil, and omits domanial sales of cattle, timber, etc., amounting to £836.

<sup>2</sup> This means the lands under the management of the Chamberlain of Argyll, but the figure includes the feu-duties which he collected from the whole estate except Kintyre, and so exaggerates the relative importance of the older family lands in terms of the revenue which they yielded.

in the annexed lands, allies and kinsmen had been settled on them. The whole of the northern districts had been set in tack to great tacksmen, whose followers and dependents formed the actual colonies.

The tacksmen were chieftains and some possessed estates in their own right. The rental of 1730 shows the Morvern lands in a single tack to Dugald Campbell of Craignish, Tiree and the two ends of Coll to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, Iona and the Ross of Mull to Donald Campbell, brother of Scammadale, and the rest of the Mull estate to five tacksmen, three of them Campbells.<sup>1</sup>

The new population of sub-tacksmen and their sub-tenants lived as loyal, privileged and envied colonists amidst the dispossessed clans. As a source of military followers, the new lands were of doubtful value, yielding support only from the Campbells and their friends, who, though controlling a great part of the land, formed a minority of the population. In critical times, the northern districts were as much a handicap as an asset, whilst in normal times the dispossessed Camerons plundered and terrorised the tacksmen in Morvern, and Campbell of Airds, when collecting the rents, never ventured there without an armed posse. To realise the full value of the annexations, the land would have to be exploited as a source, not of men but of revenue, and peace and order would have to be established.

Increases of rent had already been imposed in the late seventeenth century, but it was not until 1737 that a thorough-going attempt to realise the monetary value of the newly annexed lands was made. Acting on the 2nd Duke's instructions, Duncan Forbes, the Lord President of the Court of Session, visited these districts, deprived the great tacksmen of their tacks and auctioned leases to the sub-tacksmen and sub-tenants. The latter emerged as a class of direct tenants and were relieved of their obligations to their former masters. Most were small tenants, but in actuality the great bulk of the land was in the hands of large tenants, occupying one, two, three or more farms.<sup>2</sup> As a means of increasing the rental, this revolutionary measure appeared wholly successful.

<sup>1</sup> A high proportion of the original Campbell settlers in Mull were from Nether Lorn.

<sup>2</sup> In the Mull lands, in 1742-3, there were 152 tenants, large and small. Three-quarters of them were small tenants on joint farms, accounting for a quarter of the land. The rest of the farms were occupied by 38 large tenants. Of the eighteen largest tenants, who occupied on an average three farms, fifteen were Campbells. Over half of the Mull estate was in the hands of Campbell tenants.

It became rapidly clear that the improved rent was, however, an unreal one. No more was actually collected than under the tacksmen. The rest formed a burden of accumulating arrears. There was widespread insolvency among the tenants, and in some districts the majority of the new leases were surrendered, forfeited or never taken up. The Chamberlain of Argyll urged rent reductions on the new Duke, whose finances were in chaos as a result, and recommended measures to prevent the threatened return of the loyal colonists to the mainland. And the revival of the system of tacksmen was seriously contemplated. 'It was with intention to reform the country as much as the thing would admit of,' wrote the Chamberlain in a report, 'that the late Duke dismissed the tacksmen, imagining that they squeezed the under-tenants by exacting too high rents, but very unluckily my Lord President followed the same plan, by augmenting the rents beyond what the tacksmen ever exacted. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

The tacksmen were not generally restored, but sub-letting was permitted, under certain safeguards, to large tenants, and rents were reduced as a temporary measure. Bidding for leases continued to push rents upwards over the period of the 3rd Duke's administration, but by abolishing the public auction, which in the northern districts roused fierce passions, and replacing it by a system of private offers ('proposals'), the Duke alleviated the situation and increased his own powers of discretion in selecting suitable tenants. From 1744 the Duke required all tenants to subscribe oaths of loyalty and allegiance,<sup>2</sup> and directed his chamberlains to prefer tenants who were 'well-disposed to my interest'. The possession of a tack on the Argyll estate became almost synonymous with political reliability. Even more it tended to be equated with a firm attachment to the new Duke. The threat from the Jacobites and the disaffection rampant in the north of the estate had served in fact to modify the purely commercial approach of the 2nd Duke and to confirm the ascendancy of the Campbell tenants.

The winnowing effects on the tenantry of rising rents and deliberate selection can be seen by comparing the tenants in Mull and Morvern in 1779 with those of 1744. The once extensive lands of

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is based on a series of detailed farm-by-farm reports on Tiree and the central Argyll lands, and other papers relating to Mull, written by the chamberlains, mostly in 1747 and 1748, now at Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> MSS., *Instructions to Chamberlains*, 1744 and other years, Inveraray Castle.

the Camerons have shrunk to little more than a single farm<sup>1</sup>. The Macleans, politically not so suspect as the Camerons, retain the wide Broloss lands,<sup>2</sup> but have lost a number of their farms. The Campbells and their friends have retained or enlarged their tacks, each consisting of one, two, three or more farms. The effects of kinship and marriage were to combine these into considerable family holdings, reminiscent of those of the former tacksmen.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, scions of the same families are still dominant in Mull and Morvern—the Campbells of Airds, Lerags, Lochnell, Crackaig, Clanamacry, Scammadale and others. Had anything really changed?

One may say that the new tacksmen were as essential to the Duke as the old, but in a new way. The old tacksmen were the middlemen in a military organisation. The new tacksmen are the entrepreneurs in a system designed to realise the commercial value of the northern lands. They earn a place in this system by giving proof of possessing, not the old military virtues, but the new virtues of business acumen and punctuality in the payment of rents. Some deal in cattle or follow other forms of trade. All depend increasingly on the sale of cattle in the Lowland markets and devote large areas of their farms to grazing. Cattle were now the sinews of the ducal rents, nor could rents be collected until the drovers had fulfilled their bargains. In replying to the 4th Duke's query in 1761 whether rents could be more speedily collected, the Chamberlain of Mull and Morvern wrote: 'As the payments depend almost wholly upon the sale of black cattle, I cannot see how it is in the tenants' power to provide money sooner.'<sup>4</sup>

The success of the Campbells and their friends in maintaining their dominance was not a foregone conclusion. In the open bidding of 1737, some of them had been ousted by the old native tenants. They could expect favour under the 3rd Duke, other things being equal, but must secure their tacks by substantial bids. The rent of their tack-lands rose between 1744 and 1779 in exactly the same proportion as the tack-lands of other tenants, viz. to nearly 250 per cent. Clan rivalries, until recently fought out in plundering raids and on the battlefield, continued now on a commercial level in violent contests for the possession of land. Early in the 5th Duke's

<sup>1</sup> See p. 113, n. 1, and p. 114, below.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 121, n. 1, below.

<sup>3</sup> The 5th Duke was evidently opposed to the combination of tack-lands which might result from inheritance (see pp. 202-3 below).

<sup>4</sup> MS., *Answers to Queries by Donald Campbell of Airds, 1761*, Inveraray Castle.



time, Boswell found Maclean of Cornaig, tacksman of the Duke's lands in Coll, had paid 'a very advanced rent rather than let the Campbells get a footing in the island'.<sup>1</sup> And the Duke was informed in 1771 of cases in Mull and Morvern 'where offers for the same lands come from different people, keenly incensed against each other on account of old feuds and animosities still subsisting between their clans which, on principle of pique or revenge carried offers beyond the real value of the subject'.<sup>2</sup>

It was not enough to outbid an opponent. One had to make good the offer and prove oneself a useful tenant. It was in this that the surviving tacksmen who appear in the 5th Duke's early rentals had shown themselves superior. It had become increasingly plain that a sound political outlook and economic virtues went together. The experience of the 'Forty-five and the years afterwards was convincing that the Campbells made the best tenants.

Ducal improvements went forward in the northern districts amidst populations largely hostile to the changes which were taking place. The open Jacobitism of Morvern and the resistance to recruitment which Airds and Barnacarry had encountered in Mull and Tiree in 1745<sup>3</sup> did not magically disperse afterwards but survived as a threat to the Duke's plans. In the war of 1756-63, Macleans and others recruited in Tiree and Mull for service were suborned by chieftains of that clan in Mull.<sup>4</sup> And in Morvern, as the Chamber-

<sup>1</sup> Boswell: *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, entry for Oct. 5th, 1773.

<sup>2</sup> MS., *Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, 1771, Inveraray Castle. Perhaps the best illustration of the inflationary effects of clan rivalries on rents is the following. McLachlan of Kilbride had received a wadsett of the Garvellach islands (lying between Mull and Nether Lorn) from the Earl of Argyll in 1666, but had to wrest them by force from the Macleans and clung on to them throughout the continued vendetta. When the 3rd Duke redeemed all the wadsetts on his estate with the compensation money arising from the loss of his jurisdictions, John McLachlan, grandson of the original wadsetter, offered 250 merks (about £14 sterling) for a tack of these islands, 'not from any lucrative view . . . but merely that in my declining years I may have the pleasure to live and die under your Grace's wings'. He was overbid, however, by MacDugald of Gallanich, who paid £25 for a tack in 1749. In 1757, at the break of the tack, Patrick McLachlan, nephew of John, returned to the fray and bid £28. McDugald heard of this and counter-bid £40, but Patrick, spicing his bid of £42 with allegations that MacDugald had felled a wood in the islands contrary to his tack, and making a rousing claim that for his family's services to the family of Argyll 'we bear the hatred of the Clan Macdougall', succeeded in ousting his ancient enemy. (Sundry memorials and other relevant papers in the Saltoun Collection, National Library of Scotland, boxes 407 nad 416.) The small estates of these rival families marched together in Nether Lorn.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Fergusson: *Argyll and the Forty-Five*, pp. 50, 99; and also unpublished estate papers.

<sup>4</sup> MS., *Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, 1771.

lain of Argyll reported, 'the disaffected are like to turn quite idle with the hopes of an invasion, and woud surely be as foolish as ever if they got any incouragement or opportunity. . . . They were greatly amazed in the middle of such rumours of war to see Airds come there with a parcell of Low Country masons and dykers, and coolly giving orders for quarrying the stone for his house stonedyke he is to build on his tack-lands in Airdtornish in Morvern.'<sup>1</sup>

In Tiree, where the Duke attempted the most positive measures for the expansion of the island's resources, the social climate was equally hostile to improvement, and the leaders of the resistance of 1745 were continually active in stirring up disturbances. Conspiracy and non-cooperation were the answer of the native clans to dispossession, and served to 'obstruct any instructions Your Grace is pleased to give relating to the pollicie of that island'.<sup>2</sup>

The extension of industry to the Highlands was deemed by the Duke and Lord Milton, his commissioner, as essential to the pacification of this region as military and political measures. It was confidently expected that the inhabitants would be wooed from their disaffection by the manifest benefits of the new times. A manufacturer, in tendering advice on the management of the spinning school at Inveraray, struck the right chord when he concluded his letter to the Chamberlain of Argyll: 'May your lord succeed in your endeavour to make a people distinguished by bravery appear with additional lustre by industry.'<sup>3</sup>

The tenants of Tiree as well as other districts were required to grow flax and to pay a part of their rents in spun yarn. The Tiree yarn was exported to a linen factory at Dunoon, owned by Campbell of Dunloskin and the Chamberlain of Tiree, Donald Campbell. A hundred women were said to be employed in this way either at home or in the spinning school, and great hopes were entertained of establishing factories in this island and in Morvern. The Duke's instructions enjoined all tenants to supply a quota of yarn to the chamberlain, under penalty of ejection. 'I will fall on some proper way of showing my displeasure to such as are refractory and to encourage those who do as I direct. I'm resolved to keep no tenants

<sup>1</sup> MS., Letter of James Campbell to Lord Milton, Feb. 15th, 1755, Saltoun Collection, box 413.

<sup>2</sup> MS., *Memorial for Donald Campbell, Factor of Tiree, 1754*, Inveraray Castle.

<sup>3</sup> MS., Letter of James Getty to James Campbell, 1750, Saltoun Collection, box 410.

but such as will be peaceable and apply to industry. You'l cause intimate this some sabbath after sermon.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the estate, the inhabitants were exhorted to adopt habits of thrift, sobriety and industry, qualities which in the Highlands did not stand in high repute. In the interests of law and order, ale-houses and distilling were suppressed, for 'drinking and caballing' went together, and not only Satan but the Pretender would find employment for idle hands. Increasingly the line was drawn between the reliable, well-affected tenants, who could co-operate in improving the estate, and the disaffected, who saw improvement as a threat to their lands and way of life. It was on the shoulders of the substantial tacksmen of Mull and Morvern that the Duke's improvements were borne gradually forward, men such as Duncan Campbell, father of the 5th Duke's Chamberlain of Tiree, who had a tack of extensive lands in the Aros district of Mull and paid a rent of £110 a year, devoting the whole of one farm to grazing cattle. There is nothing in any other district quite comparable with the dominance of the Campbell tacksmen in Mull.

There were other substantial tacksmen besides—John Stewart, a drover, tacksman of Achdashenaig and several other farms in Mull at a rent of £105. Perhaps the most characteristic figure is John Gregorson, who had a tack of Auchnacraig and Ardchyle in Mull, with the inn at Auchnacraig, in the 3rd and 4th Dukes' time. He acquired 'the exclusive privilege of ferrying cattell and passengers from Torosay to the continent of Lorn'.<sup>2</sup> His brother Angus succeeded him in his tack and his monopoly of the ferry, and added the farms of Ardtornish and Ternat in Morvern to the large family holding. Ternat he gave over wholly to grazing. He paid the 5th Duke rents totalling £186 a year, the greatest sum paid by any tacksman of the Argyll estate. Not only so, he undertook to lay out £100 in building stone dykes on Ardtornish and indemnified Airds for a sum of £555 which he had laid out in improvements there.

The 5th Duke thus succeeded to an estate financially sounder and healthier than it had been when the 3rd Duke inherited in 1743. The 3rd Duke's administration had seen rents increase by about 40 per cent., an increase largely derived from such improvements as

<sup>1</sup> MS., *Instructions to the Chamberlain of Tiry*, 1756, Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> *Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, 1771.

march dykes and enclosures and from the rising price of cattle. Of the emigration which is evidenced in the 2nd Duke's time there is little or no sign in estate papers. Tiree, less influenced by the price of cattle, nevertheless appeared to be modestly thriving when Dr. Walker paid his visit in 1764, its inhabitants 'well clothed and well fed, having abundance of corn and cattle and great variety and profusion of the finest fish'.<sup>1</sup> To their limited crops had recently been added hay and potatoes, and by the 3rd Duke's assistance an export trade in barrelled salt beef had been established, worth £230 a year.<sup>2</sup>

The prospect, however, that lay before the Duke in the northern districts, was not wholly auspicious. The improver's hopes were to be disappointed again and again as they had been before. It was difficult, if not impossible, for a distant landlord with a background and with tastes like the Duke's, to bridge the gulf which separated these districts from the 'civilised' south. Both geographically and spiritually, this was a different world. Using the most expeditious means, James Turnbull, the surveyor, on his visit to Tiree in 1768-9, took five weeks in going and returning to Edinburgh. Gales isolated these islands in winter, and even in summer the lack of harbour and shelter discouraged shipping. Roads were either non-existent or extremely bad, so that wheeled transport was virtually unknown throughout the whole area.

Isolation intensified self-sufficiency in every way, and although the trade in cattle stretched from the remotest glens to the Lowlands and the south, much of the commerce of this area was internal. The shortages of one district were relieved by the plenty of another. The Ross of Mull provided Tiree with much of its peat and the use of its many small water-mills for grinding corn.<sup>3</sup> The Duke's woods on Loch Sunartside furnished timber for ploughs and buildings in treeless Tiree.<sup>4</sup> The island's stills supplied to the neighbouring coasts and islands an abundance of the whisky which, so far from being a luxury, was reckoned indispensable for the cheerful execution of strenuous tasks or the proper enjoyment of social life.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> MS., Dr. Walker's *Observations on Tiree*, c. 1765, Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Other exports included surplus grain (estimated to be worth £240), kelp (£143), and large quantities of whisky. (Walker, *op. cit.*)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 56, n. 1, below, and Rev. Archd. MacColl's *Observations on Tiree*, 1788, Inveraray.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 7, n. 1, pp. 12-15, 17-18, below.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 16, n. 2, below.

neighbours of this island probably also benefited from the surplus grain Tiree exported.

In spite of rapid changes in tenancies in some districts (especially Morvern) and the spread of extensive grazing, each district bred a strong local patriotism. Few travelled except under necessity, and little English was spoken. Dr. Walker found 'not above twenty persons in the parish who can understand a sermon in that language' when he visited Tiree in 1764 or 1765. Those who had been absent in the war of 1756-63 were better versed in English, but a great many did not return.<sup>1</sup> The numbers of small tenants and cottars involved in seasonal migration for employment in the 'Low Country' might be high in bad seasons, but, as the census lists reveal (with married women appearing under their maiden name), they did not bring back Lowland wives. Ducal colonisation, new industries and the estate administration had introduced new elements in the remotest districts, recognisable in surnames which are not local to these parts, but marriages were still rarely contracted outside one's district, and, in the case of small tenants, outside the immediate vicinity.

Towns were non-existent, or even villages. The whole population lived in farm towns or 'tenant-steads' consisting of impermanent buildings, often made of earth and wattle,<sup>2</sup> clustered on the infield of the farms. There was the widest variation in numbers, from the herd and his family occupying an improved farm, devoted to grazing, to the 149 people living at Hillipol in Tiree. In Mull and Morvern, the average was forty-five people in 1779, in Tiree, fifty-nine.

The bonds of kinship and clan were tightly drawn. Not infrequently the whole population of a farm town, or the greater part of it, shared the same name, like the forty-five Camerons who resided at Inniemore in Morvern,<sup>3</sup> or the twelve families called Maclean in

<sup>1</sup> The island of Tiree 'sent fifty-seven men to the late war, and of these only twelve returned'. (Walker, *op. cit.*)

<sup>2</sup> MS., *Instructions for the Factor of Mull and Morvern, 1744*, Inveraray Castle. The wattle house was not confined to small tenants. Cameron of Glendessary lived stylishly at Achacharn in Morvern, in 'a creel house, formed of oak beams placed at regular distances, the intervening spaces being closely interwoven with wickerwork. The outside was wholly covered with heath, and the interior was divided into several apartments, and finished in a style of taste and elegance corresponding with the enlightened refinement of the occupants'. (*New Statistical Account*, parish of Morvern; Fyfe: *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 182). The 5th Duke's leases prohibited 'any creel or wattled houses except shield-houses' i.e. those on shielings.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 113, n. 1, below.

a total of seventeen at Cornaigmore in Tiree.<sup>1</sup> Small tenants continued the ancient Celtic practice of sharing their holding of land among all their children and near relatives.<sup>2</sup> This no doubt contributed to discouraging emigration. It certainly led to the fragmentation of tenants' holdings and was regarded by the estate as a major obstacle to improvement.

As a potential military danger the clan was no longer formidable, even though, as late as the fifties, clan organisation had been kept intact and in a state of preparedness on the neighbouring forfeited estates of Lochiel, Barrasdale and Kinlochmoidart.<sup>3</sup> But clan sentiment remained extremely strong among the small tenants of Mull and Tiree, and found a ready focus in the Maclean tacksmen. An official and authoritative report made for the 5th Duke in 1771 leaves the matter in no doubt: 'The small tenants of Tiry are disaffected to the family of Argyll. In this disposition it's thought that long leases might render them too much independent of them, and encourage the people to that sort of insolence and outrage to which they are naturally prone, and much incited by their chieftains of the Maclean gentry.'<sup>4</sup> In his census list of 1776 the Chamberlain noted those tenants well-affected to the family and those disaffected.

The same official reporter was even more specific in speaking of the Duke's estate in Mull, which extended to approximately half of this large island. 'The bulk of the common tenants on this estate are natives of the country and followers of the Macleans.' After reciting examples of the suborning of recruits the reporter continues: 'The observer begs leave to remark that the present disaffection and independence of most of the Duke's small tenants in Mull would render it a matter of difficulty to His Grace to obtain from them that sort of obedience that has been formerly often found necessary

<sup>1</sup> MS., *List of Inhabitants in the Island of Tiry*, 1776, Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> 'Besides these [rent-paying tenants] there are a number of sub-tenants in the island, for the Duke has not a tacksman [i.e. a tenant] in the runrig farms of that estate whose portion of land is not sub-let in whole or part to his children or other near relations for their support.' (MS., *Remarks on the Island of Tiry*, 1771, Inveraray Castle.) The Duke's Instructions to the Chamberlain of Mull in 1801, art. 5, indicate that this practice was common in this district also (see p. 199 below). It appears to be a survival of the agnatic family (the 'derbfhine') and the family farm of early Ireland and Scotland. (Binchy in M. Dillon (ed.): *Early Irish Society* (Dublin, 1954); and also by personal communication from Professor Binchy.)

<sup>3</sup> The survival of wadsetts and jointure rights of the forfeited estates enabled the clan chieftains to continue in residence on them quite legally (MSS., Letters from Mungo Campbell to Lord Milton, Saltoun Collection, box 412).

<sup>4</sup> *Remarks on the Island of Tiree*, 1771.

for great men in circumstances where the command of well-attached tenants and followers has been employed to support dignity and respect'.<sup>1</sup>

There was thus the strangest juxtaposition of forces in the northern parts of the Argyll estate at the 5th Duke's succession. On the one hand the improving zeal and sophisticated tastes of the gentlemen farmers, on the other the traditional life of the native populations, still bound together by close ties of kinship and clanship in opposition to change and to the ancient enemies on whom they blamed their deprived state. The disaffection of most of the small tenants is an underlying current, implicit in the situation in the northern lands throughout the period of the 5th Duke's administration. Rarely it came to the surface, as when the people of Iona resisted military recruitment in the French war.<sup>2</sup> Usually it took the form of resentment at change, a passive withholding of co-operation from the ducal plans, and suspicion of all improvements.

This suspicion arose not from dislike of reform as such. 'Tho' the people have a natural attachment to their ancient methods,' the minister of Tiree wrote to the Duke in 1788, 'yet when they see work carried on much more profitably, expeditiously and cheaper, they will easily comply.'<sup>3</sup> The people of Tiree had lively minds and abilities, and were ready to adopt improvements where they promised real advantage to themselves.<sup>4</sup> Past unhappy experiences and deprivations in the clan struggles had turned them sour. Nothing is more striking in the Instructions than the magnanimity which the Duke showed in his dealings with the small tenants.<sup>5</sup> This, and the favour which they had enjoyed from him as farms were transferred from the tacksmen to the small tenants, gave hopes that old grudges and antipathies would be forgotten.

New and old elements are found existing in strange fellowship on the estate. Undoubtedly the traditional social system had undergone radical changes as a result of the removal of the great tacksmen and

<sup>1</sup> *Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, 1771.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 195 below.

<sup>3</sup> MS., *Observations on Tiree by the Minister*, 1788, Inveraray Castle. See also p. 10, n. 1, below.

<sup>4</sup> After remarking on the backward state of improvement among the people of Tiree, Dr. Walker observed: 'Yet there are none who can more assiduously pursue any branch of industry when they are persuaded . . . that it is advantageous.'

<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the 3rd Duke, favour to his own clan appears to have played little part in the 5th Duke's administration.



the extension of the large cattle farms. The former measure had weakened the cohesion of the clans and the organisation which ensured the chief his following. The latter more gradual but equally drastic process was already resulting by the time of the census of 1779 in important social changes. These changes, however, were checked and moulded by attitudes and customs of great strength and tenacity.

A strongly traditional organisation was still maintained in the extensive tack-lands of Sir Allan Maclean of Broloss, the former wadsetter, and chief of the clan.<sup>1</sup> Here in this remote district in the west of Mull, wild and formidable to this day, then surely one of the most independent of fastnesses, there was not a Campbell among Sir Allan's nine sub-tacksman. All save one—a Tiree wadsetter named MacDonald—were of his clan and were no doubt among those who stirred the passions of the 'common tenants'. The Duke's loss of Broloss to Sir Allan in 1783 after a lengthy law-suit had perhaps its advantages.

Broloss was one of the few major holdings in the hands of the native clans. The holdings of the loyal Campbell tacksman are more representative of the period, and these, as has been described, were beginning to reflect the influence of increasing commerce. Nevertheless, even on these farms, society continued patriarchal and semi-feudal to an unexpected degree in the 5th Duke's time. Most of the farm towns were still populous, representing a variety of classes and occupations which sustained the tacksman and his dependents in some measure of self-sufficiency. Ruaig, in the island of Tiree, in tack to Campbell of Treshnish, was in the hands of sub-tenants, consisting of fifteen mailers and three cottars, and their families, in all a community of 77 people. And at Mannal and Hynish, two farms in Tiree in tack to Campbell of Ardslnish, there lived his sub-tenant, denominated 'bowman and herd,' with a staff of workmen, unmarried herds and a dairymaid.<sup>2</sup>

A community more representative of the transitional state of society in the islands was Fracadale in the north of Mull, where John Campbell lived with his family, which consisted of his wife, three sons and three daughters. Under his roof also lived two male servants, five maid servants, two general farm servants, and four herds. All of the servants were unmarried and all save one between

<sup>1</sup> See p. 121, n. 1, below.

<sup>2</sup> *List of Inhabitants in the Island of Tiry, 1776.*

15 and 25 years of age. The rest of the community were married out-servants and their families, four cottar families and a weaver's family. The out-servants were a workman and two grass-keepers. Clearly, from the predominance of herds and grass-keepers, Fracadale was concentrating on cattle, and the arable, which was the province of the workman, was of little importance. But the farm was still not improved to the stage where the herds would be rendered unnecessary by enclosures, and the community numbered sixty-four souls.<sup>1</sup>

As sub-tenancy diminished, the class of mailers was becoming uncommon: the List of 1779 shows them occurring only in a small number of tacksmen's farms. But the prevalence of a numerous body of workmen and cottars is a reminder that, whatever social and economic change had occurred, these essential elements of the traditional order remained general in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The cottar class, enjoying as a rule, in return for labour, rights of grazing and part of the arable land of a tenant's holding, would tend to disappear in the Highlands as land became valuable, or would become landless labourers.<sup>2</sup> Here in these districts, they are still much in evidence. The class of workmen too would give way increasingly to unmarried servants with no stake in the land,<sup>3</sup> but at this date they still continued as married out-servants, with a share in the arable, like the mailer, and with a strong element of the sub-tenant.<sup>4</sup> The same may be said of the grass-keeper or chaser, whose task it was to patrol the unfenced bounds of a farm and prevent the trespassing of neighbours' cattle.

There is a great social contrast between the districts represented in this volume. Tiree is primarily an island of small tenants; in Mull and Morvern the tacksmen<sup>5</sup> dominates the scene, and society is

<sup>1</sup> *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate, 1779* (Scottish Record Society, 1963), printed from a MS. at Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> J. Smith: *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll* (1805), 24-25, 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, X, 266, foot-note.

<sup>4</sup> Both workman and mailer in the West Highlands were employed by the tenant of the farm on the non-arable parts (the mailer only on tacksmen's farms) and were fed by him except when they were sowing or harvesting. They had the management of the arable land of the farm to themselves, retaining a quarter of the crop and paying the master three-quarters. For fuller details of these and other servants, see *Old Statistical Account*, XIV, 196-7, foot-note, and X, 266. The term 'mailer' has a different significance in Ross-shire at the end of the century (*Old Statistical Account*, parishes of Urray and Kiltarn).

<sup>5</sup> The term 'tacksmen' normally implied a large tenant in the northern districts in this period, but in Kintyre it had been emptied of its earlier significance and was applied, in its literal sense, to all tenants, large or small, who held a tack (*Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate, 1779*).

polarised between the substantial tacksmen and the small tenants, sub-tenants and cottars. In neither district did there exist the class of middling tenant-farmers which in Kintyre bridged the gap between the two classes.<sup>1</sup> The tacksmen held three-quarters of the Duke's farms in Mull and Morvern, mostly on nineteen-year leases. Four tacksmen paid rents of over £100, and the average was £70. The small tenants tended to concentrate in greater numbers on the farms of the fertile Ross of Mull (which in consequence of the grain production supported numerous mills, mostly of the diminutive Highland type). Not all of them had leases, but those who did paid an average rent of only £7.

Tiree was mainly devoted to the production of grain, and for this reason the small tenant was of greater importance than the tacksman to the estate. Roughly 40 per cent. of the farms were in the hands of tacksmen in the early seventies—four farms held by Macleans and nine or ten by Campbell tacksmen, all the Campbells, save the factor, non-resident.<sup>2</sup> Cattle raised on their Tiree farms were first brought to their lands in Mull and Morvern before being sold.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the land was thus in the hands of small tenants. In 1776 there were ten tacksmen (only four resident), 145 tenants, 36 mailers, 52 workmen, 197 cottars and 86 unmarried in-servants. Turnbull's map of 1768 shows the houses of the tenants and servants clustering together fairly near to the sea, and the farms carved out of the island to give each of them access to the shore, with its bounty of sea-ware, drift-wood and fish, and to the common mosses and pastures that occupied the interior of the island.<sup>4</sup>

Hay and potatoes had been recently introduced, and other improvements had been attempted, among them land-drainage, the construction of a pier at Scarinish and of a sea-barricade on the north of the island, and the spinning of linen. Many difficulties had arisen to frustrate these improvements, and there was still no safe harbour,

<sup>1</sup> In Kintyre, two-thirds of the tenants paid a rent of between £10 and £30, a situation without parallel in any other district of the estate and probably due to the fishing and commerce of the burgh of Campbeltown, and the close connections between industry, trade and agriculture in Kintyre.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is mainly based on the report and survey of James Turnbull, surveyor, made in 1768-9 for the 4th Duke, and on the *List of Inhabitants in the Island of Tiry*, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 27, n. 1, below, and also pp. 38-39 below for number of cattle grazed on tacksmen's farms in 1794.

<sup>4</sup> There is only one exception to the general rule that each farm had access to the shore, and this was due to a farm evidently having been divided.

the barricade had been destroyed by the sea, the linen industry had disappointed the hopes of the partners and further advances in agriculture waited on enclosures. On the runrig farms tradition was still all-powerful and the hand of the improver was rarely seen. An ancient cycle of communal activities carried forward the work of the farm from seed-time to harvest and the general grazing of the winter-town by the whole town stock. Each year saw the reallocating by lot of the arable lands of the farm among the joint tenants.<sup>1</sup>

The argument of the improver derived its force from the manifest failings of the old system in an age of generally rising production and growing population. The Duke's officials and other observers in Tiree wrote of the restricted variety of crops and their poor yields (on the average only threefold for bere, oats and rye, and fourfold for potatoes), of time-consuming methods, of the lack of winter feeding and the consequent plight of the cattle and innumerable small horses, of the destruction of the soil by over-grazing and general over-use (no less than one-eighth of the island's total area was ruined by sand-blow) and of the absence of auxiliary industries.

The inhabitants might live frugally in good years, in misery when the season was bad. The small tenants' share of the land averaged 40 acres. Of this about 13 acres was infield, 11 acres outfield, 15½ acres pasture, an acre meadow, and 2½ acres inland lochs. No less than 6 acres consisted of land made useless by sand-blow.<sup>2</sup> In 1776 they supported on their holdings an equal number of cottars and employed some 35 unmarried servants, but almost no married servants. It is little wonder that 95 per cent. of them paid rents of under £5.<sup>3</sup> A tenant's substance and capacity, however, were judged by the chamberlain, even in this mainly arable island, by his possession of animals (almost exclusively cattle and small horses, in roughly equal numbers). The list of 1776 shows only half of them with sufficient animals to stock the four-mail land which was

<sup>1</sup> *Remarks on the Island of Tiry, 1771.*

<sup>2</sup> The statistics in this paragraph and the preceding one are mainly based on Turnbull's detailed survey, contained in a bound volume at Inveraray Castle. His map, however, has disappeared, and the map of Tiree printed in this volume (see end-pocket) is based on a tracing from it done by James Ferguson in 1863, now possessed by Mr. Allan MacDougall, Coraigmore, Tiree.

<sup>3</sup> In actuality even this small sum (£5 rent) was a fiction, since it was drastically reduced by sub-letting unofficially to relations. 'This practice has proceeded so far as to reduce possession in Tiry to the smallest possible division, to such a degree indeed that the separate possessions of the small tenantry don't pay at a medium 30/- rent' (*Remarks on the Island of Tiry*).

deemed the minimum holding consonant with efficient farming,<sup>1</sup> and the average holding was seven animals.

What was common to all districts of the Argyll estate was the indisputable fact of human increase. The census lists compiled for the Duke in the course of planning the re-organisation of his farms give a clear indication of the magnitude of this increase within the estate. The fact was noted by the Duke and Ferrier. Between 1779 and 1792 there was an increase of approximately 20 per cent. over the whole estate; in Mull, Morvern and Tiree, it was nearly 25 per cent.<sup>2</sup> The expansion of population had begun considerably earlier than the list of 1779, and was to continue unabated for half a century after the list of 1792. A comparison of the population of the farm-towns at the two dates makes clear the increasing congestion on the tenants' lands. What aggravated the situation was the greater burden that pressed on the runrig farms as tacksmen turned more and more to sheep-farming.<sup>3</sup> The average farm population of the district of Aros, which was largely in the hands of tacksmen, rose only from 39 to 44 between 1779 and 1792, whilst the average in the district of Ross, with its farms of small tenants, soared from 54 to 73.<sup>4</sup> In Tiree, the average rose from 56 in 1768 (it cannot have been much above 40 in 1750) to 59 in 1779, to 82 in 1792 and around 90 in 1800.

More detailed information from estate papers and other sources make the trends clearer in this island than any other district.

Year	Population	Source of Information
1747	1,500	Chamberlain, quoting catechist list. <sup>5</sup>
c.1750	1,509	Webster (his information was compiled between 1743 and 1755).
c.1765	1,793	Dr. Walker's <i>Observations</i> . Probably too high an estimate.
1768	1,676	James Turnbull, surveyor's list. Farm-by-farm enumeration.
1776	1,997	Accurate farm-by-farm estate census.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 1 and 23, n. 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 22, n. 4, 170, 172, n. 1, below.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 174, n. 1, and 182 below.

<sup>4</sup> Until the early nineties, cattle, but not sheep, affected the distribution of population in Mull. After this, sheep were of increasing importance.

<sup>5</sup> To this figure he adds 'besides some children'.

Year	Population	Source of Information
1779	1,881	Accurate farm by-farm-estate census. (Men absent at the war.)
1787	2,306	Minister's catechist list.
1792	2,416	<i>Old Statistical Account</i> , compiled in March.
1792	2,443	Accurate farm-by-farm estate census, compiled in October.
1802	2,776	Chamberlain.
1808	3,200	MacDonald's <i>Agriculture in the Hebrides</i> (1811).
1831	4,453	Official census.

Unless new resources were found progressive poverty was inevitable. It is witnessed by the chamberlains' reports and estate letters. Whereas in 1776 roughly seventy or nearly half of the small tenants had sufficient animals to stock a four mail-land, in 1792, the chamberlain reported 'the tenants in general are so very poor that it is not believed there are forty among them who could stock and manage four mail-land possessions'. This was reiterated by the new chamberlain in 1802—'by the return of their stock there do not appear to be more than 30 or 40 able to stock four mail-land'.<sup>1</sup>

It was against this background of rising population that the Duke's plans for new industries and crofting villages were formed. From it they derived their urgency, both for the people, threatened with impoverishment, and for the Duke, whose hopes for agricultural improvement and revenue were endangered by the fragmentation of land which was a necessary outcome of the claims of kinship on a tenant's holding.

A scheme of emigration such as Lord Selkirk undertook appeared the obvious means of relieving the situation. Years of crop-failure and low markets produced epidemics of emigration both from Argyll and from further north, but estate papers show little emigration from the Duke's lands.<sup>2</sup> Though the conditions existed on the estate which elsewhere led to emigration, they were alleviated by a milder estate management. Emigration was a last resort for the people of the Highlands. Strong kinship ties and a natural love of their home-land were overcome only by the most powerful of motives, and the Duke gave no encouragement to emigration.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 59 below.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 201, n. 1, below.

<sup>3</sup> See *Old Statistical Account*, XIV, 189, quoted on p. xxxv below.

Instead the Duke placed his hopes in creating new opportunities of employment in the Highlands. His broad estate planning revolved on the twin foci of agricultural re-organisation and industrial expansion. These were mutually interdependent. Agricultural re-organisation would reduce the rural population and establish a more prosperous tenantry on larger holdings.<sup>1</sup> Industrial expansion would provide employment for the 'supernumeraries' (the cottars and excess small tenants) who could no longer be accommodated on the farms. This was the general plan which the Duke is found putting into execution from his earliest years of management.

The success of the agrarian schemes depended on the fructification of the industrial plans. This can be traced in the Instructions and reports. Small villages were created on the coasts, as in other parts of the Highlands, to develop the fishing industry and co-operate in the lairds' other industrial enterprises. In all such plans, it was intended that boat-fishing, centred at Campbeltown and other Clyde burghs, should be expanded.<sup>2</sup> In the words of Sir George Dempster, a director of the British Society: 'The seas abound with fish, the Highlands with industrious and good people. It will be our business to bring these two to meet.'

The most ambitious scheme in Argyll was the founding of the village of Tobermory on the Mishnish estate in the north of Mull by the British Society. The Duke was Governor of the Society and took an active part in the enterprise.<sup>3</sup> The Instructions reveal the Duke's earlier schemes in the new crofting villages of Kenmore near

<sup>1</sup> See p. 1 below and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Much of the planning of the British Society as well as of private landowners, in relation to fishing settlements, and a good deal of the legislation on West Highland fishing, navigation, communications and other matters, appears to have originated in, and flowed from James Anderson's important report of 1785 to the Lords of the Treasury. Anderson's recommendations were adopted virtually *in toto* by the Commons' Committee on Fisheries, before whom Dr. Anderson gave evidence. He came down strongly on the side of the small-boat fisherman as opposed to the herring-buss fisheries, and the legislation in favour of this branch of the industry in 1787 and subsequent years resulted from his observations. (James Anderson: *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1785), including an appendix containing portions of the third report of the Commons' Committee on Fisheries.) Anderson formulated ideas that were already in the air and that John Knox discussed in his *View of the British Empire, especially Scotland* (London, 1785). He was influenced, too, by the fishing settlements already attempted by the Duke of Argyll, through whose good offices his tour of the Hebrides was arranged. (MS., *James Ferrier's Letter-Book*, 1784-6, Inveraray Castle.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 155, n. 1, below.

Inveraray, Creich and Bunessan in Mull, and Scarinish in Tiree. The most considerable expansion of crofting villages occurred in and after 1803, the year when the Passenger Vessels Act was passed.<sup>1</sup> The allotment to crofters of farms previously intended for small tenants marks a significant turning-point in the history of the estate. It indicated that population was beginning to outrun the Duke's estimates and to encroach on the agricultural land. Already the shadow of a great cloud was beginning to move over the islands.

The Duke's intentions for the expansion of employment went far beyond fishing schemes. Like his predecessor, the 3rd Duke, he took the industrialisation of the estate as his objective. The rise of industries in the Lowlands and the south was making the Highlands an appendage of these industries, a reserve of labour and, with their vast sheep-farms, a source of raw materials.<sup>2</sup> The Duke would, if fortune favoured his endeavours, turn the tables on the Lowlands, establish native industries and absorb the surplus labour of the 'super-numeraries'. The present volume shows the Duke's endeavours to introduce industry into the islands, but the most ambitious schemes were at Campbeltown and Inveraray and its vicinity. At Clunary, several miles from Inveraray, he established a factory for the production of cloth and carpets in 1776. Local wool would be used and local labour employed in spinning yarn (which, as under the 3rd Duke, was required from the families of small tenants and cottars under severe penalties).

Not emigration, then, but industry and fishing settlements were the Duke's bold answer to the challenge of population. 'This would be a better way than Lord Selkirk's of employing the Highlanders,' he wrote with unquenched optimism to Ferrier in 1805, when he was engaged in re-establishing the decayed factory at Clunary. But if these plans failed, what then? Might not Selkirk's way be finally necessary? And was optimism justified? The experience of thirty years gave no grounds for hoping that the tide would turn in his favour. The whole trend of things was towards the concentration of industry near the coal-fields, and Clunary fared no better than nearly all Highland manufacturing enterprises of the period. By 1806 the factory was near the end of its brief

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 73, n. 1, and 201, n. 1, below.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 174, n. 1, and J. Smith: *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll* (1805), 255 ff., 301, and statistical table facing p. 325.



and profitless career. Tobermory had grown to around five hundred people, but the high hopes of an expanded boat-fishery had not been realised and except in the Clyde lochs the new fishing stations languished. Instead of thriving fishing villages and factory communities, kelp manufacture had come, on the Argyll estate as on others, to dominate the scene in the islands and on the coasts, and this contrary to the Duke's original intentions and wishes.

In 1770 the contribution of kelp to the Duke's revenue was small. By 1806 it accounted for a high proportion of the rents of the northern districts of the estate. In 1770-1 Tiree paid a rent of £852 largely from sales of barley and whisky. In 1805-6 the islanders paid a rent of £2,606, largely out of sales of kelp, which in that year amounted to £2,613. In the meantime, the war-time boom in kelp had changed the whole economic and tenurial structure of the estate in these districts.<sup>1</sup> By 1806, the tacksmen of Mull, who had earlier occupied three-quarters of the land there, now divided the farms in roughly equal proportions with small tenants, who had come to hold most of the coastal farms. In Tiree the holdings of the non-resident tacksmen had been liquidated and five-sixths of the island was now in the occupation of small tenants or crofters. The reason for the extension of small tenants' farms is stated by the Duke in the Instructions of 1799: 'As you inform me that small tenants can afford to pay more rent for farms in Tiry than gentlemen-farmers, owing to the manufacture of kelp, this determines me to let the farms to small tenants which have been and are at present possessed by tacksmen who reside upon farms in Mull.'<sup>2</sup>

So the trend of half a century was reversed in these northern districts. One of the main themes of this volume is the decline of the tacksmen from the ascendancy which they possessed in the Duke's earlier years, and the transfer of large areas to the occupancy of small tenants or crofters. Its beginnings can be traced back as early as 1786, when two Morvern farms were transferred from Drimnin to small tenants (and the association of this with the Duke's interest in local kelp shores will be noted),<sup>3</sup> but it was not in full swing until the great expansion of kelp manufacture in the nineties. In districts

<sup>1</sup> For table of kelp prices, 1768-1797, see p. 188 below.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 48 below. Tacksmen as well as small tenants manufactured kelp, but tenants had the advantage of not having to pay for labour, an important element in the price of kelp, as Maxwell explained. (See pp. 187-8 below.)

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 142, 144-5, 149 below.

where kelp was not made, the tacksmen survived. Benevolence, not financial motives, however, inspired the Duke's policy in partitioning farms for crofters.

Thus, unplanned and unforeseen, a new industry had risen from the sea and had helped to restore the small tenants to the land. Kelp earnings made possible the creation of separate, partitioned farms in place of the large runrig farms, and promoted the grant of leases to small tenants. This central feature of the Duke's agrarian reforms, though never wholly accomplished, had been quite unattainable, by reason of the small tenants' poverty, until kelp manufacture arose.

The weakness of the new estate structure in the islands and coasts lay in the fact that it rested on an industry that was by its nature precarious, not on a broad industrial base of manufactures and fishing. For the supernumeraries transferred to crofting villages from the partitioned farms, where they could no longer be accommodated,<sup>1</sup> the future was without security. From the Duke's own language in his Instructions in 1803,<sup>2</sup> it is reasonable to conclude that, but for the passing of the Passenger Vessels Act, he now viewed the emigration of 'supernumeraries' as an acceptable solution to the growing problem of population. He had earlier seen too clearly the perils of trusting the fortunes of the estate to kelp ever to rest content with a situation in which he was increasingly dependent on it.<sup>3</sup>

In this world of commerce and industry to which the Argyll estate had become an adjunct in the eighteenth century, the old social order of the Highlands was rapidly dissolving away. Tacksmen and tenants, mailers and cottars were now subject to forces originating far beyond the Highlands and outside their control; outside the control, for that matter, of the Duke of Argyll and the landlords in general. They managed their estates in accordance with the dictates of changing prices, and the more fortunate survived and even made fortunes. Those, like the 5th Duke, who felt a sense of responsibility for the inhabitants of their estates, were restrained from heartless behaviour towards their tenants, but could not turn

<sup>1</sup> See p. 201 below.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 73 and 201 below.

<sup>3</sup> 'In place of recovering the rents from the natural productions of the island as was done before kelp was known, you have allowed the tenants to drink their barley, and squander the other productions of the land, and taught them to trust the payment of their rents to the price of kelp, and the consequence is that whenever a market for that article fails I am to get nothing for my land.' (*Instructions, Tisee*, 1794, p. 30 below.)

a blind eye to their own needs and the swelling rentals of their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> At no time were the Duke's finances easy. Frequently they were in a state of acute embarrassment. 'Is it fair,' he writes peevishly to Ferrier in January 1806, 'in these eventful days that I should have no more than £1,600 at my command?'

There were many calls upon his purse. His great programme of building and improving at Inveraray (which included nothing less than the construction of a new town) rarely ran at less than £4,000 to £5,000 a year in the seventies and eighties. It demanded not less than £10,000 a year by the beginning of the century. The building of a new house at Rosneath in his last few years, to take the place of the castle destroyed by fire in 1802, was a crippling expense, especially as his eldest son had a hand in the plans. 'Two houses of expense and taste are sufficient to ruin any family,' the Duke wrote warningly to the Marquis in early 1803. By 1805 Rosneath was costing the Duke £4,000 a year.

Throughout his life, the Duke was generous to a fault to his children and dependants. When to his already straitened finances were added the Marquis's heavy debts, a series of crises were produced which required all Ferrier's financial skill to surmount. In 1802-3, farms to the value of £20,000 were sold off. Later the Duke was persuaded, much against his will, to part with several superiorities. These exigencies partly explain the Duke's growing involvement, against his own better judgment, in kelp manufacture as the source of much of his revenue. They lie behind the urgent demands for the punctual collection of rent in his Instructions and his anxiety to expand the domanial revenues and bring the kelp shores within the domain.<sup>2</sup>

What is remarkable is not that he asked more but that his demands remained so moderate. Increases in rent were related to the tenants' capacity to pay and were accompanied by real improvements in the farms. Frequently he waived rent increases in favour of solid improvements which the tenants undertook to carry out. His administration opened with substantial increases, but from c. 1778 rents remained fairly static until the early nineties. The rents of Tiree, for example, rose from £852 in 1770-1 to £1,118 in 1778-9, then were almost unchanged until the mid-nineties. In 1793-4, the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 156 below.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 185 ff. below.

rents were at £1,284, only 50 per cent. higher than a quarter of a century before. The same applied to the Ross of Mull, where the Duke's rents moved up very little between 1771 and 1791, during which period the rents of the six proprietors of the parish of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen rose from £961 to £2,711.<sup>1</sup>

In the last twelve years of the Duke's life, with the inflationary effects of war-time, his rents rose more steeply. Those of Tiree roughly doubled,<sup>2</sup> but they still remained modest by general standards. Contemporary accounts are agreed in praising his moderation and humanity. One example must suffice: 'From his estate,' writes the minister of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen in Mull, 'small tenants are never moved while they behave properly. It is no secret in the country that his Grace continued their farms to small tenants at the former rent though large augmentations were offered by gentlemen who were better able and would pay their rents more punctually. From the same principle of humanity it has also happened often that his Grace, though with loss of rent, ordered farms to be divided into small portions to accommodate numbers that would otherwise be destitute and obliged with weak and helpless families to leave the country.'<sup>3</sup>

The Duke never completely overcame disaffection in the northern districts which had, for well over a century, retained their attachment to their old chiefs. Traditional attitudes died hard. The division of the runrig farms in Tiree and other improvements provoked strong opposition, as the Instructions show,<sup>4</sup> but for the first time, under the 5th Duke's administration, there are clear signs that the bitterness of the small tenants was breaking down and giving way to an unwonted enthusiasm for improvement. In the division of the runrig farms in Mull and Morvern at the turn of the century, the chamberlain reported that 'with very few exceptions they seem to have enter'd very heartily into My Lord Duke's wishes in regard to this measure'.<sup>5</sup> Even in Tiree, there was a new spirit of co-operation among the small tenants, as they engaged in rival endeavours to improve their divided holdings.<sup>6</sup> It was the reward of the

<sup>1</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, XIV, 197-8.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke's gross revenue from his lands in Argyll rose in the thirty years following 1770 from £10,284 to around £25,000.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, XIV, 189.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 65, n. 1, 68, 69, 71.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 197 below.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 93-5 below.

Duke's patience and magnanimity, continued over more than thirty years.

The 5th Duke was already something of a legend in his lifetime. Under his successor, George, 6th Duke, when the estate was in low water and enormous sales of land were once more necessary, with bad blood and legal proceedings between the Duke and his brother, it was natural for those who remembered the old Duke's pride of family and careful management, to hark back to better days. 'What would the late Duke of Argyll say to such measures?' asked a devoted friend of the family.<sup>1</sup>

The Instructions reveal the Duke as a benevolent despot transmitting his commands to his servants, and undoubtedly he was an exacting and autocratic master. But it is necessary to consider the Instructions together with the Reports which the chamberlains submitted in the following year. It is clear that the chamberlains exercised considerable influence on the Duke's policies.<sup>2</sup> An inept chamberlain like McLaurine counted for little, but chamberlains like James Maxwell in Mull and Donald Campbell in Tiree played an essential role in interpreting the condition and mood of the tenants to their master, and in translating the Duke's instructions into effect. Far from being servile towards their master and tyrannical towards the tenants, they are found challenging the Duke on issues where he felt strongly and presenting the tenants' case with force and candour.<sup>3</sup> Their detailed reports, their carefully compiled census lists and their correspondence (though little of the latter seems to have survived) contributed not only to the Duke's encyclopaedic knowledge of his lands and tenants but to the progress of his ideas and the development of his policy.

The most important appointment made by the Duke was that of James Ferrier, W.S., to be his Receiver-General in succession to the loyal Archibald Campbell of Succoth in 1778.<sup>4</sup> Thenceforward he was indispensable. Not only did he introduce stricter standards of

<sup>1</sup> MS., letter of J. Campbell, Craignure, to Lord John Campbell, the future 7th Duke, June 28th, 1824, Inveraray Castle.

<sup>2</sup> The influence of the official though anonymous reports, made in 1771, on the Duke's policies throughout his administration is referred to on p. 1, n. 2, and elsewhere in foot-notes to the text. The author has not been identified with certainty, but he was evidently a man who enjoyed the Duke's complete trust.

<sup>3</sup> Especially noteworthy are Maxwell's successful defence of the tenants' rights to the kelp shores (pp. 186 ff. below) and Donald Campbell's plea against rent increases in Tiree (pp. 32 ff. below).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 16, n. 3, below.

accounting and efficiency into the management of the estate—and thereby made himself the terror of muddled or neglectful chamberlains—but his superb handling of the Duke's financial affairs and his well-informed advice contributed essentially to the whole administration. In spite of his brusque and overbearing personality, his intervention appears to have produced greater lenity and tolerance in the Duke's management of the more intransigent districts.<sup>1</sup>

A change of some importance occurred in the administration in the 5th Duke's time for which Ferrier's influence is perhaps largely responsible. The dominance of the Campbells in the administration virtually ceases after c. 1790. Hitherto the Campbell gentry had enjoyed a monopoly of the offices of chamberlains, treasurer and the like. Such families as Stonefield, Airds, Sonochan and Asknish were closely identified with the administration of the estate. By the end of the Duke's life only old Baillie Campbell at Rosneath survived of the old chamberlains. The rest were new men of less exalted rank, with higher salaries but reduced privileges, more burdensome duties but more restricted powers, greater expertise in accountancy and business, but less independence.<sup>2</sup> This development of a salaried bureaucracy had been gradually on its way since the abolition of the tacksmen and the commercial management of the estate threw greater burdens on the chamberlains.

With all their virtues, the old, dignified chamberlains lacked the capacities which so recommended Maxwell, the Campbeltown lawyer, to James Ferrier and the Duke. They too, then, changed with the times, and only Baillie Rosneath soldiered on, a respected but somewhat tolerated old gentleman, immersed as deeply as the Duke in breeding and selling cattle, experimenting with composts and noting the yields of potatoes. He sent in his rents punctually, but accountancy was something he had never mastered, and his own private affairs were in an appropriate state of embarrassment. On receiving the news of the Duke's paralytic stroke, this devoted servant, who was at dinner, 'read the letter, laid it down on the table,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 65, n. 1, below.

<sup>2</sup> A parallel and almost contemporary development took place on the great Russian estates after 1761 (when the nobles were released from compulsory state service and came to reside on their estates). The earlier aristocratic stewards were superseded by bailiffs of humbler rank as the economic aspects of estate management became more important. The instructions to intendants have interesting parallels to the Duke of Argyll's Instructions to Chamberlains. (M. Confino: *Domaines et Seigneurs en Russie vers la Fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1963).)

said no other word than these, "Then it is time for me to go too," rose and went to bed, which he never left'.<sup>1</sup>

Duke John did not live to see the events that followed the end of the Napoleonic War—the decline of agricultural prices, the collapse of the kelp market, the eventual disappearance of nearly all the old Highland landlords, the crop failures and famine conditions which set in motion those immense tides of emigration that since have washed over the Highlands and scattered the population to distant lands. Pilot of innumerable enterprises, the Duke belonged, like Baillie Rosneath, to a more sanguine, bustling age, when it seemed still possible to divert the trend of industry from its Lowland concentrations, to irrigate the Highlands with channels of new wealth and keep the Highlanders at home. Under his aegis, as both landlord and chief, he had hoped and striven to find a sure place for his people in the industrial world.

The Instructions tell of achievements that would bring any man a measure of admiration and fame. But perhaps the significance of the 5th Duke's career lies less in what he accomplished than in what he attempted to do. His administration marks the last, and perhaps the best-conceived attempt, before the deluge of the nineteenth century, to preserve the Scottish Highlands from depopulation and decay. The future lay with other forces. Within a generation much of his work had been undone. His memory has been neglected in favour of the statesmen and soldiers of the family of Argyll. It is hoped that the publication of these papers will help to restore the 5th Duke to that place in the history of his country that his vision, his humanity and his strength of character deserve.

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The documents have been transcribed from manuscript at Inveraray Castle. With the exceptions mentioned in foot-notes on pages 1, 95 and 207 below, the instructions printed here are contained in a MS. volume entitled 'Instructions to Chamberlains'. It is bound in boards, with a light brown leather binding on the spine, and measures 15 by 9½ inches. Besides several unnumbered pages, there are 343 numbered pages. This volume, which remained at Inveraray, preserved copies of the Instructions recorded also in separate volumes which were in the possession of the several

<sup>1</sup> The 8th Duke of Argyll in Fyfe: *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs*, vol. II, 566.

chamberlains and which I have not traced. The Tiree Instructions for 1773 to 1784 inclusive, and the Mull and Morvern Instructions for 1771 to 1774 inclusive, have not yet been found. This volume also includes the Kintyre Instructions for 1788 to 1805 inclusive. The hands of a series of clerks can be distinguished. The Duke's signature at the end of each set of Instructions is sometimes, but not always, in his own hand.

In the editing of the Instructions, the original text has been preserved exactly, except that the pagination has been altered and punctuation modernised. The orthography, unstable as it is, has been retained unchanged and often provides evidence of the pronunciation of place-names (for example, the two forms Cruachannuic and Cruhanmican on p. 140 below). Two maps illustrate the text, one of them including most of the place-names to which the text refers. In this map I have adopted the forms given by the Ordnance Survey, except in a few cases where an eighteenth-century form seemed preferable (e.g. Grianal in Tiree, now given as Greenhill). Editorial insertions are given in square brackets. Foot-notes have been added and a brief glossary of terms appended.





INSTRUCTIONS  
TO THE  
CHAMBERLAIN OF TIREE



INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAMBERLAIN OF  
TIRY OCT. 1771<sup>1</sup>

1. I am to defer the sett of my lands in Tiry for this year till matters are in greater forwardness for granting leases. In the meantime I desire that you sett for a year, at an adequate augmentation of rent, the farms that will be out of lease at Whit. 1772 to such tenants as you shall reckon sufficient for holding their possessions afterwards in tack, allowing no tenant to occupy less than four maile lands, and you are to furnish me as soon as possible with a written scheme of the rent you think these farms shou'd pay under a lease of 19 years.

2. It's represented to me that the island is over-peopled, and my farms oppress'd with a numerous set of indigent tenants & cotters. I am desirous to relieve the farms of these supernumeraries; and as I have no inclination to subject them to any sort of distress I will give them encouragement to settle in a fishing village which I mean to establish in a convenient situation on the island. Scarinish and Gott are consider'd the fittest places for this new settlement, being most commodious for the best harbour and having a proper outset for the continent. You are to examine these farms, and to report to me what you consider the best plan for carrying my design into execution. In the meantime, you may signify this design to the inhabitants & try to prevaile with some of the best fishers among them to begin this settlement, to whom I shall give some years' free possession of a house-room, two acres of arable, and a cow's grass, commencing at Whitsunday next or any future period they are disposed to settle in this village.

3. The present systeme of husbandry in Tiry is lyable to several objections.<sup>2</sup> You'll consider the errors of it, and what amendments will best suit the quality of the soile & genius of the people and reduce your thoughts on this subject to a sett of general conditions

<sup>1</sup> The instructions for 1771 and 1772 are not contained in the large bound volume of *Instructions to Chamberlains* from which the rest are transcribed, but are separate manuscripts in a portfolio of papers relating to Tiree at Inveraray Castle. The instructions for 1771 are endorsed 'Every chamberlain to have a book for instructions'.

<sup>2</sup> An unsigned report on the island of Tiree was compiled for the Duke in 1771 (*Remarks on the Island of Tyree*) and is contained in the portfolio of Tiree papers at Inveraray Castle. The instructions of 1771 and later years were clearly strongly influenced by this report.

and regulations of Improvement to be observed over the estate and contained in the tacks that shall be henceforth granted in the island. In doing of this you are among other things to attend to the abuse of runrig, the multiplicity of unnecessary servants & horses employed in labour; the propriety of wheel carriages; the division of large farms; the disuse of common pasture and the proper method of dividing them on contiguous farms; the remedies against sand blowing; method of reducing the number of sheep; the pernicious consequence of cutting bent, digging rough & pulling barley; the advantage of introducing & cultivating hemp & flax; the hurtfull effects of greddan & grinding on querns, and the most effectuell methods of crushing distillery.

4. It's necessary to put the milns of Tiry on a better footing. With this view you will procure estimates of the expence of building a corn miln on the watter-course of Lochvassapole and of a wind miln at Scarinish. At the same time you may determine what portions of land should be taken off the farms of Cornaig & Scarinish for the accommodating the millers of these two milns.

5. The designation of the minister's glebe, is, in point of extent greatly above the legal, on which account and because I woud chuse to have the glebe, manse & kirk at Scarinish or Gott, I desire you will procure information how far the Presbytery may be disposed to agree to this alteration before a formall application is made to them for altering their former appointments. If the present incumbent shall agree readily to forward my intention regarding this change he may depend on a lifetime of his present possession on favourable terms.<sup>1</sup>

6. In case I shall on some future occasion make choice of taking bear in payment of rents in Tiry, I woud have you to furnish yourself with a proper plan and estimate of a granary at Scarinish sufficient for containing and seasoning at a time as much bear as will be equall to the greatest quantity you think may be received in one year from the tennants, and in the meantime you may proceed to quarry stone for this intended work. You are to compare with exactness the standard bear measure of Tiry with the Linlithgow, and when the difference is accurately ascertained, you

<sup>1</sup> The minister, Rev. Charles Campbell of Barmollach (born 1700, minister of Tیره 1754-1779), occupied the farm of Balephetrish, 504 acres in extent, as well as 37 acres of glebe.

may fix the medium weight of the Tiry boll of marketable hearty grain. This will be requisite for determining my choice as to the method of receiving victual from my tenants in Tiry.

7. I expect to make a considerable acquisition of fields of moss, by draining the lochs in Tiry. Endeavour to inform yourself how far it will be my interest to attempt this. Particularly I desire you will procure an estimate of the expence of draining Loch Heylipole which seems to be easy and will be a method of saving my house in the island from immediate decay.

8. The county will always appoint you surveyor of highways in Tiry. In the event, as the roads require very little attention, you may have the approbation of the General Meeting to employ the statute work of the island on the publick landing-place at Scarinish, which I expect you will with the soonest render as safe and commodious as possible.

9. I am inform'd that my tenants in Tiry & Coll commit abuses in selling my woods to people who do not possess any part of my land. Their future conduct in this respect is to be strictly looked after. And I desire you give positive orders to the tenants within your charge never to apply for wood-leave to any of my wood-keepers without your warrant specifying the quantity & sorts of timber they require, and that the same shall be apply'd to purposes within the farms they possess from me.

10. You may signify to Mr. Campbell of Stonfield that it will be convenient to furnish you with a commission of Admiralty over my estate of Tiry and Coll.<sup>1</sup> When you are provided with this you are to take charge of the wrecked vessell & cargo that has been lately thrown ashore on the island of Gunna, and to prosecute the plunderers of the wrecked goods for restitution & damages. You may at your own leisure supply me with a scantling of the timber of that wreck, that I may judge how far any part of it may be fit for the buildings I intend to carry on in Tiry.

A true copy.

Donald Campbell<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All wrecks within the bounds of his property, and all jetsam, belonged to the Duke by virtue of his hereditary Admiralty rights.

<sup>2</sup> The chamberlain of Tiree from 1769 to 1800 was Major Donald Campbell, born c. 1744, the son of Duncan Campbell, tacksman of Aros and other farms in Mull. He resided at Crossapol in Tiree, and occupied the farms of Crossapol, Balemartin and Balephuill. With the estate of Tiree were included also the east and west ends of the island of Coll, totalling a further 3,018 acres. Donald Campbell retired to Ardnacross in Mull in 1800.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAMBERLAIN OF  
TIRY OCTOBER 1772

1. You are to reconsider the instructions given last year and make a full report thereon at next accounting as you say you have not had time as yet to make the necessary enquiries.

2. I have agreed to the proposal for building a miln in Tiry, but before any tack is signed you must report to me that it is sufficiently built with stone and lime and of proper dementions, and as the tacksman will be the only miller in the country it is also proper to have the quantum of multures to be exacted by him settled and to take him bound to serve the thirle faithfully. I allow from five to seven pounds in order to build the side walls of stone and lime.

3. You are to consider with attention what number of cattle can be exported from the island annually, including what is in use to be killed and salted for exportation, & report to me.

4. You may think what you consider the most proper situation for establishing a village and harbour and in what manner you would lay out the grounds necessary for the buildings & accommodation of the inhabitants, and make a sketch of it on paper to show me when I next see you.

5. Provide yourself with a book for inserting all instructions already given or to be given you in time coming and on the margeon of each article mark what is done or what is thought on it.

6. The arrears<sup>1</sup> upon my estate are so high this year that it is very requisite my chamberlains do their utmost to reduce them. I therefore desire you will immediately do what is necessary to get payment and inform me before I leave Scotland what you have done. I depend upon your remitting from 2 to £300 to Edinr. before Christmass.

7. You are to execute warnings against all such tenants as can be removed at next Whits' and who have not given in proposals for

<sup>1</sup> The arrears of 1771 and preceding years for the whole estate amounted, when the accounts were made up in October 1771, to slightly over £6,000. A year later arrears were £5,025. The gross rental of the Argyll estate in 1771 was £12,055 (after deduction of cess and other burdens, £10,098). (From *Abstract Rental of the Estate of Argyll 1771 etc.*, Inveraray Castle.) 1771 was, it should be noted, the year of the Black Spring, so fatal in the West Highlands to the cattle, and described by Dr. Johnson in his *Journey to the Western Islands*.

new leases. As to the proposals you say you have already got you must examine them as soon as you get home and send me a scheme of them.

/Signed/Argyll

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF  
TIRY OCTOBER 1785<sup>1</sup>

1. Bring your last book of instructions with you to next meeting for settling accounts and as soon as you come to Inveraray let me have it and this book that I may have time to consider the whole before you go away again and to give fresh instructions. This is to be done every year.

2. Be at pains to find out the value of my lands in the island of Coll as a new sett of them is soon to be made and give me your opinion as to the terms and manner of sett.

3. You must continue to encourage and inforce as much as possible the building of good stone dykes upon all my farms and report every year how much has been done and by whom.

4. You are to contract with a mason for building an addition to the house built at Scarinish sufficient to make it answer for a church. The tenants will lead the stones and lime-stone and you can get coal to burn the lime. The timber cast on shore sometime ago, with the assistance of some deals which you can get to buy in the Sound of Mull, will answer for the timber work and you can hire a wright to execute it.

5. The blocks of marble<sup>2</sup> to be forwarded to Leith by an Easdale vessell first opportunity. Direct them to the care of Mr. John Beadie there & write Mr. Ferrier by post.

REPORT INSTRUCTIONS TO DONALD CAMPBELL  
FACTOR OF TIRY OCTOBER 1785

1. The book of Instructions is brought & now produced.

2. As to article second the factor reports that he has been at the

<sup>1</sup> The Instructions for 1773-1784 inclusive to the chamberlain of Tiree have not been traced.

<sup>2</sup> The marble was from the quarry at Balephetrish.



utmost pains to find out the value of His Grace's property in the island of Coll & traversed the ground in person more than once and will give his Grace a scheme of a sett before he leaves Inveraray.

3. Since September 1785 Mr. John Campbell Barnacary<sup>1</sup> & the tenants of Balimeanoch have built 60 roods of stone dyke; the tenants of Salum & Kelis have built 40 roods of stone dyke; the tenants of Kelis & Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell Ardess<sup>2</sup> have built 40 roods of dyke faced with stone; Mr. Campbell Ballyphetrish and the tenants of Vaull have led of stone what will build 50 roods on the Common of Drimderg; the tenants of Baugh have led what will build 25 roods; Mr. Campbell Treshinish<sup>3</sup> has employed two people to quarry stone for building a march-dyke betwixt the farms of Ruag and Kelis; Mr. MacLean Kilmaluag and a number more of your Grace's tenants are to begin on the common of Drimbuy to quarry & lead stones for march-dykes next winter.

4. The addition to the church is built & will be slated next month. The pulpit is made and the windows ready for putting in.

5. The chamberlain is sorry to report that by the unwieldiness of the marble blocks they cannot be conveyed to Scarinish harbour until they are made lighter, being ten in number & the one half of them at least not solid & full of large green spots.

#### INSTRUCTIONS OCTOBER 1786

1. You know that I have been offer'd double rent for my property in Coll, and eighty guineas for the east end by itself.<sup>4</sup> In order to accommodate Coll and the present tacksman I have refused both offers and sett only the west end with the island of Gunnay at sixty six pounds.

<sup>1</sup> John Campbell of Barnacarry was non-resident tacksman of Gortendonuil at this date. Balemeanoch was adjacent to it.

<sup>2</sup> Ardess (or Ardeas) formed the south quarter of Kelis.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell of Treshinish in Mull had a tack of Ruag in Tiree. (*List of Inhabitants in the Island of Tiry*, 1776, MS. at Inveraray Castle.)

<sup>4</sup> The island of Coll was divided between the Duke and MacLean of Coll. Coll owned the central part, the Duke the two ends. The east end consisted of the farms of Cornaigbeg, Cornaigmore, Bowest, and Soadasdale, the west end of Kelis, Ardnish, Brac, Usairt, Fèranagoinen, Fresland, and the isle of Gunna. The east end was in tack to MacLean of Isle of Muck, a kinsman of Coll's, who is at this period sometimes found more euphoniously rendered Isle of Monk.

Coll has been wrote to by my agent, by my direction, that he may have the three farms which mix with his grounds at such rent as he himself shall think reasonable. If he takes them it will be proper to ascertain exactly the number of acres they contain and to have march-dykes built to prevent disputes in after-times.

You will give notice to the present tacksman that I incline to prefer him to a lease of the east end at the rent of eighty guineas which was offered by another.

2. Continue to report every year what improvements have been made by the tenants.

3. My chamberlain of Mull continues to complain of the abuses committed on my woods by the people of Tiry and says that in a few years they will utterly destroy the woods.<sup>1</sup> I insist that you take measures for preventing their getting a single stick without your order and your knowing what use it is for, and that you enter in this or some other book the orders you give for timber that I may see the amount yearly. Airds is instructed to keep an account of all that is given to Tiry people after this time & to show it that I may compare it with yours and find out where the fault lyes.

4. Get the logs of mahogany sawn accross to see if they are fresh in the heart or not & report to me as soon as you can their condition.

5. The wreck'd fir to be used for seats to the church as far as it will go.

6. Get as much cut off three of the blocks of marble as will render them portable & then forward them to Leith as directed last year. Take the dimensions of the rest, number them and describe the colour of each.

Inveraray 25th Oct. 1786

Signed/Argyll

<sup>1</sup> The tenants in Tiree had customarily obtained gratis, though under strict conditions, from the Duke's woods on Loch Sunart, such timber as they required for building houses and boats and for making implements.

# REPORT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY OCTOBER 1786

1. As to the first article of the instructions wherein Your Grace wishes Coll to ascertain the rent of the farms to be possessed by him, the reporter, having communicated the same to him, he declined it and refers the rent to your Grace.

As to the acres these farms contain it is already ascertained by the survey made by Mr. Turnbull,<sup>1</sup> and the marches of Coll's lands well known.

The reporter will delay building the dykes until he knows whether they are to be built by Your Grace or by Coll. Building them must be expensive as all the stones must be blasted.

At the reporter's return home he wrote Mr. McLean, Isle of Monk, of Your Grace's intentions concerning his possession, and the answer he now produces.

2nd. Since October 1786 the tenants of Kelis and Salum have built between these farms 60 roods of stone dyke; Mr. Campbell of Treshinish has built betwixt the farms of Ruaig & Kelis 85 roods; Mr. Campbell Baliphetrish has built on the common of Drimderg<sup>2</sup> in his march with the tenants of Vaull 48 roods; Mr. McLean Kilmaluag has built on the common of Drimbuy on the march betwixt him and the tenants of Hilipole & Cornaigmore 114 roods; Mr. Campbell of Frackadale has built 36 roods on his farm.

3rd. The reporter according to Your Grace's instructions has booked all the orders given for timber since Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1786 and now produces the book.

4th. The logs of mahogany are sawn & sent to Roseneath.

<sup>1</sup> James Turnbull carried out his survey of Tiree and Coll during the period August 1768 to April 1769, subsequently making a detailed report and map for the 4th Duke.

<sup>2</sup> There were three extensive commons in Tiree—the Reef consisting of 1,034 acres, Drimdearg 811 acres, and Drimbugh 287 acres. The two last-mentioned were now being enclosed with adjacent farms, but the Reef remained open. The report made in 1771 on the island (see p. 1, n. 2) represented the commons as 'hurtful to My Lord Duke's interest and destructive of the good government of the island', and urged their enclosure. The report laid the blame for the excess of cattle in the island, and the multiplication of 'idle cottars and supernumeraries', on the existence of these large commons, 'a vulgar opinion prevailing among them [the cottars] that commonies belong to the King, and that My Lord Duke or his tenants have no right to hinder them'.

5th. The firr is made use of as Your Grace directed.

6th. The 3 blocks of marble are sent to Leith and the dimensions of the rest taken and the colour described in a list of them now to be produced by the factor.

#### INSTRUCTIONS OCT<sup>r</sup>. 1787

1. As Coll has declined to put a rent upon the farms which I agreed to give him last year, let him know that I am satisfied to take £30 yearly which I understand is the present rent, & concert with him as to the ascertaining of the measurement of them and building march-dykes and accomodating the tacksman of the west end with peats.

2. Consider how the tenants of Kelis and Tiry are to be accomodated with peats.

23 October 1787

Signed/Argyll

#### REPORT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY IN OCTOBER 1787

1. Coll was wrote to according to the 1st Article of Your Grace's instructions and he is willing to take the farm upon the condition mentioned in it. The measurement of the farm is ascertained by Turnbull's plan and the marches is well known. Coll is willing to build a march-dyke betwixt his own property and that farm, and will accomodate the tacksman of the west end with peats.

2. The reporter viewed the moss upon Friesland and Cornaig in the east end of Coll and he is of opinion that the tenants of Kelis in Tiry should be served in peats from Cornaig as the moss in Friesland is very much exhausted already and ought to be reserved for the use of the west end of Coll.

Agreeable to Your Grace's instructions in 1786 the reporter thinks proper to mention that since Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1787 Mr. Campbell of Treshinish has built 20 roods of stone dyke betwixt the farms of Ruag & Kelis & the tenants of Kelis have built 57 roods of stone dyke betwixt the farm of Kelis and Salum. Mr. Campbell Bali-

phetrish has built 150 roods of stone dyke in the march between his farm and the farms of Vaull & Kirkapole. Mr. McLean Kilmaluag has built 65 roods in the marches between his farm and the farm of Hilipole & Cornaigmore, and the reporter has built 56 roods stone dyke betwixt the farm of Balimartin & Balenoe.

### INSTRUCTIONS OCTOBER 1788

1. On a memorial from the minister<sup>1</sup> of Tiry setting furth the bad situation of his present dwelling-house I have agreed either to lay out one hundred pounds sterling on building him a better one or to allow him ten pounds yearly for the want of a manse and he to accommodate himself in a house as he best can. I have also agreed to be at the expence of building a dyke around his garden, and to pay for the building his part of the dyke on the march of the common, he leading the stones.

As I understand that other dykes are wanted to separe the minister's farm from the adjoining farms, particularly on the march with the farm of Scarinish, I desire to see an estimate of the expence of building the whole of these and to know if the minister and the possessors of these other grounds will be willing to pay me six and a half per cent on the expence if I lay it out.

2d. As you inform that McNiven<sup>2</sup> has paid up or found security for his arrears of rent you may now deliver his lease to him.

3d. Make an abstract for my use of all the Tiry leases mentioning the names of the tenents, the endurance of their leases, the rents, the improvements agreed to be made, and other particulars which you think I may like to be informed of.

4th. As the tenants of Kenovay have not given that countenance & encouragement to the schoolmaster which he had right to expect, I desire that you will prepare a house for him at Scarinish with a garden & croft of land, and remove him to that place and

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Archibald MacColl (born at Oban 1746, died 1814) was minister of Tiree 1780-1814. He married Flora, daughter of Coll MacDougall of Ardincaple. He was a zealous improver and in 1788 submitted to the Duke, at the latter's request, under the title *Observations on Tiree*, a lengthy disquisition on the economy of the island and the need for new industries and improved agricultural practices. He was also author of the parish survey in the *Old Stat. Account of Scotland*, which is purged of the eccentricities of style and opinions that appear in the *Observations on Tiree*.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald McNiven, tacksman of Grianal in the west of the island (which appears in modern maps as Greenhill).

make the tenants in that quarter cut and lead home his peats for him yearly.

5th. As you inform that Mr. McLean of Coll wishes to have a march-dyke built betwixt his property and mine in the east end of Coll, I authorise you to streight that march with him and to pay my share of the expence of the dyke.

/signed/Argyll

### REPORT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY OCTOBER 1788

1. The minister of Tiry has accepted of your Grace's offer of one hundred pounds for the purpose of building a house in preference to the other offer of ten pounds a year for the want of one and he has bought timber and begun to quarry stones for building it.

2. The minister and the tenants of the adjoining farm will willingly pay six and a half per cent on whatever sum your Grace will be pleased to lay out in building march-dykes between their farms. The reporter has brought an estimate of the expence of building these dykes.

3. The reporter has made out a rental of your Grace's lands in Tiry and Coll, with a state shewing when the tacks of the several farms expire. But in case that rental and state are not considered a sufficient answer to the 3d. article of your Grace's instructions, he begs that article may be included in this year's instructions, and when he gives in his next report he will bring an abstract of the leases and suggest whatever occurs to him proper to be done as tending to the improvement of the different farms.

4. The tenants of Scarinish not being warned at Whitsunday<sup>1</sup> last and the ground best adapted for the school-house and school-master's croft being under crop, the reporter was thereby prevented from carrying the fourth article of your Grace's instructions into execution, but he has procured two cows' grass for the school-master in Kenovay, where he continues till Whitsunday next, when he will be settled in Scarinish agreeable to your Grace's orders.

5. One third of the march-dyke in the east end of Coll, between

<sup>1</sup> Leases ran from Whitsunday. Notice to quit had to be given by the previous Whitsunday.

your Grace's property and Mr. MacLean of Coll's is built. The reporter will bring in the expence of it in next year's accompt.

Agreeable to your Grace's instruction in 1786 the reporter thinks proper to mention that since October 1788 Mr. Campbell Balephetrish has built 78 roods of stone dyke betwixt the farm of Balephetrish and Kirkapole on the common of Drimderg and the tenants of Kelis has built 45 roods betwixt the farm of Kelis and Salum; Mr. Campbell of Scarinish has built 59½ roods stone dyke round his park at Scarinish and sixty four roods ditch; the tenants of Baugh has built 51 roods of stone dyke betwixt the farm of Baugh and Gott on the common of Drimderg.

#### ORDERS FOR TIMBER

*Tiry Nov. 1786.* Gave an order to Mr. McLean Kilmaluaig for 8 ploughs, 20 car-poles, 40 pantrees and 40 kabbers.

*Tiry 22d August 1787.* Gave an order to John MacArthur and Donald MacDonald &ca., tenants in Kelis, for 21 couples with rubs and kabbers, 6 car-poles and 4 ploughs.

*Tiry 29th August 1787.* Gave an order to Mr. Campbell Balephetrish for 24 couples with rubs and kabbers, 10 car-poles and 4 ploughs.

*Tiry 11 September 1787.* Gave an order for Neil McDonald in Kenovay and Lachlan McLean in Hough for 10 couples with rubs and kabbers, 8 car-poles and 4 ploughs.

*Tiry 14 Septem<sup>r</sup> 1787.* Gave an order to Norman MacLeod, Charles McLean, John Cameron and John McLean in Ruag for 24 couples with rubs and kabbers, 16 car-poles and 4 ploughs.

*Tiry 23d Septem<sup>r</sup> 1787.* Gave an order to Charles McKinnon Alex<sup>r</sup> & Don<sup>d</sup>. McKinnon in Vaull for 12 couples with rubs & kabbers, 8 car-poles & 4 ploughs.

*Tiry 29 Septem<sup>r</sup> 1787.* Gave an order to Archibald McNiven in Grianal for 12 couples with rubs and kabbers, 4 car-poles and 4 ploughs. Gave an order to Donald McLean in Kirkapole for 6 couples with rubs and kabbers.

*20th May, 1788.* Gave an order to John McArthur in Hillipole for 8 couples with rubs and kabbers.

*22d June 1788.* Gave an order to Allan MacDonald, miller in Kelis, for six couples with rubs and kabbers.

*12th September 1788.* Gave an order to Mr. Campbell Balephetrish for 14 couples with rubs and kabbers, 6 car-poles and two ploughs.

*23d September 1788.* Gave an order to Dugald & Donald Campbells in Cornaigmore for 16 couples with rubs and kabbers.

*1st October 1788.* Gave an order to Mr. McColl & Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell in Scarinish for 16 couples with rubs and kabbers, 4 ploughs & 8 car-poles.

## MEMOR.

The chamberlain has not been correct in entering his orders as severals have appeared which are not in this book. He may as well keep no account as keep one in that manner.

<i>3 September 1787.</i> Tenants in Vaull	18 couple 8 car-poles 3 ploughs
<i>29 September 1787.</i> Donald McLean in Kirkapole	6 couples 2 ploughs 2 slades
<i>16 July 1787.</i> Tenants in Balinoe and Heynish	24 couples 4 ploughs 8 car-poles J. F. <sup>1</sup>

*Tiry 30 October 1788.* Gave an order to Donald McLean in Scarinish and Alexander McLean Balinoe for 8 couples with rubs and kabbers.

*Tiry 21st November 1788.* Gave an order to Donald McLean of Islamonk<sup>2</sup> for—

5 ploughs  
20 spade shafts  
20 stucks for harrows  
4 couples with rubs and kabbers

<sup>1</sup> The initials J. F. stand for James Ferrier, the Duke's receiver-general. See p. 16, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Islamonk = Isle of Monk or Muck.



*Tiry 29 May 1789.* Gave an order to Mr. Archibald McLean Kilmaluaig for—

12 couples with rubs and kabbers  
16 car-poles  
4 ploughs

*Tiry 12 June 1789.* Gave an order to Donald Reid, Alexander McPhaill, John McPhaill, Neill Reid, Lachlan McLean, Neil McIntyre, tenants in Kirkapole for—

30 couples with rubs & kabbers  
6 ploughs

*Tiry 15 June 1789.* Gave an order to Colin Campbell, Neil MacKinnon, Murdoch MacDonald, tenants in Hilipole for—

15 couples with rubs and kabbers  
3 ploughs  
6 car-poles

*Tiry 18 June 1789.* Gave an order to John McLean, Donald MacDonald & Lachlan McPhaden, tenants in Kelis for—

20 couples with rubs and kabbers  
8 car-poles  
3 ploughs

*Tiry 22d June 1789.* Gave an order to Donald McPhail, Dougald Campbell, Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell, Alex<sup>r</sup>. MacLean, Dougald McIntyre, Arch<sup>d</sup>. McPhail, tenants in Cornaig for—

40 couples with rubs and kabbers  
6 ploughs  
14 car-poles

*Tiry 6th July 1789.* Gave an order to Mr. Colin McNiven, tacksman of Greanal for—

12 couples with rubs & kabbers  
8 ploughs  
12 car-poles

*Tiry 8 July 1789.* Gave an order to Murdoch Campbell, John McFarlane, John and Donald Campbells, Lachlan Bell and Neil Campbell, tenants in Balinoc for—

40 couples with rubs & kabbers  
8 ploughs  
16 car-poles

*Tiry 10 July 1789.* Gave an order to Alexander Campbell in Gortendonel for—

12 couples  
3 ploughs  
12 car-poles

*Tiry 13 July 1789.* Gave an order to Mr. Malcom Campbell Balephetrish for—

16 couples with rubs & kabbers  
4 ploughs  
12 car-poles

*Tiry 22 July 1789.* Gave an order to Lachlan Cameron, Neil Kennedy, Hugh Cameron, John MacKinnon and John Cameron, tenants in Ballivuline, and Hector MacDonald, tenant in Kilchenichmore for—

35 couples with rubs and kabbers  
6 ploughs  
12 car-poles

*Tiry 12 September 1789.* Gave an order to John McPhaden in Heanish for—

8 couples with rubs and kabbers  
2 ploughs  
2 car-poles

*Tiry 29 September 1789.* Gave an order to Archibald Campbell Aross for—

15 couples with rubs and kabbers  
See abstract.

### INSTRUCTIONS 1789

1. You must when necessary advance the money for building the minister's house in terms of last year's instructions and take measures also for inclosing his garden. It is supposed the finishing of these will be work enough for next season, but if not the dykes on the common and also those of which you have now shown an estimate amounting to £80. 1. 6. may be carried on.

2d. The list which you have made of the Tiry leases does not

seem to come up to what you was desired to furnish as it neither shows what the tacksmen are bound to do in the way of improvement nor what they have in fact done. You must therefore make it full as to these particulars and send it to his Grace as soon as you hear of his arrival at Inveraray next season so as he may have time to consider it before you come there.

3. You must consider of putting a total stop to the present mode of raising houses in Tiry as it is evidently very destructive to his Grace's woods. It appears to me that in the course of last year a few of the tenants have got above 7000 trees. This, if so, is a most abominable waste and ought to be stopt. Perhaps I am mistaken as to the number from not understanding the nature of all the different species of timber mentioned in the report<sup>1</sup> of the wood-ranger but the number is certainly very great. The only way to check this I believe is to insist with the tenants to build stone and lime walls and to buy timber themselves, which will give them a better notion of the value of it than they seem to have at present.

4. As you mention that two licensed stills<sup>2</sup> are proposed to be erected in the island you should take measures for having both erected so as they may be carried on with coal, and see that they are so carried on, otherways they will soon waste the little fewel that is in the island.

22 October, 1789

/Signed/Ja. Ferrier<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The wood-ranger's report follows these instructions.

<sup>2</sup> Until the imposition of heavy licence fees on stills by Act of Parliament (1786), farms in Tiree commonly had at least one still each, producing both for local consumption and for export to neighbouring islands. The minister speaks of 200 to 300 Scotch gallons annually being exported and by this time the quantity was much reduced (*Old Stat. Account of Tiree*). The rents of the farms were in fact largely paid by whisky sales. Local barley was used. The suppression of the industry posed serious economic problems for the islanders, and the continuance of an illicit trade, subject to severe penalties, witnessed by later instructions and reports in this volume, is a measure of the hardship occasioned by the new laws. (Dr. Walker's *Observations on Tiree*, c. 1765; unsigned *Remarks on the Island of Tyree*, 1771; *Report on Instructions*, Nov. 1794.)

<sup>3</sup> James Ferrier, Writer to the Signet, b. 1744, d. 1829, was the 5th Duke's agent and receiver-general. He was the third son of John Ferrier of Kirkland, Renfrewshire, served his apprenticeship under Archibald Campbell of Succoth, the 3rd Duke's doer, and rose to be Principal Clerk of Session (1802-1827). Among his numerous children were John, mentioned in these instructions, and Susan Edmonstone Ferrier, the novelist. He acquired the superiority of the barony of Inneryne (Scottish Record Office, Register of Sasines, Argyll, Oct. 8th, 1792). Brief biographical details are given in the *History of the Society of Writers to H.M. Signet* (1936). His loyalty to the Duke and his great abilities made him indispensable to the Duke, who was influenced by him probably more than by any other single individual.

ACCOUNT OF WOODS SUPPLIED FROM THE WOODS  
OF LOCHSUNART TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE  
OF ARGYLL'S TENANTS IN TIRY

	TENANTS' NAMES	FARMS	CAR-POLES	COUPLES	PANTREES	KEBBERS	PLOUGHS	HARROWS	SPADE SHAFTS
1788									
May 20	John McArthur	Hilipole	—	8	8	100	1	1	2
June 27	Allan McDonald	Kellis	—	6	6	120	—	—	—
Aug <sup>t</sup> 12	John McKeory	Hinish	12	8	8	160	2	—	—
	Dun. McInish	Preachghoun <sup>1</sup>	—	—	—	400	—	—	—
Sept <sup>r</sup> 14	Jo. McAllum	Cornaigmore	—	2	6	160	—	—	2
	Malc <sup>m</sup> . McCallum	Balephetrish	6	14	14	300	2	—	—
27	Dug. Campbell	Cornaigmore	—	15	15	300	2	—	—
Oct <sup>r</sup> 12	Arch. McColl, minister	Gort	4	8	8	160	2	—	—
	Arch <sup>d</sup> . Campbell	Scarinish	4	8	8	160	2	—	—
30	Don <sup>d</sup> . McLean	Ditto	—	8	8	160	—	1	—
	Don <sup>d</sup> . McLean	Cornag	12	4	4	100	5	20	20
1789									
June 10	Mr. McLean	Kilmaluaig	16	12	12	200	4	—	—
17	Don <sup>d</sup> . Reid								
	Lach. McLean								
	John McPhail	Kirkapoul	12	30	30	500	6	—	—
	Neil Reid								
	Lach. McLean								
	Neil McIntyre								
	Colin Campbell								
	Neil McKinnon	Hilipole	6	14	14	200	3	—	—
	Murdoch McDonald								
June 24	John McLean								
	John McDonald	Kelis	8	20	20	400	3	—	—
	Charles McPhaden								
30	Donald McPhail								
	Arch <sup>d</sup> . Campbell								
	Dug <sup>d</sup> . Campbell								
	Alex <sup>r</sup> . McLean	Cornaigmore	14	40	40	800	6	—	—
	Donald McIntyre								
	Arch <sup>d</sup> . McPhail								
	Coll McDougall								
July 6	Colin McNiven	Grenal	12	12	12	240	3	—	—
8	Murdoch Campbell								
	John McFarlane								
	John Campbell	Balenoe	6	40	40	800	8	—	—
	John Campbell								
	Lachlan Bell								
	Neil Campbell								

<sup>1</sup> Preachghoun does not appear in Turnbull's map of Tiree or elsewhere in the instructions or in other estate papers seen.

	TENANTS' NAMES	FARMS	CAR-POLES	COUPLES	PANTREES	KEBBERS	PLOUGHS	HARROWS	SPADE SHAFTS
	John Brown	Hillipole							
	John McLean								
10	Alex <sup>r</sup> . Campbell	Gortendonel	12	12	12	240	3	—	—
13	Malcolm Campbell	Balphetrish	12	16	16	240	4	—	—
22	Lachlan Cameron								
	Neil Kennedy								
	Hugh Cameron	Balevuilen	12	35	35	700	6	—	—
	John McKinnon								
	John Cameron								
			148	312	316	6440	62	22	24

Savary 29 July 1789

/Signed/Dugald Campbell

- 29 July 1789 Examined. The orders and vouchers regular except the one upon the 17 June 1789 to Donald Reid and others which the officer says has fallen by.

J. M.<sup>1</sup>

### REPORT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY IN OCTOBER 1789

1. The minister's house is built and the reporter has paid to him £100 sterling, which he has taken credit for in his account of intromissions. The minister's garden wall is begun but not finished. One hundred and fifty three roods of the dyke in the common are built, the one half of the expence of which His Grace falls to pay and the tenants of Baugh and Heanish the other half.

2. The reporter has made out the abstract required of the Tiry leases and the same is now delivered to His Grace.

3. The number of trees said to be given the tenants of Tiry in the wood-ranger's report is certainly very great. But the reporter found it necessary to give more orders for timber than usual for the year mentioned in the third article of the Instructions because during that year the tenants of several farms were, from the sand blowing, obliged to change the situation of their houses. The reporter has booked all the orders, from which he can shew how

<sup>1</sup> J. M. are the initials of James Maxwell, chamberlain of Mull and Morvern (see p. 148, n. 1). Dugald Campbell was wood-ranger in Morvern.

much was necessary. As to building houses with stone & lime and bought timber, the reporter is of opinion it will be attended with more expence than the tenants can afford to lay out, for there are no masons in Tiry and there is only one lime-stone quarry, besides feuel for preparing lime is scarce there.

4. Agreeable to the 4th Article of the Instructions the reporter used his endeavours to prevent peats being made use of by the licensed distillers in Tiry, but Mr. McLean Kilmaluag who has one of the stills on his farm had prepared peats for it previous to the instructions being given. The other still was carried on with coal, and this year both will be carried on with coal.

5. The tenants of Balephetrish and Kirkapole have since last report built sixty nine roods stone dyke, the tenants of Gott and Baugh 50 roods, the tenants of Gott and Hianish 53 roods, tenants of Cornaigbeg and Cornaigmore 78 roods, and the tenants of Hillapool and Cornaigmore 84 roods.

#### INSTRUCTIONS SEPTEMBER 1790

1. You must send to Mr. Ferrier as soon as you get home a copy of the late Captain Campbell's proposal for a lease of Haynish and Manall with my deliverance upon it, and inform precisely what has been done in consequence of it. As there has been no outlay of money on dykes or improvements I desire there may be none till I have an opportunity of considering this matter and determining as to this farm.

2. As you inform that your house in Tiry is in disrepair you may get tradesmen to inspect it and give an estimate of the expences necessary to put it in order and send it to me.

3. You may inform Coll that in consequence of his recommendation I am to allow the late Isle of Monk's widow to remain during my pleasure in the farm of Cornaig.

4. The march-dyke to be completed betwixt my property in the east end of Coll & Coll's lands in terms of the fifth instruction anno 1788, and the widow of Isle of Monk to be charged six and a half p. cent upon it during her continuing in the farm.

REPORT OF INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN THE  
CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY IN SEPTEMBER 1790

1st. A copy of Capt. John Campbell's proposal for Hyanish and Mannal with your Grace's deliverance was sent to Mr. Ferrier in terms of the 1st article of the instructions.

2d. The reporter brought an estimate of all the repairs necessary to be made upon his house in Tiry except the expence of harling, which the undertaker who estimated the other repairs could not ascertain, and the reporter thought it would be too expensive to send to Tobermory for a mason on purpose to estimate this part of the expence.

3d. The reporter communicated to Coll what was directed by this article of your Grace's instructions.

4. An undertaker has contracted to finish the march-dyke between your Grace's lands and Coll's in the east end of Coll at the rate of 5 shillings per rood and is now going on with it.

INSTRUCTIONS 1791

1st. As you have made no report this year of any improvements made since last clearance you must at next meeting let me know exactly what has been done betwixt that period and summer 1790.

2d. As many of the leases are near out in Tiry you must prepare for a new sett by informing yourself as well as possible of the true value of each farm, and considering and pointing out the best mode of disposing of it so as to improve the farm, encourage industry, and at the same time give me a reasonable rent.

3d. In particular you must be at pains to find out with absolute certainty how much kelp can be made upon each farm and how much has in fact been exported from the islands for each of the three last years, to what market it was sent, and what were the prices received.

4th. You must take care that the road betwixt Scarinish and the marble quarrys is made sufficient and that the Marble Company and the tenants do their parts as I have paid mine, and let me know at next meeting the exact condition of the road and how far you think it will be useful.

5th. Let me know how much bear has been distilled in Tiry

each of the two last years, how much of it was produced in the island, and how much imported, and what quantity of coals were imported for the distillation, from whence and by what vessels.

6th. You must mind to charge the minister and tenants  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for the money laid out, and to be laid out in building dykes for them in terms of our bargain.

7th. Let me know if the quay at Scarinish is in good condition and the harbour clear.

8th. You must find out the number of people upon my estate under your charge and report to me after this form.

<i>Farms</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Children</i>
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9. I agree to and approve of what Mr. Kemp has proposed in regard to the schools and recommend the execution of his plan to you, only I do not at present see sufficient reason for altering the situation of the charity school from Scarinish to Kirkapole.

Inveraray 21st Oct. 1791

/Signed/Argyll

#### REPORT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY IN OCT. 1791

1. In obedience to the first article of the instructions the reporter made an acc<sup>t</sup> of the improvements made for the two last years, but upon opening out his papers on his arrival here, he found that he had by mistake omitted carrying it with him.

2d. Agreeable to the second instruction the reporter has been at pains to ascertain with as much precision as possible the present situation and value of the estate under his charge, of which he has made up a particular sketch and description which he humbly submits to your Grace.

3. The reporter has made up a state of the kelp which he thinks can be manufactured yearly on each farm in Tiry, in which state he has included no part of what is made of cast-ware—the quantity and quality of that kind of kelp being altogether precarious and uncertain, and it being made mostly by cottars & idle people in the country during harvest season, while the time and labour of the tenants are directed to other objects—for each of the years 1789, 1790 & 1791. The reporter sold the Tiry kelp on acc<sup>t</sup> of



the tenants to Mr. Hugh Stevenson,<sup>1</sup> Merch<sup>t</sup>. at Oban, who sent it to Liverpool, Hull & Clyde. The price in 1789 was £5. 10 per ton, in 1790 £5. 5. and 1791 £4. 7. 6. There was made of kelp in 1789, 230 tons; 1790, 237 tons; & 1791, 244 tons.<sup>2</sup>

4. The road from Scarinish to the marble quarry is made twelve feet broad by the reporter's directions, without any additional expence, in place of nine feet, which was contracted for by Mr. Raspe. It is not yet compleatly gravelled & finish'd, for which reason the reporter has detained £16. st<sup>r</sup>. in his hands, not to be paid to the undertaker till he compleats his part of the contract. This is usefull not only to the Marble Comp<sup>y</sup>., but also to some of Your Grace's tenants, by enabling to carry their kelp with the greater facility to be shipt. The tenants and the Marble Compy. have paid their share of the expence of it.

5th. In answer to this Article the reporter produces an account attested by the distillers in Tiry: which specifys the quantity of bear distilled in Tiry, what part of it was imported and what not, with the quantity of coals imported for the distillation and the vessells by which they were imported.<sup>3</sup>

6. This instruction is complied with and the percentage due by the minister is included in a state of augmentation commencing Mart<sup>s</sup>. 1791, with which the reporter charges himself in his account of his intromissions.

7. The harbour of Scarinish is clear and the quay was in good repair untill Sept<sup>r</sup>. last, when a part of it was blown down by a great storm and high tide, and the reporter delayed repairing it till the tenants should conclude their harvest.

8th. Lists of the people of Tiry made up agreeable to this instruction are now submitted to Your Grace.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Stevenson and his brother settled in Oban in 1778 and were responsible for much of the early development of the village and its trade and industry. 'Oban may look on them as its founders' (*Old Stat. Account*, parish of Kilmore and Kilbride). They are commemorated in the name Stevenson Street.

<sup>2</sup> The chamberlain's report shows that the bulk of the kelp was manufactured on some eight farms on the north and east coasts of the island. (Tiree papers, Inveraray Castle.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1789-1790, the chamberlain reports, the legal distilleries in Tiree used 326 bolls of Tiree barley, 40 bolls from Appin, and 160 bolls of malt from the Clyde. Twelve tons of coal and a further 133 carts of coal were imported direct from the Clyde or by Oban. (Tiree papers, Inveraray Castle.)

<sup>4</sup> The list of 1792, in contrast to the Mull and Morvern list, records all the inhabitants by name and farm. The population in 1779 had been 1,881; it was now 2,443. This increase of 24 per cent. is almost exactly the same as the increase in the Mull Morvern estate.

9. Mr. Kemp's plan in regard to the schools, in so far as Your Grace was pleased to approve thereof, is carried into execution. For some part of last year Mr. Buchanan, the schoolmaster's son, kept a separate school in the preaching-house of Drimbuy, but was obliged to give it up from the house [having] gone into disrepair.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BAILLIE OF TIRY 1792

1. Send the report of improvements when you return home & bring a copy of it with you next year.

2. The tenants on many of the farms being too numerous, you must reduce them to one to each 4 mail land, and such of the supernumeraries as are deserving may be continued as they are till 1796 when the leases of Frackadale and Treshinish<sup>1</sup> expire & then they may be accommodated upon their farms and the present plan of reducing the tacksmen to one for each 4 mail land be carried into execution.<sup>2</sup>

The schemed rent which you have proposed is evidently greatly below the value but it may be accepted for the present untill the people are put on the way of giving me a more suitable return, which I see is only to be by my taking my rents from them in the natural productions of the island & disposing of them to the best advantage, a regular plan for which you must prepare without delay, for after what you wrote my Receiver-General last August I will not have the payment of my rents depend upon any one article whatever.

The most obvious articles out of which the rents should be paid are black cattle, horses, grain and kelp. Consider therefore and say how many black cattle, how many horses and how much barley every farm can and ought to pay to me every year; the black cattle to be delivered in October, and to be immediately sent to Aross in Mull where Mr. Maxwell must receive them and sell them by roup in very small lots so as the small tenants of Mull may be able to bid for them, the day of roup to be afixed on, and to be pub-

<sup>1</sup> Gortendonuil (i.e. Barrapol and Kenovar) was now in tack to Archibald Campbell of Frackadale; Ruaig still in Duncan Campbell of Treshnish's hands.

<sup>2</sup> The division of farms into holdings of a four mail-land had been recommended in the report of 1771. A mail-land is defined in his report of 1768-1769 by Turnbull, the land-surveyor, as roughly consisting of three souns, that is grazing for three cows or three horses or fifteen sheep.

lished both in the newspapers and at the church doors every year. For each beast not delivered I to receive 40 shillings. The horses to be sent from the island so as to be sold at the Moss of Balloch by the Baillie of Roseneath, to whose charge they must be directed. The barley to be sold and delivered to the distillers and they to pay you for it. It appears that on an average every 4 mail land has 10 soums of black cattle and consequently rears at least three. It cannot be thought unreasonable that I should get one half; inde, there being 246 possessions of 4 mail land I will receive 369 black cattle every year. I have heard that there are as many horses as cattle on the island, which is a great shame and therefore till I know that the number is reduced to what is proper, I will expect an equal number of them every year. On an average each 4 mail land sows 4 bolls and should reap 16, 5 whereof at least should be barley, the whole of which should be paid for rent: inde, I ought to receive about 1200 bolls of barley every year, the tenants being at the same time allowed to retain the whole of their other crops for their own use. On an average there are 230 tons of kelp made, and I see no reason why I should not receive 40 shillings for each ton, the tenants retaining the rest for their labour.

On an average there are 5 females on each 4 mail land. These should spin a great quantity of linen yearn yearly, and many masters would expect a considerable profit from this article, but I will ask none. But I insist nevertheless that for their own sakes they will employ themselves in spinning in place of continuing in idleness, and to encourage them I will send to Scarinish a person to receive the yarn from them as it is spun, and to pay them for it in ready money as it is delivered and I will take the risque of selling it. All these things are practicable. I recommend them to your immediate and carefull consideration and they must either be brought about or satisfactory reasons given why they are not.

3. The church of Drimbuy must be repaired without delay and the parochial schoolmaster and his son enjoined to reside there and follow out the plan of teaching recommended by Mr. Kemp.<sup>1</sup> I insist that this be done as soon as you return home and will not accept of any excuse for more delay. The schoolmaster has no right to choose a residence so unfit for the discharge of his office as that which he occupies, and therefore he must either be dis-

<sup>1</sup> Kemp was Secretary to the S.S.P.C.K.

missed or go to the place where he is to be most usefull to the parish viz<sup>t</sup>. that pointed out by Mr. Kemp.

4. I am now satisfied that Kirkapoll is the most central station for the schoolmaster on the other end of the island, and therefore I desire you will accomplish the exchange betwixt him and the carpenter or weaver as recommended by Mr. Kemp and bestow any repairs necessary to give a comfortable house and school. But observe I am to promise no cow's grass or fewel. In place of both you are to pay the schoolmaster five pounds yearly to enable him to supply himself with these articles, and you are to give him ground sufficient for potatoes and greens. If he gets any more ground let him pay for it, and then he may keep one cow or more as he finds convenient.

5. I am told that a good smith and cartwright are both much wanted in the island. You must be at pains to get both, as it is impossible that any good husbandry can go on without them. I will be at any reasonable expence to establish them, and I desire that you will not delay or slur this over but attend to it immediately and earnestly.

6. Much discredit has fallen of late upon the Highland kelp from the quality being debased with sand, gravell and other improper mixtures. Mr. Maxwell and you should consult with Boisdale<sup>1</sup> and other gentlemen interested as to the best way of curing this evil and regaining the character which has been lost. Perhaps the kelp made on each farm can be stamped so as to distinguish it from all others and lead to a detection of any imposition made in future. This deserves to be attended to and something should be agreed upon and published in the newspapers for the satisfaction of the public. It may be said from me that if any merchant or manufacturer will disclose any imposition practised by any tenant of mine, I shall endeavour to inflict the most exemplary punishment on the offender.

7. Before you leave Inveraray visit the tambour work going on here, find out the names of the manufacturers who carry it on, and correspond with them about extending a branch of it to Tiry, giving them information of the great numbers of idle young girls there, and the other advantages which such an establishment may expect to meet the objection of distance.

<sup>1</sup> Colin MacDonald of Boisdale, who had recently acquired the estate of Ulva (Scottish Record Office, Argyll Sasines, Dec. 29th, 1785).

REPORT UPON THE INSTRUCTIONS TO  
BAILLIE TYREE OCTOBER 1792

1. The reporter has brought an account of all the dykes built in Tyree since the commencement of the last leases and has them now to produce.

2. The reporter has considered seriously the plan proposed by your Grace for exacting the rents of Tyree from the tenants in kind and thereby augmenting the rental, and he is humbly of opinion that Tyree would return a much greater rent than it presently does if the lands could be set to the tenants in possessions of a four mail land to each, as proposed, and if there was any possibility of getting quit of the supernumerarys<sup>1</sup> in such a way as they might avoid starving or begging. But from the former mode of managing that part of your Grace's property by encouraging population and giving small possessions, the tenants in general are so very poor that it is not believed there are 40 among them all who could stock & manage 4 mail land possessions. In the description and scheme which the reporter submitted to your Grace in October 1792, the souming and sowing of the different farms in Tyree were particularly mentioned, and he also last year gave in a state of the average quantity of kelp made in each of the farms, copys of which scheme and state he has now brought in with him. In the souming the black cattle and horses are reckoned together & the reporter endeavoured to ascertain the numbers of each kind upon each farm, but they were so often shifted and changed that he found it difficult at this time to make up lists of them with any degree of accuracy or precision.

The reporter is of opinion that every 10 soums should send 3 to market and that every bolles sowing should return on an average from 3 to 3½. Of this return the reporter thinks the proprietor might exact one third and leave a comfortable subsistence to the tenants. From the varying price of kelp, it is impossible to say exactly what the proprietor might expect per ton for that article, but in general it costs 40/- per ton in manufacturing it. It is in

<sup>1</sup> 'Supernumeraries' were those tenants who were not eligible for a four mail-land holding, and who would therefore be rendered landless as the Duke's plans went into effect.

general easy to sell and send off the kelp, and a granary may be erected for receiving and selling of the grain, but a difficulty occurs as to the best plan to be adopted for the management of the black cattle, because they are, on leaving the island, subject to a disorder by which numbers of them are carried off.<sup>1</sup> Instead therefore of the plan proposed of sending them to Mull, the reporter would beg leave to suggest the propriety of your Grace's taking into your natural possession the first good grazing that is out of lease there for fattening the cattle that are taken from the tenants, that they may be slaughtered & salted in the island and sent to market in that state.

There are several farms in Tyree now out of lease, and if agreeable to your Grace, the tenants might be made in future to pay their rents in the natural productions of their farms, in such proportion and upon such terms as your Grace, from such information as can be obtained on the subject, may be pleased to direct.

This year a large quantity of flax seed was sown in Tyree and the return from it will afford an opportunity of judging whither it is adviseable to encourage the future cultivation of it or not.

3. The preaching-house of Drimbuy is repaired & a dwelling-house has been built for Buchanan the schoolmaster in which he has been teaching all summer, and in which he is to live, and teach agreeable to the plan laid down by Mr. Kemp.

4. The schoolmaster at the other end of the island is now stationed at Kirkapole, where he has been provided in a comfortable dwelling-house with a suitable garden and a spot of ground for potatoes &c.

5. There have been a smith & cart-maker provided and are stationed in the centre of the island. The former is carrying on his business daily, but the latter is at present idle for want of timber.

6. The reporter did not see Boisdale this year to consult with him about the manufacturing of kelp, but Mr. Maxwell and the reporter caused a proclamation to be made at all the parish churches that if any person was detected in mixing stones with the kelp they would be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.

<sup>1</sup> This disease (murrain or red-water, called in Gaelic 'airneach') is frequently mentioned in eighteenth-century papers referring to Tiree cattle. To obviate the problem, the 3rd Duke introduced the practice of salting the beef for export in barrels. Dr. Walker, c. 1765, reported the export trade in salt beef from Tiree to be worth £230. (*Observations on Tirey*, and 3rd Duke's *Instructions to Chamberlains*, Tiree papers, Inveraray Castle).

7. The reporter agreeable to your Grace's recommendation visited the tambouring manufactory last year and took copies of the conditions & allowances made to the apprentices, but finding that the businesss stopt soon thereafter he did not proceed further in it.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY OCTOBER 1793

1. I desire that you will attend in future to the first instruction 1785 by filling up these & also the last year's instructions and report and laying the whole before me with your new report immediately on your arrival here next year.

2. The sett of farms to be delayed for another year, during which you must consider further the best mode of increasing the rents and at same time introducing better management amongst the tenants.

3. The encouraging of fishing amongst them to be attended to.

4. As you report that the cart-wright is at a loss for timber to make carts & ploughs, consider if it will not be of use to have a few carts and ploughs sent from this yearly to be given as premiums to such of the small tenants as shall make the greatest exertions in dyke-building and other improvements & suggest what occurs to you on that subject.

5. Such as cannot build stone dykes should at least prepare a few stones yearly and lay them on the ground to be ready for building.

6. If you find on your return that the crop is so much hurt as to occasion a scarcity of meal in the island next year, you must prevent all distilling so as to save the barley and write immediately after you get home both to myself & to my agent at Edin<sup>r</sup>. on this subject.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY NOV<sup>r</sup>. 1794

1st. I once more recommend to you to attend to the first instruction of last year.

2d. I also recommend to you to consider deliberately the instructions which have from time to time been given you, and to send to my Agent at Edin<sup>r</sup>. before the 1st of May next your answer & remarks upon them freely and candidly as far as you find them

not already exhausted and settled by former answers and reports from you.

3d. You must take care after the expence which I have been put to for houses & dykes to the minister that he keep them in repair.

4th. By the explanations which you have made to my agent at this time, it would appear that I neither draw from Tiry the rent which it is able to yield; nor is the rent which I get collected & transmitted to my cashier at the proper time.

Tiry is a fertile island which at all times yielded a considerable rent for its crops and cattle before such a thing as kelp was known or heard of in that quarter.

The present rent of Tiry is about £1000, and there was this year sold from it 159 tons of kelp, at four guineas the ton amounting to £677, and allowing half of this sum to go to the tenants for their labour in making it, the other half being £338. 10/- seems fairly to belong to me, which being taken from the total rent of £1000 leaves about £640 to be paid out of the island consisting of 13,000 acres of fertile land.

I cannot think that this return, which is less than one shilling the acre, is what in reason and in justice I ought to expect for such land. In the last scheme which you exhibited to me with a view to a new sett I was led to expect from three to six shillings for many of the acres, but in this there was a deception, for the produce of the kelp which is equal to £340 a year was included.

From one end of Britain to the other farmers in general pay their rents either with their wheat crops where wheat is raised, or with their barley crops where there is no wheat. You admit that the island grows 1000 bolls of barley yearly, and I know that every boll which the farmer chooses to sell yields to him at least twenty shillings, so that after allowing the tenants to retain one third for seed, I should get above £600 from this article yearly.

I know a number of cattle are reared and that a considerable addition to the rent can and ought to be made from that article.

I allow all the oats, all the potatoes, all the lint, all the sheep, all the milk, butter, cheese, poultry eggs, fish etca., which in other countries are sold for payment of the landlord's rent. I allow all these to go for the support of the tenants because I wish them to live happily and plentifully.



From these observations I am satisfied that betwixt kelp, barley, and cattle, I ought to receive from the island far beyond the present rent. If I am mistaken as to any of the facts I desire to be set right. If I am correct as to facts, then my first proposition is clear, that at present I do not receive from this island that rent which it is able to yield.

It remains to shew that what I do get is not collected and transmitted to my cashier at the proper time.

I observe that the tenants are at this time owing me above £200 of arrears for the year 1793 and preceedings, a thing which did not formerly appear on the accounts of Tiry rents, for if the rents were small they were at least pointedly paid once in the year; but passing this over for the present, I shall suppose all former rents paid, and that nothing was now due to me, except the year's rent which became payable to me upon the 11th of this month. You have been asked what is to become of the price of the cattle which have been lately exported from the island, some dead, some alive, and you have answered very properly that it should go to pay rents. You have been asked what is to become of the barley which is now on hand. You have answered that part of it will be sold, betwixt this and the month of April, and that the price ought to go to payment of rent. You have been asked if you have been in use to look after the produce of these articles, and I understand you have answered no, that you have never attempted to collect any rent except at one time in the year, and that recently, before your coming to Inveraray to settle accounts. This has been a great neglect and must have been detrimental to me, and ruinous to the tenants by leaving money in their hands to be dissipated and spent, under every temptation that came in their way, in place of being applied to the discharge of their rents, and it has also been the cause of that dependance which I am now under to kelp merchants for the payment of my rents. In short, in place of recovering the rents from the natural productions of the island as was done before kelp was known, you have allowed the tenants to drink their barley, and squander the other productions of the land, and taught them to trust the payment of their rents to the price of kelp, and the consequence is that whenever a market for that article fails I am to get nothing for my land.

It was easy to introduce this evil practice but it will require much

attention and perseverance to root it out. I recommend to you that whenever you get home you warn the tenants to come to pay their arrears and rents, and that you collect from them as much as you possibly can of the prices of their late sales of cattle, which must be still in their hands, and that you transmit to my cashier before the 1st of January a list of the sums which you collect on that occasion, mentioning the names of the farms, and tenants, and the sum paid by each, and that you take the first opportunity of forwarding the money to Edin<sup>r</sup>. I further desire that at this meeting you give notice to every tenant, that in future you will be ready at all times to receive payments to account of rents, and will have at least four stated times in the year for general collections, at which you will expect every man to exert himself to the utmost in paying up what he owes. The second of these meetings will fall to be in the month of March and on that occasion you must again send a similar account to my cashier at Edin<sup>r</sup>. to be communicated to me, and the money to be transmitted to Edin<sup>r</sup>. by the first opportunity. The third collection will fall to be in June, when you will observe the same conduct, and the fourth one will be immediately before your leaving the island to settle accounts at Inveraray. You must take pains to explain to the tenants that the names of every one of them, shewing when and how they pay their rents, are henceforth to be sent to me once every quarter, and that in giving leases or shewing countenance I shall be led to form my opinion of their merit very much by what I shall observe in these quarterly returns.

With regard to the produce of kelp, an article evidently of no small importance, I understand that you have explained that at present you depend entirely on Mr. Stevenson for the purchase of it, and of course that the price and term of payments depend entirely on his pleasure. This is what I will not submit to if I can help it, and therefore you must see him in your way home and let him know that he must either make some reasonable proposal for a lease, or that I must try to find another merchant for it, and this you must advert to in future that whoever gets it, you are immediately on exporting it to transmit to my cashier a bill upon the merchant for the price, payable at the stipulated terms, and by no means delay the settling of that account till you are on your way to Inveraray to settle accounts as was the case this year.

The £178. 11. 10 which you have taken credit for in your

accounts of last year's rents under these words 'By cash paid for repairs on farm houses etca. in Aross p. certified estimate' is very erroneously stated, as that sum is not for repairs to houses etca. at Aros, but is the value of the whole houses at Aros, which were on that farm at your removal, and which sum I have allowed to you to be laid out by you at my sight in the building of other houses on the farm of Ardnacross, which you are to do in terms of your lease.

Rosneath 3d Decm<sup>r</sup>. 1794.

/Signed/Argyll

#### REPORT ON THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN IN NOVEMBER 1794

The factor immediately on his return to the country began to execute his instructions by procuring every information he could to ascertain what rent His Grace might expect from Tiry, and herewith produces a return of the gross sales and exports from the island, from which he hopes His Grace will be enabled to form some opinion of the value of the land. In making out the state the factor has made the return of the two last years the rule in ascertaining the quantities and prices, except the price of kelp, which tho uncommonly high this year, it is not doubted will return to its former price whenever a plan enables the consumers of it to procure other materials from their usual channels. From the state of the sales the factor sees no reason to alter the plan of a schem'd rent he submitted to His Grace in the year 1793, but is of opinion he rather exceeded in some instances what His Grace should expect for his land.

The population of Tiry is daily increasing and at present amounts nearly to 2,500 souls, and as they have no other means of support, but from the produce of the land, they must of course consume a great part of it within themselves, besides what must be laid out in paying servants' wages, and procuring the other necessaries they stand in need of. The island produces scarce any wool, and that article alone will require a considerable sum of money. The tenants are in general much crowded, and few of them in circumstances to occupy much land. The manufacture of kelp in the island was begun but in a small degree about 20 years ago, and has been gradually encreasing in quantity since. Before then they paid more attention to the raising of barley, and as all they could

spare was distilled into spirits in the island without any excise duties, it not only supplied them with the spirits consumed within themselves, but they exported to the other islands what enabled them to pay their rents.

The practice of collecting the Martinmas rents in the ensuing summer was not introduced by the present factor. It was the custom always before then, and it will require some time and attention to alter this practice as the tenants are so poor that they cannot afford to advance a rent from any other subject than the returns of the land, and these are never converted into money before summer. The barley is always sold in the course of winter and spring, but never payable before lammas, and tho' the cattle are slaughtered at Martinmass, the beef is never sent to market before the months of April and May, and even then a considerable part of the returns are brought back in different necessities for the inhabitants. The cattle bred in Tiry are subject to a very dangerous disorder when brought to other countries, which entirely deters dealers from attempting to bring them to market, and only stots of one and two years old are sold to them as they are found to be less subject to the distemper than aged cattle, altho' other cattle are slaughtered by the owners or by boatmen who dispose of the beef either at the slate quarries<sup>1</sup> or in Clyde.

The price of both cows and stots is from one third to one fourth below what such cattle bred in Mull or Coll usually sell for, which together with the difficulty in disposing of them discourages the tenants from paying much attention to the rearing of cattle. Barley is generally sold from 16/- to 18/- p. boll, and only in cases of extreme scarcity exceeds the latter price, so that the factor thinks 17/- a fair average for it. There are scarce any horses sold out of the island, and tho' some farms sell a few, it does not add to the general produce, and a considerable number are yearly imported from Mull and Coll. The island is found not to answer for sheep, and very few are reared there. The two last seasons were very favourable for raising potatoes, and the factor states the value of about £60 yearly, as having been sent out of Tiry, but before these two years they sold none. About the value of £40 yearly of coarse linen is sent to market.

In January last the factor attempted a collection of the arrears,

<sup>1</sup> That is, the slate quarries at Easdale.

and continued his exertions thro' the rest of the winter and spring but with very little success, not being able to collect what would clear the minister's stipends which fell due at Candlemas before the month of May, and he wrote Mr. Ferrier of his bad success in the month of February by a Fencible soldier on his way to Glasgow. The years 1791 & 1792<sup>1</sup> were most unfavourable to the island of Tiry, in so much that owing to the failure of their crops the tenants were obliged to purchase near 2000 bolls of meal in the course of these two years, the payment of which so distressed them, that it occasioned their falling considerably in arrear, and only the great advance in the price of kelp enabled them to lessen it to what it now is.

The factor after repeatedly offering the Tiry kelp to others, sold it to Mr. Stevenson at £6 p. ton payable by bills on London at 3 months' date, & regularly transmitted these bills to Mr. Ferrier. Of the kelp stated, from 10 to 20 tons belongs to cottars made by gathering scattered cast wreck along the worst parts of the shores. The Tiry kelp generally sells from 5/- to 10/- p. ton below the Mull prices and the expence of manufacturing it is not less than £2 p. ton. From the quantity of cast wreck found on the shores, it is the factor's opinion that it will be the interest of the tenants to continue that manufacture, as they can seldom want a supply of manure, besides what is used for kelp, and tho from circumstances which at present there is no cause to apprehend the demand for kelp should cease, yet continuing the manufacturing of it will be attended with no inconvenience, as the tenants can at any time return to the old practice. In stating the rate per acre in the scheme he presented in 1793, the factor had in view the advantages each farm derived from kelp, and the rate is increased or diminished accordingly.

The factor in the foregoing observations has fairly stated every information that occurs to him as to the present state of Tiry, but as he was not in his younger days regularly bred to business His Grace will not be surprised if they are not made out in the manner required from His Grace's factors.

<sup>1</sup> Distress is mentioned also in the report on the Mull and Morvern instructions for 1791.

STATE OF THE GROSS SALES FROM THE DIFFERENT FARMS  
IN THE ISLAND OF TIRY ACCORDING TO THE AVERAGE  
OF THE LAST TWO YEARS<sup>1</sup>

TENANTS	MAIL- LAND		GROSS SALES	PRESENT RENT
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
7	24	<i>Balemeanoch</i> (No tack)		
		To 5 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton	18 15 0	
		To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	20 8 0	
		To 8 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	12 0 0	
			<hr/>	
			51 3 0	24 0 0
4	12	<i>Sandaig</i> (No tack)		
		To 4 tons of kelp at £3. 15 p. ton	15 0 0	
		To 12 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	10 4 0	
		To 6 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	9 0 0	
			<hr/>	
			34 4 0	14 6 0
1	24	<i>Grianal &amp; Kilchenichbeg</i> (No tack)		
		To 3 tons kelp at £3. 15 each	11 5 0	
		To 20 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	17 0 0	
		To 8 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	12 0 0	
			<hr/>	
			40 5 0	26 10 2
5	12	<i>Kilchenichmore</i> (No tack)		
		To 16 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	13 12 0	
		To 1 ton kelp at £3. 15	3 15 0	
		To 6 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	9 0 0	
			<hr/>	
			26 7 0	14 0 0
4	12	<i>Kerachusegar</i> (No tack)		
		To 14 bolls barley at 17/- p. ton.	11 18 0	
		To 3 head of cattle at £1. 10	4 10 0	
			<hr/>	
			16 8 0	9 0 0
3	12	<i>Kerachrosegar</i> (Tack expires 1799)		
		To 14 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	11 18 0	
		To 5 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	7 10 0	
			<hr/>	
			19 8 0	10 16 10

<sup>1</sup> This account is attached to the report on the 1794 instructions and is stated to have been compiled in or about November 1794, referring to the average of the two previous years. I have omitted a further heading—"Schemed Rent"—as it contained no entries.

TENANTS	MAIL- LAND		GROSS SALES	PRESENT RENT		
			£ s. d.	£	s.	d.
6	24	<i>Kerameanoch &amp; Keratrianvoir</i> (No tack) To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 1 ton kelp at £3. 15 To 8 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	20 8 0 3 15 0 12 0 0			
			<hr/> 36 3 0	20	0	0
4	12	<i>Keranokill</i> (Tack expires 1799) To 15 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 5 head of cattle at £1. 10	12 15 0 7 10 0			
			<hr/> 20 5 0	11	9	0
	48	<i>Hough</i> <sup>1</sup> (Tack expires 1799) To 16 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 12 head of cattle at £1. 10	60 0 0 20 8 0 18 0 0			
			<hr/> 98 8 0	45	11	6
20	48	<i>Balevuline</i> (No tack) To 4 tons kelp at £3. 15 To 54 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 15 head of cattle at £1. 10	15 0 0 45 18 0 22 10 0			
			<hr/> 83 8 0	52	16	0
1	75	<i>Kilmaluaig, Beist &amp; Park</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 1 ton kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 32 head of cattle at £2. 10 To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	3 15 0 80 0 0 20 8 0			
			<hr/> 104 3 0	60	0	6
14	40½	<i>Cornaigmore</i> (No tack) To 14 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 40 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 15 head of cattle at £1. 10 ea.	52 10 0 34 0 0 22 10 0			
			<hr/> 109 0 0	44	15	6
15	40½	<i>Cornaigbeg</i> (Tack expires 1804) To 20 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 40 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 12 head of cattle at £1. 10 ea.	75 0 0 34 0 0 18 0 0			
			<hr/> 127 0 0	52	0	0

<sup>1</sup> The number of tenants in Hough is omitted. In 1782 there were fourteen, in 1803 twenty-four.

TENANTS	MAIL- LAND		GROSS SALES			PRESENT RENT		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
5	12	<i>Salum</i> (No tack) To 10 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 12 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 6 head of cattle at £1. 10 ea.	37	10	0	30	0	0
			10	4	0			
			9	0	0			
			56	14	0			
1	32	<i>Balephetrish</i> To 8 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 20 head of cattle at £2 10 each To 10 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	30	0	0	47	16	0
			46	0	0			
			8	10	0			
			84	10	0			
1	44	<i>Ruaig</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 20 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 50 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 12 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	75	0	0	50	0	0
			42	10	0			
			18	0	0			
			135	10	0			
8	24	<i>Kirkapole</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 1 ton kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 12 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	3	15	0	22	0	0
			20	8	0			
			18	0	0			
			42	3	0			
4	24	<i>Hianish</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 5 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 12 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 10 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	18	15	0	20	12	6
			10	4	0			
			15	0	0			
			43	19	0			
19	48	<i>Vaull</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 16 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 48 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 13 head of cattle at £1. 10 each	60	0	0	[44 0 0] <sup>1</sup>		
			40	16	0			
			19	10	0			
			120	6	0			
17	48	<i>Kellis</i> (Tack expires 1800) To 30 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 24 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 20 head of cattle at £1. 10	112	10	0	66	0	0
			20	8	0			
			26	0	0			
			158	18	0			

<sup>1</sup> The rent of Vaull, omitted in the report, was probably £44, as schemed in 1782.



TENANTS	MAIL- LAND		GROSS SALES	PRESENT RENT		
			£ s. d.	£	s.	d.
23	48	<i>Kenavay</i> (No tack) To 2 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 72 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 20 head of cattle at £1. 10 To 10 horses at £3 each	7 10 0 61 4 0 26 0 0 30 0 0			
			<hr/>	124	14	0
				84	0	0
12	24	<i>Baugh</i> (Tack expires 1800) To 4 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 32 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 12 head of black cattle at £1. 10 To 6 horses at £3 each	15 0 0 27 4 0 18 0 0 18 0 0			
			<hr/>	78	4	0
				32	10	6
18	40	<i>Hilipole</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 46 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 15 head of cattle at £1. 10 To 8 horses at £3 each	39 2 0 22 10 0 24 0 0			
			<hr/>	85	12	0
				46	4	6
11	30	<i>Balenoe &amp; Queyesh</i> To 40 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 15 head of cattle at £1. 10 each To 4 horses at £3 each	34 0 0 22 10 0 12 0 0			
			<hr/>	68	10	0
				40	4	6
1	64	<i>Barapole &amp; Kenovar</i> (Tack expires 1796) To 140 head grazed there at 10/- each To 30 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 3 ton kelp at £3. 15 p. ton	70 0 0 25 10 0 11 5 0			
			<hr/>	106	15	0
				52	0	0
1	72	<i>Hynish &amp; Manal</i> (Tack expires 1810) To 140 head of cattle grazed at 10/- To 5 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton To 50 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll	70 0 0 18 15 0 51 0 0			
			<hr/>	139	15	0
				110	0	0
13	18	<i>Scarinish</i> (No tack) To 5 tons kelp at £3. 15 To 12 bolls barley at 17/- p. boll To 10 head of cattle at £1. 10	18 15 0 10 4 0 15 0 0			
			<hr/>	43	19	0
				25	18	8

TENANTS	MAIL- LAND		GROSS SALES			PRESENT RENT		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	62	<i>Crossapole, Balephuil &amp; Balemartin</i> (possessed by the factor)						
		To 5 tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton	18	15	0			
		To 40 head of cattle at £2. 12. 6	105	0	0			
		To 3 horses at £8 each	24	0	0			
			147	15	0			
1	12	<i>Gott &amp; Vuille</i> (possessed by the minister)						
		To 1½ tons kelp at £3. 15 p. ton	5	12	6			
		To 10 head of cattle at £2. 10	25	0	0			
			30	12	6			
		Cornag miln & croft—John McCallum (No tack)				6	2	0
		Crossapole miln—Donald McCallum				3	10	0

## ABSTRACT OF THE FOREGOING STATE

	£	s.	d.
184 tons of kelp at £3. 15 is	691	17	6
793 bolls of barley at 17/- is	674	1	0
248 head of cattle at £1. 10 is	372	0	0
62 Do. Do. at £2. 10 is	155	0	0
40 Do. Do. at £2. 12. 6 is	105	0	0
28 horses at £3 is	84	0	0
3 Do. at £8 is	24	0	0
280 head of cattle grazed at 10/- is	140	0	0
Potatoes	60	0	0
Linen	40	0	0
	2345	18	6 <sup>1</sup>

In the above state, which comprehends the gross amount of every article sold by the tenants of Tiry, is included the price of kelp belonging to cottars and horses sold among themselves. Any horses sold to strangers seldom amount to ten pounds sterling a year and those imported are seldom below sixty pounds sterling a year. The average of the barley having been taken from two last years which were uncommonly productive, the factor is of opinion that in stating a fair average for the island it should be from 600 to 700 bolls at most. The kelp he thinks will stand at what he has stated it, except an uncommon rainy season should prevent the manufacture.

<sup>1</sup> The total rent, allowing £44 for Vaull and omitting the farms of the chamberlain, the minister and the miller, is £1,056, 12s. 2d. The production of the island, omitting these same farms, is valued at £2,055, 11s. od., so that rent absorbed 51 per cent. of the island's money revenue.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY  
OCTOBER 1795

1st. I agree to allow the tenants of Tiry to possess during my pleasure at the rents set down in the scheme made up by you in 1793, but I will give no leases at this time, and you must consider and report in what manner the soldiers of Lord Lorne's regiment who have been applying for small possessions in the island of Tiry can be accommodated when the regiment is reduced.

2d. The kelp made in the island must be advertised next year in the newspapers in order to get the best price for it, and you will correspond with my agent at Edin<sup>r</sup>. on that subject.

3d. You must attend to the complaints of the minister and give him redress. His chief complaint seems to be that he can carry on no improvement on his farm for want of march-dykes, as the neighbouring tenants allow their cattle to trespass upon him, and you do nothing to restrain them. He represents that two fifths of the march-dykes are built, and that the tenants are willing to build their share of the remaining three fifths if they only get your consent to do so. If in place of withholding your consent, you do not give the utmost encouragement to the measure, you behave in a most extraordinary manner, yet the information comes from a quarter which is entitled to some credit, the more so that it cannot be the minister's interest to disoblige you by such complaints, if they were not well grounded. Therefore that there may be no excuse or delay, I desire that the remaining dykes may be built next spring at my expence and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of additional rent charged against the minister and the other tenants upon the outlay.

4. As it appears that Buchanan is now of no use as schoolmaster, you should get rid of him as soon as possible and correspond with Mr. Kemp and Mr. Ferrier about a successor to him, and let the necessary accomodations be provided in time for his successor. Buchanan may be allowed something to carry him to Perthshire, his native country.

5. I recommend to you to pay some further attention to instructions formerly given, and more to the present than you have been in use to bestow on the former. In particular I recommend to you to consider the 3d & 4th instructions given to you in October 1785,

the 3d instruction 1786, the 1st & 5th instructions 1788, the 1st instruction 1789, the 3d & 4th instructions 1789, the 1st & 4th instructions 1790, the 4th & 7th instructions 1791, the 3d, 5th & 6th instructions 1792, the 3d, 4th & 5th instructions 1793.

6. Let me know what progress you have made in the buildings at Ardnacross, which you are bound to erect by your lease and for which you have got £178. 11. 10 from me.

### REPORT UPON INSTRUCTIONS 1795

1st. The farms out of lease in Tiry are for this year set, agreeable to the instruction. Any particular scheme for accomodating the Fencible soldiers cannot just now be finally fixed, but as most of the island will be out of lease they may be accomodated, as found deserving, when the regiment is disbanded, in any manner that may be agreeable to His Grace. Several of them are already accomodated according to the promises made them.

2d. This instruction has been followed, and the kelp by the advice of His Grace's agent sold in the country.

3d. The factor is very much surprised at the complaint from the minister, as so far from withholding his consent, or delaying the building of march-dykes betwixt the farm of Gott and neighbours, the factor has all along done all in his power to forward that measure, and delay was occasioned by the minister's neglecting to lead his own share of the stones for the march-dykes, after the tenants had done their share, and indeed part of his, to forward the work. The factor can prove this to be the case if His Grace pleases an enquiry into it, which he hopes will be done, as his report will be thought partial, and that he was all along ready to hear and redress any grievances complained of by the minister. Dyke-builders have been employed this season at the march dyke betwixt Gott and Kirkapole, an account of the expences of which is now produced, and the whole going on as fast as possible.

4th. The factor notified to Buchanan His Grace's instructions regarding him and offered to advance a little money to carry him out of the country, which he has hitherto declined, and the factor now gives in a petition stating his case to His Grace.

5th. The factor all along endeavoured to pay every attention to the articles mentioned in this instruction, and his report for these

years will shew what has been done. He will now further observe, as to the article in instruction 1785, that building of stone dykes, owing to the difficulty of procuring stone, has not gone on so fast as might otherwise be expected, but that a good deal has been done and has yearly been encreasing, and the factor has now subjoined to the abstract of leases of the different farms a note of what is already built. The addition to the store-house has been some years ago finished and now serves for a church. As to instructions 1786, the factor has as much as possible endeavoured to check the unnecessary consumption of wood, and has kept an account of the wood leaves he granted, which he has to produce, and this year the tenants of Tirry purchased the most of their timber from Sir James Riddell's woods.<sup>1</sup> As to instructions 1785 the minister's house has been built, and the money allowed him paid, and the situation of the march-dykes already explained. As to instructions 1789 the consumption of wood has as much as possible been checked, and very few peats were used for the stills in Tirry while going on, as coals were mostly used. As to instructions 1790 the first was complied with, and the fourth was as far as possible followed. An undertaker was employed to finish the ditching part, and another for the stone work. The ditch was finished, but the other, finding from the difficulty of procuring stones, which can only be got by blasting, he had made a bad bargain, deserted the country, and no other could since be got to undertake it, but there is now either a ditch or feal dyke all along the march. As to instructions 1791 the road between Scarinish and the marble quarry has been repaired, and the money retained from the undertaker to a trifle laid out upon it, and the balance will be accounted for. The quay of Scarinish is always repaired and kept in order. As to instructions 1792, the articles have been attended to—the church of Drimbuy was repaired, but the timber is now decayed, and it must be built anew. The building and repairing of it was entirely at the expence of the tenants and no part of it charged to His Grace.

6th. A house of two stories has been contracted for at Ardnacross, the walls are almost finished and will be roofed in a few weeks, which has already cost equal to the sum advanced by His Grace, and will require a great deal more to finish it.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Riddell was proprietor of Ardnamurchan and Sunart.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY  
OCTOBER 1796

1st. Make up a list of the names of the men who enlisted in Lord Lorne's regiment, and shew what was promised to each, what has actually been done, what remains to be done, and the best way of doing it.

2d. Settle with the ministers for the augmentations of stipends given to them by the teind court, agreeable to the copy of the decree herewith given you. If you cannot agree with them as to a reasonable conversion of the parts which are payable to them in grain, you must make the tenants deliver the ipsa corpora in the proportions which were observed of old when the teinds were uplifted from each farm, a list of which proportions is herewith given you. The decree says nothing of the weight of measure of the grain, so the legal standard must be the rule, which is the Linlithgow boll.

3d. You may make use of the 108 fir planks, and two masts picked up at Tiry, in finishing your own house at Ardnacross, and give the 34 [planks] & 2 masts picked up at Coll to Malcom Campbell to help him to finish the house which you mention he is building there. But you must both lay your account with paying the value of them if my Lord Duke shall desire you to do so. The pieces of mahogany to be sent to Inveraray.

4th. As the tenants of Scarinish have no leases they cannot be desired to pay the half dyke built betwixt the minister & them, therefore charge the duke with it and charge the tenants with 7½ p. ct. additional rent.

Ja. Ferrier

## REPORT UPON INSTRUCTIONS 1796

1st. The factor has made up and now delivers a signed report by him of the conditions promised to those who inlisted in Tiry for Lord Lorne's regiment, shewing what has actually been done, and what remains to be done for them, agreeable to instruction art. 1st.

2d. The factor has paid the minister of Tiry £190. 15. 1. sterling as taken credit for in this year's account, but could not finally settle

with him as he would not sustain the Linlithgow boll, the standard according to which the factor offered either to deliver the grain or pay the current price of such in the country. The factor settled with the minister of Coll for his proportion at the rate of 12/- for each boll of meal and barley for 1797.

3d. The fir planks and masts mentioned in this article have been used as directed. The two logs of mahogany were sent to Inveraray by the sloop Clanranald of Oban.

4th. The stones for building the march-dyke betwixt the minister and the farm of Scarinish are all led to the ground, the dyke is now building and will be finished at Marts., and the factor will settle with the tenants as directed in next Marts. rent.

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BAILLIE OF TIRY

OCTOBER 1797

1. I have long heard and now see that the tenants of Tiry have not been able to draw the true value of the kelp which they make. Of course they cannot pay me such rents as they ought to pay, and I have been desirous on my own account as well as theirs to open a better market for that article. Various plans have been thought of and steps taken to that end, and altho' nothing effectual can yet be done the object must be kept in view. This year, great as the demand is for kelp, it would appear that the kelp of Tiry has been sold at least 20 per cent below its value. The worst kelp for months past has been sold for £8 the ton, and the best at £12. If Tiry is not of the best quality, it surely is not of the worst, and therefore may fairly be stated at the medium price which is £10 whereas it has been sold for £8.

2d. I observe that you have not been able to settle with the minister of Tiry for his new stipends, owing to his insisting in the first place for larger bolls than he is entitled to, and in the next place claiming payment of the stipend allowed to an assistant, as well as what is payable to himself. With regard to the bolls I understand that the teinds of my lands in Tiry are valued by a decree of the proper court, and that the meal is in that decree declared to be bolls of the legal weight viz. 8 stone to the boll, and the bear to be of the measure of Tiry. Therefore as the view of the court in modifying the late stipends was to give the clergy the whole valued teinds, and

no more, it appears plain that the meal stipend is to be paid in bolls of 8 stone, and the bear in the usual measure of the island, and you must settle with the minister accordingly. If he will not settle with you on these terms, he must take his own course as to bygoness, and you will take care to deliver him the ipsa corpora in future.

With regard to his claim to the stipend allowed to an assistant, it is groundless and cannot be listened to.

Formerly, when the minister was satisfied with £56 of yearly stipend without manse or glebe it was right to mend his income by allowing him £10 yearly for a manse & glebe, but now that his stipend has been doubled and when he possesses a house, which I have fitted up for him at considerable expence, & a farm at a great undervalue, I cannot agree to continue that allowance in money for manse & glebe, but if he chuses to give me up my house and farm I have no objection to give him a manse & glebe.

4. Let me know soon if a manse is to be built, because if it is, the oak logs which are in Tiry will be of use in that building, and if it does not proceed, they will fall to be sent to a proper market such as Greenock or the Crinan Canal,<sup>1</sup> as to which you may correspond with Mr. Graham.<sup>2</sup>

5. Furnish my agent Mr. Ferrier with a note of the premiums and expences laid out by you on the wine found last spring, so as it may be made a charge against the wine.

6. As soon as possible after your return home, send to him the cane and ring which were cast on shore, as they will of course be wanted if any claimants shall appear in consequence of the advertisement which has been published regarding these wrecks, and it will have a bad appearance if these articles are not ready to be shewn.

7. Since Mr. McLean is not satisfied with his possession of

<sup>1</sup> The Duke was in the forefront of the Crinan Canal project. The line of the proposed Crinan Canal was surveyed in 1792 by Mr. (later Sir John) Rennie, at the joint expense of the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Breadalbane. In 1793 the Crinan Canal Company was formed, with a capital of £92,550 in £50 shares. Construction problems led to greater expense, which was met by an Exchequer loan of £25,000. The canal was opened in July 1801. Further repairs and extensive reconstruction (carried out under Telford's superintendence) led to government help and the passing of control to the Caledonian Canal Commissioners and Barons of the Exchequer. The interest on the stock was never paid (*New Stat. Account of Scotland*, parish of South Knapdale. The account is written by William Thomson, whose report to the Company in 1814 led to reconstruction).

<sup>2</sup> Humphrey Graham was chamberlain of Argyll.



Kilmaluaig, you may tell him that I am willing to take it off his hand, and you may consider of dividing it among some of the soldiers who are wanting lands.

8. I cannot agree to give the Society schoolmaster any land beyond a kail-yard and potatoe-ground. The first he of course has with the house which he possesses, and you can help him to get the potatoe-land from the tenants on his paying what is reasonable for it. He has an allowance from me for peats and milk & should be satisfied, if you take care that he enjoys all these advantages, and that such of the tenants as are able do pay him reasonable fees for teaching their children, which they ought to do.

9. Attend to bring forward proper augmentations upon such of the farms as are open at next Whitsunday for setts of them during my pleasure.

/Signed/Argyll

#### REPORT ON THE PRECEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1. The reporter is sorry your Grace is not satisfied with the price got last year for the Tiry kelp. He has not had particular cause to know the price given for kelp in any quarter of the highlands but Argyllshire, and after allowing for the difference of local situation and freight he knows the Tiry kelp sold as well as the generality of the kelp of Mull did that year. The factor has done and will do every thing in his power to make good sales of the kelp on account of the tenants. He sells their kelp as he does his own without retaining any more from them than a bare indemnification for the expence he necessarily incurs in the sale. And he will gladly embrace every hint & instruction that Mr. Ferrier can give him to obtain a better price.

2. The factor has settled with the minister of Tiry according to the manner and rule directed in this article of instructions.

3. The £10 in use to be paid the minister was retained from him as he has not yet determined to give up the house and farm he holds from your Grace.

4. The factor corresponded with Col. Graham about the oak logs in Tiry and he is of opinion that they can be sold on the spot to better advantage than by transporting them to Clyde or Crinan.

5. The factor only laid out 30/- on the wine found in Tiry, of

which he sent a note to Mr. Maxwell to be included in his accounts of expence upon the whole.

6th. The cane and ring cast ashore on Tiry were forwarded to Mr. Ferrier agreeably to this instruction.

7th. This article of your Grace's instructions was intimated to Mr. McLean Kilmaluag who is desirous to keep his farm at the present rent.

8th. The factor having found some difficulty in getting potatoe-land convenient for the schoolmaster has set to him  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mail lands of Kirkapole on condition of its being laboured by the tenants, which they have agreed to, but the sett is only for one year in case your Grace may not approve of this mode of accomodating him.

The farms out of lease at Whitsunday 1797 were set at an augmented rent as stated in the factor's accounts for last year and he is of opinion that they will not at present admit of further augmentation unless the high prices of kelp continue. None of the other leases expired at Whitsunday last.

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BAILIE OF TIRY [1798]

1. Let the logs of oak be sold on the spot as proposed by you.  
2. I agreed to allow the schoolmaster five pounds yearly for the very purpose of keeping myself and tenants from being called upon to give him land or grass for a cow, and yet when there are not lands to accommodate natives wanting possessions you have given him part of a farm and burdened the other tenants with labouring it for him. This may be necessary, but he is not to have a farm and also to draw my money for the want of one, and therefore I desire that the yearly allowance of five pounds be discontinued.

3. The tenants must relieve me of the additional stipends lately given to the clergy for last crop and in future, and you will charge yourself with last year's victual stipend in next account.

4. After paying me the rent which I got from the late Isle of Muck for the farm which he possessed and relieving me of the minister's stipend payable out of it, you are to pay over to the widow and daughters of the Isle of Muck the surplus rent payable by Malcom Campbell by the new sett, but it must be understood, that this is in satisfaction of the claim which these ladys have upon me for £100 by the last lease and they must give up their copy of

that lease with a discharge of that claim, otherways they shall have the £100 and I will take the surplus rent.

/Signed/Argyll

### REPORT ON THE PRECEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. This article is complied with and the price of the oak logs brought in to this year's account.

2d. The five pounds allowed the schoolmaster is withdrawn for this year in consideration of the land given him. He paid the tenant for labouring the land and I thought it was necessary to have it put on that footing that he might not withdraw too much of his time from the school, but the land will be taken from him at Whitsunday next.

3d. This article is complied with.

4th. The factor applied to Isle of Muck's daughters for the lease agreeable to this instruction, but not having received it he withholds the surplus rents. They live now near Edinburgh and the factor will give a note of their address to Mr. Ferrier.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BAILLIE OF TIRY 1799

1. As you inform that small tenants can afford to pay more rent for farms in Tiry than gentlemen-farmers owing to the manufacture of kelp, this determines me to let the farms to small tenants which have been and are at present possessed by tacksmen who reside upon farms in Mull, and I desire that on your return to the Island you let this be known and take in offers for these farms, and betwixt and the 1st of January transmit these to me at Edinburgh by post under different covers together with characters of the persons who offer and your own opinion upon the values of the different farms.

2. There is herewith delivered to you an offer by Neil McLean and others for the farm of Hianish for your report and opinion.

3. Take credit in next accounts for the expence of saving and disposing of the oak timber and other wreck'd articles and for one third of the free produce to yourself for trouble as my depute.

4. There is herewith delivered to you an offer by Archibald

McLean and others of £100 yearly for the farm of Gortindonill previously set for £60 which you will consider and give your opinion upon.

/Signed/ Ja. Ferrier for the Duke of Argyll

### REPORT ON THE PRECEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. In compliance with this article a list of the farms out of lease was affixed to the church door immediately upon the factor's return home. A few of the people gave in offers which the factor could not well send agreeable to Mr. Ferrier's directions until he could enquire into their character and circumstances, and this he was rather at a loss to find out, never having had any kind of dealings with them, and from the absence of some of them who were in the Fencibles he was rather diffculted to know in what circumstances they were, of which he had various accounts; but he is now able to give a particular account of the character and circumstances of those who gave in offers for the farms of Ruaig and Gorstandonill etca. He begs leave to produce herewith a state of augmentations arising from farms in Tiry from Whitsunday last to Whitsunday 1801.

2d. This article complied with and the petition and report thereon is herewith produced.

3d. This article credited per stated account.

4th. This article complied with and the petition & report thereon is herewith produced.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. DUNCAN CAMPBELL AS CHAMBERLAIN OF TIRY [1800]

1. Send as soon as you can the names of your suretys to my Agent at Edinburgh and he will make out your commission as my chamberlain over my estates in Tiry and Coll.<sup>1</sup> Your sallary is to

<sup>1</sup> Donald Campbell, chamberlain of Tiree, retired in 1800 to Ardnacross in Mull after serving the Duke in Tiree for over 30 years. Duncan Campbell, tacksman of Treshnish in Mull, was then appointed chamberlain of Tiree, but seems not to have taken up residence and was replaced the following year. His acceptance of the post, and his speedy withdrawal, may well be connected with the Duke's recently announced policy of granting the farms previously held in Tiree by Mull tacksmen—who were necessarily non-resident—to small tenants. Treshnish was tacksman of Ruaig in Tiree. He may have hoped, by becoming chamberlain, to delay the execution of this policy, or to divert the Duke from it, and his resignation may have resulted from the Duke's determination to carry it through.

be sixty pounds yearly, and you are to have the farms possessed by the late bailie at the rents which he paid for them. I am to allow him his salary which was forty pounds yearly during his life but as he will have to pay a larger sum yearly to me for the farm he has in Mull it will be best to allow him to draw that yearly allowance from my chamberlain over that estate.

2. There is herewith sent a list of augmentations upon the rents of the farms in these islands commencing at next Martinmas, which with the rental to be recovered by you from the late baillie, will enable you to begin to collect the rents immediately after that term. A great delay has hitherto taken place in the payment of the rents of Tiry and Coll. The rents of my other estates are paid, one half at Martinmas and the other at Whitsunday, and I wish to receive those of Tiry and Coll in the same manner or to have some satisfactory reason for the delay. There can be no reason for delay this year, because I will take the payment in barley to prevent its being distill'd and will send vessels to bring it here as soon as you inform that it is ready. I am very anxious to accomplish this object which cannot be attended with much difficulty now that the Crinan Canal is about to be opened for the passage of the vessels. I therefore expect that you will set about it without delay, and with heart and hand so as I may not be disappointed. I see you have been in use to receive barley in payment of rents from your sub-tenants in Tiry, which must make it the more easy for you to do the same for me. The chamberlain here is the person to correspond with on the subject of transporting the barley to this place and I shall expect to hear from him soon that your correspondence is begun.

3. A book is also herewith sent you containing all the instructions given to the late baillie from the year 1793 to this time and also extracts from the instructions of former years back to 1785. Many of these instructions have never met with the attention which was due to them, and some have been altogether neglected. I therefore recommend the whole to your careful perusal and attention, and expect that you will as soon as you can begin to correspond with my agent at Edinburgh upon them, and from time to time suggest to myself or to him what occurs to you with regard to the more perfect management & improvement of the estate under your charge.

4. Your attention is particularly wanted to the reparation of the milns in Tiry and of the harbour at Scarinish, the clearing of the island of the disease amongst the horses which has been so long fatal to them, the putting the two schools upon a proper footing and the finishing the march-dykes and fences upon the minister's farm in terms of former instructions.

5. Think of introducing new seed oats, barley and potatoes, and let me know which way I can assist this measure.

6. I have long understood that a cartwright & smith are much wanted in Tiry and have been willing to encourage the establishment of both. Consider how that is to be best done and if I find that it is to be useful, some timber proper for carts and ploughs may be sent from this by the vessels that go for the barley. A few ready-made carts and ploughs may also be sent in the same way as models and at same time premiums to those who shall appear best deserving of encouragement of that sort.

7. As I have set the farms of Barapole and Kenovar presently possessed by Archibald Campbell, Frackadale, to 16 small tenants, who are to enter at next Whitsunday, you must take measures for removing the one and introducing the others at that term, and as a great many additional houses will be wanted for the accomodation of these new tenants, consider and inform as soon as you possibly can the plan you think best to be followed for these new buildings. My own opinion and wish is that these farms should be divided into 16 different possessions so as every man may have his own separate farm to manage and improve in his own way, and the skilful and industrious may reap the benefit of their labours and knowledge and at the same time be examples to others. That done I would have every man's house put down in the next convenient part of his possession and if possible have the walls built with stone and lime and the roof slated, from which great relief to the farms themselves would arise from the saving of thatch for winter provender to the cattle and also to my woods in Mull and Morvern, which are greatly cut up and destroyed by the constant repairs requisite for thatch houses built of dry stone. The execution of this plan must be attended with expence beyond what can be proposed to tenants who have no leases, but to such as are able and willing to do it, I will not only grant leases but give every other reasonable encouragement.

8th. I am also very desirous of having good stone dykes built wherever stones can be conveniently had and will give due encouragement to those willing to engage in that work.

9th. A cask of wine lately cast on shore is in the custody of the late bailie. It is said to be of bad quality but it may nevertheless be sent to Inveraray where it can be turned to some use. There are also some logs of oak which will be of use in repairing the milns, and building the new houses.

Inveraray 28 October 1800

/Signed/Argyll

### INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. MALCOM McLaurin AS CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE [JUNE] 1801

1st. You will receive a commission from the Duke of Argyll, appointing you his Grace's chamberlain<sup>1</sup> of Tyrri, & a bond of cautionry to be given by you & two cautioners for the faithful discharge of that office & accounting for the rents, which you will get executed as soon as you can, according to the directions appended to it.

2. Your presence is very much wanted in the island at this time, & therefore you must set out for it as soon as you possibly can, calling at Arros in Mull for Mr. Maxwel, who is to accompany you to Tyree, to advise & assist you in putting the business in a proper train.

3. Carry with you 3 or 4 books for keeping your accounts, and copies of letters &c.

4. Receive from the late chamberlain all the leases, letters, rentals, instructions, and other papers regarding the estate. Make a list of them and send me a copy of it.

5. Make up immediately a rental of the estate for last crop 1800, and send me a copy of it.

<sup>1</sup> Little is known of Malcolm McLaurin, who served as chamberlain of Tyree from 1801 until the 5th Duke's death and continued under the 6th Duke. McLaurin appears to have belonged to a Lorn family. It was probably this Malcolm McLaurin who in 1821 received a tack of Ardintallan from Dugald MacDougall of Gallanach, and who is said to be resident at Oban (Scottish Record Office, *Argyll Sheriff Court Deeds*, June 14th, 1821). He was the least successful of all the Duke's chamberlains, unpopular both with the Duke and the tenants. But he was not inefficient. Writing to the Duke about the rents in March 1805, Ferrier says: '... to give the Devil his due, Mr. McLaurin has already done a great deal in that matter, in as far as, from being the worst paid of your rents, Tiry now pays sooner and better than any estate belonging to you'. This was made possible by the flourishing manufacture of kelp.

6. Attend to what is said in the instructions from his Grace to Mr. Duncan Campbell late chamberlain of date Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1800, a copy of which is herewith given you. A great deal of pains & assiduity is necessary to these matters, & you must take care to bestow both without the smallest unnecessary delay.

7. Some progress has been made in the matter of a wind-miln, which has been long wanting for the island. Advise Mr. Maxwell as to the proper stance of it, & get a plan and estimate of the expence of the stone work, and when that is built the timber part & the machinery will be sent from this country. I should think it best to put it down near the best water-miln in the island, so as one miller may manage both, & make use of the one or the other according to circumstances.

8. The minister has some ideas which he will communicate to you, regarding the quarry & harbour of Scarinish, which I believe have been neglected. Mr. Maxwell has had experience in works of that sort at Tobermory, & you should not omit to profit by his advice, when you get him upon the spot.

9. A road was some years ago made at considerable expence betwixt that harbour and the marble quarry. I understand it has been entirely neglected, & is now impassable. The tenants should be called out immediately to repair it. Mr. Maxwell has also had experience in road-making & can give you advice as to repairing of that one.

I gave you a printed copy of the Act of Parliament for repairing highways & bridges in Argyllshire, from which you will see what the tenants & cottars are bound to do. I doubt if ever a man in Tyree has been called upon to that important work. At any rate you must in future call all of them out regularly, and make the best use of their labour. Mr. Maxwell will also be useful here in considering which are the most necessary roads, & how they are to be best made & improved.

11. I give you copy of a list of fines imposed on 157 different persons, who have lately been convicted before the justices of illegal distilling. It is his Grace's particular order that without delay you demand payment from these persons of every farthing they owe of rent, and give notice to such as do not comply, that they must remove from their possessions at next Whity., and take the necessary steps for effecting that order, which his Grace does not consider



harsh because he had timeously signified his desire to have these rents paid to him in barley, and they have chosen to break the law, and to refuse his request by making it into whisky. Suppose them to pay these rents, something more is thought necessary to be done to deter from such improper conduct in future, & what his Grace is pleased to order is that every tenth man of these 157 be deprived of their present possessions & of all protection from him in future. And it is left to Major Maxwell & you to select the ring-leaders & most idle and worthless, or to lay the punishment on the whole 157 by lot as you think best.

12. You are to possess along with the house, the farm of Kirkapole on the same terms as the late chamberlain had it, and in place of £40 str. of salary which was his allowance you are to have £100 str. of salary. But you are not to have the farms of Ballmartin & Ballephail, which were & are yet in possession of the late chamberlain. These are to be given among a number of the men still unprovided for, who served in the late Fencible Regiment, and Major Maxwell & you will manage this business while he is on the spot, and report your opinion, having in view that the additional salary allowed to you must be made up from these farms with what more they are thought capable of paying without overburdening the tenants.

13. Consider of a plan whereby all the barley raised in future, over what is necessary for food for the people, shall be exported to Inveraray and Clyde—the navigation to both which is now rendered easy by the Crinan Canal, & the pernicious practice of distilling and smuggling whisky be thereby prevented.

14. I was given to understand that the tenants this year had not sold their kelp, & were willing to give it to his Grace in payment of rents. His Grace agreed to take it, & desired to be informed when it would be ready for shipping, that vessels might be sent for it. Inquire about this matter immediately and let me know how that stands—what quantity is to be expected and when it will be ready.

15. You will of course fall to take charge of the company of Volunteers in Tiree, & must speak to Col. Graham on that subject when you pass Inveraray.

16. A commission as his Grace's Depute Admiral in Tyree is also preparing for you, under which you will fall to take charge of any

wrecks that shall appear on the shore of any part of His Grace's property there or in Coll or on the seas. Coll has a deputation for the shores of his property in Coll.

17. I deliver you two estimates by Jas. Morrison of repairs and additions said to be wanting at his Grace's house in Tyree, where you are to reside. His Grace agrees to lay out £100 str. on these this year. You will consider with Mr. Maxwell what is most necessary to be done, & have it done to that extent—the sooner the better.

18. You will also find at my house before you go away the model of the stone part of the wind-mill proposed to be erected, which you will shew to the same mason, and get from him an estimate for building it, which send to his Grace or to me that it may be considered as soon as possible.

20th June 1801

/Signed/ Ja. Ferrier

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE OCTOBER 1801

1st. The 10th man of the distillers (exclusive of the witnesses) to be dismissed, as proposed in the instructions given to you by Mr. Ferrier in June last.

2d. Farms to be form'd into 4 mail lands each, and no farm to be of less extent.

3d. The most orderly, industrious, and able of the tenants to be prefer'd.

4. A sowming of the commonities to be made, & observed in future.

5. All glandered horses to be destroyed, and supernumerary horses banished the island.

6th. Scarinish, Ballmartin & Crossapole to be cut down into small crofts, agreeable to the plan of Scarinish Anno 1769, & the chamberlain to take the assistance of George Langlands in this article.

7th. These crofts to be given to such of the farmers (in the first place) as are disposses'd under article 2d and 3d, and secondly to the most deserving of the Fencible men, having in view to accommodate an inn-keeper, with as little interference as possible with the establishment of the village.

8th. Every 4 crofters to have one horse to carry wreck from the shore to be graz'd in Drumbuy and Drumdearg commons, to have the use of the horse alternately, casting lots for the order every time his services are wanted by more than one at a time.

9th. No peats to be allowed to crofters from the mosses in the island, which are nearly exhausted, but coals must be imported, and some plan fallen upon of supplying the crofters with them on as easy terms as possible. They can be allowed to take peats from Ross in Mull if they chuse.<sup>1</sup>

10. Every crofter to be allowed to carry with him to his new possession the timber of his present house, and to have from his Grace 40/- to help to build his new house, and inclose his croft, and to be assured of 19 years' possession at least, on his prosecuting the fishery with dilligence, but to be removed if he abandons or neglects it.

11. Each boat's crew to be assisted with an advance of £10 str. or hooks & lines to that value and this money to be turn'd into or paid for giving premiums to the most deserving, according to a plan to be hereafter laid down. Malcolm McDonald appears to have been making spirited exertions already as a fisher, and has been unfortunate in losing a boat & lines. He should be encouraged to renew his exertions, & I allow you to give him £10 str. to set him a-going.

12th. The cropping of the lands to be laid under proper restrictions, and seed oats & barley to be sent to the island & given gratis to such as have their ground in order for them. I wish to encourage ploughing with two horses without a driver, and with oxen, in place of horses, and shall give premiums to those who shall make attempts in either.

13th. The barley of the island not wanted for the use of the people to be taken in payment of rents. Samples of it to be sent to Inveraray as soon as possible, & the weight of a boll to be ascertained & mentioned.

14th. A skillful quarrier or two should be invited to settle in the

<sup>1</sup> In the eighteenth century the people of Tiree frequently resorted to the Ross of Mull for their peats. 'It may be a very fair calculation to allot one third of the year's exertions, and three fourths of its risks and dangers to this employment alone; and great deductions of rent should therefore be allowed the inhabitants on account of the dismal and dangerous operations connected with their annual demands of fuel' (James MacDonald: *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides* (Edinburgh, 1811), 724).

island. Some of the young men who settle on crofts may be sent to Inveraray to be taught.

15th. A legal distillery to be encouraged if distilling shall be again permitted, but it must be carried on with coals.

16th. The present chamberlain's house to be converted into a church.

17th. The present church to be converted into an inn & granary.

18th. A new house to be built at Balliphail for the factor, after a plan & estimate are approved of, & the factor to live at Crossapole till the house is ready.

Consider of establishing a regular packet betwixt Clyde & Tyree. I will willingly be at some expence in supporting it, and perhaps something may be got from the Post Office.

20. Get Buchanan the schoolmaster and his son out of the Island as soon as possible. I shall pay the old man £10 yearly during his life, provided he goes away peaceably. The son I will have nothing to do with. Another schoolmaster to be look'd for, & one of the natives to be prefer'd if qualified.

21. You have got the large plan of Tyree to assist you in executing what is here directed. Take care of and return it when the work is done.

/Signed/Argyll

#### ANSWER TO INSTRUCTIONS OCT<sup>r</sup>. 1801

*Art.* 1st. In compliance with your Grace's instructions, every 10th man, according as they were proved to have been most culpable of distilling, has been removed from their possessions, with the exception of Hector McLean, tenant in Cornaigbeg, who has a lease till Whits<sup>y</sup>. 1804. Viz. Lachlan McLean Kenovay, Allan McLean his son, Peter McInnis in Vaull, Jas. McDonald in Muirdale,<sup>1</sup> Hector McLean in Ballimeanach, Ferquhar Brown in ditto, Hector Kennedy Kilchenichmore, John Kennedy his son, John McLean in Haugh, Donald McInnis Ballivulin, John McArthur Fencible-man Vaull, and Donald McLean in Kinovay. A difficulty having occur'd of finding a herd to take care of the souming of the

<sup>1</sup> Muirdale or Murstal was situated immediately south of the farm of Hough. It is shown in the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of Tiree, but the name has since become obsolete.

Reef, Donald McLean Kinovay, in consideration of his having nine motherless children, and John McArthur, formerly a serjeant in Lord Lorne's Fencible regiment, both having in other respects a good character, have been appointed to take care of that duty, which they have paid good attention to. The other 12 delinquents are still on the island, taking care of their crops, & living in their barns to which they claim a right till next Patricksmass day according to established usage, and in order to implement your Grace's intentions fall to be removed from it then, or at Whitsunday next, as you will be pleas'd to direct.

2d. Carrying this article into execution could not be undertaken on account of the very great overstock of tenants and their general inability to occupy four mail lands, which is intended to be shewn by a return now submitted to your Grace's perusal, which each individual has given the factor of his circumstances. But with a view of carrying it into effect as far as these obstacles will admit, in the meantime the farms of Barapole and Kinavar and Kenavay have been surveyed by Mr. Langlands, and plans made for your Grace's consideration. The former will accommodate 15 tenants consisting of 64 mails land, giving Alex<sup>r</sup>. Campbell, recommended to your Grace in the joint report transmitted by Major Maxwell & me in April last, 8 mail lands, being a man of some subject, and desirous of carrying on any improvements deem'd advisable. Kenavay consisting of 48 mail lands has been survey'd, and a plan made for 13 possessions, which is a small variation from the 4 mail lands, but as Mr. Langlands saw that the farm would divide better in that way it was allowed to be done. A croft for the accommodation of one of the Reef herds is also intended upon the farm without any interference with the other divisions of it. In accomplishing this, as some of the tenants in those farms are not possess'd of a sufficient subject, others it is proposed to take from such farms as are, and they removed to crofts or to possessions of two or three mail lands according to their ability.

At present every farm is held in equal shares according to a return of a sett at Whitsunday last and transmitted to your Grace the 12th July last, with the exception of Balnoe and Cornaigbeg which are under lease till Whits<sup>y</sup>. 1804. It remains with your Grace to determine whither any more of the farms are to be put under the management of four mail lands immediately, or to wait the issue

of these two experimental trials. Could as many of subject be found to occupy four mail lands as would be necessary to fill up the crofts by the removal of those most indigent, probably more farms might be laid out in this way. At present there are 682 mail lands occupied by 286 tenants, 170 of whom would fall to possess the whole upon the plan of the four mail lands and 116 would fall to be provided for, as removed. By the return of their subject there do not appear to be more than 30 or 40 able to stock four mail land. Upon account of this circumstance which so strongly opposes the scheme, tho otherwise most desireable, it remains with your Grace what is best to be done.

3d. This article shall be attended to in the trial proposed to be made in art. 2d or upon any other farm [where] the plan of four mail lands can be put in execution.

4th. The two commonities of Drumdearg & Druimbugh were divided many years ago by your Grace's factor among such farms as lay most contiguous to them. The great Reef remained only as a commonity, for which a soumming has been made according to a state transmitted to your Grace the 12th July last. An encroachment has been made by the farm of Balliphetrish upon the Reef, of which a plan and measurement has been made by Mr. Langlands for your Grace's information, and as this appears to have been done unguardedly, and without Mr. Campbell Barmollach's knowledge he is willing to pay an adequate rent for it, or to build his old march-dyke again as your Grace shall be pleased to direct.

5th. There were 63 glander'd horses found before the 1st Aug<sup>r</sup>. last and at present none remain as far as can be known. Every mail land has been allowed to keep one horse, and 584 super-numerary horses have also been sent off.

6th. Scarinish, Ballimartin & Crossapol have been surveyed by Mr. Langlands, and plans of both made for your Grace's satisfaction, and also of the farm of Hianish in case it might be thought adviseable to add it to the plan of Scarinish to which it lies contiguous.

This was done with a view of having accommodation for such as would have been disposses'd, could article 2d have been so practicable as was expected, and wish'd for. As their general poverty interfer'd with this, probably your Grace will be satisfied at present with cutting Ballimartin & Scarinish into crofts, your

Grace's factor living at Crossapol preventing that farm being cut up till the new house is built at Balliphail, and Hianish may be managed under four mail land as at present, or added to Scarinish according to the plan submitted. In carrying the crofts into effect it was suggested to your Grace in the report of April last that considerable outlays would be necessary in building dykes upon which you will be pleas'd to give instructions.

7th. This article shall be attended to when the crofts are cut and set.

The croft of Scarinish occupied by the inn-keeper does not interfere any ways materially with the village. It is quite detached from it, and has been inclosed by himself, at his own expence with a stone dyke.

8th. Druimdearg and Druimbuigh commons having been divided upon farms, attention was paid in forming the plan of Ballimartin to appropriate a part of it to the pasture of the number of horses it will require, and they shall be managed according to your Grace's instructions when the crofts are made. Scarinish has a share of Druimdearg and plenty of pasture.

9th. As there appears to be more moss than was conceived, probably your Grace will give the crofters of Ballimartin liberty to cut peats in the large common moss, under any restrictions that may be deem'd advisable. As the village of Scarinish is far from the moss, probably they will find their accommodation best in Ross in Mull, or in the purchase of coals being so near the harbour.

10th. This article shall be attended to when the crofts are made.

11th. This article will be carried into effect next fishing season after the crofts shall have been made.

It may be proper to inform your Grace that few or none of those now settled as crofters in Scarinish seem disposed to begin the fishing under any encouragement, and many of them being old are not able tho they were willing. It may be proper to ask if all those are to be removed, and others introduced in their place who will carry it on.

12th. This article deserves serious attention and will fall to be put in execution if your Grace is pleased to approve of the plans of Barapol & Kinavar and Kenovay, where a proper and regular rotation of cropping ought to be laid down and pursued, and proper horses, carts, and other implements of husbandry got by

the tenants prefer'd to these farms, which it is hoped will have a good effect upon the other tenants by the force of example. As none of the divisions of rotation could be laid down by Mr. Langlands, owing to the ground being under crop, till the farms come actually to be divided, it may be absolutely necessary to have his assistance to carry this into effect, as well it is essential to have his assistance to settle the rotation the crofters must pursue. Another circumstance that requires much attention and demands his assistance is the finding a proper level of the moss, divide it properly upon the different farms, and put it under a proper mode of cutting.

13. There have been 1420 Linlithgow bolls of barley sent out of the island to Mr. John Campbell Cuilessan & Co. The weight of a Tyree boll seems to be 24 st. 2 lb 12 oz English weight, 16 oz to the pound and 16 pounds to the stone.

14. This article can be managed if the young men will be allowed travelling expenses, and it is presumed that what they may earn at Inveraray will be sufficient to subsist them. Some dykes will be very useful in the island, and a few might be sent also to learn that business, but as men of both uses, as quarriers and dykers, may be necessary immediately, it is probable that Mr. Langlands can in the district of Kyntyre find men that will be willing to go to Tyree, provided they get crofts there.

15. None could be found in the island willing to undertake the distilling in a legal way, and it is submitted to your Grace whither in future any such should be encouraged, as it may produce too great facility of procuring spirits, to which the natives are much adicted.

16th, 17th, 18th. In carrying these three articles into execution considerable outlays of money will be required, and as your Grace, owing to the accident of the castle of Rosneath,<sup>1</sup> must have many buildings on hand, probably these proposed in Tyree by your Grace's instructions must be postponed till those are finished, when it is hoped your Grace will carry them into effect, as they will be very material improvements. Your Grace's factor will prefer submitting to the inconveniencies of his present house and live at Crossapole than give trouble, till such time as it may be more suitable to your Grace to order the new house and offices at Balliphail to be made. He has however got plans & estimates made

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Rosneath had recently been destroyed by fire.



for your Grace's examination, according to your instructions, and begs leave at present to observe that the very bad order the house is in will render some temporary repairs necessary, and that the stone house intended to be made of the back jamb of the church of Scarinish ought also to be completed, being very requisite for grain, kelp, coals, or any other article useful in the island.

19th. In compliance with your Grace's instruction under this article, a good sufficient sloop of a moderate draught of water, and about 60 tons burthen has been purchased, of which your Grace has a fifth share. The other four concern'd are the inn-keeper at Scarinish, John Sinclair merch<sup>t</sup>, Tobermory, the master, and your Grace's factor. It was supposed Mr. Dun. Campbell at Greenock would take a share, as an owner there would be useful to the concern, but he declined, which instead of the vessel being in six shares as originally intended, has occasioned her being in five. It is hoped she will be very useful to the island, & that the exportation of kelp & barley will give her a good deal of employment, and that for encouragement no other vessel should be allowed to interfere with her in carrying away these cargoes.

A small packet has been established between Croig or Pollach in Mull<sup>1</sup> & Tyree for letters and the accommodation of passengers, for which it is hoped your Grace will be pleased to get some encouragement from the Post Office as she goes regularly every Thursday if the weather permits, and to give a situation to the packet-man. It is hoped that your Grace will be pleased to order him a croft at Scarinish upon more easy terms than others are to have them; otherwise the people of the island will be induced to go by Coll to Mull, as Mr. McLean of Coll gives very considerable encouragement to his packet-boat, and his fare is very low. Your Grace's factor is informed that Mr. McLean gives the grazing of four cows and their followers, and a large croft free of rent to encourage his packet in Coll.

20. Buchanan the schoolmaster was removed at last Whitsunday, enjoying his allowance of £10 st<sup>r</sup>. for life according to your Graces' instructions. His son is dead. As there is no house, a man of any sort of merit cannot be expected to settle in the island as schoolmaster, and to remove this bar, a plan of a schoolhouse with a dwelling, and a croft upon the farm of Hilipole is submitted to

<sup>1</sup> Croig and Pollach are on the shores of Loch Cuan on the north coast of Mull.

your Grace as most central for the west end of the island, in which two thirds of its population are resident.

The Society schoolmaster also in that island was compelled to leave it, as he had no proper accommodation of a house, garden, and croft requisite for keeping a family, which in the east end of Tyree is an immense loss to the children. Both at Hilipole and Kirkapole, which seem to be most central, the first for the parochial, and the other for the Society school, as both are so essentially necessary for the interest of the island, it is hoped your Grace will order them to be accommodated, that good men may be had.

21. The large plan of Tyree is returned to your Grace without sustaining any damage.

/Sign'd/Malcolm McLaurine

## INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. McLAURIN

6TH NOVEMBER 1802

1st. The distillers must remove from the island as soon as they have secured and disposed of their crops, and on a separate paper I have allowed you to give such as do forty shillings on their actual removal from the island.

2d. The second instruction must be carried into execution as soon as circumstances will allow. On a fair trail you will find plenty of candidates with a sufficient stock for a four mail land.

3. Article 3d of last instructions to be attended to.

4th. The ground unwarrantably taken from the Reef by the manager for the tacksman of Balliphetrish must be restored, the dykes lately built by him destroyed, & the old march-dyke rebuilt. This I consider necessary as an example to others not to take such liberties. At the same time I am willing to acquit Barmollach of any blame himself in the matter as I understand the encroachment was made by his people in his absence.

5th. The 5th article of the instructions of last year to be followed out so far as not executed.

6th. The farms of Scarinish, Ballimartin and Hianish to be cut down into crofts agreeable to the plans lately made by George Langlands, and to former instructions.

7th & 8th. Articles of former instructions to be attended to.

9th. As it has been explained that the mosses are not exhausted in the manner that had been represented to me, I do not desire the instruction no. 9 of last year to be strictly executed; but only measures to be taken to prevent abuses of the mosses.

10th. Article 10th of last year's instructions to be attended to. I do not expect that such of the present crofters of Scarinish as are old men are to engage in the fisherys, but their crofts must be restricted to the size allowed to fishermen, and such of the present crofters as are young & able must be removed if they will not engage in the fisherys or follow some other useful employment.

11th & 12th. Articles of the instructions of last year to be attended to.

13th. The barley to be exported as last year, and no distilling permitted.

14th. Young men willing to learn quarrying and dyke-building to be allowed their travelling expences and to be subsisted at Inveraray at the rate of 6/- weekly while under instructions, and the sooner some of them are taught and sent back to the island the better. I do not approve of bringing quarriers from Kintyre.

15th. The chamberlain's present house to be repaired, and he to continue his residence there till I find it convenient to remove him to a new house, which will not be for some time.

16th. The back jamb to be built at the church agreeable to the plan and estimate.

17th. The two milns to be built & fitted up as soon as possible.

18th. Two school-houses to be built, but correspond with Capt<sup>n</sup>. Stewart<sup>1</sup> & get from him the plan of two which I built in Kintire some years ago at the expence of £50 each. The tenants should furnish all the carriages.

19th. The sloop which has been purchased for the use of the island should certainly be employed in preference to any others in exporting the barley, kelp etca. Let me know every two months how she is employed.

20th. Application should be made to the Post Office for assistance to the other weekly packet betwixt Mull and Tyree.

21st. Look out for two good schoolmasters and make their situations comfortable and proper.

<sup>1</sup> Duncan Stewart, chamberlain of Kintyre from 1791.

22d. I agree that George Langlands return to the island when necessary to assist you in executing what I have recommended to be done.

23d. Send me when you get home a list of the Tyree and other papers I gave you, and bring the papers themselves when you return to Inveraray next year.

24th. The farms of Barapole, Kinavar and Kenovay to be divided as proposed by George Langlands. The dykes and fences to be made by the tenants, who are to be such of the present possessors as are able and willing to execute these improvements, or others in place of such as are unable or unwilling.<sup>1</sup>

25th. A market for cattle, horses &<sup>ca.</sup> to be tried twice in the year, in May, and early in October.

26th. The road-money not applied to be laid out in improving and repairing the quay and harbour, and advice to be got from a person of skill as to further improvements on the harbour.

27th. The gardner at Inverary will give you a few quicks for a trial along with you, and you can get cuttings of elder from Kintyre.

28th. Coll and the tacksmen of Cornaig must settle their disputes themselves for I cannot judge of them at this distance.

29th. Crofters fencing & improving their crofts to be allowed to possess for 19 years, or will be paid the value of their improvements if remov'd before the end of that time.

<sup>1</sup> McLaurin's correspondence with the Duke and Ferrier in spring 1803 show growing unrest and opposition in Tiree. There had been cases of illicit distilling; barley had been secretly shipped to Ireland to be distilled; two ships had smuggled in spirits and tobacco. The chamberlain repeated an earlier request that a company of volunteers should be stationed in the island 'to maintain the social order'. Resistance to the four mail-land policy was strong and growing. The reform of the runrig system was regarded as a Lowland innovation. A tenant named Archibald Maclean returned from Edinburgh with a copy of the Earl of Selkirk's emigration plans, and the tenants of Barrapole and Kenovar declared they would emigrate to America rather than give up their runrig system. Tenants of other farms also protested. 'Am strongly assured,' writes McLaurin, 'nothing will prevail upon them to take up the four mail-lands under the new system all at once.' The crofts were also unpopular. In June and July 1803 petitions were presented to the Duke at Inveraray by the tenants of Ballinoe and of Barrapole and Kenovar, complaining of oppressions by the chamberlain. In August James Ferrier himself visited the island to obtain first-hand information. The abandonment of the four mail-land policy followed (announced in the Instructions of October 1803), and in the last three years of his life the Duke showed a more realistic appreciation of local conditions and a very sympathetic and positive attitude towards the small tenants and crofters (5th Duke's correspondence, 1803, Tiree papers, at Inveraray Castle).

ANSWERS TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S  
INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO HIS CHAMBERLAIN OF  
TYREE 8TH DECEMR. 1802

1st. According to your Grace's instructions, the whisky delinquents were regularly warned to leave the island at last Whit<sup>y</sup>. with the exception of those ment<sup>d</sup>. in the answer 6th Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1802 and were to go to America. At the term, 11 of them received your Grace's allowance of £2 each in expectation of daily going off by a ship that was to carry emigrants from Coll, but which was prevented from taking effect by the Emigration Act.<sup>1</sup> Five of them have however left the island, & other six still remain owing to this cause & retain the money they received, and fall to be removed next Whit<sup>y</sup>, as a remission of the punishment may occasion a repetition of the crime for which your Grace found it necessary to expell them the island.

2d. Among the many obstacles and difficulties that opposed this article, that arising from inability was most to be dreaded, and as there was no method of arriving at the true state of the circumstances of the tenants, it was deem'd most advisable to allow them to form themselves into classes,<sup>2</sup> and that those who would select themselves, and would become bound for the rents & improvements, would be prefer'd. According to this method the farms mentioned in my letter of the 6th Aug<sup>t</sup>. were let in 4 mails preparatory to the scheme of division which your Grace has in view of giving every tenant his own share. According to this plan of set, sub-setting was positively prohibited, yet many have in a private way been guilty of it, which evinces the little dependance that can be had upon them, as well as that they are not equal in general to the stocking and management of so much land. And before the farms are actually cut and divided upon this principle, it is worthy of the most serious consideration whither it is most advisable to go on taking the risk of these untoward drawbacks, or to make divisions of the farms in the manner they will best admit of, without paying any regard to the number of mail lands. As to the extent they are vague and indefinite, and form no invariable rule of divisions, but adverting to make them of the size

<sup>1</sup> The Passenger Vessels Act, June 1803. For its provisions see p. 73, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is, groups of tenants who would be jointly responsible for the rents of farms that were divided into four mail-land holdings.

best suited to its improvements, consider the nature of the soil, its situation and extent, as well as the general ability of the tenants, whose interest it must be to have as much, and no more than they can manage without having recourse to overstrained exertions, or to sub-sets.

3d. This article was attended to in carrying article 2d into effect as above.

4th. The grounds taken off the Reef, Barmollach is willing to pay rent for, and was inspected by Mr. Ferrier when in the island. The first encroachment of 22 acres he says he got by the sanction of your Grace's factor, and deems it hard to be charged rent for it, for the time that has passed. Your Grace will be pleas'd to say what rent is to be charged for the time past if it is to be exacted, and for the future.

Mr. Langlands took a plan of both encroachments—the first markd A A A of 22 acres, he has made a schemed rent to of £4. 1. 9½d, and the second B B B of 34 acres he has valued at £4. 7. 2.

In regard to the Reef it was suggested to Mr. Ferrier that it might be made productive of rent to your Grace, by making those who shall be needful of pasture pay for every soun at the rate of 15/- from Whitv. to Marts. The tenants of Kenovay, having given an advance of rent at last set (and consisting of 13), were thought deserving of getting two souns each upon it, rent free, and of allotting a portion of it to the farm of Crossapole to accommodate your Grace's factor in lieu of a part of the common of Drumbuigh, which has been given to the farm of Hilipole. To inclose this portion of the Reef with a stone dyke will be attended with a considerable outlay of money, and as no benefit can be got from it without an inclosure, your Grace will be pleased to give instructions how this is to be accomplished.

5th. It was conceived that the farms set in four mail lands would admit of a great decrease of horses, and that every tenant would be able to do his work with two good ones, in place of one to each mail land as formerly. Therefore all those farms consisting of 392 mail lands have disposed of 196 horses of their worst, and have retained as many of their best. This season none were found affected with the distemper.

6th. The farms of Scarinish, Hianish, & Ballimartin have been

divided by Mr. Langlands agreeable to the instructions—Scarinish is cut into 29 crofts, Hianish into 18 and Ballimartin into 38.<sup>1</sup>

7th. In carrying this article into effect much difficulty occur'd, on account of the aversion the tenants disposess'd had conceived against crofts. Scarinish is let to five disposess'd tenants, 18 of the former possessors, 2 dykers, 2 taylors, and one boat-carpenter, the master of the small packet having two crofts.

Hianish is let to 15 disposess'd tenants of other farms, and 3 lately occupying that farm, and was let the more readily as each crofter has one horse and three cows' pasture.

Ballimartin, in which your Grace's instructions were intended to be rigidly put in execution as the Bank fishery is off that farm, could not be let in these terms, and the reasons they assignd were that the crofts were too small, the condition of the fishing, and the want of a horse to each crofter. Notwithstanding these causes, had the instructions extended to the reception and accommodation of cotters, they would have been set. Two attempts were made to set the farm in terms of the instructions, but none appear'd but 4 tenants and 6 cotters on both occasions.

As Mr. Ferrier deem'd it adviseable to accommodate the cottars, the farm was let upon the 5th Sept<sup>r</sup>. to 24 of them—to 2 tenants, one soldier, and one blacksmith, in all 28; and there are still 10 crofts vacant, as the artificers who appear'd are to be served at Manal.

8th. In regard to this article, every crofter of Scarinish and Hianish has a horse each. At Ballimartin a horse was promised betwixt every two of them by Mr. Ferrier, and as there is no room suitable for this purpose upon the farm itself, it is necessary to consider where it is to be.

9th. In respect to a moss the crofters of Scarinish at present make peats on a moss upon that farm which is nearly exhausted. At Hianish there is a piece of good meadow where the late tenants cut some peats, where the crofters this season also were allowed to cut, with a view of draining the water lodged by former irregular cuttings & straightning the ditch which was formerly crooked. As it is not adviseable to allow them to cut any more there, and as their distance from the moss in the island is considerable, it may

<sup>1</sup> The 8th Duke of Argyll added a footnote in 1863 that the number of crofts in these three farms had been reduced, the first two to ten each, and the third to fifteen.

be best that they and the Scarinish crofters make their peats in Ross of Mull.

Some assistance may be given to the crofters of Ballimartin in the old moss, tho perhaps not to the extent necessary for all their fuel.

10th. As none of the crofters would undertake the fishing, they received no money, but were allowed to carry the timber of their houses to their crofts, tho few as yet have done so, as the dispossessed tenants are still occupying their former houses, & taking care of their crofts. As no encouragement seems to induce them to build houses but after their old customs, probably your Grace may not deem it necessary to give them money for this purpose.

11th. It is conceived that this article may be reserved for the farm of Manal, as none would accept in the other farms for fishing. Tho such as have already signified their intention of settling on that farm are people who have already been adventurers, and have their fishing lines, boats & apparatus, which may save your Grace's bounty, particularly as the crofts intended to be cut there are better than any formerly made for the purpose.

12th. As the sett according to the divisions took place at last Whit<sup>y</sup> only upon Barapole & Kenavar and Kenavay, owing to the crops being on the ground, no rotation lines could be marked out, of course this article could not be put in practice, and falls to be attended to next crop, when no small opposition it is feared will occur to it, as they have a strong antipathy to strange barley and great oats. As on these lots each has his own share, they will plow with two horses without a driver it is hoped, tho adopting oxen is a distant prospect, whatever encouragement is given.

13th. As the barley could not be disposed of this year on your Grace's account, the tenants were allowed to dispose of it as they best could according to your order. No distilling has been attempted.<sup>1</sup>

14th. None could be found to learn quarrying and dyking and

<sup>1</sup> McLaurin appears to have overlooked what he wrote in his letter of 10th March 1803, to the Duke: 'Notwithstanding of the Excise fines last year, one of the tenants under summons of removal has been bold enough to commence distilling of late, and two others who were not followed the example. They contrived with much secrecy to work off a few bolls. I have secured their stills and worms, and signified to them that your Grace, however plentiful the cup may be [the metaphor is well, if unintentionally chosen], is resolved to give no shelter of lands to such delinquents, and that they must remove also.' The present report on the instructions of December 1802 must date from autumn 1803.



go to Inverary and embrace the encouragement held out to them by your Grace under this article.

15th. No repairs have as yet been done to the house possessed by the factor, excepting a supply of some panes to the windows, and a little white-washing, tho it is very needful of them and a very inconvenient residence. None were conceived immediately necessary further than replacing some slates, in the hope that your Grace had resolved to convert it to a church, and on building a new house for him at Balliphail in terms of your Grace's instructions Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1801 and last year, when it would suit your Grace's conveniency and pleasure.

16th. The back jamb of the church was made up to serve temporary purposes last year, and it was intended, when the undertaker of the milns came to the island, to build it according to the plan & estimate and your Grace's instructions. It is now part of the church again, and as a store for barley, kelp and other articles is very necessary, it is to be asked if the work is to be carried into effect in terms of last year's instructions.

17th. After receiving Capt<sup>n</sup>. Campbell's letter of the 8th Ap<sup>l</sup>., the estimate of the milns was agreed to by letter to James Morison the undertaker of 16th April, binding him to finish them before the crop was ready for grinding, and so ill has he behaved that the foundation is not laid. There is stone and lime upon the stance ready for the work. About 4 weeks ago he left the island to go to Ross in Mull where he is building a church, in order to bring his men and commence the miln with all expedition, but he has not returned, & the season is now so far advanced that it may not now be adviseable to allow him to go on should he come, as the bad weather and frost may injure the work most essentially. And tho the milns are very much needed, the least evil may be to postpone the work till next spring to ensure its sufficiency, and put the old miln in Cornagmore in the best order it will admit of to grind the crop.

18th. Capt<sup>n</sup>. Stewart furnished the plans for the two school-houses in Kyntyre, and Jas. Morrison made out estimates—the one £166 st<sup>r</sup>. and the other £142, the tenants furnishing the carriages, but as your Grace by Capt<sup>n</sup>. Campbell's letter of the 8th April signified that they were not to go on till further orders, nothing has been done.

19th. The large packet is employed in carrying the kelp to Lieth. She lately returned after landing a cargo there, and is now off with another. She carried two loadings to market of last year's kelp. Upon her return she generally gets freights to Oban or Tobermory. It was intended to have had a settlement of the concern from the commencement, but John Sinclair, merchant at Tobermory, one of the partners who was appointed manager, has been for sometime past in Glasgow, which has prevented it.

20th. Five pounds st<sup>r</sup>. have been promised by the Post Office, which is very small to support the expence of sending the bag to Tobermory from this island.

21st. As there were no school-houses for the accommodation of men of character and ability, this article could not be overtaken. The house where the late Society schoolmaster resided was very bad, owing to which, and the want of other encouragement, he was called off. It is now under repair for a temporary school-house, and the factor has been looking out for a schoolmaster, but such as he conversed with expected large encouragement besides the house & croft mark'd out at Kirkapole, which your factor would not agree to without your Grace's orders. Five pounds st<sup>r</sup>. is wanted for repairing the house & a Donald McKinnon in Vaull tho but moderately calculated for the charge expected a large sallary, not less than £20 a year, besides the croft house, & his chance.

22d. George Langlands came to the island the latter end of December last, and has been employed in executing your Grace's instructions, according to a journal of his work delivered with his account.

23d. An inventory of the Tyree papers received by your factor from your Grace is produced, but as he has not had time to copy them all, he has taken the liberty of keeping them till he has done so, when they shall be carefully returned.

24th. The farms of Barapole and Kenavar & Kinavay were divided by George Langlands, and set at last Whit<sup>y</sup>. according to my letter of the 6th Aug<sup>t</sup>. last. Such as were hostile to the plan of division were precluded viz. Arch<sup>d</sup>. McLean,<sup>1</sup> Arch<sup>d</sup>. Sinclair and Hector McLean, who wished to stir up opposition over the whole island to your Grace's instructions. Alex<sup>r</sup>. Campbell, who is

<sup>1</sup> Archd. McLean is referred to on p. 65, n. 1.

possessed of 8 mail lands, has not fulfilled the expectations formed of his professions of improvement, and in the instance of dividing the moss his conduct was extremely reprehensible & improper, upon which account it does not appear he is more deserving of countenance than the other tenants of that farm, and though his brothers-in-law, the tenants of Coll, were desired to become bound for his rent and improvements, they have as yet avoided to do so.

25th. There was a market held on 3d May which brought but few purchasers. On the 3rd Oct<sup>r</sup> the second market was held, when a good many fat cows appeared, but as there was an unforeseen coincidence of the market of Coll on the same day instead of the 6th, few dealers appeared in the island. Upon a communication with Coll upon this interference, he has explained it was accidental, and that in future it would be prevented.

26th. While Morison shall be in the island his assistance shall be taken to attend to this article.

27th. No quicks could be had from the garden of Inverary, but some forest trees were got, which with some boar-tree, and quicks got from Kintyre by Mr. Langlands, have been planted & fenced at Balliphail, sheltered from the N.W. exposure, and promise as yet to thrive well. In some ditch-fences made at Crossapole a good many boar-trees were planted, which promise tolerably well.

28th. It is supposed this dispute has been settled as nothing has been heard about it for some time.

29th. This endurance in consequence of carrying in the improvements has been promised to the crofters.

30. As so many evils spring from the overstock of population on the island, and must year after year grow more and more, till at last the burden must become insupportable, it is a subject of importance to consider how a remedy can be applied to its relief. The distance from market, the scarcity of fuel, and the general inconveniencies attending an insular situation, are not favourable to invite men of speculation and prosperity to begin any branch of manufactures that might give employment to the supernumerary stock of men, women & children, & lead them through a conviction of interest to habits of industry out of their present laziness & idleness. Yet if a plan could be fallen upon to establish any branch of this kind upon any other part of his Grace's property, either in

Kintyre or Rosneath, situations more favourable for such an undertaking, the unproductive class of the island might be employed to much advantage it is probable, in such a manner, and would be removed with much less reluctance to any situation upon his Grace's estates than to any other tho promising an equal benefit.

Owing to the Emigration Act perhaps no relief can be expected but from such or some similar resource to so overgrown a population.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE OCT. 1803

*Art.* 1st. The difficulty of emigration since the late Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup> makes it necessary to relax and even to change my plans of settling the people of Tyree. In the first place such of the distillers as have not left the island may be suffered to remain with their friends till they can take themselves away, but they must not expect possessions.

2d. The scheme of bringing the farms to 4 mail lands each must be given up in so far as not already executed effectually, and different farms must be broke down into small crofts to accommodate the people who are in want of possessions. Such as were formerly tenants to have from 6 to 10 arable acres, and those who were only cottars and tradesmen to have four arable acres, and both to have what accommodation can be given in the article of summer grass. As these people will have much to do in the article of building houses & division fences at the beginning, I agree to allow the first year free of rent to such as shall deserve it by building houses, and other exertions in that period. I must also be at some expence in quarrying stones for these buildings—perhaps my furnishing tools and powder for blasting may be sufficient—but do not let the work stand for want of further exertion on my part if it should be necessary.

Besides Scarinish and Hianish, already divided, the farms to be

<sup>1</sup> The Passenger Vessels Act (43 Geo. III, 56) was passed in June 1803 for the purpose of preventing the serious privations that had been endured by passengers in emigrant ships. The Act laid down regulations for the provision of adequate space for passengers (one passenger to two tons of burden as a minimum), higher standards of hygiene, and sufficient supplies of food, water and medical stores. Vessels carrying more than fifty persons were to have a qualified surgeon on board. On the limited effects of this Act see p. 201, n. 1.

broke down are Ballimartin, Balliphail, Manal and Gott. I understand these will give above 100 crofts which I suppose will be nearly sufficient to accommodate all who have any good pretensions. If not you must consider what is next to be done and report to me. You seem to think that some of those who have got 4 mail lands will not be able to keep so much. If so, in as far as you cannot get good people to take up such possessions, they must be broke down into crofts to accommodate those in want of small possessions. It is absolutely necessary that the people be led to manage their crofts in the best possible manner, without which they will soon ruin the lands, and become beggars themselves. A scheme of management for such small possessions is annexed to these instructions. If a skillful, active man can be found to sit down on one of the crofts, give him any reasonable encouragement, as I think he may be of great use if the other cotters are compelled as they ought to be to follow strictly his example.

When I am doing all I can to raise emulation and industry among these people by making every man independent of his neighbours, I find you pointing out a measure which must counteract all that I am doing. I mean taking men bound not only for their own rents, but for rents of their neighbours. That must not be. Every man must be bound for his own rent only.

3d. The late baillie complains that you have detain'd from £40 to £50 of his as necessary to repair the fences of the farms which he held, a complaint which you must settle as you best can.

4th. You are to give back to the farm of Hilipole the park of 86 acres which you by mistake took from it, and you must pay the tenants the value of it for the time you possess'd it.

5th. In like manner you must pay them for the piece of their farm in front of your house which you have possessed since your entry. But in future you are to enjoy that, & the addition to it pointed out by Mr. Ferrier, both being necessary for your comfortable residence in the island. The value of that piece of ground to be added to your rent, and to be deducted from the rent of Hilipole in fixing the new rent of the latter.

6th. The ground-officer and his father to be removed from Hilipole, and to be accommodated upon your own farm, or on some other distinct possession where they cannot have it in their power to oppress their neighbours, or assume any command over them.

7th. I allow you to add to your farm of Crossapole that corner of the Reef which was pointed out to you by Mr. Ferrier, computed at 40 or 50 acres, and in future you are to put no cattle of any kind, sheep or horses upon any part of the Reef. The aforesaid corner is already I understand inclosed on three sides. You will furnish me with the exact extent of it, and an estimate of the expence of fencing the open side, and you must either make the fence yourself, or if I do it, I must charge you with rent adequate to the value of the ground and the expence of inclosing it. You state in article 4th of your last answers as if part of the farm of Crossapole was taken from you & added to Hilapole, and that the corner of the Reef was to be added to you as a recompence, which is a very erroneous view of the matter, as it seems to be very plain that the 86 acres which you laid hold of by mistake never belonged to Crossapole but were a part of Hilapole, so that the restoring of them to the tenants of Hilapole is only a matter of justice, and the giving part of Reef matter of favour.

8th. The tacksman of Balliphatrick [Ballaphetrish] is to be allowed to keep possession of that part of the Reef which was laid hold of by his managers in his absence, but only on condition that he make payment of £10 yearly for it.

9th. The tenants of Kenovay, 13 in number, are to be allowed to put two cows each upon the Reef each summer, free of grass-mail, and they and all others must be charg'd 15/- for the grass of each other soun which shall be allowed to pasture there in future for which you must account.

10th. As the change-keeper at Scarinish is to be dispossessd of that part which he holds of the farm of Kiels [Kelis], he must get in addition to his present possession at Scarinish the small crofts situated between it & the road to Gott, and the possessors of these crofts to be accommodated with other crofts upon Gott.

11th. I cannot agree to turn the road of Gott so as to make it go about the Minister's glebe in place of going through it as at present, as the alteration would be attended with expence, but I have no objection to exchange with him so as to lay the whole of his glebe below the roads, which will answer his object of making the inclosing of the glebe easy.

12th. The minister having signified his resolution of having a manse built upon the glebe, you must in concert with the laird of

Coll, who will fall to pay part of the expence, procure a plan and estimate of the expence of the buildg. and take other necessary steps.

13th. The Synod of Argyll, having made a demand upon me for more than what I think the value of the tiends of the parish, you must arrange matters so as that in future they be paid the whole tiends in kind, and let them pay the ministers of Tyree and Coll, and make what they can of the residue.

14th. The tenants of Balinoe, having paid to the minister some victual stipend for some years past, which they were not bound to do by their tack, you must pay them the value thereof & charge it in your next account.

15th. The old school-house of Kirkapole to get a temporary repair, and a good school-house to be look'd for. After the minister's manse shall be built, the present house upon Gott will make a most excellent school-house, and will also be a central situation for the Kirkapole school.

16th. The other school-house to built upon Hilipole, which is a central situation for the other end of the island.

17th. The want you mention of grass for the horses of Bali-martin is to be supplied by giving part of the hill of Baliphail.

18th. I approve of what you have proposed as to the mosses.

19th. I am not to give money to the building of houses upon the old plan.

20th. The bounty to fishers to be discontinued for the present.

21st. The 12th instructions of 1801 to be attended to.

22d. The tenants to be allowed to dispose of their barley except what is necessary to pay the tiends.

23d. It seems there is no occasion for sending young men to Inverary to be taught quarrying as that is already understood in Tyree, and any inclined to follow that profession can be taught there.

24th. The factor's house at Crossapole to be repaired when convenient, as the scheme of settling him at Balliphail is entirely given up.

25th. The church at Scarinish must of course be only used for religious purposes, and must not be converted into a granary or store-houses. As I am not to require delivery of the barley from the tenants at this time, there can be no occasion for a granary, and as for the kelp it has always been shipd off without storing and no reasons are given why it may not be managed so in future.

26th. Morison the mason has behaved so ill that he ought not to be further employed. I do not think I shall have much employment next year for Tavish the mason commonly employed by me here. Talk to him about undertaking any of the works in Tyree. I do not understand how it should happen that Morison asks £166 for building a school-house like those which only cost £50 in Kyntire.

27th. It was your own fault that Government allowed so little for the post office. You insisted that it would be sufficient, and it will now be difficult to get an addition, but it may be tried.

28th. School-houses have already been spoken of under articles 16 & 17. Schoolmasters must be found able and willing to engage on getting the legal encouragement which I am ready to bestow. The tenants must do the rest.

29th. George Langlands has raised his charge near one half, without any reason given. I think I might have been informed before he did this, and before you paid him, that I might have had it in my power to agree to it or not. Great part of his time has been very ill employed, as he has only acted as an overseer, where you or your ground-officer might have answered equally well. For instance 12 days inclosing a bit of ground and planting a few trees in it at 15/- per day is £9 st<sup>r</sup>, a sum which any where else would have inclosed and planted double the ground, to say nothing of the labour of the tenants who seem to have been many days about it. The trial to raise trees is upon the whole so very expensive, that I must desire nothing more of the kind to be done till I know what the attempt produces. And if Mr. Langlands is to be further employed in my service, he must hereafter given an estimate of the expence of every piece of work he engages in, including his own wages, travelling expences &<sup>ca</sup>.

30th. The list given me of the Tyree papers will do in the meantime, but let me have the papers themselves when you have done with them.

31st. I agree to give 19 years leases to the present possessors of the following farms, at the following rents:

Hilipole	.	.	.	.	.	.	£80
Ballinoe	.	.	.	.	.	.	75
Cornaigbeg	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
Ardess, part of Kiels	.	.	.	.	.	.	45



the last being £3 st<sup>r</sup>. under the offer of the tenants; and for each of the three first years I will allow a deduction of £10 st<sup>r</sup>. from the rent of the three first farms, provided you report to me that the tenants are going on with the after-mentioned improvements, and are deserving of encouragement. That is to say, the farms must all be divided so as every man may possess a distinct share, and the houses must be put down, each upon his own division, & march-fences raised betwixt them. In building the houses and offices, in place of having them straggling, one from another, consider if they should not be made to form a square, with an open court in the middle to serve as shelter to the cattle in winter, the house on one side, a barn on the other, a byre on a third, and an open shedd for carts and farming utensils on the fourth. Consider also of the proper rotation of crops, so as to bring the land into order and to keep it in heart—

32d. I approve of new modeling the marches in the west end of the island as sketched by Langlands, for the purpose of straightening the marches, and when that is done take in proposals for new leases of them to be given on the conditions expressed in the last article.

PLAN OF A PROPOSED COTTAGE FARM OF 4 ACRES POINTING  
OUT THE DIVISIONS & ROTATION OF CROPS

1st Division—One acre for cottage, & pasture ground not to be broke up.

Years	2d Division— 3 Roods	3d Division— 3 Roods	4th Division— 3 Roods	5th Division— 3 Roods
1st	2 r. Potatoes, 1 r. Turnips	Barley	Clover	Oats
2d	Barley	Clover	Oats	Potatoes & Turnips
3	Clover	Oats	2 r. Potatoes, 1 r. Turnips	Barley
4	Oats	2 r. Potatoes, 1 r. Turnip	Barley	Clover

ANSWER TO INSTRUCTIONS 1803

1st. Such of the distillers as did not leave the island now remain with their friends but have received no possessions.

2d. It may be unnecessary to recall to your Grace's recollection at this time all the circumstances that have taken place in regard to this article, the difficulty of the attempt, and the necessity which occurred of abandoning it being fully detailed in the letters which

your Grace's factor had the honour to transmit 12th July 1802, 6th Aug<sup>r</sup>. 1803, Answer Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1803, and in his letter and plan of set Whits<sup>v</sup>. 1804 to Mr. Ferrier 8th June last. According to that plan, the whole island is now set, and every farm wishes for a division as soon as possible, in order that each tenant may have his own share, & reap any benefits that may be derived from his industry. The farms mentioned under this article were all cut down by Mr. Langlands for the accommodation of those in want of possessions, and were let in the manner reported to Mr. Ferrier in the above letter & plan, agreeable to the terms specified by your Grace's instructions.

A great many of the crofters have built their houses, which are made after the fashion of the island. They found any stone they required, but in the event that quarrying, or blasting would have been found requisite, the factor bespoke early a supply of iron and powder for the purpose, but so dilatory is our communication, that they still remain in Mr. Bain's possession at Greenock, and when they come to hand shall be used for the tenants and crofters as occasion may require. The factor could find no stranger who would come to the island to give an example to the natives in the management of the crofts, which would be a very desirable acquisition. This suggests an idea that probably might be submitted to your Grace's consideration, whither a regular bred farmer or overseer might not be very useful to your Grace's interest in the island, to direct and superintend all the improvements, upon the principle that a man of this character is employed in Kintyre.

The factor had no motive to make one person liable for another, but if possible to arrive at a knowledge of the tenant's abilities in occupying & stocking their lands, and he is sorry it should be considered any counteraction of the system of improvement, and for the future it shall be avoided.

3d. The factor should be sorry to have any complaints from the late baillie, and he is willing to pay him if your Grace will not require any comprisement of dykes or marches from him at his removal. Those upon Ballifail alone were comprised, & valued at £47. 0. 5½d. Your Grace's deliverance upon the bill of comprisement was the reason the factor retained that money. The marches of Crossapole were not comprised and the factor made up the [march-dyke] at his own expence.

4. The factor is perfectly satisfied to have given back to the farm of Hilapole the 86 acres, and pay for what of them belonged to them while in his possession, but he begs leave to mention, that last year the tenants of that farm had so far imposed upon Mr. Ferrier as to say that the whole of it belonged to themselves, whereas it since appears that only about the half did.

5. He is also willing to pay for the piece of ground he had in front of the house since Whitsunday 1802 when he entered it, when he requested of the tenants to make a rent to it which they declined, and both for this and the addition pointed out by Mr. Ferrier he is ready to make any reasonable compensation when it shall be ascertained. Had Mr. Langlands been in the island, the value of both these, and of their shares of the 86 acres, would have been ascertained, and settled in terms of your Grace's instructions.

6. The ground-officer and his father were removed from Hilapole last Whit<sup>v</sup>, and are now in their former situation in the farm of Kirkapole, where the factor begs leave to say they were always respected as good and peaceable neighbours.

7. Your Grace's factor is very much satisfied and grateful for the corner of Rief given him as pointed out by Mr. Ferrier, which he is willing to inclose. The contents are nearly 50 acres, and the expence of inclosing 144 falls at 8/- is £57. 12 and if he is removed before he has time to derive much benefit from the work, he humbly trusts your Grace will be pleased to consider him for the outlay.

8. The tacksman of Ballifetrish is thankful to your Grace for the part of Rief allowed him and would beg to know if he shall build the whole march between it and Rief, or if he will be allowed a consideration for the one half.

9. The tenants of Kenovay had the privilege of pasture allowed by your Grace upon Rief, and public notice was repeatedly given at church of the terms the other tenants would be allowed to have grass for the summer and harvest half-year, but few sent their cattle to it. The reason is that they have more pasture upon their respective farms than they ever had, owing to their having quitted their horses, & limiting themselves to their proper soumings.

10. The change-keeper at Scarinish has got possession of the seven crofts between his park & the road to Gott, but no part of the common pasture which belonged to them. In lieu of which,

part of Drimdearg common on the west side of Gott has been given him, till your Grace's pleasure is known, to assist him in summer pasture, and to afford him mutton for his house. The seven crofters are accommodated at Gott.

11th. As it appears that there is less of the farm of Gott below the road than there is of the glebe above it, the accommodation could not be conveniently arranged.

12. The minister is so well satisfied with his present situation and accommodation of the west side of the farm of Gott, that he will not trouble your Grace for manse or offices, while you shall continue him as he is. The only thing he would beg leave to ask would be a small part of the share of Drimdearg he formerly had for summer grass for two horses, for which, & the share of the farm he now has, he is willing to pay your Grace any reasonable rent.

13. The factor begs to have further instructions from your Grace upon this article.

14. The tenants of Ballinoe have been settled with in terms of this article, which is charged to your Grace's account.

15. The old school-house has got a temporary repair and is now occupied by Mr. McLaurin's school, but by no means comfortable. The factor has procured new estimates of two school-houses, corresponding to the plans he received from Cap<sup>n</sup>. Stewart of the school-houses in Kyntire, which he begs leave to submit to your Grace's consideration, and if agreed to, the sooner they are begun in spring the better.

16. Both upon Hilapole and Kirkapole school crofts have been designed by Mr. Langlands, having two cows' grass and a horse's grass each upon these farms, and it is submitted to your Grace whither the value of them is to be deducted from their rents and given to the schoolmasters rent-free.

17. The crofters of Ballmartin are satisfied with the summer pasture they have, and have made seperate inclosures for their horses & another for their cattle.

18. The mosses have been wrought upon the new plan very regularly, but part of what has been reserved has been very much poachd & abused, contrary to every order and means your Grace's factor could use. If they are not allowed to be fined, or one or two removed for example, the evil cannot be prevented.

19. The factor conceives that the restriction is meant to extend

to fishers in report of article 10, instructions 1801, under which opinion it has been attended to.

20. This article has been attended to.

21. When the divisions are made, and the rotations fixed, this article demands the utmost attention. The one great obstacle occurs that the natives have taken the most unaccountable aversion to great oats & strange barley. An overseer, upon this principle, the factor has taken the liberty of suggesting to your Grace would be very useful to teach the tenants how to lay down and manure their land for this improvement. The tenants now in general plough with two horses, but still retain the driver,<sup>1</sup> and soon it is expected they will do without him and save themselves his unnecessary labour.

22. The tenants these two seasons have disposed of their barley, and this year they got from 20/- to 21/- per boll for it.

23. This can be attended to in the islands.

24. The house at Crossapole had some slates put on, and the roof pointed with lime. When your Grace is pleased to order other repairs it will add much to its comfort.

25. The church, according to this article, is only used for its own purpose. It has likewise got some repairs of slates, pointing, windows and panes of glass.

26. The factor is of opinion that Morrison's work will be found quite sufficient, and the milns are finished according to Mr. Umpherson's model. He is the only person that is in the habit of being employed in this district of the Western Islands. No other could be got to come to give estimates. Tavish the mason was spoke to, but he would undertake nothing at this distance in the way of estimates, only he would build if the materials were furnished. The difference of the value of timber and labour will probably in a great measure account for the variation in the estimates of the houses, then built in Kintyre, and those now proposed here.

27. The allowance for the runner along with the post-master's salary, is a good object to our post-office.

28. Mr. McLaurin the schoolmaster is now teaching at Kirkapole. As there is no school-house of any sort in the west end of the island, there will be much difficulty to accommodate Mr. McLaurin,

<sup>1</sup> It was customary in the Highlands for a man, walking backwards, to lead the plough-team. He was called the driver. (*Old Stat. Account* XI, 266.)

if he arrives with his family, till the school-house at Hilapole is built. Will the school croft be inclosed, and whether will your Grace be pleased to be at the expence, or shall the tenants be ordered to do it? Will the schoolmasters be allowed travelling charges coming to the island?

29. Mr. Langlands says it was always his practice to charge your Grace less in the short days, and more in the long, and that his account is charged at the rates your Grace was always pleased to pay him, & says it would be impossible for him to give estimates in the manner desired at the work he was at. The planting attempt promised well, and the plants were thriving & promising, but like every new improvement, it excited the jealousy of the natives, who have pulled up mostly every one of them excepting the quicks, which are healthy and thriving. Could the perpetrators of this action be discovered, they would justly become the objects of exemplary punishment.

30. The papers received by the factor are all returned according to the inventory given in last year.

31. The farms mentioned under this article were let last Whitsunday according to your Grace's instructions, and as they have not yet been divided, no improvements have been made. The factor begs to submit whither the rotation ordered for the crofters may not be extended to the large possessions of the tenants.

32. This article shall be executed according to your Grace's instructions when Mr. Langlands returns to the island.

33. This shall be invariably attended to.

The factor is under the highest obligations to your Grace for the additional salary, & he will be happy to give it as an additional rent for Balliphail while your Grace shall be pleased to allow him to possess it.<sup>1</sup>

/Signed/ Malcolm McLaurine

The factor is of opinion, that the east end of the island of Tyree

<sup>1</sup> Since receiving the instructions in October 1803, McLaurin had written copiously to the Duke and Ferrier in an attempt to keep the farm of Balephuill as well as Crossapol. He claimed that some of the tenants in Tyree had misrepresented his actions to the Duke, and argued that his predecessors had all enjoyed several farms in Tyree as well as lands in Mull. His efforts were in vain, but his salary was raised from £100 to £150. McLaurin's position as a salaried official of the estate, and the modest extent of land allowed him, underline the trend during the 5th Duke's time away from chamberlains of high social status, with estates of their own, towards a new type of official, largely divorced from the ownership of property.

would be more readily supplied with peats from the east end of Coll than from Ross in Mull, and as much time is consumed in going to Ross at the time most suitable for manufacturing the kelp, if there were a few families settled in that end of Coll, to embrace the season for cutting and seasoning the peats, it might be attended with great advantages to both parties. Besides attending to peats they might also attend occasionally to fishing. This is submitted to your Grace as there is a clause in the tack of that end of Coll for fishers, in the event that your Grace should deem it at any time adviseable to set any down there.

A cask of whale oil is in possession of the factor which came on shore below Manal, was secured & refused to be given up by some crofters there of the name of McInnis, of which some notice should be taken. The tenants of Cornaigbeg also got one upon their own shore, which they mobbed & divided without reporting to the factor. In cases of this kind he would beg leave to submit that if the tenants of every farm shall be made liable and charged with whatever comes upon their shores, is the only way of securing them, and if not, no report or account can be had of such matters for your Grace.

M. McL.

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE NOVEMBER 1804

1st. I have allowed Mr. Ferrier to strike off the augmentation of £55 10, which you had brought upon the farms of Barapole & Kenovar commonly called Gortindonel,<sup>1</sup> beyond the rent which I had set them as in Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1800, and I approve of the decision which he has given in the dispute between you and the tenants in regard to the piece of ground situated on their side of the stone dyke, which they are to possess in future without disturbance. I have further to add on this subject that by perusing the 7th instruction given to the chamberlain in Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1800 you will see not only that I had set these farms at £140, which is double what they paid before that period, but that I was desirous of showing further favour, and

<sup>1</sup> In June 1803 the fifteen tenants of Gortendonuil had submitted to the Duke a petition against the chamberlain's measures in putting the lease of the farm up for public roup, in raising the rent by these means to £194, and in requiring each of them to give 38 days' service to him and his servants (Tyree papers, Inveraray Castle).

protection to these people, on account of their being the first who stood forward to show the value of my property in Tyree, and I desire that you will keep that in view, and do what you can to promote their prosperity.

2d. All thoughts of moving the chamberlain's residence from Crossapole to Balliphail are laid aside, and you must lay your account with having the latter farm taken from you by degrees, as it shall be wanted for crofts to poor people. In the meantime you hold it along with Crossapole, at little more than £100 yearly in place of £200 which I could get for them, and while you draw from me £150 sallary, do not feel any inclination to enlarge your possessions by adding part of the Reef, and therefore the proposal of building dykes to sepearate a part from the rest of that common must be laid aside for the present.

3. I have an offer of £100 yearly from a substantial man for the Reef, and you must contrive to draw near that much for it, or I must accept that offer and the tenants of Kenovay must have a deduction from their rent of 15/- for each of the cows they are allowed to pasture there at present.

4. Milns in Tyree, where there is a great deal of work, and no competition, should be a desireable possession. How happens it that you have not found a proper tenant, and that you say nothing of the rent I may expect for the great sum of money I have laid out in erecting these milns?

5. I cannot help thinking the estimates by Morrison for building the school-houses very extravagant, being three times the sum which the same kind of houses cost a few years ago in Kintyre, but since you cannot get any other to tender them for less, he must be employed.

6. The tenants must carry the materials for these buildings without being paid, and they must pay the half of the school-master's sallary.

7. For many reasons, I cannot approve of what you have done on the shore side of the farm of Gott, especially as I understand it was directly contrary to the opinion and directions which were given you by Mr. Ferrier on the spot, and repeated afterwards at Edin<sup>r</sup>, but since I have now no choice the minister must have the remainder of the farm at whatever can be got for it, but I cannot agree to allow him any of the common of Drimdearg, as that



toleration would soon be set up as a matter of right belonging to the glebe.

8th. The change-keeper to be allowed the grass belonging to the seven crofts lately given to him. His possession has been always separate & distinct from those of the crofters, and should continue so.

9th. I have been at considerable expence & trouble in educating Hugh McLean, a native of Tyree, as a plough- and cart-wright, and he is now ready to go to settle in Tyree, and carry with him models of the following implements of husbandry: 1st, a cart; 2d, a plough; 3d, a wheelbarrow; 4th, a harrow; 5th, a drill harrow; 6th, a drill plough; and some timber to enable him to begin work for those who shall want any of these articles. You saw this man frequently in Tyree when Mr. Ferrier was there last year, and was then desired to think of the best situation for carrying on his business. It is therefore unpleasant to hear that amongst all your arrangements you have not thought of a croft for him, and that he cannot now get one till next May. That will not do. If you cannot put him down better he must put up with his mother till May next, and I desire and expect that you show every encouragement and protection of this tradesman, and as I deliver him to you master of his business, with a good character from the person who has taught him, I shall hold you answerable for his becoming an useful person in Tyree.

10th. As the matter of the tiends is the subject of litigation at Edinburgh with the Synod and minister, you must correspond with my agents there on that subject.

11th. The value of the school crofts must be deduced from the rents of the farms, and the schoolmasters be allowed to possess them rent-free. They should be inclosed at the joint expence of the tenants of the farms and me.

12th. As you are always to call in the tenants to clear the drains of the mosses &<sup>ca.</sup> I cannot understand why this business should be so difficult to manage.

13th. I believe you have run me into contradictions and inconsistent instructions regarding the encouragement to be held out to builders of houses. By the 7th instruction Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1800, already refer'd to, I expressed a wish that the tenants would begin to build stone & lime walls, and to roof with slate, and hold out the prospect

of leases and other encouragement to them. This should never be lost sight of, and I have not changed my mind about it. On the contrary, to such tenants as will build in this manner I will give leases, and will also furnish to them at Scarinish timber & slates.

By the 10th instruction of 1801, I allowed tenants removed from farms and reduced to crofts, to carry the timber of their houses with them, and agreed to give each 40/- to help to build their houses and inclose their crofts, and to be assured of 19 years' possession on his prosecuting the fishery business with diligence. These encouragements I am also still willing to give to all who truly and diligently engage in the fishing; but to crofters who do not engage in the fishing I promise nothing beyond what was promised last year by Mr. Ferrier, and these distinctions you must keep in view in future.

14th. I must consider before I agree to be at more expence for managers for this island, as I already pay for it more than double the expence that any of my other estates cost me, but as you are yourself a farmer, I should think it would be an amusement, and even pleasure to you, to show the poor people both by precept and example what is best for them to do, and I have no objection to give premiums to induce them the more readily to attend to your lessons. For example, I will give a premium of £5 to the small tenant, that is, whose rent does not exceed £20, who shall in the course of a year, build the greatest extent of sufficient stone dyke, and to the small tenant who shall build the next greatest extent £2 st<sup>r</sup>.; £5 to the small tenant who shall first plough five acres at least with two horses without a driver, and to the small tenant who shall plough at least five acres with two oxen with or without a driver £5 st<sup>r</sup>.; to the small tenant who shall sow the greatest quantity of turnip, not under half an acre, £3 st<sup>r</sup>., and to the next greatest quantity £2 st<sup>r</sup>.; the like for rye-grass and clover, or cabbage, not under an acre. Let me know the quantity, and I must furnish the seed.

To the fisher who shall cure and send to market the greatest quantity of fish not under 500—£10 st<sup>r</sup>. and to him who shall have the next greatest quantity, not under 300, £5 st<sup>r</sup>.

You propose to oblige the tenants to observe the same rotation for their farms that are proposed for the cotters, but that is not to be done, as it is a much easier matter to manage a small croft than

a large farm. The soil of one farm, and of one field, differs so much from another that no general plan can be applied, and every man must be allowed in some measure to make use of his own judgement and experience in cultivating his farm. It will be sufficient to recommend a few improvements that are found to answer in every soil & in every clime, such as raising turnips, cabbages, carrots, clover and rye-grass for provender to cattle, collecting as much manure as possible, and preventing over-cropping, particularly taking two crops of any one grain following another.

15th. My chamberlain of Mull having accounted to me for £40 recovered by him from the late baillie of Tyree of the money which he had received some years ago from the tenants of the farm of Hough as stated in their petition of the 12th Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1803, you will consult with them how that sum is now to be best employed for the improvement of that farm and lay it out accordingly, charging my account with it.

16th. George Langlands has not behaved well in delaying so long to finish my business in Tyree, but as he has advanced so far in it, and writes that he is now ready to return, you will correspond with him on that subject, and try to bring his operations to a close.

17th. The tenants in the east end of Tyree have probably some good reason for going to Ross in Mull for their peats, in preference to my moss in Coll. The quality of the peat may be better, and the harbour at Ross is a very fine one. They must therefore be left to the freedom of their own will as formerly in that matter.

18th. The wreck'd oil to be sent to Inveraray by the first opportunity, and those who saved it to be paid salvage. If you have occasion for it for your own sheep, or if it can be otherwise useful in the island, I have no objection to give it up to these uses.

Inveraray 3d Novem<sup>r</sup>. 1804

#### ANSWERS TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE NOVEMBER 1804

*Art. 1.* Your Grace's instruction regarding this article has been attended to, and the factor regrets that he must remark a practice injurious to the farm and your Grace's interest, which seems to

spring from the indulgence shewn to the tenants, & from which they will not desist—that of making folds for their cattle on lands liable to sand blowing, of plowing their common pasture of the same quality, and pasturing sheep on the same sort of ground, and pay no attention to any remonstrances on those heads, which besides its bad effect with themselves operates as a bad example to all the rest of the island, and actually holds out a bill of defiance.

2d. Upon this article the factor can presume to make but little observation, only he begs to express his gratitude to your Grace for every indulgence shewn him. It may appear invidious to observe that probably those who made the offer for these two farms possess lands far below their value where they reside, and may have been induced to make a rent to them far above their value where they would not reside, and were perhaps conscious they could not obtain. Upon a precarious tenure of land, the same rent cannot be given that could be afforded by a lease, and if your Grace were pleas'd to grant a lease of Balliphail, as it is not intended as the permanent occupancy of the factors, along with the Reef, as the one would much enhance the value of the other, the factor would make a very long offer for them. In this object he would be sorry to interfere with the benevolent one in view, but he begs to submit it to your Grace whither doing away entirely the class of cottars who are always useful to the tenants, in March and harvest time particularly, would be attended with good effects, for it is felt that hardly a labourer or servant or mechanic can now be found in the island among those who have got crofts, and of the few who have not, their only pursuit is to obtain them in order to indulge their natural propensity to laziness and idleness.

3d. He also begs leave to observe to your Grace that the Reef cannot return to your Grace half the rent in the present way that it would in tack if properly inclosed, and is very doubtful whither it tends to the interest of the present tenants that it should continue on its present footing, as it induces them to keep cattle for which they have no wintering, & therefore produces the bad effects of over-soums, besides that it is very precarious to get cattle for pasture for it to secure the fix'd rent, having now more grass and pasture on their own farms than they had formerly, owing to the expulsion of their useless supernumerary horses, which has been attended with the most beneficial consequences in doing justice to

their cows and necessary horses, and has completely eradicated the glanders which proved fatal to hundreds of them annually.

4th. The mills are set for a year to Arch<sup>d</sup>. Haggart, miln-wright and miller, and as it has been deemd most adviseable that a regular & faithful account should be kept of the returns they make for the 12 months of the whole of this crop, to afford a more certain criterion than otherwise could be found to make a fair rent, he has been agreed with in this way, and promised forty pounds st<sup>r</sup> of wages along with the croft cut out for the miller upon the farm of Cornaigmore. He begs to submit the multre of the milns to your Grace's consideration. The great expence that has been incurred in erecting them must render a regulation different from the old rates necessary, to afford your Grace a reasonable return, and as the tenants are seldom possess'd of ready money, the factor begs leave to give it as his opinion that the 17th share of the grain is a fair & equal allowance, and for any barley the tenants may dispose of, the half of this quantity, and to prevent defalcation it may be necessary to prevent any grinding going on with the querns by imposing a fine, and destroying an old miln in the farm of Coelis, fitted up many years ago upon the horizontal construction<sup>1</sup> by the tenants, and very hurtful to themselves by the waste of grain, and of little value of itself. A mutchkin is allowed for the use of the fanners, five pence for every stone of pot barley, and 2/6d for every 24 pounds of lint, bruising and scutching. These are the regulations in Lorn upon most of the estates, and he has directed the miller to attend to them in the meantime, in the hopes that they will meet with your Grace's approbation.

5. The school-houses are finished in the farms of Hillapole and Kirkapole, and are very comfortable. The one at Hillapole is possess'd by Mr. McLarin, who has signified his determination to give up the situation immediately, as his encouragement has been very small, not having above seven or eight schollars. The minister claims the direction of the schools, and intends sending Mr. Mathieson, who is now teaching at Kirkapole, to Hilapole in order to

<sup>1</sup> This type of mill was called a 'black mill' (as in the *Old Stat. Account* of the parish of Kilninian in Mull, vol. XIV, 149) or a 'Highland mill' (as in the *Old Stat. Account*, V, 576). A small wheel, made of wooden paddles, is geared directly to the mill-stones, and is housed below them. The lade directs the flow of water on to the paddles of the wheel, which revolves in a horizontal, not a vertical, plane. Such little mills have only recently passed out of use in Shetland.

have a schoolmaster near him who can teach Latin. Otherwise I understand from Mr. Mathieson that he is to oppose his settlement before the presbytery. The factor shewd his certificates and qualifications to Mr. McColl a long time previous to his coming to the island last year, and no objections were then made, nor when he appeared, till he found that he was to have the situation next him, and Mr. McLaurin the other by Mr. Ferrier's appointment. Your Grace's decision upon this point is craved in order to put an end to the dispute.

7th. What was done respecting this article was out of the purest intention of saving your Grace the expence of laying out a considerable sum of money for the minister's accommodation upon his glebe, as he would be satisfied with his present one, provided he would be allowed to retain the side of his farm on which it is situated. As the minister has none of the common, the factor is of opinion that £15 st<sup>r</sup>. is a fair rent for the portion he now occupies of the farm, with a proportion of the money laid out on dykes.

8th. The change-keeper has had no part of the common pasture attached to the crofts he got; but 25 acres of the common of Drimdearg have been marked out to afford pasture for a few sheep of what formerly belonged to Gott. It is already inclosed on three sides, and makes no interference with the crofters on the other side of Gott who possess 105 acres besides. This spot is not possessed by the change-keeper yet till your Grace's sanction is given to it.

9th. Hugh McLean refused the croft kept open for him in Scarinish by the factor, and made afterwards application for a situation on the west side of the Reef, where ten acres are to be cut out for him. The factor had some difficulty to get people who would undertake the house and shop. Both are now going on, and the lowest estimate he could obtain is £41 st<sup>r</sup>., besides the freight and expence of bringing the timber from Loch Suanart, amounting to £8 st<sup>r</sup>. more. The strong aversion the tenants have to using carts or even plowing impliments upon the improved plan, it is feard, will be for some time a bar to this tradesman being so well employed as could be wish'd. When the prejudices of the people subside, and their occasions will afford employment, a competition will arise for the preference betwixt this man and Arch<sup>d</sup>. Haggart, who is reckoned a very expert tradesman, a man of substance, and has at present two apprentices.

10th. The factor has been instructed by your Grace's agents to settle with the minister as formerly till an end is put to the litigation now pending, which has been done.

11. The value of the school crofts shall be ascertained as directed. That of Hilapole is valued at £4 st<sup>r</sup>, the one at Kirkapole not valued, but shall be when the farm is cut down and the fences of the crofts made up as instructed by your Grace.

12th. The factor alluded to irregularities committed in cutting that part of the moss that is altogether intended to be reserved, and these mostly done by the crofters of Ballimartin, to which no end can be put without some examples. They will not be persuaded to go to Ross for fail [peat], & entertain an idea that they must have all their supply by stealth or otherwise in the moss of the island, notwithstanding they have been repeatedly informed that only a part would be allowed by your Grace's instructions & the rest in Ross Mull.

13th. The distinctions form'd under this article have been attended to, in consequence of which some of the small tenants made proposals to profit by your Grace's encouragement, and their intentions were accordingly transmitted. With regard to the crofters, those of Ballimartin and Manal have been allowed to sit rent-free for the first year, in terms of Mr. Ferrier's promise when in the island, to assist them to build their houses. The same rule for the same cause has been allowed to be extended to those of Gott. Those in Hianish have each 40/- allowed them. Of tenants reduced to crofts who follow the fishing, none have any claim for money or lease.

14th. With regard to dykes, much has not been done to entitle them to the premiums. Upon the farms of Kinavay, Malcolm & Alex<sup>r</sup>. McDonalds have built a sort of dyke, filled up in the middle with earth, faced on both sides with stone. The fence looks pretty well, but cannot be supposed to be very durable, and has not therefore been considered deserving of your Grace's premium as an encouragement. Those on the same farm have done a good deal in the same way in inclosing their sets.

Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell the change-keeper has shewn great industry in building an excellent stone dyke between the march-dyke of Gott & his own house, inclosing the addition lately given him to his park, which has cost him upwards of £60 st<sup>r</sup>. The factor has

all along shewn the example of plowing with two horses, without a driver, & he is happy to say it has had very good effects. Numbers have followed it, and tho a good many still retain the driver there are few who yoke four horses. In particular, in the farms of Salem and Kirkapole four of the tenants plow'd without a driver with two horses & made very good work of more than 5 acres each. The emulation was so considerable that it was deem'd adviseable to divide your Grace's premium according to their merits among them, viz. to Alex<sup>r</sup>. McLean in Kirkapole £2. 10, to Niel McFaden in Salum £1, to Arch<sup>d</sup>. McFaden there £1, and to Hugh McFaden there 10/-. The factor has shewn them the example of sowing turnips, carrots, grass seeds & planting winter cabbages. A few signified their wish for grass seeds, tho somewhat late when they did so, which was reported. This winter the factor means to shew them the example of plowing with oxen of his own rearing. The few adventurers who engaged in the fishing this season were uncommonly successful, there being only two boats' crews. The one caught, cur'd & sent to market 2705 ling, the other 2400, & for their dilligence and attention rec<sup>d</sup>. your Grace's premiums.

Concerning the management of the farms this article has been impress'd, and shall always be looked after, but the rotations upon the crofts have met with little attention from the crofters as yet, but as inclosing must precede any great efforts, what they are doing in that way promises attempts in the other.

15. When this farm comes to be divided there will be the best opportunity of laying out the money your Grace directs under this article.

16th. George Langlands came to the Island in Ap<sup>l</sup>. last & remained till towards the end of June, during which time he surveyed & divided the farm of Cornaigmore into 14 divisions, Cornaigbeg into 20, & Baugh into 10, with a croft upon the division that fell to Lachlan McKinnon's lot for the Reef herd, in terms of your Grace's deliverance upon his petition last year. Your Grace's rents were made up on all the divisions by the most judicious & best informed of the tenants of each farm, & afterwards let by drawing lots for each division. The factor understands that some who are dissatisfied with their lots mean at this time to apply to your Grace for some alterations, which if admitted will render the whole scheme of possessing & improving distinct divisions abortive over



the whole island, & end in the old promiscuous run-rig management. In order that your Grace may judge of the scheme of divisions in each of these farms the plans are submitted. The factor under this article begs leave to inform your Grace, that the tenants of Colis, Ardess and Salum have chalked out divisions of their farms & would be perfectly satisfied with them if it were agreeable. The factor view'd them, & was much surprised to observe the correctness & accuracy with which they have done it, & he is persuaded they will be much better pleas'd with Kenavar than any other division. The other farms of Ruaig, Vault, & Kirkapole, in that end of the island, mean to follow the example, & the factor could not discourage them till your Grace's pleasure is known.

17th. This article shall be attended to.

18th. The oil was sold, 89 pints at 1/6d—£6. 13. 6, but as the people who got it meant to secret it & for their own use, & gave it up with much insolence when discovered, it is thought their conduct merited no consideration for salvage, in order to be an example to others. Four logs of oak have been cast ashore during this season containing about 130 feet, which if your Grace has no use for the factor is willing to purchase for building a boat. The factor begs leave to notice that the pernicious practice of pulling barley and cutting bent was universal this season. The most of the people who cut bent did it in the night time or by stealth, but the tenants of Gortendonil set to work in broad daylight to shew others how strong their backing was, & that they were not to be intimidated upon any account. The practice of making folds for cattle on sandy grounds has been remarked already, but upon this head the factor cannot omit the conduct of the tenants of Hilapole, who were just beginning to break the ground to form an inclosure of this kind when they were check'd and ordered to desist by him, to which they paid not the smallest regard, but persevered in open defiance of his orders, even tho they had before then form'd an inclosure in a part of the farm where there would have been no bad effects from sand blowing. Many of the tenants conscious of the bad effect of keeping sheep in sandy ground have given them up, and have now much reason to complain of others who keep them, which and swine are a dreadful scourge, independant of the damage done to crops and grass.

The factor has frequently had occasion to observe the bad effects

of the small boats kept for the purpose of the ferry betwixt Tyree and Coll, in which neither cows nor horses can be ferried without throwing them down and tying them on their passage, a practice that often produces serious effects, and at times the death of these animals. The ferryman on the Coll side will not alter the custom that was there when he got the tack, as it would subject him to the expence of keeping a proper large boat, but on the Tyree side there is no such restriction and relief should certainly be derived from this evil, which the factor begs to represent to your Grace.

/Signed/Malcolm McLaurin

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAMBERLAIN OF TYREE

31ST OCTOBER 1805<sup>1</sup>

*Art. 1st.* The irregularities of the tenants of Gortendonell of which you have complained must be prevented, & if they do not immediately agree to give up these hurtful practices, it is my order that you warn them to remove at next Whitsunday, and set their farms to other tenants. The same to be done as to Balinoe and Hilapole.

2nd. You must not raise more difficulty, or make more delay in admitting crofters into Balliphail. The Fencible soldiers who have applied for crofts, including Donald McLean, and others not provided for to their minds, to have their choice of crofts at Balliphail—that is to say, if six or more of those soldiers are to be settled in that farm, let them fix on an equal number of crofts lying together in any one part of the farm, most agreeable to them, and if they cannot agree upon the croft that each is to have, let them cast lots for them in the way that has been done in other places of that kind. After they are served, the other claimants to be admitted to the other crofts by casting lots for them.

There is a necessity for your contracting your views as to farming, as I have resolved not to give you such a farm as you point at, when there is such difficulty to accommodate the people with possessions of the smallest sort. I sent you to Tyree to be my factor, to look after and promote my interest, and the good of the people, not to be a great farmer seeking suddenly to enrich & aggrandize yourself.

3rd. I have resolved not to set the Reef to any one person, but to

<sup>1</sup> This year's instructions are in a separate volume at Inveraray Castle which contains the instructions for Tiree and for Mull and Morvern from 1805 to 1809 inclusive.

keep it open for the reception of the soldiers who are now on service, and shall desire to return home at the end of the war. I desire to have it survey'd, and a plan, dividing it into small possessions. In the meantime you will manage it as last year, by taking in cattle to eat the grass. The tenants of Kenavay will of course be allowed to send their souns there, till I find it necessary to stop their doing so.

4th. I am satisfied with what you have done and propose as to fixing the rent of the mills.

5th. As Mr. McColl must wish to have a good schoolmaster in the east end of the island for the sake of his own children, I have no objection to allow him a good deal to say in the choice; but on this condition that the schoolmaster shall reside in the house that I have built for him, and teach continually in the public school and not in any private family.

6th. I have never given leases to ministers during their incumbancy, and am not to begin with Mr. McColl. If he is satisfied to remain where he is for the present at the rent now proposed, altho I know the rent is not half the value of the farm, he may, but I am to be at liberty to remove him when I chuse to do so, and he to be free to demand his manse when he thinks fit. Meanwhile I am to be at no more expence either for houses or fences, and he is not to claim any thing whatever on pretence of want of a manse.

7th. I understand that you recommend giving the 25 acres of Druimdearg common to the change-keeper at Scarinish, and as I see no objection to it, you may let him have them at a reasonable rent.

8th. My plan was to settle McLean the plough-wright at Scarinish, where he could import his materials and his fuel without man or horse to assist him. You have chosen to set him down in the most remote part of the island, where he must have at least one man and one horse to enable him to live which is making a farmer of him in place of a plough-wright. This is very injudicious, and your excuse that he would not be satisfied with the croft you pointed out to him in Scarinish is not a good one; because he would have been desired to go about his business and I would have bestowed no more expence upon him. As it is, the matter can only be done in the way that you have chosen, and he must certainly get doors and windows for his house and shop. A loft for seasoning his timber I do not conceive necessary, as the timber will season

sooner & better by having no floor under it, being laid loose over the work-shop.

9th. There is a necessity for protecting the mosses from the depredations you mention. The crofters of Ballmartin must be satisfied with that quantity of moss allowed to a farm of the like extent. They must divide their allowance equally among them, and as far as that is not sufficient they must supply themselves from Ross in Mull or elsewhere. Such as are obstreperous, and refuse to obey this order must be removed, and sent to shift for themselves where fuel is more plenty.

10th. As you report that some of the tenants in Kinavay have begun to build dykes, and make other improvements with spirit, I desire you will fix with every tenant the precise improvement, whither in building houses, or making fences, which you think he ought to undertake, on getting a nineteen years' lease, and upon executing what he so undertakes he shall be entitled either to hold possession for 19 years from next Whitsunday, or be paid the value of such new buildings or fences as shall be made by them in the event of being removed before the end of that term, such value not exceeding one year's rent of the possession.

11. The premiums in the 13th instruction of last year to be continued.

12th. The 15th article of last year's instructions to be attended to.

13th. I have no objection to the tenants dividing their farms themselves with your approbation without waiting for Mr. Langlands's assistance.

13th. It does not appear that there can be sufficient intercourse in transporting cattle from Tyree to Coll to defray the expence of providing and keeping a large boat, and I cannot therefore at present interfere in the manner that is pointed at by the chamberlain, but if he will give further information on the subject it shall be considered.

15th. I desire that the usual salvage may be given to the persons who brought on shore the cask of oil, at the same time explaining to them that I am far from being satisfied with their conduct, and that I expect better behaviour from them in future.

16th. The logs of oak you may take for the purpose you mention.

For the Duke of Argyll

Sign'd Ja. Ferrier



INSTRUCTIONS  
TO THE  
CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL AND MORVERN



INSTRUCTIONS HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS<sup>1</sup> AND CHAMBERLAIN  
OF MULL, MORVERN & LESMORE OCTOBER 1775

*Article 1st.* Sometime ago I allowed Archibald MacLean<sup>2</sup> liberty of taking peats from my lands of Corkamile during my pleasure but as I have heard that he has since given trouble to my tenants in those lands by shutting up roads, poynding their cattle, cutting their seaware and otherwise, I desire that you will enquire into the grounds of their complaints and report to me in writing your opinion thereanent that I may consider whether to recall the above toleration, and what further protection is necessary to be given to my tenants.

2d. You are immediately to get the cairns of stones betwixt my lands and those belonging to Lochbuy and Torloisk erected in terms of former instructions.

3d. I agree that a new kirk be built on Torosay next summer and that the Kirks of Kilninian, Ross & Morvern be repaired. If the other heritors make any hesitation about these things they should be immediately [compelled] by the authority of the Presbetry. I also want an estimate of the expence of building a kirk at Kilfinachen that it may be done in summer 1777.

4th. You may inform Lerags<sup>3</sup> that I do insist on his removing his sub-tennants from his farm at next Whitsunday and if it is not done you are to inform my agent that he may raise a declarator of irritancy of that lease. You will do the same to all the other tenants who have made sub-setts as I am determined to prevent that practice.

5th. As soon as convenient I wish to have a view of the augmentations upon farms under your charge since the beginning of the present sett, which you make out in this form.

<sup>1</sup> John Campbell of Airds held this office until 1787. The family of Campbell of Airds had a long connection with the administration of the Argyll estates. Donald Campbell of Airds was factor for Morvern from 1732, and later also for Mull, until his death in 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald Maclean was a brother of Maclean of Torloisk, and had a long lease of Laggan-Ulva from his brother and Macquarrie of Ulva, joint proprietors.

<sup>3</sup> Archibald Campbell of Lerags, tacksman of Ardnacross. Sub-tenancy, except when specially authorised, was prohibited on the Argyll estates.





## AUGMENTATIONS OF RENTS OF FARMS IN MULL &amp; MORVERN

MART<sup>a</sup>. 1769, 1770, 1771 & 1772

<i>Farms</i>	<i>Possessors</i>	<i>Augmentation</i>	<i>Old Rent</i>	<i>New Rent including public burdens</i>
Aross, Killnalen and Crannich	Duncan Campbell	£21 13 5	£18 0 11½	£39 4 4½
Achadashenaig	John Stewart	25 19 6	16 17 4	41 16 10½

Here take in the whole augmentations that have taken place in the above years showing what took place in one year, what in another and added to each article a short note of any extraordinary improvements that are to be made by the tennants with a report how far they are made.

6th. You must recommend to the manager of the road-money in Mull to apply one half of it in repairing the quay of Achana-craig<sup>1</sup> which I am told will be very useful to the country.

7th. You are immediately to get the best information possible with regard to the particular places where appearances of coals were lately discovered in some of my lands in Mull and cause some lasting mark to be put upon these places that they may be easily known when any trial comes to be made for the coal. You may also report next year who are the persons that can give the best information about these appearances of coal.

8th. You will endeavour to settle with MacLean of Coll the marches betwixt Tengie and his lands, either upon the footing of the late decret arbitral pronounced by Asknish and Arch<sup>d</sup> MacLean or by a new submission. If he refuses this you must immediately give orders for having the dispute settled in a legal manner. You will at the same time consider the claim of damage made by the tenants of Tengie and report to me your opinion on that article.

9th. You must explain to the tacksmen<sup>2</sup> that I am determined

<sup>1</sup> The ferry from Achnacraig in Mull to Kerrera belonged to the Duke and was in tack to Angus Gregorson or MacGregor, who enjoyed a monopoly of the transport of cattle to the mainland. The Duke's tenants in Mull were obliged by their leases to use the ferry (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks, 1770-1776; Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, unsigned report, dated 1771, at Inveraray Castle).

<sup>2</sup> The tacksmen referred to in this and the following article were: Duncan Campbell, tacksman of Barr; John Campbell, tacksman of Knock; and Colin Campbell of Scammadill, tacksman of Ardtun. Mr. Riddell was proprietor of Ardnamurchan and Sunart.

to make them answerable for every damage that is done to woods upon their farms. Meantime you will put in execution the decreet lately obtained against some delinquents and insist on the process depending before the Sherriff against others. I am well informed that Barr has trespassed in this way and therefore desire that you will examine him judicially upon it and send me his declaration in writing signed by him. If he acknowledges it I shall not be over-rigid with him on this occasion in hopes that he will be upon his guard for the future. If he denies it examine the people who detected him in carrying away Mr. Riddell's woods and send me their declarations also, and if the truth is not from thence established I shall endeavour to find other evidences of his guilt. You will observe the same conduct to all others guilty of this crime and report to me your dilligence in this business.

10th. You will inform Knock that I cannot at present agree to the sub-sett he proposes to take from Scammadale. I rather think I will never agree to it and therefore he had better not proceed in it. At any rate it is time enough for me to determine when his brother comes home and Scammadale is near going away.

11th. You may endeavour to establish an annual market for cattle in Ross as I am told it will be convenient for the people in that district.

12th. You must get the tacksmen of farms to accomodate poor people upon their different farms with cott-houses & yards free of rent where that is necessary, and send me a list of the number in that situation with their characters.

13th. In order to enable me to determine what tennants to put in the farms agreed to be given amongst small tennants in Mull this year, I desire you will make out an exact list of the present possessors of these farms and annex schemes showing in what order they are to be provided for according to their merit and which of them are to be turned away on account of bad behaviour, according to the plan herewith given you, and observe that no strangers whatever are to be introduced into any of these farms without my special order until the whole present tennants are first provided so far as they are deserving.

REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS MADE OUT AND  
SIGNED BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS, HIS FACTOR OF MULL,  
MORVERN AND LESMORE, FOR CROFT<sup>1</sup> 1775<sup>1</sup>

*Article 1st.* The factor has got a complaint from the tennants of Corkamile against Arch<sup>d</sup>. MacLean of Laggan, stating their ground of complaint against him. Airds has reviewed the moss where Laggan has been in use to cut his peats and is of opinion the liberty given Laggan should be discontinued as he has cutt them very irregularly and that moss, which is most convenient for the farm of Corkamile and island of Gometra, will soon be exhausted. From the best information Airds could get, Laggan has used very irregular steps in poynd-folding the cattle of Corkamile. Laggan still keeps possession of the rock which appears to be His Grace's property and the factor thinks will be proven to be so. The miln dam complained of by the tennants Laggan has promised to discontinue, but he refuses to build the piece of dyke built on His Grace's property and which was broke down by the factor's orders.

2d. The factor has surveyed and settled the marches betwixt his Grace's lands and those belonging to MacKinnon and Torloisk except in two places of no great consequence which were referred till one or two persons best known to those marches could be got and will be settled the next time the factor goes to that country. The cairns were renewed. The marches with Lochbuy not settled till Lochbuy's factor had instruction from the trustees on that estate.

3d. Airds has sent his Grace an estimate of the kirk proposed for Torosay. The repairs of the kirk of Kilninian and Morvern are estimated and near finished.

4th. Intimation was made as directed and a list now produced of those that sub-sett.

5th. Complied with.

6th. The managers have agreed to this.

<sup>1</sup> Instructions were usually given in writing by the Duke in October each year at the annual meeting of chamberlains at Inveraray. The chamberlains brought their reports on the instructions of the previous year. Between meetings correspondence passed between the Duke and his chamberlains, and further instructions might be given. Copies of instructions were kept in bound volumes at Inveraray.

7th. The factor has endeavoured to get the best information as to coal and proper marches will be set up the next time he goes to the country. The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Neil Macleod,<sup>1</sup> Colin Campbell, tacksman of Ardtun, and John Campbell, tacksman of Knock, can give the best information about the appearance of coal.

8th. The factor in consequence of after-instructions has settled the march of Tengie with Coll, with some small variation from the line fixed by Asknish which makes the march easier built and shorter. Part of it already built & the rest will soon be finished. The factor thinks the tennants of Tengie have no title to any damage.

9th. This complied with. The factor held a baron baillie court and fined such as were found guilty of destroying woods, a particular account of which will be produced.

10th. Complied with.

11th. Complied with.

12th. The factor has recommended to the tacksmen to accomodate cotters but has not yet made out a list of them.

13th. Complied with.

#### FURTHER REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS OCTOBER 1775

2d. The cairns have been renewed and marches settled, summer 1777, where not done the preceding year, except the following places where there are disputes:

1st betwixt Lochbuy's lands & Kilfinichan, 2d Glencannel & Giderly, 3d Stronbuy and Torloisk's land, 4th Ardmeanach and Gribun, 5th Ardtornish & Acharonnich. Airs thinks that a process is the most eligible method of settling these disputes.

7th. The only places where appearances of coal is found are: the shore of Ardtun where the York Building Company<sup>2</sup> erected houses; the burn to the west of the houses of Ormasaig, a piece above the road; and the farm of Beach opposite to Mr. Riddel's coals. Some pieces of lead ore have been lately found in a rivulet near the houses of Assipule, of which Airs has a sample.

12th. The factor has not been able as yet to get a proper list of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Neil Macleod was minister of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen from 1756 to 1780. He is mentioned, and highly praised, by Dr. Johnson and by Boswell (*Fasts Ecclesiae Scoticae*, IV, 113).

<sup>2</sup> The York Buildings Company was actively working the lead-mines at Strontian between 1730 and 1740.

the cotters in the farms under his charge but will procure it as soon as possible. Drimnin<sup>1</sup> has executed the greatest part of the march-dyke betwixt his lands and Aulistine and Portavata and is going on with the rest. The different tacksmen in Mull & Morvern have made the improvements on their farms as bound by their tacks except a few to whom Airds has recommended to finish their proportions and will procure a particular acct<sup>r</sup> of what has been done when he goes next to Mull. Airds has settled with Lerags and sett Ardnacross in terms of His Grace's letter.

Airds is of opinion that Lerags should have Drimfin for payment of twenty one pounds sterling of yearly rent. Airds produced a letter from the tacksmen of Kenlochteacus<sup>2</sup> regarding his sub-setting part of that farm. Airds has made all the enquiry he could and knows the contents of the letter to be truth. Two sufficient men have been settled in Ferinish in room of MacTavish.

#### MEMORIAL AND QUERIES BY JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS FACTOR OF MULL ETCA.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL MAY 1776

*Article* 1st. If the minister of Morvern is to get possession of Funary at Whits first.

2d. If it be proper the schoolmaster of Icolmkill should have a croft.

3d. If it be proper of his allowing a logg of firr that came upon the coast of Icolmkill to be used for building the schoolmaster's house, which is to answer for a preaching house also when Mr. Macleod, minister of Ross, happens to go there to preach.

4th. To have the upset price of each lot of the woods ascertained and the different periods for cutting them fixed and also the terms of payment.

5th. To ask Mr. Ferrier the legal manner of obliging Mr. Maclean of Coll to settle the marches betwixt Tengie and his lands in case he refuses to have it settled on the footing of the late decret

<sup>1</sup> Allan Maclean of Drimnin (1724-1792) had a tack of Portavata and Aulistine in Morvern dated 1770 (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks 1770-1776*, Inveraray Castle). He was also laird of Kinlochaline and chief of the Macleans in Morvern (A. Maclean Sinclair: *The Clan Gillean*).

<sup>2</sup> Dugald McLauchlan had a tack of Kenlochteacus dated 1773 (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks, 1770-1776*).

arbitral by Asknish and Mr. Arch<sup>d</sup>. Maclean or by a new submission.

6th. To mention the propriety of having a Sherriff-Substitute in Mull.

7th. To mention the having a post-office there also.

8th. As Donald & Duncan MacCombichs, tenants in Ardchoirk, are but poor, would it not be proper to give them an eighth of the farm betwixt them and an eighth to Charles MacGregor, as proposed in the schemed sett.

9th. As John McDougall in Arrine is poor and not able to stock one fourth of the farm, should not Donald Campbell be allowed possession of one farthing of the farm as proposed in the schemed sett.

### HIS GRACE'S ANSWERS TO THE ABOVE QUERIES

MAY 1776

1st. The minister to get possession but let me know the amount of his stipends, the rent of the farm, and what is the real value of it, that I may see whether any augmentation should be laid on it.

2d. The schoolmaster to have a croft for payment of an easy rent during my pleasure, also grass for a cow or two.

3d. He may have the log for the purpose mentioned in this query.

4th. You will hear about the woods before the day of sale.

5th. Try once more to settle the marches with Coll in an amicable manner as I wish to have no disputes about it. If it cannot be otherways settled, desire my agent at Inveraray to insist in the process depending before the Sherriff about it.

6th. The matter of a Sherriff-Substitute to be further considered as I am not clear that it will be of advantage to the island.

7th. The affair of a post-office shall be attended to when the memorial is sent from the country.

8th & 9th. I agree that you settle these farms in the way proposed.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO AIRDS OCTOBER 1776

*Article* 1st. You are to discharge Arch<sup>d</sup>. MacLean of Laggan-Ulva from cutting any more peats on the lands of Corkamile as I find there are no more to spare on these lands. You must also either prevail upon him to give up all pretensions to the rock which

is claimed by my tenants of Corkmile and to finish the march-dyke betwixt him and them, or direct the necessary process to be raised against him for doing the tenants justice in both these articles.

2d. Let the kirk in Torosay be built next summer without fail and the one in Kilfinichan in 1778. The best way is to obtain decreets of the Presbetry at once ordering these, as I see it will take time to obtain them in a voluntary way. I desire my shares in all these kirks to be decently seatted for the accomodation of my tenants.

3d. Apply to Col. John Campbell for a copy of the letter I wrote him about Lerags' lease & send it to my agent at Edin<sup>r</sup>.

4th. You will take all necessary steps for making good at least the half of the rents 1776 at Martinmas first.

5th. You must also without delay take every necessary measure for making effectual the rents and arrears due by the tenants of Achandown in Lesmore, and as they seem to be unable to keep the possession let it be known in the country that it is soon to be let and that proposals will be received for it.

6th. Let me have with your next accomp<sup>t</sup> a note of the road-money payable by me out of lands under your charge and advert that all the leases granted since the late Act burden the tenants with the whole of that tax, so that I only pay  $\frac{1}{3}$  of what is due upon lands sett before the Act. It is suspected that by not adverting to this I am overcharged in your acco<sup>t</sup> this year. If so you will of course rectify the mistake next year.

7th. I desire you will with the utmost rigour prosecute all destroyers of my woods, particularly those complained in the signed list given you.

8th. By the leases which I have granted, my wood-rangers are directed to exact from the tenants 18 dr for every 100 kebbers & 12 dr for each dozen of pantrees. Why is not this done?

REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS MADE OUT AND  
SIGNED BY HIS GRACE JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS & CHAMBERLAIN OF  
MULL, MORVERN & LESMORE FOR CROP 1776

*Article* 1st. Complied with as to cutting peats in Corkamile, but Laggan still keeps possession of the rock, and as MacQuarry

of Ulva estate<sup>1</sup> has been lately sold the process was delayed till the purchasers should be applied to as to the rock. The tenants of Corkamile do not complain of any ill usage from Laggan the last year.

2d. A mission has been obtained for the accomodation of part of the parish of Pengowen, Kilfinechen and Killimore and a church proposed to be built at Salen in the march betwixt Lochbuy's lands and the twenty pound of Aross, and the consent of the heritors concerned has been lately obtained to this plan and a decret of Presbetry passed for this and the other kirks at Torasay and Kilfinachen, and the kirks will be begun without loss of time.

3d. Complied with.

4th. Complied with as far as possible.

5th. Complied with.

6th. Complied with.

7th. Complied with and the process still depending as many of those cited have given in defence.

8th. The acco<sup>t</sup> of timber to be paid for by the tenants is in the wood-ranger's hands in order to collect the sums due by them, and Airds has given them instructions that any timber carried away for the future should be paid for on the spot.

N.B. Received no instructions for 1777 or 1778.

COPY INSTRUCTIONS HIS GRACE JOHN  
DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS HIS GRACE'S  
CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL, MORVERN &<sup>ca.</sup> AND  
TRANSMITTED TO HIM BY MR. FERRIER  
FEBRUARY 1779

As I am resolved to have my money affairs managed in a particular manner for the future you will give notice to all my chamberlains that from henceforth they are to transmit to my cashier at Edin<sup>r</sup>. at the end of every three months an abstract or list of all moneys which they have received and paid away on my account for the three months preceeding, mentioning the particular

<sup>1</sup> It was sold to Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck (see letter of 6th March 1780 printed below, p. 114), but appears to have passed fairly soon after this to Colin MacDonald of Boisdale (see p. 25, n. 1).



dates and names of each receipt and payment. And when they give in their accounts to be examined at the end of the year they must produce their receipt books to be compared with the quarterly returns. By this means I will have an opportunity of being thoroughly satisfied whither proper pains are taken to collect & forward my rents & I will likewise see which of my tenants and vassals make the most punctual and regular payments.

/Signed/Argyll

/Signed/Ja. Ferrier

Airds complied with the above instruction.

COPY LETTER HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO MR. FERRIER AND TRANSMITTED TO AIRDS MAY 1779

This day I received your letter of the 27th with regard to Airds's proposed sett of some farms upon this Whitsunday and the conditions promised to recruits. I think I sent you my answer some time since but as I cannot find your letter upon that subject nor Airds's scheme for the sett, I can only say at present that I consent to his schemed sett for one year only as to the conditions promised to recruits, which paper I have by me. They must be complied with exactly. I have considered the copy of a letter you sent me from one John MacLean. One story is good till another is heard. Airds's answer to this representation must be attended to, but as Mr. MacLean and everybody on my estate knows that sub-setts are not allowed off, I shall have very little compassion for any one who suffers any loss by taking a sub-sett but on the contrary shall wish they may be punished as far as the law will admit of. When you receive Airds's answer to MacLean's representation you will transmit it to me.

/Signed/Argyll

INSTRUCTIONS HIS GRACE JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS CHAMBERLAIN  
OF MULL &<sup>ca.</sup> OCTOBER 1779

*Article 1st.* Airds was desired in former instructions to require the different wood-rangers to give him yearly a full and regular

account of the timber given to the tenants and sums collected from them in terms of the new leases but nothing of this kind has yet been done. I therefore again direct the above to be done and that notice be given to the wood-rangers that they will be removed unless they comply with this instruction.

2d. The marches which are disputed in Mull and Morvern by Lochbuy, Drimnin &<sup>ca</sup> should be settled without delay either by submission or process before the Sherriff.

3d. The value of the croft of Glencrepusdale reserved for the wood-ranger to be settled by arbitration unless Glenuire and the wood-ranger can agree upon it themselves.

4th. A plan and estimate of the kirk of Kilfinachen should be made before any preparations are made for building it.

5th. A correct list to be made of all the fines imposed by Airds himself or by the Sherriff upon wood-cutters and an explanation given annexed to each article of what has been done to make good the fines. Such as have inlisted as soldiers may be exeemed as to bygones and the outmost diligence used against all others.

6th. A report to be made of all the dykes built & improvements made upon each farm in terms of the new leases.

7th. Diligence to be used for all rents not paid within one year after due.

8th. Drimnin and Ardslnish<sup>1</sup> must pay the expence of process against them for their teinds, and for the future the minister must collect these teinds himself.

9th. The wood of Sloich upon the farm of Achnacross to be sold to the tacksman or any other proper person at the valuation of it, being ninety two pounds ten shillings sterling, or any other proper hags, upon condition that he is to retail the timber & bark to my tenants at reasonable prices. The woods to be inclosed before it is cut.

<sup>1</sup> John Campbell of Ardslnish had a tack of Laudil in Morvern and Mannal and Hynish in Tiree and was permitted to sub-sett his lands (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks*, 1770-1776; and *List of Inhabitants in the Island of Tiry*, 1776, MS. at Inveraray Castle).

REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS MADE OUT AND  
SIGNED BY HIS GRACE JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS CHAMBERLAIN OF  
MULL &<sup>ca</sup>. OCTOBER 1779

*Article 1st.* Complied with.

2d. Mr. MacLean, Torloisk, has agreed to submit the disputed marches betwixt his Grace and him. The Arbiters are condescended on, being Colin Campbell tacksman of Achnacross in Mull and Mr. McLean of Drimnin. A scroll of the submission is already drawn which is now to be given in to be revised by Mr. Ferrier. Drimnin also agrees to submit the marches in dispute betwixt his Grace's property and his.

3d. I endeavoured to get the rent of the croft possessed by the wood-ranger of Glencrepusdale with Mr. Campbell of Glenuire, the tacksman. Glenuire desired one Macdearmaed, a tenant of his own, to value the croft, who estimated it at £5 sterling, and I sent Donald McLachlan tacksman of Laggan in Morvern to view it. He valued it only at £2. 10 sterling as appears by his letter herewith given in. The rule he observed in his valuation is the rent payable by Glenuire for the whole farm, but it seems this was not the rule laid down by MacDearmaid. However, Glenuire has always retained £5 sterling of his rents for this croft yearly.

4th. The plan & estimate of the church of Kilfinachen was made out.

5th. A list of the wood fines not yet made out but will be done as soon as possible.

6th. Complied with as far as possible.

7th. Diligence used against all the tenants in arrear for more than one year's rent except ag<sup>t</sup>. the tacksman of Achandown<sup>1</sup> for whom the factor looks upon himself as bound.

8th. Drimnin and Ardsignish will be charged with the expence of the diligence used against them for the teinds when they pay up the teinds themselves. The minister of Morvern was told that he must collect these teinds himself for the future.

9th. The woods were offered for sale but nobody would purchase them at the price or upon the conditions proposed.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell of Glenuire was tacksman of Achandown in Lismore.

## FURTHER REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS 1779

*Article* 1st. The wood-rangers have given in their accounts of wood cut summer and harvest 1781 so late that the factor had not yet time to collect the price but shall do it as soon as possible.

2d. The factor could not procure leave of absence from the Fencibles at a proper season to execute this article.

3d. Settled by the excambion between Glenuire & Dugald Gregorson.

4th. The plan & estimate of the church at Kilfinachen was made out.

5th. Complied with.

6th. Complied with.

7th. Complied with.

8th. Drimnin & Ardslnish have not yet paid the expence of the process.

9th. Nobody would purchase the wood.

COPY LETTER HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS DOWN PLACE 7TH JAN<sup>Y</sup>. 1780

I have received your letter inclosing a memorial from Dugald Gregorson. I shall consider of that matter and give you an answer soon. As to the tack of Inemore<sup>1</sup> I think it best to let Mr. John McLean have it at the former rent by a new tack from year to year only and not in consequence of any former bargain he made with Cameron as I look upon that to be null and void. If he does not choose to have it upon these conditions the present possessors are to have it at the same rent from year to year only. You must take care that, whoever has it, the conditions of the original tack as to improvements stipulated to be made should be complied with, which from the precarious situation this farm has been in will probably be neglected if not particularly attended to.

I am/Signed/Argyll

<sup>1</sup> The farm of Innimore or Inemore in Morvern had been in tack to Jean Cameron, the stout-hearted daughter of John Cameron of Glendessary. It was one of the few farms left to the clan Cameron in Morvern. In 1779 all its forty-five inhabitants were called Cameron (*List of the People on the Argyll Estate, 1779*, a MS. at Inveraray Castle, published in 1963 by the Scottish Record Society).

COPY LETTER AIRDS TO MR. MACLEAN OF INVERSCADLE REGARDING  
THE FARM OF INNIMORE IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE  
OF ARGYLL'S LETTER TO AIRDS OF DATE 7TH JANUARY 1780

I would have acknowledged yours of the 18th November last long before now, only waited to know the Duke of Argyll's determination regarding the farm of Innimore. I am now to acquaint you that his Grace is pleased to let you have possession of that farm in consequence of a new sett from him from year to year only, and that you become bound to implement all the conditions of the original tack as to the improvements stipulated to be made. As you have a copy of the tack I need not mention the conditions here. The tack-duty fixed by his Grace is what the farm at present pays. You'll let me have an answer as soon as possible that I may have time to warn the present possessors in case you agree to take the farm upon the above conditions.

Febry 8th, 1780

I am/Signed/John Campbell

COPY LETTER INVERSCADLE TO AIRDS IN CONSEQUENCE OF AIRDS'S  
LETTER TO HIM DATED 8TH FEB<sup>ry</sup>. 1780

In consequence of your favour signifying his Grace the Duke of Argyll's being pleased to give me possession of the farm of Innimore at next Whitsunday, I hereby inform you that I accept of it on the terms therein mentioned viz. my fulfilling the clauses and executing the improvements specified in the late Mrs. Jean Cameron's tack of said farm.

Febry 14th, 1780

I am/Signed/John MacLean

COPY LETTER MR. FERRIER

TO AIRDS REGARDING THE FEU-DUTYS OF ULVA 6 MARCH 1780

By a new charter given out this day to Col. Charles Campbell he is taken bound to pay the Duke of Argyll for the estate of Ulva lately purchased by him a feuduty of £1. 4. 1 $\frac{6}{12}$  strg. yearly in place of personal services. He has paid the arrears of this duty for Martimas last inclusive and preceedings, so you have only to collect it for Mart<sup>s</sup>. next and thereafter which you will please do.

I am &<sup>ca</sup>./Signed/Ja. Ferrier

INSTRUCTIONS HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS 13<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1780

*Article 1st.* As Glenuire will not settle the value of the croft of Glencrepusdale upon what you think a reasonable footing you must apply to the Sherriff to employ proper judges to view it and report the value.

2d. You will get proposals for the woods from the person you mention as soon as possible and report them to me that I may decide upon them and till then nothing to be done as to inclosing.

3d. You must advance my half of the expence of building the march betwixt my farm of Killcolumkill in Morvern and Ardsignish's farm of Achanaha and charge my tennants with six and a half p. cent in terms of their lease.

4th. The minister of Ross to get possession of Assipule during my pleasure; the rent to be fixed when the locality of his stipend is fixed.

5th. Consider and report to me how the £24 produce of the rum found in Mull can be best employed upon some useful public work in that country.

/Signed/Argyll

REFERENCES TO INSTRUCTIONS MADE OUT &  
SIGNED BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS FACTOR OF MULL &<sup>CS</sup>  
OCTOBER 1780

*Article 1st.* Settled.

2d. One proposal only got for the woods from John Duncan in Campbeltown which the factor thinks should not be accepted of.

3d. The dyke not yet built as the marches are not streightened.

4th. Complied with.

5th. The ballance arising from the rum amounts to £23. 2. 6 sterling which Airds thinks should be laid out on the quay for boating cattle at Achnacraig and on the part where the cattle are in use to swim from Kerrara to Dunollie.

MEMORIAL AND QUERIES BY JOHN CAMPBELL  
OF AIRDS FACTOR OF MULL &<sup>ca</sup>  
TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
DECEMBER 1780

*Querie* 1st. Is Airds to write to Mr. Ferrier to extend the tack to Glenuire of the farm of Achandown in Lesmore in terms of his letter to Airds, having the following special clauses regarding the wood-leave: that in case at any time during the lease any of Glenuire's people in the farm of Achandown are found to apply any of the woods from Your Grace's property to any other use than that of the farm, that from that instant Glenuire shall be deprived of the use of Your Grace's woods for any purpose whatever.

*Querie* 2d. Is Airds to write to Mr. Ferrier to extend a tack to Mr. Dugald Gregorson of the farms of Glencrepusdale & Beach presently possessed by Glenure? He to pay £90 sterling of rent yearly including all public burdens, except the road-money imposed by the late Act of Parliament.

3d. Is Airds to get an obligation extended in form to be granted by Drimnin with regard to upholding the church of Drimchraigaig in Morvern in terms of his missive to Airds of date the ninth day of December current?

4th. Is Airds to get a submission extended to determine the marches in dispute betwixt the farm of Ardterinish, Your Grace's property, and the farm of Acharonich, the property of Mr. McLean of Drimnin, and to nominate Mr. Campbell of Knock Your Grace's arbiter?

5th. Mr. McLean of Drimnin, by letter of date the 4th day of December current, proposes laying out the money that he was bound to by his lease of Aulistin and Portavata upon a head-dyke. But as these farms marche with Drimnin's own property Airds thinks it would be more advantageous that the money should be laid out on building a march-dyke. How would Your Grace incline to have it laid out?

6th. By letter from Mr. Ferrier of date the 2d day of December current, he mentions that the Board of Trustees<sup>1</sup> will give no flax

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Board of Trustees for Manufactures.

seed unless some person undertakes to purchase an equal quantity with that to be given by them to be distributed gratis. Is Airds to commission the flax seed for Your Grace's tenants in Mull and Morvern as last year?

7th. Is Airds to mark out the line of the march betwixt the farm of Kill in Morvern, Your Grace's property, and the farm of Achanaha, Ardsalignish's property, in order to streighten the march-dyke proposed to be built?

8th. There being some omissions in the tack of Arrine, Bunessan and the miln & croft of Bunessan, it is humbly proposed that the tenants be allowed to possess for the ensuing year until the said omissions are rectified as follows viz.

5 farthing-land Arrine: One half to Mrs. MacLean, one farthing to John McNiven, half a farthing to Donald Campbell, half a farthing to Neil Morison, and half a farthing to John Macdougall.<sup>1</sup> N.B. Donald Campbell to occupy one full farthing-land when Neil Morison who inlisted in the Western Fencible Regt. is otherwise provided for.

Bunessan: One half with the public house to Lachlan McLean, he paying one guinea yearly for the public house, one fourth to Catherine MacDonald & her son James Campbell, one eighth to Donald McGilivra, and one eighth to John McGilivra, his son, now in the Fencibles.

Miln of Bunessan & croft: To be possessed by Angus Grahame, the present possessor, and in case of his death by Arch<sup>d</sup>. Grahame, his son, who enlisted in the Western Fencible Regiment.

Querie 9th. As Your Grace's tacksmen in Mull & Morvern are bound to plant a certain number of trees which is to be provided them by Your Grace, would it not be proper when an application is made for trees by any of the tacksmen that they should produce a line from the factor certifying the number of trees wanted and for what farm before they are delivered and that proper inclosures are made to receive them.

<sup>1</sup> In the Duke's lands in Mull and Morvern, farms were usually reckoned in penny-lands or fractions of this unit; in Tiree, the mail-land was the basic land-unit. Some sort of rough equivalence can be calculated between the different systems from the fact that in Tiree a four mail-land was regarded by the Duke as the minimum for a small tenant; in Mull and Morvern, a farthing-land (*Instructions*, 1800, art. 5). A four mail-land contained ten to twelve souns (*Turnbull's Report*, 1768, Inveraray Castle).



## HIS GRACE'S ANSWERS TO THE ABOVE QUERIES

- 1st. Agreed to.
- 2d. Agreed to.
- 3d. Agreed to.
- 4th. Approved.
- 5th. Certainly in a march-dyke.
- 6th. I agree to give one fourth of the price, the Trustees furnishing one half and the tenants one fourth.
- 7th. To be done.
- 8th. Agreed to but to be finally settled as soon as possible.
9. Approved.

/Signed/Argyll

INSTRUCTIONS HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL  
TO AIRDS 25TH JULY 1783<sup>1</sup>

Having considered the very bad payments which have this year been made of my rents in Mull and Morvern, notwithstanding of the high prices which have been got for cattle I cannot help thinking that my money is very improperly withheld from me and therefore have resolved to take legal measures for forcing payments wherever some satisfactory reason is not immediately given for the delay.<sup>2</sup>

1st. Airds will therefore immediately write a circular letter to every one of the principal tenants who are in arrear for more than the half of last year's rent, desiring them within fourteen days to come and pay him at least the half of last Martimas rent & all preceedings.

<sup>1</sup> No instructions appear to have been given to the chamberlain of Mull and Morvern in the years 1781 and 1782; at any rate none were entered in the book of instructions.

<sup>2</sup> The year 1782 was disastrous over much of Scotland. Severe frosts and early snow in September ruined corn and potato crops in many counties, so that the spring of 1783 was one of more than usual scarcity. Cattle, sheep and horses also perished. Landlords came to the help of tenants, and remitted arrears, but there was misery and some emigration to the Lowlands from Highland areas. Argyll did not escape the general calamity, and the failure of the Mull and Morvern tenants to pay their rents must be attributed to these circumstances (see *Forfeited Estates Papers*, 249, published by the Scottish History Society; *Old Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. VIII, 108 (Kilmartin), XIV, 193 (Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen), and also III, 6; III, 507; IV, 352; VI, 525; VII, 123 and 368; XXI, 230, etc.).

2d. As soon as these days are expired Airs to send a list of the deficient to my agent at Inveraray with directions to apply without loss of time to the Sherriff for warrants to sequestrate & sell their cattle for payment of the whole of last year's rent & preceedings and for security of the present year's rent.

3d. The whole small tenants who are in arrear to be conveyened and the following questions to be put to them and their answers to be taken down in writing and transmitted to me that I may then consider and give directions what is further to be done with them.

*Questions to be put to small tenants*

- 1st. How much rent are you owing?
- 2d. What is the reason of your being so much in arrears?
- 3d. How many cattle have you sold since Martimas last?
- 4th. Who bought them from you?
- 5th. What was the price?
- 6th. When did you receive the price and what is become of it?
- 7th. How much kelp have you made this year?
- 8th. To whom did you sell it and at what price?

/Signed/Argyll

ANSWERS TO THE ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS

*Article* 1st. Complied with.

2d. Complied with.

3d. Complied with.

The eight queries were all put to the tenants.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AIRDS 25 OCTOBER 1783

1st. You are to give notice to the different tenants in your district to make out and send you memorials stating the improvements made by them on their farms since the commencement of their present leases and suggesting what further improvements they will make on prolonging their leases for a few years.

Where you cannot examine the facts yourself you must remit to two persons of character in the neighbourhood of the farm to enquire into them by looking at the improvements already made,

measuring the dykes &ca., and to report to you how far the facts are fairly stated as to improvements already made and whether those that are proposed to be added are proper.

When the facts are thus ascertained you are to send the different memorials to me as they are ready, with your own opinion in writing annexed to each, saying what you think should be done, and you are to keep in view that at the same time that I wish to give the longest prolongations to those who have done most.

I am determined to make the leases expire in different years as at present, so that those who have done little more than what they were bound to do can expect very little prorogation.

2d. As soon as you get home you must send the lease of Liddesdale to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Hugh McDougalls to my agent at Edinburgh, who will send you a horning upon it, which you are to cause to be immediately executed against these tacksmen for payment of the ten per cent stipulated in the lease to be paid on faillure to build dykes and also for £15 str. yearly for keeping 60 goats contrary to the lease and for £50 as damages done to my woods by these goats and for £1 stg. yearly for not planting trees and raise sallies.

As I will probably have occasion to make use of the evidence of John MacCulloch late in Auchagavill as a witness in this matter, you must let him know that I cannot at present do him any kindness as it might be considered as a bribe and deprive me of his evidence, but that I received his information and intend to seek redress which the law and the lease entitle me to. You may at the same time explain to him that as McDougalls have a lease from me of Auchagavil it is not in my power to take it from them till the expiry of the lease and that it was wrong in him to attempt to keep possession in opposition to them since they had got such a lease, tho' if his story be true I could wish it had not been put in their power to behave with so much cruelty.

3d. You must receive in proposals for the woods in Morvern which I understand are suffering by not being sooner cutt and send them to me with your opinion. What are necessary and proper for the use of the tenants must be reserved.

4th. You must examine the marches betwixt Broloss and my property and see that they are put on a clear footing.

5th. The same as to Lochbuy.

28th October 1783

/Signed/Argyll

## ANSWERS BY AIRDS TO THE ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS

*Article* 1st. Complied with as far as possible.

2d. Complied with.

3d. The woods are sold and the reservation specified in the contract.

4th. I travelled over the whole marches in dispute betwixt his Grace's property and Broloss<sup>1</sup> and find that the grounds in controversy are not very considerable except betwixt his Grace's farm of Knock & Broloss. I found such difficulty in settling former disputes of that kind by arbitration that I could wish some other mode was adopted in future.

5th. The marches with Lochbuy could not be settled last summer as Lochbuy was not in the country till the season was too far advanced.

October 1785

/Signed/John Campbell

## INSTRUCTIONS 24TH OCTOBER 1785

1st. As Lochbuy is now come home you will concert with him the best plan of ascertaining the marches betwixt my property and his.

2d. Consider how the Morvern woods are to be enclosed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Broloss was an extensive district in the south-west of Mull, on the south shore of Loch Scridain, but the estate of Broloss extended also on the north side of that loch. Acquired in the late seventeenth century by the Argylls, it remained in effective occupation of the Macleans, first as wadset lands, then on a 57-year lease to Sir Allan Maclean of Broloss which the 5th Duke renewed when he was Marquis of Lorne, in 1769. Sir Allan claimed the lands as his property and gained this estate from the Duke in 1783 after a lengthy law-suit. He died shortly after, and the Broloss estate passed, partly by marriage, partly by purchase, to Charles Maclean of Drimnin and Kinlochaline (Estate papers at Inveraray Castle and in the Saltoun Collection at the National Library of Scotland; Scottish Record Office, Argyll Sasines, Jan. 10th, 1784; A. Maclean Sinclair, *The Clan Gillean*; see also p. 106, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> The enclosure of the woods in Morvern was recommended to the Duke in the report made in 1771 (*Remarks on the Estate of Mull and Morvern*, Mull papers, Inveraray Castle). The report also recommended that wood-leave should be stopped, except with special permission, and that the Duke should reserve all timber on his lands for his own use. The area in Morvern to the south of Loch Sunart, and including the farms of Laudale, Camussallach, Glencrepusdale and Rahoy, should be enclosed and turned into a permanent forest 'capable of producing in time a quantity of timber sufficient to supply all the demands of the great estate of Argyll, or if sold at the perfection of twenty years' growth may fetch a price more considerable than the rent these lands can produce during that time in any other state of improvement'. In this, and other measures, the Duke appears to have followed closely the advice given in this anonymous report.

Get estimates of the expence and send them to me with your opinion upon them.

3d. Drimnin must be prosecuted for the multures of Mungastle if he will not pay them.

4th. Mind to procure me a list of the sub-tenants upon the two farms of mine which Drimnin has in lease and what rents are paid by them to him. Consider how many tenants ought to be upon these farms and give me your opinion of who are the most proper to have them in the event that I do not renew the lease to Drimnin.

5th. You must enquire into the merits of the claim which Drimnin is setting up to the piece of ground and sea ware at the water of Mungastle and report to me.

6th. As you inform me that the readiness which my family have discovered to adjust every claim of neighbouring heritors by arbitration in place of law has in your opinion had the effect to encourage them to raise up groundless claims, knowing that they would lose nothing and might gain, this must be stopt by resisting in future every claim of that sort and allowing the law to take place.

7th. You must try to get a few good fishers to settle in Icolmkill and other parts of my property to instruct the tenants in fishing and I will give them any reasonable encouragement that Boisdale and you should think necessary.

8th. As the tenants under your charge have all of them very beneficial leases and can have no good reason for not paying their rents pointedly, I desire that hereafter you will account to me for interest on all arrears from the day your annual account is settled till the money is recovered.

9th. You must bring me this book every time you come to settle accounts and leave it with me as soon as you arrive that I may have time to look into it & to think of the fresh instructions necessary.

/Signed/Argyll

ANSWERS TO INSTRUCTIONS OF DATE THE  
24TH OCTOBER 1785

*Article 1st.* Airds travelled with Lochbuy in July last over all the ground where there was the least shadow of dispute in the marches, betwixt his Grace the Duke of Argyll's property and Lochbuy's.

In the march betwixt Gortanebuy and Glencannell, his Grace's property, and Gederly, Lochbuy's property, there is some barren ground thro' which the march is not clear.

Airds has reason to think that Lochbuy will agree to a judicious person being appointed to go to the ground and fix the march where it can be built at the least expence to both parties, which in Airds's opinion should be among the first improvements done by the tacksmen.

The march betwixt Torness, a pendicle of Kilpatrick, the property of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and Corryghairan, Lochbuy's property, runs as described by Hector MacLean of Coll and Donald Campbell of Airds as follows : on the burn south of Altchashicaklich, running down Beenvarnach by a big stone opposite to Kenoch-nokan, from thence by a green nuik through the moss to a black know with three large stones in the north-west side of it; by keeping by the only appearance of a green huch it lengthens the march considerably but going in a streight line from the big stone opposite to Kenachrokan to the black know with three large stones in the north-west side of it, which likewise goes close by a green huich, will form a streight line and shorten it very much.

If His Grace approves of the last mentioned line of march Lochbuy agrees to a part of his property which Mr. Robert Stewart, tacksman of Gortanebuy and Glencannell, has taken of Lochbuy's property by a dyke he built a few years ago betwixt his possession and Tomnagullan, to remain as part of Mr. Stewart's possession.

2d. Estimate John MacNiven and Hugh Campbell of the inclosures proposed about the woods of Lochsunart.

[illegible]







In making up this estimate we consider the undertakers are to have free grass for their horses while building the dykes on the different farms they are working on.

Airds 11th April 1786

/Signed/John McNiven  
Hugh Campbell

## REPORT AND ESTIMATE CONFORM TO ARTICLE 2D

**POLLICHERAN, PART OF DRIMNIN'S TACK-LANDS.** The wood of Pollicherran, a bad and scattered thin birch wood, lyes at a distance from the sea, the ground so coarse that some part of it will come up tho' left open and is by no means worth inclosing and should be left open.

### BARR SETT TO DUNCAN CAMPBELL

*Beadoan.* Wood of Beadoan is a scatter'd birch and alder wood very ill to inclose and by no means worth the expence of it, lyes at a distance from the sea and should be left open.

*Glengoud.* The woods of Glengoud in Barr, a birch wood mixed with a few oaks on different hills, the ground so coarse and covered with strong heather that great part of the birch and the oak on two of the hills must come up tho' left open. This wood lyes near the sea and no part of it worth inclosing but one hill next the houses of Barr that has oak and ash mixed.

Expense of inclosing per estimate . . . £3 3 3  
The deduction of rent included with Lealt.

*Woods of Lealt.* The inclosure of the oak and ash wood of Lealt, part of the lands of Barr should begin at the huich above the houses and running below the public road leaves out at the far end a small corner of ash to avoid having the road within the inclosure, and of course gets upon it, which ought to be avoided where it can be done. From the road the inclosure goes round the whole oak and ash to a few scattered trees at the river-side left out to bring the dyke to a proper kenmarrie, then crossing the water takes in all the oak on that side to a few scatter'd trees, till it ends on the opposite side of the huich where it first began. This wood is near the sea, a most thriving one, well worth inclosing.

Expende of inclosing p <sup>r</sup> . estimate	£39	14	2
Deduction of rent yearly including Glen- goud and Camussfern	2	0	0

*Woods of Camussfern, part on the lands of Barr and part on Arditibart, part of Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell's tack-lands of Rahoy.* The inclosing of the ash wood and few alders of Camussfern is partly on the lands of Barr, sett to Duncan Campbell, and on the lands of Arditibart, a pendicle of Rahoy, sett to Arch<sup>d</sup>. Campbell. The inclosure begins at the present kenmarie on the Barr side of the march, leaving a small skirt of ash and oak ill to inclose and little of it for cutting, the rest so far grown as not to be hurt by cattle. From the kenmarie the inclosure surrounds the rest of the Barr woods, then crossing the march runs below the public road on the Arditibart side of the march surrounding the wood till it goes to the sea at the proper kenmarie. This is a very thriving ash and alder wood close to the sea and will be worth inclosing.

Expende of inclosing per estimate on the			
Barr side of the march	£1	14	0
Do. Rahoy's side of do.	15	6	0
	£17	0	0
Deduction of rent of the Rahoy part yearly	0	6	0

#### RAHOY (SETT TO ARCH<sup>d</sup>. CAMPBELL)

*An oak hill in wintertown.* The inclosure of this oak hill in the wintertown of Rahoy begins at the west end and goes round the whole hill. In this hill there is some old oaks and a most thriving stool of oak which requires brushing.

Expende of inclosing	£9	18	0
Deduction of rent of this & the little hill below it yearly is	0	3	0

*A small oak hill in the wintertown.* The inclosure of this oak hill in the wintertown of Rahoy goes quite round it. There is some good old ash and oak in it and a stool of oak that requires brushing.

Expende of inclosing	£2	12	6
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*Park of Rahoy, woods of Uchnanuisaig.* The inclosure of Uchnanuisaig begins at the park dyke of Rahoy and goes above the wood to a small park of arable land. Both ends are inclosed by the dykes of both parks and the lower side by the sea. This inclosure is oak and some few ash, very thriving and well worth inclosing.

Expence of inclosing . . . .	£7 16 3
Deduction of rent yearly . . . .	0 5 0

There is without this inclosure, in the brae above it and the publick road, some very good ash trees that should be cruved in. There is also in the brae opposite to the houses of Rahoy some oak and ash; the ground so rugged most of them must come up tho' left open. Some trees in the plainest part may be curved. It's very expensive to inclose this brae; on that account it should be left open.

*Park of Rahoy from Tornoair to Ardcharna.* The inclosure begins at the shore at Tornoair, goes over a small park dyke, then runs up the brae surrounding all the oak and ash in the brae to the top of it, then running by the top of the wood by the best fencing ground to Essnahaniduie. This wood is a very thriving, one half of it at least oak and ash, the rest a good barren wood. From Essnahaniduie the inclosure runs by the top of the wood by the best fencing ground till it goes down the brae near an old sheiling house on Reenagetern till it goes to the shore at a proper kenmarie. In this part of the wood there is oak all along the top or upper part of it, the rest are a most thriving birch wood and the ground so plain if not inclosed the stool must be forever lost. At present computed at 100 dozen of coals. Betwixt Reenagetern and the burn of Altcharna it was thought necessary to leave a lonie to the shore for cattle and to the arable lands of Carna on the shore, as if without a lonie or pass was left to give cattle access to the shore and shelter in bad weather, the vacant grounds at the top of the wood (and left without the inclosure), which is good and considerable, would be of very little value to the tenant and bring on a deduction of rent that must far exceed the value of the stool of birch wood in the lonie, computed at 42 dozen of coals.

Expence of inclosing p <sup>r</sup> . estimate . . . .	£57 1 8
Deduction of rent yearly . . . .	8 0 0

*Park of Rahoy cont<sup>d</sup>, woods of Goilligarve & Tornaslarie.* The inclosure of Goilligarve and Tornaslarie begins at the shore at the kenmarie of the present park dyke of the arable lands of Ardcharna, which forms a part of the fence within this park. On the arable lands of Ardcharna there is some scatter'd birch, hazle and alder and now computed at 16 dozen of coals not worth inclosing, and if it was inclosed would have the bad effect to lose the arable lands to the tenant, which is very necessary for him for crompt, and as it communicates at the foot of Altcharna with the lonie it will in some degree be a wintering for the high ground near it above the wood, in time of snow and bad weather, and left open with the lonie. From this park dyke of Ardcharna the inclosure runs to the burn of Altcharna which forms part of the fence, then quits the burn near a ford at the top of it, leaving out a small skirt of birchwood, then goes up the brae, keeping the best fencing grounds above Goilligarve to the top of the burn of Altchoillich, and along said burn, which forms part of the fence, to the foot of it and from thence to the shore to a proper kenmarie at Camussglass. This inclosure brings in all Goilligarve, on which there is some oaks, a great quantity birch and some alder very thriving. The ground is so coarse and some part of the wood tho' left open would come up, but as it joins Tornaslarie on which there is a good deal of oak they form one inclosure at very little more expence than Tornaslarie by itself. They both form a valuable wood inclosure.

Expence of inclosing	.	.	.	£45	5	0
Deduction of rent yearly	.	.	.	6	0	0

The above mentioned inclosures are all that appear necessary to be inclosed, being the most valuable stools of oak and ash.

#### GLENCREPUSDALE, SETT TO DUGALD GREGORSON

*The oak hill near the houses.* The inclosure of this hill near the houses goes quite round it; all oak very thriving and close to the shore.

Expence of inclosing	.	.	.	£2	3	6
Deduction of rent yearly	.	.	.	0	3	0

Without this inclosure and along the river-side there is some good scatter'd old trees that should be curved in.

*Wood of Saunach.* The inclosure of the wood of Saunach in

Glencrepusdale goes quite round it and to a mere trifle of barren wood is all good oak and appears a valuable subject and is near the sea.

Expende of inclosing . . . .	£50	1	6
Deduction of rent yearly . . . .	3	10	0

*Woods of Mechanich.* The woods of Mechanich in Glencrepusdale lyes at a distance from the sea, mostly good birch, some alder and very few oaks & ashes, very difficult to inclose as appears from the estimate, therefore should be left open as barren wood as any distance from the sea will not bear the expence of inclosing & deduction of rent.

Expende of inclosing p <sup>r</sup> . estimate . . . .	£44	0	0
Deduction of rent yearly . . . .	3	10	0

#### LAUDLE, SETT TO ARDSLIGNISH

*Woods of Mullivrona.* This inclosure, beginning at the bay on the shore at Tormallach, goes up to the top of the wood, taking in all the oak and ash and leaving out a small corner of barren wood, mostly in so coarse grounds that it will come up tho' left open. When this inclosure gets to the upper part of the wood it goes to the top of the hill and along the ridge of it by the best fencing ground till it joins the lands of Camussallach, part of Ardsalignish's tack of Laudle, and brings in all Mullivrone—a very good bank of oak and ash well worth inclosing.

*Camussalach.* The woods upon this pendicle of Laudle are mostly ash and oak and some thriving birch wood all the way to the march of Laudle and lyes close on the shore; are of great extent and so very thriving it is proposed it should form one inclosure with the Mullivrone till it runs into the sea at Ruzarderinish, which lessens the expence of inclosing considerably, yet increases the deduction of rent as it takes in a considerable part of Ardsalignish's wintering, and hay grounds being mixed in small spots among the wood, should the tacksman be allowed to cut the hay and labour the spotts of arable ground on the shore with spades, it would lessen the deduction of rent much.

Expende of inclosing the Glencrepusdale			
side per estimate . . . .	£22	8	0
Deduction of rent of do. yearly . . . .	5	0	0

Expende of inclosing Camussalach as it &

the above is in one inclosure . . . 59 7 6

Deduction of rent yearly . . . 22 0 0

*Brolandow, part of Laudle.* The woods of Brolandow are all barren except a few scattered oaks, the ground very coarse and covered with strong heather and thought not worth the expence of inclosing which is p<sup>r</sup>. estimate

£16 0 0

Deduction of rent yearly . . . 4 0 0

#### LIDDESDALE, SET TO ALLAN MACDOUGALL

*Glachvore.* This inclosure begins at Ru-intaull and goes by the foot of the brae surrounding all the oak to a few scatter'd trees till it goes into the sea in sight of Liddesdale houses. This wood is all oak, some part of it old timber, the rest a good stool but wants brushing and well worth inclosing.

Expende of inclosing per estimate . . £14 19 4

Deduction of rent . . . 0 10 0

There is several scatter'd trees near the houses of Liddisdale that ought to be cruved in when cutt.

*Camussnaherie, part of Liddisdale tack.* This wood is composed of thinn scatter'd alder. There is some good oak and ash in a burn and on a hill proposed to be pailed in.

Expende of inclosing . . . £5 4 0

Deduction of rent yearly . . . 0 2 6

There is also some good oak and ash trees proposed to be cruved in when cutt.

*Ru-intaull to Altescadter.* This ground is so thinly cover'd with woods of value, so expensive an inclosure, beside the deduction of rent it will occasion that it is proposed it should be left open.

Expende of inclosing per estimate . . £95 4 0

Deduction of rent . . . 8 0 0

*Altescadter.* The inclosure of Altescadter begins at Altescadter and goes by the top of the wood to Altnacloich. This is a very thriving bank of ash and oak and well worth inclosing.

Expende of inclosing per estimate . . £105 16 6

Deduction of rent yearly . . . 6 0 0

*Gortanbeg.* The inclosure of this wood begins at the sea, leaves out a few oak and ash trees to be cruved in, and runs by the top of the wood to near Altnacloich, where it is thought necessary to leave a lonie, which could not be well wanted by the tacksman for his cattle to have access to the shore in time of snow and bad weather. This a thriving oak & ash wood well worth inclosing.

The expence of which per estimate is	£	25	15	0
Deduction of rent yearly	.	.	.	2 0 0

The rest of the woods upon this farm tho' considerable will be very expensive in inclosing, besides occassion a great deduction of rent, and likewise the public road going through them it is proposed they should be left open.

#### ARDTERINISH

The woods of Ardterinish are in such rough grounds and so difficult to inclose, the expence of which would far exceed the value of the wood, besides the deduction of rent, that Airds is of opinion they should be left open.

#### ABSTRACT EXPENCES OF INCLOSING AND SUPPOSED DEDUCTION OF RENT OF THE WOOD INCLOSURES OF MORVERN

BARR SETT TO DUNCAN CAMPBELL		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
INCLOSURES			
<i>Woods of Glengoud</i>			
Expence of inclosing	.		3 3 3
Deduction of rent included with Lealt			
<i>Lealt</i>			
Expence of inclosing	.		39 14 2
Deduction of rent including Glengoud and Camussfern	.	2 0 0	
<i>Camussfern on Barr &amp; part on Arditibart, a pendicle of Rahoy's tack-lands</i>			
Expence of inclosing the Barr side of the march	.		1 14 0
Do. of inclosing on Rahoy's side of do.	.		15 6 0
Deduction of rent on do.	.	0 6 0	
RAHOY SETT TO ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL			
<i>An oak hill in the Wintertown</i>			
Expence of inclosing	.		9 18 0
Deduction of rent including the little hill betwixt	.	0 3 0	
<i>A small oak hill in do.</i>			
Expence of inclosing	.		2 12 6
<i>Ruhnauissaig</i>			
Expence of inclosing	.		7 16 3
Deduction of rent	.	0 5 0	

# ARGYLL ESTATE INSTRUCTIONS

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<i>Park of Rahoy from Ternoair to Ardcharna</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Expende of inclosing . . . . .				57	1	8
Deduction of rent . . . . .	8	0	0			
<i>Gailigarve and Tornaslarie</i>				45	5	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	6	0	0			

## GLENCREPUDDALE SETT TO DUGALD GREGORSON

<i>An oak hill near the houses</i>				2	3	6
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	0	3	0			
<i>Saunach</i>				50	1	6
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	3	10	0			
<i>Mechanaich</i>				44	0	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	3	10	0			
<i>Mullivrone and Camussallach</i>				22	8	0
Expende of inclosing the Glencrepuddale side of the march						
Deduction of rent on do. . . . .	5	0	0			
Expende of inclosing Laudle's side of the march . . . . .				50	7	6
Deduction of rent on do. . . . .	22	0	0			

## LAUDLE SETT TO ARDSLIGNISH

<i>Brolandow</i>				16	0	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	4	0	0			

## LIDDISDALE SETT TO ALLAN MACDOUGALL

<i>Glachmore</i>				14	19	4
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	0	10	0			
<i>Camussnaherie</i>				5	4	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	0	2	6			
<i>From Runastronee to Altescadter</i>				95	4	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	8	0	0			
<i>Altescadter</i>				105	16	6
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	6	0	0			
<i>Gortanbeg</i>				25	16	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	2	0	0			
	71	9	6	623	11	2

## DEDUCTIONS FROM THE ABOVE OWING TO THE FOLLOWING INCLOSURES BEING LEFT OPEN

<i>Mechanich in Glencrepuddale</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Expende of inclosing . . . . .				44	0	0
Deduction of rent . . . . .	3	10	0			
<i>Brolandow in Laudle</i>				16	0	0
Expende of inclosing . . . . .						
Deduction of rent . . . . .	4	0	0			



<i>From Runastrones to Altescadter in Liddisdale</i>				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Expence of inclosing	.	.	.	95	4	0			
Deduction of rent	.	.	8 0 0				15	10	0
								155	4 0
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	55	19	6
								468	7 2

AGREEMENT WITH ANGUS AND ARCHIBALD MacINNISHES,  
DYKE-BUILDERS IN MORVERN 6TH JULY 1786

## BARR

## INCLOSURES

*Glengoud*

20 falls stone dyke at 2/6	.	.	.	.	.	2	10	0	
15 do. pealling at 9d	.	.	.	.	.	0	11	3	
4 do. pareing braes at 6d	.	.	.	.	.	0	2	0	

3 3 3

*Lealt*

59 falls stone dyke at 3/-	.	.	.	.	.	23	17	0	
4 do. ditch at 1/2	.	.	.	.	.	0	4	8	
20 do. dyke & ditch at 1/-	.	.	.	.	.	1	0	0	
4 do. pareing braes at 6d	.	.	.	.	.	0	2	0	

25 3 8

*East side of do.*

83 falls stone dyke at 3/6	.	.	.	.	.				14 10 6
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*Barr's side of Camussfern*

34 f. ditch at 1/-	.	.	.	.	.				1 14 0
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Total Barr	.	.	.	.	.				44 11 5
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## RAHOY

*Rahoy's side of Camussfern*

108 f. stone dyke at 2/10	.	.	.	.	.				15 6 0
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*1st inclosure in the Wintertown*

66 f. stone dyke at 3/-	.	.	.	.	.				9 18 0
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*2d do. in do. Uchnanuissaig*

15 f. do. at 3/6	.	.	.	.	.				2 12 6
39 f. do. at 3/9	.	.	.	.	.	7	6	3	
10 f. pealling at 1/-	.	.	.	.	.	0	10	0	

7 16 3

*From Tornoair to Ardcharn*

213 f. stone dyke at 4/-	.	.	.	.	.	42	12	0	
44 f. do. at 2/6	.	.	.	.	.	5	10	0	
103 f. ditch at 1/-	.	.	.	.	.	5	3	0	
52 f. fale dyke & ditch at 1/4	.	.	.	.	.	3	9	4	
11 f. pareing braes at 8d	.	.	.	.	.	0	7	4	

57 1 8

*From the north side of the field of Ardcharna to the far-off  
side of Tornastarie, taking in all Goilligarve by the  
burn of Alteshoillich*

175 f. stone dyke at 4/-	.	.	.	.	.	35	0	0	
180 f. ditch at 1/1	.	.	.	.	.	9	15	0	
20 f. pareing braes at 6d	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	0	

45 5 0

Total Rahoy	.	.	.	.	.				137 19 5
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Total Barr	.	.	.	.	.				44 11 5
------------	---	---	---	---	---	--	--	--	---------

182 10 10

We the undertakers engage to build the above quantity of stone dyke four foot high and three foot broad at the foundation and 18 inches at the top and to cop it with two rows of fale.

The ditch to be seven foot wide at the top by seven foot in height and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  foot wide at bottom and well backed in the side next the wood.

The fale dyke to be made seven foot high, well cop'd at the top and the green side of sod outmost.

All this we engage to build sufficiently at the prices above stated and to have completely on or before the first day of January next.

The undertakers to have grass for their horses free and timber for their sledes, mell and spade shafts &c out of his Grace's wood, they providing every other article necessary for carrying the work on, being advanced money for carrying on the same.

/Signed/John Campbell Factor

/Signed/Angus McInnish

Archd. McInnish

/Signed/Colin Campbell Witness

Hugh Campbell Witness

REPORT REGARDING THE CLAIM DRIMNIN IS SETTING UP TO THE PIECE  
OF GROUND AT THE WATER-FOOT OF MUNGASTLE

*Article 5.* Archibald McLullich, late in Aulistin now at Ardachie in Mull, says his father Donald McLullich was miller in Mungastle for 32 years before the present miller came there and that during that period the water of Mungastle was considered as the march. There was then a vestige of a dyke but kept up by neither party during his father's residence. The rock now in contest and the seaware is on the Duke of Argyll's side of the water. It was not cutt by any person during that period as it was not thought worth it.

Donald McEchern, the present miller of Mungastle, succeeded Donald McLullich and has been in the miln for these 38 years past, says that the march he kepted during this period is the water of Mungastle, which was shown him by the former miller.

That about 10 years ago a high flood alter'd the course of the water so as to throw it further upon the Mungastle side in the shore. By this some of the Mungastle shore is upon Drimnin's side of the water.

That during his residence he has been in use to cutt all the wreck on the Mungastle side of the water and only cutt the wreck on the sunk rock now in dispute twice and had no dispute about it. Till within these five or six years that Drimnin claimed it he heard no person say to whom the rock belonged but he considered it the Duke's property.

That the stone dyke now at the water side was built by the said Donald McEchern and Drimnin's crofters, one half each, and divided by the present Drimnin. Notwithstanding the dyke's being built the said Donald McEchern continued as usual to cutt the wreck on the Mungastle side of the water and since he came to the miln none of Drimnin's tenants or crofters cutt any wreck there.

John Beatton,<sup>1</sup> tacksman of Mungastle, says his father and he have been tacksmen of that farm for 38 years and this time keept the course of the water as the march and had no dispute till within these five or six years that Drimnin claimed the wreck on the sunk rock, now in dispute, and the wreck on the rocky point of land on the Mungastle side of the march.

He heard that his father and Drimnin had divided the march-dyke and built it as mentioned by Donald McEchern the miller. During this period he knew the miller cutt all the wreck on the Mungastle side of the water and he considered it then and now the Duke of Argyll's property and never heard contrary till this dispute began. He thinks it will be 30 years since the dyke was built and has been since keept in repair except what is in dispute with Drimnin these five or six years past at the water-foot of Mungastle.

*Answer to Article 7th*

Airds has corresponded with Boisdale regarding proper persons to instruct the people of Icolmkill and neighbourhood in the method of catching cod, ling and herrings, in consequence of which one John McDonald, who seems well skilled in those branches, is now settled at Creich upon the Sound betwixt Icolmkill and Ross and upon the best harbour in that country and contiguous to the best fishing banks and lochs in Mull.

<sup>1</sup> The Beattons first came to Morvern from Mull in 1748 and received a tack of Mungastle much to the annoyance of the native inhabitants, who plundered the Beattons' farm (*Memorial and Proposal by John Beatton*, Aug. 1750, Saltoun Papers box 408, in the National Library of Scotland).

It is thought necessary, as John MacDonald is the only person that Boisdale could get to agree to come to Mull, it would be proper to put him upon such a footing that he might carry on the fishing business with success. Therefore proposes that the sum of twenty five pound sterling should be advanced him to provide a sufficient boat with long lines and herring nets and this sum to be repaid by him in five years at the rate of five pounds per year.

In order to establish a fishing village at Creich, Airds has this year set part of it as follows

$\frac{1}{12}$	Peter McInnish	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Dougald MacArthur	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Donald MacArthur	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	John MacInnish	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Malcom McCallum	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Alexander MacLean	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	John MacLeod	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Hugh McEchern	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	John McEchern	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	John MacDonald fisher from Uist	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	William Pringle smith	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
$\frac{1}{12}$	Vacant for this year, the rent to be divided amongst the whole being $2\frac{8}{12}$	.	.	.	.	.	£1	5	4
								<u>£15</u>	<u>4 0</u>

N.B. This last  $\frac{1}{12}$  kept vacant this year in the event that another fisher will be sent by Boisdale.

Present rent of the west end of Icolumkill including Creich

£100 15 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

Present rent of the east end of do. exclusive of any part of Creich

60 11 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

£161 7 0 $\frac{6}{8}$

It is observed that both farms in Icolumkill require grasing for their horses upon Creich in order to lead their peats to the shore of Creich, as it is upon it they have all their peats, there being none in Icolumkill. It is likewise necessary that the tenants of Icolumkill should have part of Creich as they might have their cattle ferry'd to it some days before the market, which might otherwise occasion their losing the market owing to bad weather.

The island of Icolmkill is now divided into two farms as follows. The east and west ends of the island makes one farm called the east end, the centre of the island forms the other farm called the west end. There is at present a considerable tract of grasing grounds called the Sheave in common betwixt both farms.

It is humbly proposed, in order to accomodate the tenants of both farms and to prevent disputes which happen every day owing to the cattle of the one farm driving thro' the grass & corns of the other, that the island should be divided into two, as equal halves as possible and a march dyke built betwixt them.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCH BETWIXT ROSS, THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S  
PROPERTY, AND BROLOSS, THE PROPERTY OF MR. MACLEAN OF  
KENLOCHALINE, 24TH JUNE 1786

Begins at a small harbour at the foot of the water of Lealt. This begins the march betwixt Ardtune, the Duke of Argyll's property and Kilpatrick, Kinlochaline's property.

The same burn of Lealt forms the march till it comes to Ballach e' seaddane<sup>1</sup>, where a dyke now runs up the face of a rock and along a ridge of rocks for a small space and then comes down again by a dyke now standing to the said burn opposite to the lowest part of the field of Ardarrie and then by the said burn till it comes to Garradow na beiny, where it turns again to the westward to the face of a rock and along the ridge of that rock till it joins the march betwixt Assapol and Kilpatrick to the north end of Lochairm.

The following is the account given of the march betwixt Assapol and Kilpatrick by Murdoch MacCarraig in Suie, aged 81 years, that he resided above 40 years in Assapol and declares as follows: that the muir betwixt Assapol and Kilpatrick was pastured in common till Mr. Neil MacLeod who possessed Kilpatrick about 18 years ago insisted on having a march-dyke built betwixt him and Assapol and that the late Donald Campbell Esq<sup>r</sup> of Airds came to the ground and deponed Donald MacArthur, resider in Ross, who deponed to the march since built by Mr. Neil MacLeod and the declarant and his neighbours in Assapol, Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Donald Rosses, the only surviving neighbours.

Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Donald Ross being present this day declare what is set forth by Murdoch MacCarraig to be fact.

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be a mistranscription of Ballach e' scaddane.

Donald McEchern, resider in Ardchreshinish, aged 83 years, declares as follows: that he was told by his father and Charles McEchern, tenant in Ardtune, that the march was from the south end of Lochairm by three large gray stones in a line running S.E. to a fourth gray stone and from thence to a burn where the dyke built by Mr. McLeod and the people of Assapoll ends and by the said burn nearly N.E. to Arrinucadar.

Donald McEchern in Assapol, aged 69 years, declares that he lived most of his life in Ardchreshinish, that his father showed him the line of march as described by the former declarant and that he was always in habit of turning the cattle from Arinucadeur and that the people of Assapol never turned their cattle from said Arinucadare.

N.B. Murdoch MacCarraig further declares that the people of Ardchreshinish & Kilpatrick never had leave from them to pasture upon any grounds south of the dyke that Mr. MacLeod built since the dyke was built.

Hugh MacFarlane in Ardchreshinish, aged 73 years, declares he was born in Kielvikown and when twelve years old his father came to live at Assapoll, and that he and his father lived there twelve years and that when his father came first to Assapoll they went to a sheilling at Arrinamuich, that Mr. Arch<sup>d</sup>. McLean minister, then in possession of Kilpatrick, would not allow them to erect a sheilling on that ground, that they kept no regular marches but that he heard the line described by the former declarant to be the march.

John MacLean, in Ardchreshinish, aged 70 years, declares he was born at Ardachie and that he knows the reason why that dyke was built by Mr. MacLeod and that it was as follows.

That he was scarce of harvest grass and built the dyke at Arrinamuich in purpose to save grass for his cattle in the hill during the harvest time and that he continued that dyke till it comes in sight of the houses of Kilpatrick; that the people of Assapol built the dyke from Arrinamuich to the march betwixt Ardchreshinish & Kielvikeen and ends at the burn leading to Arrinucadare; further declares that he knew they eat the muir in common and kept no regular marches.

Hugh MacLean in Tornincearuch,<sup>1</sup> aged 48 years, declares that his father lived 38 years ago at Kilpatrick and that he and Donald

<sup>1</sup> See p. 140, n. 1.

MacDonald, taylor in Kìelvikeon was his neighbour at that time and that they held the line of march by the gray stones described by Donald McEchern to Arrinucadare.

Upon examining the march from Arinucadare to Lochnalearge Alex<sup>r</sup>. MacDonald declares that he was told by John Morrison in Kìelvikeon that the march betwixt Ardhreshinish and Keilvikeon lyes from the ridge of stones below the fourth gray stone to Tobarnabilirech and from thence by a ridge of rocky hillocks to Lochnalearge and that he understood that Arrinucadare belonged to Kìelvekeen.

Donald McEchern jun<sup>r</sup>. & sen<sup>ri</sup>. John McLean and Hugh McLean, all former declarants, & Lachlan McKinnon in Ormaig declares that the line of march formerly mentioned by them continues from Arrinucadare by a little strip running E.N.E. to Lochnalearge.

The march betwixt Kìelvikeen and Ormaig begins at Lochnalearge from the loch to a well upon the south-east side of said loch where a cairn is erected, and from thence to a second cairn in the same direction upon a little rock, and from thence to a 3d cairn in the same direction and from thence in a straight line to the eastmost Tobbarmeanachrockan which lye much in the same direction with the kairns. Immediately upon the first height above the said well the 4th cairn is erected, and upon the next highth called Cruachanmìean the 5th kairn is erected, and upon the next highth above Cruhanmìean the 6th kairn, and upon the next small ridge of rocks the 7th, and at the end of said ridge the 8th, to a 9th kairn cross a broken muir to the middle of Beincregach, from thence to the 10th kairn along the height at Lochanbein-cregach to the 11th kairn north of Mambsheaba. William McGilvra in Sheaba and Malcom MacGilvra in Beach declares that the march betwixt Sheaba and Beich runs by a stap N. of the road leading from Sheaba to Beich by the ridge of flat rocks to the N. end of the Cove of Moldonie.

John McLean tacksman of Beach and Hugh MacLean tacksman of Ormaig and Hugh McLean tacksman of Torrinerarach<sup>1</sup> declares that the march betwixt Beach and Sheaba runs in a direct line from the 11th cairn as wind and water divides the hill to Cronanuissag

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be a mistranscription of Torran Uachdarach or Torran Iochdarach.

and by a ridge of rocks from thence to the cove of Moldonie and from the said cove of Moldonie to the top of Dunanamarach where the 13th kairn is erected and from that to an old dyke going into a burn which forms the march betwixt Beinanienee and Sheaba which termines the march betwixt Ross and Broloss.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCH BETWIXT GORTANE AND CLACHAIG, TWO FARMS BELONGING TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, AND ULVALT, A FARM BELONGING TO KINLOCHALINE, 27TH JUNE 1786

John Campbell tacksman of Knock declares he was informed by severals that the march betwixt Gortane & Ulvalt begins at the foot of a burn which falls into the river of Colodare and by said burn to the foot of Essandoutornahua where the march of Gortane ends and the march betwixt Clachaig and Ulvalt begins at the foot of Essandoutornahua and from thence by the water of Garain commonly called the water of Tengibridie to the foot of the burn running from the west from Carnanculreerine and from said kairn in a straight line to the east corner of Creachnaheain and from thence to the top of Beinmore as wind and water divides the hill, from the top of Beinmore to the march dyke built at Corrigorm which makes the march betwixt Dishalg the Duke of Argyll's property and Keillimore, Kinlochaline's property.

Hector MacInnon in Kenlochscreedane, aged 71 years, declares that he has lived in the farm of Ulvalt about 50 years and that the march he and the rest of his neighbours during that period kept was from the river of Collodare by Garrain to Essandowtornahua as formerly described by Mr. Campbell, Knock, the former declarant, and from thence to Carnanaballach by Alsleticore and from thence by a ridge of rocks W.S.W. to the top of Creehnaheain, and he further declares that during that period of 50 years he and his neighbours kept an uninterrupted possession of the marches he now described except that Malcom Roy MacKinnon, herd to Mr. Campbell, Knock, told him once that a part called Nednaducusk belonged to Clachaig, a pendicle of the farm of Knock, but further declares that Mr. Campbell never pastured any cattle during that period on the said spot of ground.

Allan MacKinnon, Rossal, aged 73 years declares that he lived in the farm of Ulvalt about 60 years as a neighbour to the former



declarants and kept the same marches uninterrupted by any person during the above period and declares likewise that Malcom roy MacKinnon, formerly mentioned, told him that Nednaducusk belonged to Clachaig.

Allan MacLean in Kenlochscraidan, aged 73 years, declares that he lived at Ulvalt about 50 years ago, of which period he lived there near 40 years as neighbour to the two former declarants during the above period and agrees with the two former declarants in all points.

Donald Macdonald, tacksman of Kilfinachane, aged 30 years, declares that about 16 years ago his father came to live to the farm of Ulvalt and that he and his father held possession of that farm for 10 years and kept without any interruption the marches described by the former declarants during that period.

John McKinnon present possessor of the farm of Ulvalt, aged 54 years, declares that he has lived in said farm for these five years past and that he has kept an uninterrupted possession of the marches described by the former declarants.

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO AIRDS OCTOBER 1786

1st. The march-dyke to be built betwixt Lochbuy's lands and Glencannell as proposed by Airds at the expense of Lochbuy and of the tacksman of Glencannell, but it should be done with stone in a permanent manner or not at all, for earth dykes are of little use. If the dyke cannot be made of stone the best marks may be put upon the march which the grounds will allow without any dykes.

I also agree to the streighting of the march betwixt Torness & Corrighairan as proposed by Airds.

2d. The woods in Morvern to be inclosed which are estimated to cost £468. 7. 2. but a clause must be introduced into the new leases as strong as possible to insure their being taken care of by the tacksmen.

3d. Give notice to Drimnin that he is not to have his lease renewed and let his farms be given to ten small tennents including one or two of the best of the present possessors.

4th. Enquire into the value of the seaware of the sunk rock and shore at the water of Mungastle before I bestow any expence about it.

5th. Inform Torloisk that from Whitsunday next he must pay

£105 for the island of Gometra which is £20 below that I have been offer'd for it. If he is not sensible of this mark of favour I hope he will give it up frankly that I may get nearer the value of it from another.

6th. The 8th article of last year's instructions to be enforced with this variation that in place of accounting to me for interest upon the arrears from the date of settling your annual account it must be from the Whitsunday preceeding. I therefore expect to receive interest upon the present arrear from last Whitsunday till it is paid. And you must be at pains to explain to the tenants that this is to be the case in time coming.

7th. Let me have an estimate of the value of the wood of Baliscate & Drimfin and of the expence of inclosing it with your opinion what is fit to be done.

8th. As you inform me that by the attention of the tacksman of Achadashenag<sup>1</sup> the wood on that farm begins to make some appearances you must recommend to him to continue his care and inform me from time to time how the wood comes on.

9th. You are not to deliver the prorogations of tacks to the tacksmen of farms where woods are to be inclosed till I first get a settlement with them as to the deductions expected by them for the want of grass. Let them give in their claims and give them notice that if they are extravagant I will not grant the prorogations at all.

10. You may advance other fifteen pounds to John MacDonald the fisher to enable him to prosecute his business and take it back with the £10 already advanced by instalments as he can pay it.

/Signed/Argyll

#### ANSWERS BY JOHN CAMPBELL OF AIRDS TO INSTRUCTIONS OCTOBER 1786

*Article* 1st. Lochbuy and the tacksman of Glencannell have agreed to build the march-dyke betwixt the lands of Glencannell

<sup>1</sup> This was Robert, son of John Stewart, drover, who had received a tack of this farm and of Gortebuy and Glencannell, also in Mull, from the 3rd Duke in 1749 for three nineteen years. The 5th Duke, as Marquis of Lorn, took advantage of the break in the tack at the end of nineteen years, but granted a new tack running from 1769, which was signed in April 1770 (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks, 1770-1776, at Inveraray Castle*).

and Lochbuy's property and likewise for streightning the marches betwixt Torness and Lochbuy's property.

2d. The wood inclosures of Morvern are carried on regularly and keep pace with the yearly cutting.

3d. Complied with as to Drimnin. A scheme of the sett of Drimnine's tacklands not yet made out.

4th. The sunk rock claimed by Drimnin at the foot of the water of Mungastle it is supposed will not render above half a ton of kelp once in the three years.

5th. Complied with.

6th. Complied with.

7th. Airds's state of health prevented the woods of Baliscate and Drimfin having been valued.

8th. Complied with.

9th. Complied with.

10th. Complied with. Airds paid £1 str. more to the fisher as his expence in going to Oban to give the dimensions of his own and other fishing boats and superintending the building of them.

#### INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL OCTOBER 1787

1st. The march dyke to be built and the other march to be straightned in terms of the first article of last year's instructions.

2nd. Large sums of money, above £200, have been laid out during the two last years in inclosing the woods upon the farms of Barr and Rahoy and other dykes are now building for the same purpose upon the farm of Lawdil & Glencrepesdale. The chamberlain when convenient to examine and report how far these works are properly executed and to attend to the execution of what remains to be done. When the Chamberlain is settled in Mull he should take opportunities now and then to pass over into Morvern and see that no cattle have been allowed to trespass in any degree upon the woods.

3d. The small pendicle of Polichoran in Morvern is to be continued with Drimnin during my pleasure at the yearly rent of £4, provided he agrees to inclose it with stone dykes, one half of the value thereof to be paid to him at his removal.

4th. The farms of Aullistine & Portavad are to be given to small

tenants and the chamberlain must consider how many can be conveniently accomodated: the more the better.

5th. A bit of ground near the mouth of the water of Mungastle and the wreck of part of the shore there have of late been claimed by Drimnin. You may tell him that from the best information I have been able to procure he has no right to either and that I think he ought not to insist upon them. If he is of a different opinion I agree in this instance to refer the matter to one or more persons in the neighbourhood as I understand the value to be extremely immaterial. But I do not mean by this to give way so easily to demands of the like nature where they are more material.

6th. Donald MacDonald, fisher, has got from me an advance of twenty five pounds str. to buy a boat and fishing tackle, which he is to repay by installments as he can afford it. Some obligation to that effect should be taken from him and the money recovered when it can be got without distressing him.

7th. The ninth article of last year's instructions to be attended to.

8th. By the charters from my family to Mr. MacDonald of Kinlochmoydart I have right to the woods and fishings upon that estate and for sometime past have been desirous of procuring information about them, but have got none. You will when convenient enquire into this matter and report what you learn about it.

9th. Attend to the following instruction which has been given to the chamberlain of Tiry and see that it is attended to 'My chamberlain of Mull continues to complain of the abuses committed on my woods by the people of Tiry and says that in a few years they will utterly destroy the woods. I insist that you take measures for preventing them taking a single stick without your order and knowing what use it is for and that you enter in this or some other book the orders you give for timber that I may see the amount yearly. Airds is instructed to keep an account of all that is given to Tiry people after this time and to show it, that I may compare it with yours and find out where the fault lies.'

10th. The wood-ranger of Lochsunart to be removed to Lawdil as more centrical and the one upon Liddisdale to be discontinued, as the tacksman is bound to take care of the woods.

11th. The ground-officer of Torosay to have his sallary aug-

mented £1 yearly, to be made up thus, 13/4 from the salary of the ground-officer of Aross and 6/8 from that of Morvern.

12th. Inform the tenants of Corkamill that the people of Gomatra must have peats from their farm as formerly, but that I desire both the one and the other to cut the peats regularly so as to do the least hurt to the mosses.

13th. I am informed that the people of Gomatra, Icolumkill, Arrine and Callich are in use to cut the surface of their farms for fewel, which should be prevented.

14th. The ground-officer of Ross to be charged with seeing that the people on Creich cut their peats regularly.

15th. Consider how many people may be accomodated upon the farm of Bunessan, which is one of the farms intended for a fishing village.

16th. You will as soon as convenient after Martimass fix a time for collecting the arrears and the current year's rent and give notice to the tenants that they may be prepared. Hitherto the payments upon this estate have by no means been so regular and forward as they ought and you must contrive to bring about an alteration in this respect.

17th. Whenever you have any sum worth remitting, such as £100, you must forward the same either in cash or good bills by first opportunity to my Receiver-General at Edinburgh and you must send to him at the end of every three months an abstract of your money transactions, mentioning the names of the persons who have paid, the amount of the sums paid and the applications for the preceeding quarter.

18th. George Langlands,<sup>1</sup> land-surveyor, has got £10 from Airds to account of his surveys at Tobermory. As this falls to be paid by the Society, he should first have presented a regular account and got an order for payment, after which, in place of charging it against me as an article of expence, the receipt and order should have been sent to my Receiver-General as cash to be recovered by him from the Society. As Langlands is now here you may get him to make up his account, recommending to him to be just and moderate in his demands, and as he is very deep in arrear to me for

<sup>1</sup> George Langlands was employed as the Duke's improver in Kintyre, where he advised on the division of farms, the rotation of crops, etc. He also carried out surveys for the Duke in other parts of his estates. In this case, however, the survey was for the British Society for Extending the Fisheries.

rents in Kintyre, concert with Kintarbert that what is still due to him may be applied to discharge so much of that arrear.

19th. You must give notice to the tacksman of Ardtun<sup>1</sup> that I have use for his farm at the determination of his present lease and that he must prepare to remove from it at that term.

20th. I have settled with the chamberlain of Tirry that upon his father's death you are to get the farm of Aross and he to remove to Ardtun, and as the houses upon the one are better than the other, I am then to make some allowance for the difference or to build him a house upon Ardtun.

21st. In the meantime as I have no other accomodation for you in Mull you must get a room and closet built at the public house at Aross to transact your business in when in the country and to be added to the public house after you get possession of the farm.

22d. Write to the baillie of Roseneath to send you a valuation of the mahogany which was sent there from Mull and a note of the freight which, with £13. 10/- of charges paid upon it by Airds, must be deduced from the value, after which pay one eighth of the remainder as salvage to the different persons who saved it. A note of the farms from whence it was got and the dimensions of the different logs is herewith given you.

23d. The wrecked fir in Mull to be applied to seat the church of Kilninian there.

24th. As I understand the fishers are at some loss for a market for their fish this season you must correspond with Colonel John Campbell<sup>2</sup> in Mull on that subject and if necessary let the fish be taken from them and disposed of to the best advantage on my account.

25th. Consider and consult with him also as to the best method of helping the fishers to dispose of their fish and of any nets or other articles they may have to sell so as to encourage industry

<sup>1</sup> Campbell of Scammadill had a tack of Ardtun and two other farms in the Ross of Mull dating from 1772 (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks, 1770-1776*, at Inveraray Castle).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Campbell, tacksman of Fidden, also mentioned in these instructions in 1776, 1787, 1794 and 1803, when he has the rank of General in the Marines, was probably a son of Dugald Campbell of Clanamacry, who appears as the tacksman of Fidden in the 1744 rental of Mull and whose widow, Ann Campbell, received a tack of Fidden, Pottie, Salchur, Ellanaraid and part of Catechant, in 1772 (*Book of Mull and Morvern Tacks, 1770-1776*). His efforts to encourage fishing in the Ross of Mull are recorded in the *Old Stat. Account* of the parish of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen.

amongst them. I think their rent or a considerable part of it should be paid in netts or in spun yarn, which would necessarily oblige them to employ their wives and children in spinning or net-making, and this it is thought they could do over and above making and repairing netts for their own use. By this means or something of this sort the children who have been always hitherto brought up in idleness would be initiated in habits of industry.

26th. Let a summons of removing be executed in proper time against Drimnine and Colin Campbell, Baliscate, so as there may be no difficultys with them.

25th October 1787

/Signed/Argyll

REPORT UPON THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE  
CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL IN OCTOBER 1787  
REPORTED OCTOBER 1788

1st. The chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> being an entire stranger in the country, did not consider himself sufficiently informed to be able to proceed to decision in any question regarding contraverted marches between My Lord Duke's lands and the property of other heritors and he has therefore presumed to delay the execution of this article of his instruction till next year.

On this subject of marches he begs leave to inform that the line of march between Brolos and several parts of His Grace's property is not yet ascertained. The most considerable pieces of ground in controversy are between Clachaig, His Grace's property and Ulvalt in Brolos, between Assapol in Ross and Kilpatrick in Broloss and between Kilvikcon in Ross and Ardcreshinish in Broloss; in all which places the right to a considerable extent of muir grounds, some of it indeed of little value, is disputed by the tenants of those different farms.

2d. The chamberlain has inspected the wood inclosures upon Barr, Rahoy, Glencrepesdale and Camusallach, and considers them in general to be properly executed. In some few places where he

<sup>1</sup> James Maxwell, one of the most capable of the Duke's servants, was a member of a South Kintyre family which had settled there, from Renfrewshire, in the seventeenth century (McKerral, *Kintyre in the 17th Century*). He was appointed chamberlain of Mull and Morvern in 1787, and after the 5th Duke's death continued to serve his successor. He died at his farm of Aros in Mull in August 1829 (Scottish Record Office, Argyll Inventories, vol. 3, p. 11). He was praised by James Macdonald in his *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides* (1811) as 'one of the most active and intelligent men in Mull, or indeed in the western isles'.

thought the fences too low he gave directions to raise them higher, which he will take care shall be done. The undertakers for inclosing the woods upon Lochsuinart are now employed in building the fences round the woods upon the farm of Liddisdale which are to be cut in the course of next year.

As the fences will frequently require to be repaired before the woods are laid open the chamberlain would propose that the services which the tenants in Morvern are bound to perform should be converted into money: and the amount or as much of it as may be necessary laid out yearly in keeping up the wood inclosures.

3d. Drimnin has accepted of the pendicle of Polcherran upon these conditions.

4. Aulistin and Portravate set to ten small tennants who were Fencible men and two crofters at the rent of £70, which with the rent of Polcharan is an augmentation of £22. 4. 7 sterling yearly above what Drimnin paid for those farms.

5. Drimnin having refused to give up his pretensions to the peice of ground and sunk rock at the foot of the water of Mungastill, the question about them has been submitted to the decision of Mr. Campbell of Knock as sole arbiter.

6. An obligation to this purpose has been taken from MacDonald with an assignation to the boat and fishing tackle for his Grace's security.

7. The factor will attend to this.

8. In answer to this article the chamberlain begs leave to refer to correspondence which he has had with Mr. Campbell of Inverscaddle who resides near to Kinlochmoydart, a copy of which he now submits to His Grace.

9. This instruction will be attended to.

10. A hag of the woods upon Glencripisdale where the wood-ranger now lives was reserved for the use of the estate and has been for sometime past under cutting by the tenants. It will probably be exhausted in the course of the ensuring year when the wood-ranger will remove to Laudle, where the tenants begin to cut next.

The wood-ranger of Liddisdale has been discontinued at last Whitsunday and intimation was given to the tacksman that the woods were from that period under his care in terms of his lease.

11. The alteration in the sallarys of the ground-officers took place at Whitsunday last.



12. The chamberlain examined the moss of Corkamile, and as it did not appear to him that there were any peats to spare from that farm, he settled that the people of Gometra should have peats from the neighbouring farm of Askamil where there is a considerable extent of convenient moss. He has given strict orders that the tenants shall cut their peats regularly.

13. The possessors of these farms have been discharged from continuing the practice mentioned in this article.

14. This has been complied with.

15. The farm of Bunessan, if laid out into such crofts as those of Creich, might accomodate about thirty fishing crofters. It is situated at some distance from the fishing banks and is under tack till the year 1799.

16. In compliance with this instruction the chamberlain gave early intimation of the time fixed for his rent collections and in order that the payments by the tenants may be regular and forward, especially in years like the last when the prices of cattle were so high, he presumed upon the measure of charging interest upon the one half of the rent after Martimass and upon the other half after Whitsunday, which he thinks has had a good effect; and he would therefore propose that his doing so in future should be passed into a standing order upon this estate; except in particular cases such as a general faillure in the markets for cattle or a tenant's suffering some particular misfortune by the loss of his stock, accidental fire or some other calamity.

17. This will be regularly done, but as there may some risk attend the remitting of money from so remote a quarter, the chamberlain would wish to have special directions as to the mode of conveyance by which he is to forward cash when bills cannot be got.

18. Langlands presented the account mentioned in this article to the factor of Kintyre, to whom this instruction was communicated.

19. This was done.

20. The event upon which the chamberlain's getting any settlement in Mull depends is apparently so remote that he would humbly solicit his Grace for some earlier accomodation for his family. The only way that occurs in which this can be given to him is to open the farm of Ardchoirk, which was formerly set apart as the place for the factor's residence and in the tack of which there is a

break in case it shall be at any time required for that use. His situation during the last year, besides being extremely uncomfortable to himself, was such as never can admitt of his carrying through the business of his charge with the exactness he would wish, nor of his having his matters arranged into that regular method which makes business easy and expeditious.

The walls of the public-house of Aros being built of dry stone could not be sloped so as to have any addition made to it and the chamberlain did not think himself at liberty or consider it adviseable to build a seperate house because a small expence above what that might cost would probably build an entire new public-house, which is much wanted at Aros, there being no accomodation in the present one except a single apartment common to everybody.

22. A valuation of the mahogany was got from Roseneath and a state of the salvage has been made out, but the persons concerned have not yet called for their shares of it.

23. This will be complied with.

24. The fish taken by the fishermen of Creich in summer 1787 were sent to the Liverpool market where the factor understands they have not yet been disposed of. The fish of 1788 are well cured and intended for the Glasgow market when an opportunity of sending them there offers. When the crofters of Creich are fairly settled in their different crofts and better reconciled to their situation the factor will endeavour to introduce the spinning of yarn and manufacturing of netts amongst them.

26. This was done.

Humbly reported by

Inveraray 3d Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1788

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

#### INSTRUCTIONS OCTOBER 1788

1st. Article of last year's instructions renewed.

2d. Measures to be taken for ascertaining in a legal manner the marches of my lands with the lands of Brolos.

3d. I approve of converting the services of the tenants into money and applying it as proposed in the 2d article of the foregoing report, but where the tacksmen are bound in their leases to support the wood inclosures they should be forced to do so.

4th. As I know that the tacksmen in general of my property in

Mull and Morvern have very beneficial bargains I intend in future to require of them to lay out more than a year's rent upon substantial improvements on my granting them prorogations of their leases, and in order that these new bargains may be made with deliberation I desire you will let it be known in the country that unless proposals for prorogations are given in to me before the 1st of August and copys at the same time given to you, that no answer will be given them till the subsequent year, in order that you may have full time to consider and report the extent and nature of the improvements to be insisted on by me.

5th. Examine as soon as you conveniently can and report how far the tenants who have already got prorogations have executed the improvements undertaken by them.

6th. Send some person of skill to view and value the woods of Kinlochmoydart and write to Mr. Campbell of Inverscaddie to set the fishing at whatever can be got for it.

7th. I approve of charging interest upon my rents as proposed in article 16th of the foregoing report.

8th. The rents when collected, so far as good bills cannot be got for them may be sent to Glasgow by one, two or more careful persons according to the sum.

9th. Attend to article 18th of last year's instructions.

10th. Take measures for accomodating the boat's crew expected from Shetland to Creich, and after finding out from John Stout what kind of boat will answer them best provide one for them together with fishing-tackle and every necessary to enable them to begin fishing as soon as they arrive.

11th. Enquire what was the original farm allowed for the accomodation of the minister of Kilninian, as I think the present minister will still have three besides Callich, which is to be taken from him at next Whitsunday for the accomodation of small tenants.

12th. Pay back to Colin Campbell at Achnacross the £33. 14. 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> paid by him for the fourth of Tirergan and give that possession to Fencible soldiers, charging them with a proper additional rent for my reimbursement of that advance.

13th. If MacDougall, tacksman of Liddesdale, agrees to give Colin Campbell, late tacksman of Baliscate, possession at Whitsunday next of one half of that farm the best way of dividing it will

be for McDougall who knows it to make the division himself and to allow Colin to take his choice. In that case I am to prorogate McDougall's lease of the half which shall fall to him for 19 years from next Whitsunday at the share of the rent which he shall put upon it, he agreeing to be at one half of the expence of building a sufficient march dyke betwixt the division, I to advance the other half and to charge Colin  $6\frac{1}{2}$  p. cent of additional rent for it. I am also to be at the expence of building on the division which will have no houses a sufficient steading of houses and offices at least equally commodious for that farm as those which Colin is to leave at Baliscate and I am to ask no additional rent for that outlay. If this arrangement take place then you will get possession at Whitsunday next of the farm of Baliscate so far as not wanted by the Society and you will find accomodation there for yourself and family till the farm of Ardnacross can be opened for you by the removal of the tenants of that farm to some other.

If McDougall will not agree to give Colin one half of his farm at next Whitsunday then he must remain where he is at present and you must accomodate yourself at Ardnacross by removing 4 of the tenants there to the farm of Callich and taking their share of Ardnacross to yourself.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT UPON THE PRECEEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. Lochbuy and the chamberlain have settled the marches between Glencannell and Gederlie and between Torness and Corrigheiran in the manner proposed by Airds in his report 24 October 1785.

2. From the chamberlain's very unsettled situation in the country during the last year he was not able to get anything done towards the adjustment of the marches between his Grace's lands and Brolos. The best way of proceeding in the business that occurs to him is to enter into a deed or writing with Mr. McLean, the proprietor of Brolos, agreeing to have witnesses examined on both sides upon oath and their evidence committed to writing, and declaring if the matter shall at any time hereafter become a question at law and any of the witnesses shall then happen to be dead, that the evidence

given by them at the proposed enquiry shall be held as probative. By this means besides saving the benefit of the evidence of witnesses who are now growing old and infirm, there will be an opportunity of seeing clearly how far it will be adviseable for My Lord Duke to insist in an action at law for settling these marches.

3d. The services of the tenants will be converted into money and applied to keep up the wood inclosures except where the tacksmen are bound to uphold them.

4. A general notification of this article of the chamberlain's instructions was given to his Grace's tenants in Mull and Morvern.

5. When the chamberlain is settled in Mull he will take care to examine how far the tenants have executed the improvements undertaken by them in their leases.

6. Two men who are often employed in such services were sent to view and value the woods upon the estate of Kinlochmoydart. They have reported it as their opinion that the woods upon that estate being in general only proper for coaling would yeild 802 dozen of coals and 109 tons of bark, that the expence of manufacturing the coals might be about sixteen shillings p. dozen and the bark thirty shillings p. ton, and that there are besides standing on the estate 180 ash trees computed to contain 840 solid feet of measurable timber. As to the fishing the chamberlain has written repeatedly to Mr. Campbell of Inverscadle to set it but he has never heard from him whether that was done.

7. This will be done.

8. The rents will be forwarded in the manner desired in this article.

9. The ten pounds advanced by Airds to Mr. Langlands have been repaid to the chamberlain and are accounted for in his accounts for crop 1788. Besides a sum of £28. 13. 6 due to Mr. Langlands by his Grace for surveys in Morvern which was paid to the chamberlain of Kintyre to be applied towards the discharge of Langland's arrears, there was also paid to him by the reporter to be applied in the same way £39. 13. due to Langlands by the British Society.

10. Measures were taken for accomodating the fishermen expected from Shetland and a boat and fishing-tackle were provided for them.

11. The possession which has always been allowed for the

accommodation of the minister of Kilninian was the farm of Arri-volchoan with the pendicles of Ardhie and Duchorive. About eleven years ago the present incumbant got the farm of Calloch in addition to his original possession, which farm is now to be taken out of his hands and given to others.

12. This was done.

13. The farm of Liddisdale has been divided in the way proposed in this article and Colin Campbell is now accomodated there. A march dyke is nearly finished between him and Allan McDougal. As to the houses those upon the farm of Liddisdale were valued at £253. 9. and the steading on Baliscate at £78. 8. 9. The chamberlain has got a temporary accomodation at Baliscate where he has been under the necessity of making a small addition to the dwelling house on that farm as it only consisted of two appartments. His accomodation there such as it is cannot remain long with him as it is probable that the greatest part of the little arable ground of the farm will be wanted at Whitsunday next for the settlers at Tobermory.<sup>1</sup>

Humbly reported by

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

Inveraray 23 October 1789

## INSTRUCTIONS 1789

1. Before determining anything finally as to the mode of settling disputes in regard to the marches of the lands of Broloss it will be proper that my Lord Duke be informed more particularly of the nature and extent of these disputes and therefore you will apply yourself to procure the best information and report it at or before next meeting of chamberlains.

2. His Grace, from a fatherly regard to his people & a moderation

<sup>1</sup> The settlement of Tobermory was planned in 1788 and commenced in 1789 by the British Society for Extending the Fisheries and Improving the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom. The Duke was Governor of the Society, and Maxwell, Langlands and Telford took a leading part in the planning. 2,000 acres of land were acquired by the Society from Campbell of Mishnish, and a good deal of it was reclaimed and improved in the early years. The development of the village did not realise the hopes of its founders, and Tobermory never became a thriving fishing station (Mull papers at Inveraray Castle; *Old Stat. Account of Scot.*, vol. XIV, parish of Kilninian; J. Macdonald, *Agriculture of the Hebrides*; *New Stat. Account*, parish of Kilninian; J. Dunlop in *Scottish Genealogist*, vol. III, number 3).

which does him great honour, did sometime ago resolve not to press his tenants for further augmentations of rent during his own life and to give them prorogations of their leases, on their undertaking certain permanent improvements, but this proceeded partly from an idea that the present rents were nearly adequate and that more could not be exacted without pinching the tenants. This idea, with regard to Mull and Morvern, from the setts lately made by other heritors, particularly by Lochbuy and Lochnell within these few days, is proved to be erroneous, and it is the duty of us his Grace's servants to lay matters fairly before him, and to suggest the propriety of continuing to take moderate augmentations of rents where they can be afforded. I therefore recommend to you in future, when application is made for a new lease, to be at pains to satisfy yourself 1st as to the rent which the subject ought to pay when compared with the rents paid to other heritors in the neighbourhood and 2dly as to the rent which the particular tenant can afford to pay for that particular subject without being pinched or overburdened. From such information his Grace will be able to fix rents that without being oppressive to his tenants will not encourage sloth and idleness which very low rents are apt to produce.

3. The fifth instruction of last year continued.

4. The sixth instruction of last year is not fully answered in respect that the information you have procured relates to the whole woods of Kinlochmoydart whereas his Grace's right is only to a part, and you have not been able to get any offer for the salmon fishing. You must therefore exert yourself to procure further information as to both these particulars. The best way is for you to go there yourself and to take one or two persons of skill and trust with you. It will be right to examine and report whether the woods are now ripe for cutting, what parts are worthy of being inclosed, and what will be the expence of inclosing them.

5. The Paisley Bank allow their agent at Campbeltown to give the chamberlain bills on the cashier of the Royal Bank at Edinburgh for his Grace's rents collected in that country, payable twenty days after date. You will correspond with that bank and settle with them for remitting the Mull rents by bills from their agent at Oban on similar terms, and if that bank refuses, try the other bank which has an agent at Oban.

6. Make out a rental of the Duke's purchase of lands in Morvern<sup>1</sup> and recover from the tenants the cess and road-money and give credit to his Grace for it in next account, as they are bound to pay these tho' you have charged the Duke with them.

7. It will be also proper that you procure minute information as to the value of these farms as they will be open for a new sett in a year or two.

8. The fishing operations at Creich are running away with a great deal of money and hitherto no return nor plan nor report whereby to form a notion of the probable consequence. I do not mean by this to discourage the undertaking. On the contrary I have it in charge from his Grace to give it every countenance and certainly will do so. I only at present mean to hint that the better anything of this kind can be regulated at the beginning the more manageable and successful will it be in the end. I see a great quantity of meal furnished to the fishers and rather a large incidental account of expences paid to Logie, the agent. Perhaps both were necessary & well bestowed and explanations may have been made to his Grace which have sufficiently reconciled him to them, but to one who has only access to see the accounts, there is an abruptness which is not pleasant and which should be avoided in future, tho' I cannot at this instant say in what way it should be done, whether by short explanations on the face of the account itself, or by a relative report.

9. The report upon the instructions anno 1787, articles 24 & 25, mentioned that the fish killed in 1787 had been sent to Liverpool market, and that those of 1788 were well cured and intended for the Glasgow market, but no account of either is yet made.

10. It is observed that a good many of the vouchers of these fishing expences are upon plain paper without stamps. This is not right and must be avoided as much as possible.

11. When such large sums of money as that which occurs in last year's account are charged for inclosing woods, the fences should be measured and inspected by some person of responsibility and an attestation given in with the account, or else you should mark upon the account that you yourself have examined the inclosures

<sup>1</sup> In 1786 the Duke bought several farms in Morvern from Campbell of Ardslogish for £2,800 (Letter of Ferrier to the Duke, 10th June 1805, in the 5th Duke's correspondence, Inveraray Castle).



and are satisfied that the charge is just. This to be sure is implied in your making payment but still it is best to have it clearly expressed.

12. £350 have been advanced or lent by his Grace, last year and this, for making the road betwixt Achnacraig and Aross and it would appear that more is still to be furnished. In your next report mention how much and lodge with your accounts a copy of the minute of the Trustees on the roads to show where and in what manner the money is to be repaid. In order to keep it always in view I think the best way would be for you to make it a charge against yourself in your annual account and to take credit for it again as an arrear until it is paid.

13. What you suggested today seems to be right viz. that hereafter when a man gets a lease of a farm he should be taken bound to leave houses upon it of a certain value. You will therefore consider and report next year what you would recommend on that head.

14. Get an estimate of the expence of building the dyke for dividing Icolmkill and consider what additional rent the tenants will be able to pay his Grace if he lays out the money. It does not occur what benefit such a dyke is to produce when it has only the effect to separate one half of the tenants from the other, without securing every man's possession to himself.

15. Get an estimate also of the expence of inclosing the ruins at Icolmkill as you say strangers are much hurt at seeing them so much neglected and perhaps his Grace may be willing to do something for their preservation, but along with the estimate you should make some report describing the present state of the ruins and showing in what respect they are to be made better by inclosing.

16. As you mention that Ardtornish is a proper place for raising hoops and that it will be proper to enclose some of the woods there which are about to be cut for the purpose of raising hoops, you will get an estimate made of that expence and send with it to his Grace when he returns to Inveraray or bring yourself when you come there, such an explanation as will enable him to judge of the measure.

17. Attend to the marches of the field of Drimville which is possessed by Torloisk and surrounded by his property.

18. As soon as any of the custom-house officers are settled at Tobermory you may draw up and get signed by them and the

settlers & gentlemen in the neighbourhood, a memorial stating the necessity and propriety of having a post-office at that place and send it to me and I will correspond with Lord Fred<sup>k</sup>. Campbell<sup>1</sup> about it.

19. In consequence of the arrangement which has taken place at Liddisdale you must settle with McDougall for the expence of building him a steading of houses and offices in terms of the 13th article of last year's instructions.

/Signed/Ja. Ferrier

24 October 1789

## REPORT UPON THE PRECEEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. In addition to the information submitted by Airds in his report October 1786 with regard to the marches of Brolos, the chamberlain has examined upon the spot such witnesses as he could learn knew most about the matter, and he now submits their evidence to my Lord Duke accompanied with a sort of eye sketch of the pieces of ground in controversy, the better to enable His Grace to understand the import of the testimony of the witnesses.

The extent of ground claimed by the proprietor of Brolos in the muir of Clachaig he thinks will be from 80 to 100 acres of pretty good mountain pasture. That in dispute between Ross and Brolos is rather of a larger extent but is not so valuable. From the circumstances of the lands of Brolos having till of late been held to belong to the same proprietor with the neighbouring grounds, the marches in the muir, where the subjects of the present controversy are situated, do not appear to have been kept with so much strictness as that either party will be able to prove absolute possession beyond the period of prescription; and therefore in the present case the chamberlain is humbly of opinion that it would be best to enter into a submission with Kinlochaline for having it declared what is the line of march between the whole of Broloss and His Grace's property, as that matter did not happen to be attended to when the transaction about these lands took place.

2d. The chamberlain admitting fully the proposition contained in this article, will attend to what it enjoins, and upon applications for new leases, will apply himself to procure the necessary informa-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Frederick Campbell (1729-1816), Lord Clerk Register, brother to the 5th Duke.

tion to enable him to report to my Lord Duke what rent the subject ought to pay so as to bear a fair proportion to the rise in the value of its produce and the circumstances of the tenant.

3d. The improvements executed upon the farms of Achnacraig, Achadashinaig, Fidden and Ardtorinish in terms of the tacksmen's prorogated leases, have been inspected by the chamberlain and a relative report of the state of their progress is herewith laid before my Lord Duke. A considerable extent of stone dyke has also been made on the farm of Achnacroish, but there was not time for inspecting and measuring it. Little has been done on the other farms under prorogated leases. The tacksmen however have assured the factor that they are to set about the execution of their improvements in the course of the ensuing season.

4th. The chamberlain has been in Moydart accompanied by a person of skill in the valuation of woods and inspected the farms of Duillad, Assary, Kenlochuachkerach, Badnagrogan, Kilismore, and the island of Shunabeg, being the only parts of the estate of Kinlochmoydart upon which the oak woods and salmon fishings are reserved, and had the woods upon them valued. There is not a single stick of wood of any kind upon Duillad or Assary and only a little blackwood without any oaks upon Kanlochuachkerach.

	Tons Cwt. Qr.		
Upon Badnagrogan there are some straggling oak trees amongst a considerable extent of birch and other blackwood, that runs amongst the hill on the south side of the Strath of Moydart which upon the whole it is computed will yield no more bark than . . . . .	2	0	0
On Kilismore there are no oaks except a few scatter'd over the face of a hill opposite to the island of Shunabeg that are computed to give bark of . . . . .	0	10	0
On the island of Shunabeg there is an inconsiderable number of oak trees mixed with a straggling birch wood, that could not be estimated to give a greater quantity of bark than . . . . .	0	1	2
In all . . . . .	2	11	2

The manufacturing of the bark is reckoned at thirty shillings and the carriage of it to the shore at a shilling p. ton. The timber it is computed would yeild three dozen of coal, but it is so much scatter'd over the face of a great extent of ground that it is not reckoned worth the expence of collecting it to the coal-kilns, nor are the woods for the same reason thought to be worth the cost of inclosing them. On some of the other farms of the estate of Kenlochmoydart, particularly Kanloch, Kilisbeg or Kiliscolta and part of Bronarie, there is a close thriving stool of oakwood of considerable value. As to the salmon fishing, the only one upon the estate is at Kelisbeg, which the chamberlain did not offer to interfere with, as it did not appear to have been reserved to the family of Argyll.

5th. The Paisley Bank have agreed to authorise their agent at Oban to receive the Mull rents and to give his receipts for the money he gets, the amount of which receipts the cashier is to pay in Edinburgh at 20 days from their date.

6th. A rental of the Morvern purchase has been made up, and the whole rents, cess and other burdens since my Lord Duke's entry to it, are brought upon the face of this year's accounts.

7th. With respect to the yearly value of these lands the chamberlain refers to a survey and schemed rent of them by the land-surveyor, now laid before His Grace.

8th. When the chamberlain attended at Inveraray last year for the settlement of his accounts he had just returned from above a month's absence in the Isle of Skye by my Lord Duke's permission, upon the business of the Society; and consequently had not time to make up so full a statement of the Creich accounts as might perhaps have been necessary to give a view of the probable success of the scheme as far as it could be judged of at that time, before any returns whatever had been received for the fish of that and the preceeding year then at market. He however brought all the materials for forming such a statement amongst with him to Inveraray and pressed as he was for time, he certainly would have endeavoured to have it made up and delivered it in, amongst with his accounts if he had not been under a mistaken belief that any explanation which the face of his accounts or the relative vouchers did not furnish would have been asked from him before any remark was made upon them.

The plan which both Col. Campbell and the chamberlain thought the most likely to forward my Lord Duke's views with respect to Creich was to find boats and the necessary fishing implements for the fishermen, to provide a stock of salt and oatmeal for them, which were to be delivered out by the store-keeper in such proportions as should correspond to the quantity of fish they caught, and in payment of these furnishings to receive their fish at the end of the season at the rate of £14 p. ton and send them to market upon my Lord Duke's account. The fish of the two last years being now sold and accounted for, and the fishermen's accounts being settled down to the present period, they give such a view of the cod and ling fishery upon the west coast of Mull as does not by any means encourage a perseverance in the prosecution of that business.<sup>1</sup> On this subject the chamberlain begs leave to refer to a separate special report to His Grace. With regard to Mr. Logie's incidental account of £7. 6. 4 it consisted either of matters of deburment consisting with the knowledge of Col. Campbell or the chamberlain and supported by distinct vouchers of the payment, or of the different items of expence incurred on the occasion of unavoidable journeys to the custom-house of Oban, either to operate upon the salt account kept there in Logie's name or with fish to be passed by the officers and sent to market. This year the expence of these calls has been restricted to a stated allowance of a shilling a day and the ferry money.

9. The fish killed in 1787 were sent, first to Clyde, and afterwards to Liverpool, without finding a market. They were last of all sent to Madeira, from whence there have been no accounts received of what has become of them. The fish of 1788 and 1789 were sent to Greenock and part of them from thence to Dublin. They have since been all sold and their price, which was only received very lately, is now accounted for.

10. In remote quarters of the country a regular supply of stamps cannot always be got, which occasioned the necessity of taking the receipts of the Nairn fishermen last year and a few others upon plain paper. This however will be avoided in future as much as possible.

11. Before settling with the undertaker for the wood inclosures

<sup>1</sup> The *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* for the parish of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen records that five boats and twenty-five men were fishing out of Creich in 1789; four boats and nineteen men in 1790. After this the venture appears to have been abandoned, owing to poor prices and inadequate returns.

the chamberlain travelled round them himself and saw them measured. In some places he found them faulty and not executed according to agreement, and therefore he refused to pay the expence of the last of the inclosures until those deficiencies were made up. That has been since done and he has accordingly paid the undertaker the ballance of his account and charged it this year. This he thought was better than to trust the inspection of the wood fences to other people.

12. The three hundred and fifty pounds advanced to the Mull district has been brought upon the face of the chamberlain's accounts as desired in this article. A copy of the minute of the trustees was given in to my Lord Duke in October 1788 and another is now delivered with the present report.

13. What the chamberlain meant to have suggested as to the houses on the estate was that as there has never been any rule established with respect to them, some standard rate should be fixed for their value, especially upon the farms under small tenants in the different quarters of the estate, according to the extent of land that the tenant possessing the houses occupies; that is, that the dwelling-house, barn and byre on a farthing-land should be required to be worth so much and upon a penny-land so much; that two or more distinct intelligent persons should be employed to ascertain the present value of the houses possessed by small tenants, and where they are under what may be settled as the standard rate that they should be brought up to it; and that upon the removal of a tenant, he should have a claim from the incoming one for whatever the houses should be comprised to be worth more than the settled rate, not exceeding some certain proportion, such as a third or a fourth of it, and if they should be found to be of less value, that the outgoing tenant should pay the defficiency to the incoming one. By some such general regulation, small tenants would have such an interest in their houses as to encourage them to build them more sufficiently than they do at present and the waste of timber that the constant repair of them occasions would be prevented.

As to the lands possessed by the tacksmen or greater tenants the chamberlain is satisfied, from what he has had access to see, that the rule which has been hitherto followed of binding them to lay out a certain sum, vaguely in improvements, is in this respect objectionable, that the state of the improvements as they stood at

the commencement of the tack is not ascertained, so as that it may be clearly known how much was done under the new tack and how much under former ones. And in the changes which may happen in the management of the estate there is a risk that former improvements may be suffered to go to ruin or be imposed upon the factor a second time for new ones. What the chamberlain would therefore humbly suggest as the means of putting the matter upon a clearer footing is that when a new tack is to be given, the whole houses, stone dykes and ditches should be valued, and it ought to be expressly mentioned in the lease that the tenant has received them separately worth so much, and that he is to leave them worth so much more or pay the deficiency. An allowance of about 15 p. cent should be given on the cost of old stone dykes and ditches for decay under a nineteen years' lease.

14. The expence of making a dyke for dividing Icolmkill will amount to near one hundred pounds, but the tenants are so much crowded in that island, and the land is consequently broken into such small proportions that it is thought they cannot well bear any additional rent for the outlay as it is with difficulty they are able to pay what is laid upon them already. The benefit which the dyke will produce is to separate one end of the island from the other. At present both the extremities form one division called the East end, the middle forms another called the West end, and in the centre of this mid division there is a considerable space of ground common to both. It is obvious that a possession so promiscuous, besides occasioning constant disputes and interferences amongst such a number of people, must in many respects be hurtful to the cultivation of the island, and that these disadvantages cannot be effectually removed but by dividing the one end from the other by a sufficient march-dyke running from sea to sea.

15. The religious houses at Icolmkill are fast going to ruin, partly by the decay of time and partly by the tenants picking out stones from the walls for their own purposes. They also put their cattle into them during the winter, and at this moment some of the finest tombs in the Cathedral and Nunnery are covered with litter. About fifteen pounds would repair an old wall that surrounds the Cathedral and make up the court wall of the Nunnery so as to prevent the intrusions of their tenants or their cattle. A gate with a lock and key might be put upon each at a trifling expence and the whole,

when cleaned out and secured, might be committed to the care of the schoolmaster of the island.

16. There is not upon my Lord Duke's estate on Mull or Morvern a better place for raising hooping than Ardtorinish; and as the part fittest for that purpose is secured by a range of perpendicular rocks on one side and by the sea on the other it can be fenced at an inconsiderable expence by a dyke at each end. It is computed that this can be done for something less than forty pounds, but from the excessive thickness of the brushwood and the ruggedness of the ground, it was impossible to measure the exact length of the required dyke or to examine the conveniency of stone, so as to get the expence precisely ascertained, until the brushwood is removed. Before letting it out for hooping, it would be necessary to employ people to cut down the brushwood, as it does not appear that the Furnace Company<sup>1</sup> were taken bound to clear it.

17. The chamberlain has inspected the marches of Fanmore and Drimiville which are possessed by Torloisk and lye in the midst of his property. He is still humbly of opinion that my Lord Duke ought to insist upon Torloisk's building march-dykes about those pendicles, on condition of his being paid the one half of the comprised value of the dykes at his removal, or at least such a proportion of it as shall correspond to what may be then wanting to compleat a nineteen years' possession.

18. The settlement of the custom-house officers at Tobermory has not yet taken place but will probably happen sometime before winter. When a memorial with respect to the post-office will be made out and transmitted as desired in this article.

19. On treating with Allan McDougal at Lidisdale about the sum to be allowed him for a steading of houses, he seems to point at a sclated house for himself and reckons the whole expence at three hundred pounds. It is the chamberlain's opinion that one hundred and thirty pounds should be a sufficient allowance for building upon that farm a steading of plain farm-houses, that is a dwelling-house, barn, byre and kiln.

Tobermory 8 September 1790

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

<sup>1</sup> The Lorn Furnace Company at Bonawe, which had bought timber in Morvern from the Argyll Estate.



## INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. MAXWELL 1790

1. I am satisfied to have the marches of Brolos settled by arbitration and propose Robert Stewart, the Sheriff-Substitute, as one of the arbiters. If Mr. McLean is satisfied to have the matter ended in that manner he will propose another arbiter and the two must have power to chuse an oversman in case of their not agreeing.

2. You must continue to pay strict attention to the execution of the improvements undertaken by the different tacksmen and in particular consider whether the rates which they affix to their operations are reasonable and proper; also whether the improvements are truly such as by the leases they are bound to make. For instance I observe that on the farm of Ardtorinish the tacksman makes a charge of £33. 3. 4 as laid out for a porch to his house, which I cannot consider as a very useful addition to the farm. He also states £43. 15. 9 as laid out on a byre as if there had been no such thing on the farm formerly, which could not well be the case considering how much was stated against me for building during the time that Mr. Campbell of Airds possessed. I apprehend this late expenditure could only be for rebuilding a byre and in that case ought not to count to the tacksman as a new improvement.

3. I approve of what you have suggested for improving the house of small tenants and ascertaining clearly the improvements made at different times on the farms and recommend to you to follow out the plan.

4. Consider of a proper stance and plan for a spinning school at Icolmkill and get one built there and correspond with Mr. Ferrier about a spinning mistress to teach the girls spinning on the wheels, which I understand are preparing for them at the expence of the Trustees for Fisherys and Manufactures.

5. I agree to be at the expence of inclosing the ruins of Icolmkill as proposed in your answer to the 15th. instruction of last year.

6. Consider whether the brushwood of Ardtorinish can be cut with advantage this season when feuel is so very scarce.

7. You must explain to Torloisk<sup>1</sup> the propriety and necessity of raising march-dykes around the fields of Fanmore and Drimiville

<sup>1</sup> Lachlan MacLean of Torloisk.

to prevent disputes about them and get him to execute that work as soon as possible on the terms you have proposed.

8. I agree to allow one hundred and thirty pounds for building houses on Liddisdale to Allan McDougall tho' I think it too much and beyond what was in view for the accomodation of Colin Campbell.

9. You are to remove the possessors of Ardnacross and place them at Ardtun, taking care to make them as comfortable at the one as the other. By this means you will get access to their farm at Whitsunday next and you may begin to prepare for building a proper house and offices there, first being at pains to get a good plan, and then geting an estimate of the expence which you will send me for my approbation. I do not like to lessen the rent of any farm and therefore will not reduce that of this farm but I will be at some expence in building march-dykes, and subdividing the farm without charging you the usual addition on such occasions and thereby make you as well as if I had abated part of the rent.

10. I cannot think of striping Lerags of Drumfin, the only thing he now has belonging to me, but I will not give him a lease of it and if I can accomodate him anywhere else you will then get Drumfin.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT UPON THE PRECEEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. The question about the marches of Brolos has been submitted in the manner directed in this article and a decreet arbitral has been pronounced favourable to the claim made on the part of my Lord Duke.

2nd. The chamberlain continues to pay the strictest attention to the execution of the improvements undertaken by the tacksmen. He has this year got them valued in some farms as far as they have been executed and in the course of next year he expects to be able to compleat the valuation of them upon the other farms under prorogated leases. With respect to Ardtornish, the tacksmen contends that the porch which he has built to the mansion-house falls under the description of stone and lime houses upon which, by his tack, he is at liberty to lay out his money, and that it is

therefore a sustainable article of improvement. The chamberlain can find no evidence of the value of the byre left at Ardtornish by Airds. The new one built by the tacksman has been valued at £38. 15. and whatever that sum shall be found to exceed the value of the old byre is all that ought to count to him as a new improvement.

3. Considerable progress has been made in following out the plan suggested by the chamberlain last year for ascertaining more clearly the value of the improvements already executed upon the estate as will appear from the different schemes of valuation herewith submitted to my Lord Duke.

4. Before any thing could be done with respect to a spinning school at Icolmkill, Mr. Kemp, the Secretary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, having come to Mull in the course of a progress on an inspection of the Society's schools in the Highlands, the chamberlain understood in a conversation with him on the subject of the school at Icolmkill that he was well disposed to recommend to the Society to give a good salary both to a male and female teacher in that island providing that a comfortable stone and lime house with a slated roof was first provided for them and the other usual accomodations of grass and fuel allowed. But as the expence of such a house might exceed what my Lord Duke had in view at the time of passing this instruction and as the season was at any rate rather too far advanced for an undertaking of that extent the chamberlain has presumed to delay doing any thing in this matter until he had an opportunity of explaining to His Grace what Mr. Kemp has proposed.

5. The inclosure round the ruins of Icolmkill is now under repair and will soon be compleated.

6. The chamberlain advertised the brushwood of Ardtorinish for cuting last winter for firing and a very small part of it has been cleared away for that use. He will still presume to advise the measure of cuting it down, enclosing the stool and letting it out for hooping.

7. This has been explained to Torloisk but he has not yet made any preparation for building marches round these fields.

8. Allan McDougall has been paid one hundred and thirty pounds as desired in this article.

9 & 10th. The death of the tacksman of Aros having made room

for my Lord Duke's original arrangement for the accomodation of the factor, it became unnecessary to do any thing in pursuance of what is enjoined in these articles except to remove the tenants of Ardnacross to Ardtun, in order to open it for the baillie of Tiry in lieu of Aros.

Humbly reported by

Aros 8 October 1791

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

### INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. MAXWELL OCT<sup>r</sup>. 1791

1. You must be at pains to discover and report to me the exact quantity of kelp which can be made upon every farm belonging to me under your charge and how much has in fact been made and exported in each of the three last years, to what markets it was sent and what were the prices received.

2. You must recover from the tenants the augmentations of ministers' stipends which I have lately paid and of which they are bound by their tacks to relieve me. No doubt by the great delay which took place in settling these new stipends I must lose a part of what I have advanced because tenants have died and been removed and others introduced into their places who are not liable except from the time of their own entry. There is no help for that loss but I think it will not be very considerable and I see no hardship in making the present tenants pay what they are bound to pay because all of them have certainly very good bargains from me and the times have been and still are very favourable to them. Let it be done however with as little hardship to them as possible, that is, if it is inconvenient to any of them to pay up the whole at once, I will accept of it by such installments as you think they can make good without being distressed. This money may be laid out in building the houses for the schools in Icolmkill and I agree to give what more is necessary for that work not exceeding £100. You must have in view in executing works of this sort for me that I am entitled to get sclates at Esdale at prime cost which makes a considerable saving on that article.

3. What is become of your proposal of converting the services of tenants into money to be laid out in repairing the wood fences? See report upon instructions 1787, article 2d.

4. Has the fish killed by the Creich fishermen in 1787 which were sent to Madeira never made any return?

5. The dividing of the island of Icolmkill into two by a dyke should be kept in view as you represent it to be a very necessary improvement. I cannot engage in it this year but the tenants may be called on to provide stones and lead them to the line and when that is done I will consider of being at the expence of building the dyke.

7. Keep Torloisk in mind to build the dyke around the fields of Drimville and Fanmore.

8. Inform yourself and let me know what number of people are now upon the estate by a report made after this form

*Parish      Farm      Men      Women      Children*

9. The small tenants who have no leases to be led to build stone dykes in proportion to their ability and the spare time each of them has to employ in that way, and for their encouragement let them know that if they shall happen to be removed that they shall be entitled to a part of the value of the dykes proportioned to the number of years which shall happen to be unexpired of the 19, counting from Whitsunday next, provided the sum does not amount to more than two years' rent of the farm.

10. Consider of a plan for managing the island of Calve so as to make it of use to the inhabitants of Tobermory and at the same time return me a proper rent.

11. Put on record in the Sheriff Court here the decret arbitral lately pronounced regarding the marches betwixt my lands and Broloss.

## REPORT

1st. This has been complied with and a separte special report upon the subject is herewith laid before My Lord Duke.

2d. A particular account of the arrears of augmented stipends lately paid to the ministers of Ross and Morvern has been made out and charged to the tenants as far as they appeared to the chamberlain to be liable for them, but such have been the particular circumstances

of distress<sup>1</sup> in which the bulk of the small tenants and many of the tacksmen have been involved during the last year by the bankruptcies of dealers and other causes, that he found it necessary to give the most liberal explanation to His Grace's injunction of collecting those arrears with the least possible hardship to the tenantry, and he has accordingly indulged many of them with delay till another year in hopes that it may offer a more favourable opportunity to them of paying without being distressed. Different plans for the school at Icolmkill were made out, but the expence of executing them was found to be so high that Mr. Ferrier advised the chamberlain to delay the matter altogether untill it would be reconsidered by My Lord Duke.

3d. As soon as the proposal for converting the services of the tenants of Morvern into money to be laid out in keeping up the wood fences was approven of, the chamberlain made bargains for upholding them at so much a year and assessed the expence upon the tenants in proportion to the number of days' services for which they were severally liable; and under those bargains the fences have ever since been kept up, except upon the farms where the possessors are taken bound to keep them in repair.

4. The only account that has ever been received of the fish killed at Creich in the year 1787 was that the vessell in which they were shipt for Madeira sprung a leak upon her passage by which they were rendered entirely useless.

4. The cutting down of the wood at Ardtorinish has been delayed, but it is a matter that ought not to be lost sight of.

6. The tenants of Icolmkill have laid the stones upon a great part of the line of the proposed dyke for dividing the island, and it is expected that in the course of the winter they will lay down the rest.

7. Torloisk has been kept in mind of building dykes round the fields of Fanmore and Drimville, but from the correspondence with him on the subject of which a copy is herewith submitted to My Lord Duke, he seems to demur about the inclosing of them entirely, and wishes his Grace to be satisfied with the raising of marks in the lines of the marches.

<sup>1</sup> Serious crop failures occurred in Tiree in 1791 and 1792 (*Tiree Instructions 1794*) and appear to have been widespread in the Highlands, contributing to the heavy emigration in these years recorded in numerous parishes in the *Old Statistical Account*.

8. This was done and a report of the state of the population of His Grace's estates under the chamberlain's charge is now submitted.<sup>1</sup>

9. This has been intimated to the small tenants and will be taken as the rule for the execution of improvements on farms not possessed under lease.

10. The only way that occurs in which the island of Calve can be made usefull to the settlement of Tobermory, in its present state, is to oblige the possessor to give the whole black wreck and tangle annually for manure to the settlers. In some time hence, if the settlement increases, it may be proper to consider of laying Calve under wedders and draught ewes for supplying the place with mutton; but as the muir of Baliscate is stocked with sheep and is sufficient to supply the whole of the present consumption of the settlement, there is no immediate occasion for adopting this plan of management with respect to Calve.

11. The decret arbitral regarding the marches of Broloss has been put on record in the Books of Session upon the 21st. of January 1792, as the Sheriff Clerk made some difficulty about putting it upon record in the books of the Sheriff Court of Argyll.

Humbly reported by

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

Aros 15th Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1792

<sup>1</sup> The report here referred to is not a full census, but an enumeration of the population of the various farms. The total population of the Duke's lands in Mull (with Iona) and Morvern in 1792 is given as 4,448. In 1779 it had been 4,167, but as there had been important changes in the boundaries of the Argyll estate (in particular the loss of the extensive estate of Broloss in 1783), these figures do not provide a basis for comparison. Those lands which remained in the Duke's hands show a 25 per cent. increase in population between 1779 and 1792 (an increase which is almost exactly paralleled in Tiree).

	Population in:	
	1779	1792
Morvern lands . . . .	887	1,113
Ross (Mull) . . . .	1,061	1,479
Aros (Mull) . . . .	939	1,035
Torosay (Mull) . . . .	360	420
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,247	4,047

Mainland areas of the Argyll estates generally show an increase of population only a little less than the islands. This is in contrast to the general trend in the county of Argyll, and suggests that emigration was playing a much more limited role on the Argyll estates than it was at this period in the West Highlands as a whole (Argyll Estate Censuses, 1779 and 1792, at Inveraray).

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. MAXWELL OCT<sup>r</sup>. 1792

1. Get an estimate of the expence of cuting down, dressing and inclosing the wood of Ardtorinish.

2. The division of the island of Icolmkill to go on.

3. I think much of the rent of that island should be paid in linin yarn or cloth as the land is fit to raise flax and there are many idle women. Another part should be paid in woollen yarn. Prepare a scheme for this and take measures for having it executed, and as the island cannot possibly support so many inhabitants without some industry of this sort, all who are refractory must be sent away.

4. I am still willing to be at the expence of building a school and school-house in that island, but it must be a plain building of one story with a thatch or heather roof, having glass windows and a table and forms in the school, the whole expence not to exceed £50. I will give no cow's grass, neither will I lay any servitude on the tenants with regard to furnishing fewel to the schoolmaster but I will allow him five pounds yearly to purchase milk and fewell. After having given up every sort of servitude to myself over my tenants, the Christian Society on reflection will not wish or expect that I am to continue them in favour of schoolmasters.

5. As Torloisk is unwilling to lay out money for inclosing the fields of Drimvile and Fanmore I agree to advance the money and desire the work to be immediately executed and he to be charged six and a half per cent for it. I agree to give him a 19 years' lease of these fields commencing at last Whitsunday.

6. You must be at the utmost pains to get information as to the value of farms out of lease at Whitsunday 1795 and afterwards of other farms as the leases run out that I may know as near as possible what I am doing when I grant new leases, for altho' I do not wish to squeeze my tenants or to give them hard bargains I intend to have reasonable rents from them and when I do bestow a favour that the extent of it should be known as near as possible.

I think you should invite some of the new settlers in Ardnamurchan to look at my farms and to offer for them. You may also



ask the assistance of John Tod tacksman of Benbuy and take offers from him if he will make them.<sup>1</sup>

7. In all future setts of farms power must be reserved to me to take the kelp when I think proper on discounting forty shillings yearly for each of the tons which you have lately reported is at present produced on the respective farms. This reservation to be introduced into the leases lately signed by me before you deliver them.

8. Let it be fairly and coolly considered whether the manse and glebe for the minister of Torosay ought to be on my property or on Lochbuy's and if it is not very clear that Lochbuy should be burden'd with it I agree to take the burden of a legal glebe on my farm of Gualahellish, Lochbuy indemnifying me according to his interests in the parish. But do not suffer any more than the legal quantity of ground to be designed and take care that it is designed with as little inconvenience to the rest of the farm as possible.

9. A new rental to be made up and the feuduty of the farm of Balliscate to be properly entered in it, which is not the case at present, the deficiency upon that article for bygone years to be charged in next account.

10. Send a person to inspect the wood inclosures in Torosay if they can be laid open with safety to the woods.

11. The present management of the island of Calve may be continued till I see reason to dispose of it otherwise, but some small consideration must be exacted from the inhabitants of Tobermory for the liberty of taking wreck to prevent their acquiring a servitude upon the island.

12. I have resolved to divide Ardchoirk and Kilpatrick for the accommodation of small tenants agreeable to the plan and scheme sometime ago made by George Langlands and you will take

<sup>1</sup> The new settlers in Arnamurchan appear, from the context, to be sheep-masters. By 1795 there were already 17,000 sheep in this parish (*Old Stat. Account*, parish of Ardnamurchan). John Tod, tacksman of Benbuy (near Inveraray), had 'one of the best and largest sheep-stocks in the Highlands' (*Old Stat. Account*, parish of Inveraray). In his earlier years the Duke forbade tenants on his estates to keep sheep, except when granted permission, as they were considered to be, like goats, injurious to plantations. This was one of the general conditions and regulations taken to apply to all leases and recorded in the lease-books. The Duke's attitude changed and by the nineties he was actively encouraging sheep-farming. In August 1805 he wrote to Ferrier: 'This neighbourhood [viz. Inveraray] and my lands in Mull have more sheep upon them than any district in Scotland or perhaps in England of equal extent.' Crofting villages and new industries were his answer to an increasing landless population.

measures accordingly. There can be no augmentation of rents till the leases expire but the divisions and improvements may begin immediately.

For His Grace the Duke of Argyll

Inveraray 26 Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1792

/Signed/Ja. Ferrier

### ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS

13. You must cause the ground-officer examine and inform you once in the year what has been done in the way of improvement by dykes etc. on the different farms during the preceeding year and report to me when you attend with your accounts.

14. Consider of enforcing the obligation on tenants to plant trees. Much discredit has fallen of late upon the Highland kelp from the quantity being debased with sand, gravel and other improper mixtures. The chamberlain of Tiry and you should consult with Boisdale and other gentlemen interested as to the best way of curing this evil, and regaining the character which has been lost. Perhaps the kelp made on each farm can be stamped so as to distinguish it from all others and lead to a detection of any imposition made in future. This deserves to be attended to, and something should be agreed upon and published in the newspapers for the satisfaction of the public. It may be said from me that if any merchant or manufacturer will disclose any imposition practiced by any tenant of mine, I will endeavour to inflict the most exemplary punishment upon the offender.

### REPORT

1. This has been done, and the estimates are now submitted to my Lord Duke.

2. The chamberlain has not been able to get the tenants of Icolmkill to lay down stones upon the whole line of the intended dyke for dividing the island and therefore no part of it has been yet built.

3. Some flax has been got and a few wheels and reels have been provided for the purpose of introducing the business of spinning linnen yarn amongst the females of Icolmkill.

The measures which the chamberlain has taken to inforce this object will appear from the instructions left by him with the schoolmaster of the island, of which a copy is submitted with this report.

4. This was intimated to the Secretary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, but as no willingness was signified on the part of the Society to accept of the accomodations proposed to be given to the schoolmaster, nothing has been done towards the building of a school-house.

5. A doubt having been lately started by Torloisk in regard to the marches of these pendicles, the building of the dykes could not be undertaken untill it is removed. In the meantime it is submitted as proper to withhold the proposed lease until the marches are settled and the dykes built.

6. The chamberlain has been at pains to find out the holding of the different farms which fall out of lease at Whitsunday 1795 and now reports the same to my Lord Duke, from which His Grace will be able to judge of the rents which ought to be put upon them. On this subject the chamberlain will presume to remark to His Grace that there may be little difficulty in saying in ordinary times what grass-land should pay as a rent to the master, if it is understood that the tenant is to derive his whole subsistence from the produce of his farm alone, but if this is not taken as the rule of judging it is scarcely possible to form another, because its value to the proprietor must otherwise vary with the circumstances of every person that becomes an offerer for it. One man from his particular situation may be able to give a rent for a farm that to another might be a hard bargain at half the money, and owing to this circumstance, instances frequently occur where very considerable abatements are given of the rent which might be got for land, and yet the tenants who are preferred to the possession of it are sorely pinched to make out even the abated rent. This is more particularly the case in regard to many farms possessed by small tenants and the further the practice is carried of crowding them together upon land, of the less value will it become to the proprietor, and the worse in the end will their own condition be rendered, unless some kind of industry can be introduced to give them profitable employment. List of the farms out of lease have been given to some of the tenants of Ardnamurchan, but none of them, as far as the cham-

berlain knows, have yet made any offers. Comby<sup>1</sup> who was requested to assist with his opinion as to the value of these farms, instead of John Tod, declined to come to the country this year, as he thought the present an unfavourable time to judge of what land may be worth.

7. This reservation will be kept in view in the future setts of farms, and has been introduced into the new leases.

8. On corresponding with Mr. Ferrier about this matter, it was agreed to allow Lochbuy his option, either to give a glebe to the minister upon his property, on My Lord Duke's paying a proportion of its value according to his interest in the parish, or to accept of one upon the same terms from His Grace upon Gualachelish; but he has never given any decisive answer to this proposition, and there the matter rests for the present.

9. This is done, and the deficiency upon the feu-duty of Baliscate brought to account.

10. These inclosures have been inspected by the person employed as surveyor of woods by the Lorne Furnace Company, which report is now submitted to my Lord Duke.

11. This is complied with; twenty shillings a year are uplifted from the villagers of Tobermory for the liberty of taking the black wreck and tangle for manure.

12. Ardichoirk has been divided agreeably to the plan, and the tenants are now going on with the enclosure of their different shares of it. John McPhaill, one of the tenants in Kilpatrick, is considered by the rest to be so bad a neighbour that none of them could be prevailed upon to join with him as possessors of one of the four parts, into which that farm falls to be divided, and therefore there was a necessity for delaying the whole until the present lease expires.

13. This will be complied with. The report for the bygone years is now submitted to His Grace.

14. Intimation has been given to the tenants that they must inclose and prepare ground for planting trees in terms of their leases.

15. There was no opportunity of consulting with Boisdale or

<sup>1</sup> Campbell of Combie, a proprietor in Nether Lorn noted for his improvements in stock-breeding (J. Smith, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyle* (London, 1805), 250).

other proprietors of estates in the Highlands about some general regulation for preventing the abuses which have been practiced in the manufacture of kelp; but the chamberlain published an advertisement over the estates under his charge signifying my Lord Duke's resolution of correcting them, and this he believes has had a good effect as he has heard no complaints of the badness of the quality of the kelp sent to market this season by the tenants.

Humbly reported by

/Signed/ Ja. Maxwell

Aros 14 Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1793

### INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. MAXWELL OCTOBER 1793

1. As I do not incline to be at so much expence as £153 in inclosing the wood at Ardtorinish without being better informed as to the return which it is to make, you must find out what annual deduction the tacksman will expect from the rent, in the event of the woods being inclosed, and 2dly what rent I can get for liberty to take hoops from the wood after it is inclosed, in case I shall chuse to let that priviledge for nineteen years. You will also enquire and report what rent will be given me for such tolerance, the tacksman being at the expense of enclosing, cutting down and dressing the wood, and also satisfying the tacksman of the farm for the want of the grass.

2. The division of the island of Icolmkill to be attended to and prosecuted.

3. I approve of the trial you are making to introduce the spinning of linen yarn into that island, and if you find it likely to answer, application must be made to the Trustees for improving Manufactures for some wheels & reels and lintseed.

4. You have herewith delivered to you the plan of two school-houses which have been built for me in Kintyre last year, at the expence of £50 each, the tenants having furnished the carriages. I am told they are substantial good houses, the walls of stone and lime and the roofs covered with slate. If any thing of this sort is to be built in Icolmkill I expect to have it on nearly equal terms, especially as slate is so near at hand and timber has been so conveniently got. By the by, all the timber which you have provided cannot I suppose be needful for such a building as this. What is to spare

should be applied to some other useful purpose, and if no such building is to be erected at this time in the island, the whole must be disposed off. My agent at Edinburgh is to endeavour to come to an understanding with the Christian Society as to this business, and you must correspond with him about it before any building is begun.

5. I insist on having march dykes built betwixt my lands of Drumville and Fanmore and Torloisk's property and that the marches which were delineated on the plans made about 50 years ago be observed.

6. Last year's instruction with regard to the value of farms must be always attended to, with this explanation that while you are factor on the estate your opinion of the value must be much relied upon, and therefore you cannot be at too much pains to inform yourself, and to acquire that sort of knowledge.

7. The easiest and best method of raising a plantation of trees upon every farm appears to be by adding a piece of ground to each of the gardens and making the tenants enclose it sufficiently and remove the present fence betwixt the garden and the addition and then filling up the addition with young trees whereby the tenants will be obliged to protect and save them for the sake of their gardens. When you want trees you must correspond with my gardiner at Inveraray about them.

8. Concert with Lochbuy some effectual and reasonable method of preventing disputes with regard to our ferrys from Mull.

9. I have no objection to receive Ewn McLachlan as tacksman of Laudil in place of Archibald Campbell, on this condition that he give up all thoughts of succeeding to his father in the farm of Achnacraig.

## REPORT ON THE FOREGOING INSTRUCTIONS

1. The present times are so unfavourable for undertakings of this kind that the chamberlain has got no offer for the hooping of Ardtornish. He sees that about ten years ago the tacksman of the farm offered by Lord Duke six pounds for it yearly, without any abatement of rent or expence whatever to his Grace, but he thinks this must be much under its value when inclosed and laid out in

proper hags for a regular annual cutting of hoops. The circumstances of the country upon the return of peace will probably present a better opportunity of disposing of this wood to advantage than the present time and it should be kept in view when that event happens.

2. The division of the island of Icolmkill is going on slowly when the intervals of other labour will give the tenants time to quarry and lead stones for the dykes.

3. It does not appear from the trial that has been made at Icolmkill that the buying of dressed flax and the employment of the females to spin it, even on the most moderate wages, is a business that will defray its own expence. The flax cost my

Lord Duke exclusive of freight . . . . . £10 5 0

And the spinning without allowing any thing to the person who received and kept an account of the yarn cost . . . . .

7 19 1

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£18 4 1

The yarn though sold in Mull at a higher price than it would have brought in the Low Country has only returned . . . . .

£16 1 8

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£2 2 5

So that there is a loss of about two Guineas by this experiment besides the allowance made to the person who had the charge of receiving the yarn as it was spun. If a business of this kind can ever turn to any account to the people, it will be by their raising and preparing the flax themselves and manufacturing it into such fabricks as they will find from experience to be the most profitable. To put them in the way of doing this it will only be necessary to have a certain supply of fresh flax seed provided for them in proper time every season, and if the success of the business could afterwards warrant the expence, a mill should be erected in some fit situation, for enabling them to dress and prepare the flax with greater ease and security. In the meantime it is humbly submitted to my Lord Duke whither it might not be worth while to have an hogshead of flax seed provided for Icolmkill next spring in order

to try what advantage might be likely to arise to the island if the female part of the inhabitants was employed in this kind of industry through all its stages on a more regular and extensive plan.

4. After corresponding with Mr. Ferrier on this subject, it was agreed that a plain house of common dry-stone walls, pointed and harled with lime and covered with a thatched roof, should be built at Icolmkill for the accomodation of the schoolmaster, and that the Marble Company's store-house, which is now not wanted for its original purpose, should be repaired and fitted up for a place to teach in. All this the chamberlain is geting done at an expence of about £20. As to the timber, one half of it has been sold for seating the church of Kilninian, a part of what remains will be wanted for a loft and partitions to the schoolmaster's house, and the rest can either be disposed of or kept for the repair of the parish church, which must soon take place.

5. Torloisk, on being pressed in regard to the marches of Fanmore, not only objects to the line delineated upon the plan, but even sets up a claim to almost the whole of the farm. He and his family have been so long in the possession of Fanmore that it is much to be feared it will not be hardly possible to bring positive evidence of what was the original march betwixt it and his property, which compleatly surrounds it. The matter however will every day be growing more difficult to explicate, and therefore no time should be lost in bringing it to a discussion.

6. The chamberlain's duty and employment for some years back have led him to the pursuit of this kind of knowledge more than any other, and whilst he is in his present situation he will continue to endeavour to acquire it.

7. Some of the tacksmen are preparing inclosures for raising trees, and the chamberlain will press the rest to do the same.

8. Lochbuy has been corresponded with on this subject and the chamberlain thinks that when he has an opportunity of seeing him he will be prevailed upon to agree to some reasonable expedient for preventing any interference of rights at the ferries.

9. Ewn McLachlan agrees to this provisionally, as explained in his letter to the chamberlain of the 14th of August last, which is herewith submitted to my Lord Duke.

Aross 12 Oct. 1794

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell



### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL OCTOBER 1794

1. Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 of last year's instructions to be further attended to.

2. Since the timber provided for the school-house at Icolmkill is not wanted for that purpose you must apply it to some other use or sell it.

3. Consider with Mr. Graham of establishing a resting place at Oban for the sheep of my tenants of Mull and Morvern on reasonable terms.

4. You must explain to Kinlochaline<sup>1</sup> that I cannot suffer the injury which has been done to my farm of Aulistin by shutting the tenants out from the kelp and sea-ware under the pretence of streightening the marches of the farms. I shall agree to be at the expence of any alteration that is necessary to be made on the march-dyke, but the communication must be opened betwixt my farm and that part of the shore which is at present cut off by the present march-dyke. This is so reasonable that I am persuaded Kinlochaline will at once agree to it, but if not you must consult with my agent as to getting redress in a legal manner.

6. Ewn McLachlan may be allowed to possess Laudil during his father's life and at his death the matter must be reconsidered, and so arranged as that he shall not possess both farms.

### REPORT ON INSTRUCTIONS 1794

1st. These articles have been attended to and will be further kept in view until what remains to be done of them is compleated.

2d. As much of the timber as will not be wanted for the Icolmkill school-house has been sold, and the price brought to account.

3d. Eight pounds have been paid to the Marble Company as the value of the store-house.

4th. A piece of ground has been set off near Oban for a resting place to the Mull sheep. The rate of fank dues to be exacted for

<sup>1</sup> Charles MacLean of Drimnin and Kinlochaline. In 1798, according to A. Maclean Sinclair in *The Clan Gillean*, he sold his estates to pay his debts (see also for this family, p. 106, n. 1).

them will be settled when the yearly value of the ground and the expence of inclosing it are ascertained.

5th. Kinlochaline having refused to give up his pretensions to the part of the shore of Aulistan, which lies on his side of the new march-dyke, a special report on the subject was transmitted to Mr. Ferrier upon the 5th of May last.

6th. This was notified to Ewn McLachlan.

Humbly reported by

Aros 8 Oct. 1795

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL OCTOBER 1795

1. Look out for a proper person to be employed in looking after the improvements of the farms in your charge, whose business will be to point out to you the improvements most proper for each farm previous to the sett of it, so as the tacksman may be taken bound to execute these and afterwards to see that the improvements are made in terms of the lease and to send me quarterly or at least once in the year a report showing what has been done. He must also have a superintendence of all the woods and keep the different wood-rangers to their duty.

2. Let my agent at Edinburgh know in proper time the quantity of kelp that is to be sold from my estates in Mull & Morvern, and when and where it will be ship'd, so as he may advertise it for sale.

3. Get the piece of ground at Oban inclosed for a resting place for the sheep in terms of last year's instructions, and the estimate which I have now seen amounting to £22. 19. -.

4. Send a person of skill to examine the Morvern woods if they can be safely open'd.

5. If Kinlochaline's tenants who have lately been fined for destroying my woods make no useful discovery that may lead to the detection of others who have been more guilty than themselves, you must levy the fine from them, and lay it out in mending some piece of road, or in repairing the quays at Achnacraig. Do the same with the log of mahogany which has lately come on shore in Mull.

/Signed/Argyll

REPORT OF FENCES EXECUTED UPON HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S ESTATES IN MULL AND MORVERN  
BETWEEN THE 1ST OF SEPTEMBER 1794 AND THE 1ST OF SEPTEMBER 1795

NAMES OF FARMS	POSSESSORS	FENCES EXECUTED								PURPOSES
		Stone Roods	Dyke Yds	Ditch Roods	Ditch Yds	Dyke & Ditch Roods	Dyke & Ditch Yds	Total Roods	Total Yds	
Penmore	Malcolm Campbell	7	3	37	3	—	—	45	—	March with Torfoisk's property &
Treshnish	Duncan Campbell	8	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	Sub-division
Scour	Capt. McLean	34	—	—	—	—	—	34	—	Sub-division of the farm
Ardalinish	Small tenants	—	—	21	2	—	—	21	2	Garden wall
Fiddien	Col. Campbell	31	—	26	—	—	—	57	—	March with Tireragan
Icolmkill	Small tenants	121	—	—	—	—	—	121	—	March with Knockvologan
Ardchoirk	Small tenants	164	1	167	1	124	—	455	2	March between the east and west ends
Kilpatrick	Small tenants	30	4	—	—	—	—	30	4	Dividing the farm into separate possessions
Laudil	Ewn McLachlan	34	—	—	—	—	—	34	—	March with Ardchoirk
Ardtorinish	Angus Gregorson	27	—	—	—	—	—	27	—	The purposes of these fences are not mentioned in the ground- officer's report
Salachan	Dond. McLachlan	22	—	—	—	—	—	22	—	
		479	2	252	—	124	—	855	2	

Aros 8 Oct. 1795

Certified from the sub-reports of the ground-officers to me.

Ja. Maxwell

## REPORT UPON INSTRUCTIONS 1795

1. The chamberlain was in correspondence with one man, whom he thought fit for this charge, but he at last declined to undertake it and has engaged in the management of Comby's farms in Glenelg. No other person has yet been in view who is thought qualified for it.

2. My Lord Duke's agent was corresponded with in Spring last on this subject, and a mercantile house at Leith was employed by him to dispose of the Mull kelp, but the tenants having in general resisted this scheme, it was departed from for the time and the sale of the kelp was left in their own hands as formerly until his Grace's pleasure could be known.

3. This is nearly done.

4. The business of the Lorne Furnace Company did not admit of sparing the person usually employed in the survey of woods at the proper season of the year for viewing the woods of Morvern, and therefore the chamberlain was obliged to delay the execution of this article till Spring next.

5. The wood fines and value of the mahogany log, amounting after paying all charges to £10. 8. - str., will be laid out as desired in this article unless my Lord Duke will be pleased to allow £5. 19. - paid in the course of executing the Comprehending and Port Quota Acts to be paid out of it, as there is no prospect of recovering this expence from any other fund.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 13th October 1796

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL  
OCTOBER 1796

1. You will probably find a person qualified to oversee the improvements amongst the Fencible men, when Lord Lorne's regiment comes to be disbanded, and the office may be kept open till then.

2. I am resolved to recover the property of my kelp shores, which have been allowed to fall into the hands of the tenants

without any proper return to me. For this purpose you must immediately intimate to all the tenants who possess without leases that in future they are to deliver to my order all the kelp which they make on their farms, not under a certain quantity each, on being allowed a certain sum for each ton.

3. When the current leases expire, the same reservation of the kelp must be made in any new leases which shall be granted.

4. Report to my agent at Edinburgh, as soon as you can, the quantity which you think each farm may be required to make, and the prices to be allowed to the tenants for manufacturing it.

5. To encourage the small tenants to divide their farms into separate possessions, and to build houses each upon his own lott, I agree that they shall either be allowed to possess for nineteen years after next Whitsunday at the present rents, or be paid the value of each new building as shall be erected by them, in the event of any of them being removed before the end of that term, such value not exceeding one year's rent of the possession respectively.

6. Attend to the 4th instruction of last year.

7. The £10. 8. – after paying yourself the £5. 19. – mentioned in the 5th article of your last report, to be laid out in terms of the 5th instruction of 1795.

8. Let me know how the young trees have been disposed of and if they have been properly inclosed and are thriving.

#### REPORT UPON INSTRUCTIONS 1796

1st. When the Fencible regiment is disbanded the chamberlain will look round amongst the non-commissioned officers for a man qualified to execute this duty.

2, 3 & 4. Soon after his return to the country last year, the chamberlain intimated to the tenants of farms not under lease that it was My Lord Duke's intention to take the management of the kelp out of their hands; but they having universally remonstrated against this measure and the state of His Grace's health at the time not admitting of troubling him with discussions to which this subject was likely to give rise, the chamberlain felt it to be necessary to delay for a year to insist upon receiving delivery of their kelp, more especially as the scheme for this change in the management of His Grace's affairs was not so fully digested as that he could

give the tenants any satisfactory answer in regard to the allowance to be made to them for the quantity of kelp which they might be expected to deliver.

In the meantime, as this scheme regarding the management of the kelp seems to be so ill received by the tenants, it is worthy of enquiry whether upon an average of any given number of years, taking times of peace and war together, My Lord Duke's interest would upon the whole be likely to be greatly advanced by the adoption of this measure; or whether leaving the management of the kelp in the hands of the tenants as it is at present, and laying an adequate rent upon the shores amongst with the rent of the land, it might not be just as much for His Grace's interest to continue this plan, as being more acceptable to the tenants than the proposed change; and with the view of assisting in the decision of this question, which is of some importance, as well to his Grace's interest as to the contentment of his people, the chamberlain begs leave humbly to submit a few observations to His Grace.

In the setting of farms upon the estates of Mull & Morvern, it has all along been the practice to consider the kelp shores as a pertinent or appendage annexed to the land, and as passing to the tenant amongst with the possession of his farm; and upon this consideration, the chamberlain has always had it in view, when submitting his opinion upon the offers of farms to His Grace, to calculate thirty shillings per ton upon the highest quantity of kelp that their shores were known to produce, which was thought to be as much as the price given for this article before the war would enable the tenants to pay, and this may therefore be considered to be the only return which My Lord Duke receives at present from the kelp shores of his estates in Mull and Morvern. But, in judging of the value of the kelp to the tenants, it is necessary besides this rent to His Grace to take into view the expence bestowed upon the manufacture, but this being an unsettled article, fluctuating with the price of labour and varying with the difficulty of the shore, it cannot so easily be stated at any precise amount. Within the last year or two it has been greatly upon the rise, owing to the high rate of wages given to the natives of these districts who go to seek employment in the Low Country, and this year it has risen so high as from forty to five and forty shillings the ton, besides the expence of boats, ropes and irons, and the use of horses, all of which

cannot be taken at less than seven or eight shillings per ton more, so that according to the present value of things the expence of manufacture cannot be stated on an average at much if any thing under fifty shillings per ton, which putting a rent of thirty shillings upon the shores, makes the cost of a ton of kelp to the tenant little short of four pounds when it is ready for being sent to market. Whatever price he has received for it above that rate is the value of his superintendence and his own profit; and upon the supposition that my Lord Duke may think fit to require his tenants to deliver their kelp to His Grace's order at some settled permanent price, independent of the casual fluctuations of the market, it will remain for His Grace to determine how much might be considered to be a reasonable indemnification upon these accounts; and as it may be satisfactory to His Grace in deciding upon this point to know the prices usually given for kelp in the island of Mull the chamberlain has been at pains to find out the current price of this article for the last thirty years which he begs leave to submit to his Grace, viz:

YEAR	PRICE P. TON	YEAR	PRICE P. TON	YEAR	PRICE P. TON
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1768	4 10 0	1778	5 10 0	1788	5 10 0
1769	3 5 0	1779	5 5 0	1789	5 0 0
1770	3 15 0	1780	5 2 6	1790	5 15 0
1771	3 10 0	1781	5 0 0	1791	4 15 0
1772	3 10 0	1782	4 15 0	1792	3 15 0
1773	2 18 0	1783	4 10 0	1793	3 10 0
1774	3 4 0	1784	4 15 0	1794	4 10 0
1775	2 15 0	1785	5 0 0	1795	6 6 0
1776	4 0 0	1786	5 0 0	1796	8 4 0
1777	7 0 0	1787	5 10 0	1797	8 8 0

Another way in which the kelp shores may be managed for His Grace's behoof is by setting the land distinctly from the shores, and taking the tenants bound to manufacture the kelp at a certain fixed price for every ton they may deliver. This is the practice which some considerable proprietors of estates in the islands to the westward of Mull have adopted, and in settling the price of manufacture before the price of labour advanced to its present high rate they generally gave from twenty to thirty shillings, according to the chamberlain's information, for each ton delivered; tho' upon this plan of management it is of little importance how much may be stated as the manufacturing price of the kelp, because regard will of course be had to it by parties in fixing the rent of the land.

It however seems obvious that a tenant working the shores upon this footing will never make the same exertion to increase the quantity of kelp, by scrambling amongst rocks for wreck and catching at every weed that may happen to be thrown upon the beach, that he would have done if he had wrought entirely on his own account and had a prospect of enjoying the full benefit of his own industry.

The only remaining method that occurs to the chamberlain in which the kelp shores of these estates can be managed upon my Lord Duke's account is to take them entirely out of the hands of the tenants occupying the land, and either to set them separately to the best offerer, or to employ people annually to manufacture the kelp for His Grace's immediate behoof. But in regard to this or any other mode of management, which would infer a separate possession of the land and of the shores, the chamberlain begs leave to state to My Lord Duke that the nature of the countrys of Mull and Morvern is totally unsuitable to it.

The arable land of these countrys lies everywhere amongst the sea-coast, and the principal manure which the tenants have for their grounds consists of the black wreck and tangle that grow in the shores, interspersed with the yellow or kelp ware. This they cut every spring, and when the price of kelp is low, and oat-meal likely to be dear, they find it their interest to encroach upon the kelp ware, and to cut their shores more freely for manure, but in years like what this one has been, when oat-meal sold cheap and kelp fetched a high price, their management of their shores is directly the reverse, and in general it may be taken as a rule, that when kelp does not bring nearly about five pounds per ton, and oat-meal costs anything more than sixteen shillings p. boll it is in most situations the interest of the tenants to use their sea-ware rather for manure than for kelp. But besides this necessary connection that there is betwixt the management of the shores and the cultivation of the soil which cannot be broken through without evident injury to the tenants in the first instance, and ultimately to my Lord Duke, it does not occur that any satisfactory means can possibly be devised which would prevent the interference that must inavoidably happen between the possessors of the land and the tenants of the shores if they were set separately from each other. The black wreck which must be reserved to the former as manure, being mixed with the



yellow ware that would be set to the latter for kelp, each party in cutting the shores would trespass upon the property of the other, and an incessant scene of confusion, of quarreling and of litigation would arise, which could hardly be prevented even by the presence of both partys on the shore at the same time, a thing that cannot be supposed to happen, because each of them must work his part of its produce at different seasons of the year.

Considering therefore this last mode of management as being entirely out of the question in regard to these countries, the points for my Lord Duke's decision seem to be whether any kelp that may be manufactured upon His Grace's estates in Mull & Morvern should be taken off the hands of the tenants at a settled permanent price, independent of the casual fluctuations of the market, or whether the land should be set seperately from the kelp and the tenants be taken bound to manufacture whatever quantity their shores may be reasonably expected to produce at a certain stipulated price? Or lastly whether the kelp shores ought to continue to be annexed to the possession of the land as they have hitherto been, and respect be had to them in settling the aggregate rent of both, corresponding to what may be thought a medium value of the highest estimated produce of the shores.

In regard to the two first of these propositions, the chamberlain has already endeavoured to submit to his Grace all the information that he can give which may be of use in determining with respect to them, and as to the last if My Lord Duke can have the prospect of drawing an equal revenue from this source by laying a fair rent upon the shores as by taking the management of the kelp from the tenants, it will certainly be a much more acceptable mode to them, because it will leave them to work their shores in whatever manner the comparative value of oat-meal and of kelp may render advisable; and whether the price of this last article may happen to be high or low, they will have the satisfaction of thinking that their industry is exerted for the benefit of themselves alone, and in deciding upon this matter, it is with the greatest deference submitted whether something is not due to this consideration.

*Art. 5.* This has been notified to the tenants and will be taken as the rule for encouraging the division of farms.

6. The woods and wood inclosures have been inspected by the chamberlain alongst with a wood surveyor from the Lorne Furnace

Company. The chamberlain refers to the report of the surveyor as to the condition of the woods.

7. The balance of the £10. 8/- has been paid to the tacksman of Achnacraig for repairing the quays, whose receipt for the same is reported herewith.

8. The young trees were distributed to the tacksmen of Rahoy, Barr, Glencrepisdale, Ardtornish, Achnacroish, Achnacraig, Achadashinaig, Kelliechronan & Kellan. They are in general planted out in inclosed ground and seem to thrive. Some of them were so much hurt in the carriage from Inveraray that the original stems have decayed, but fresh shoots are springing up from the roots.

Humbly reported by

Aros 11th October 1797

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL OCTOBER 1797

1. Having had it in view for several years to take the making of kelp from the tenants I cannot altogether give up the advantage which was expected from that measure, but since you think the management of the kelp will be best in the hands of the tenants, I have no objection to allow it to be so for the present, but then from such farms as are not under lease I must have such augmentations of rent as the times admit of, and you must immediately turn your thoughts to that matter, and give me your plan in writing next year, and all setts to be made in future, whether during pleasure or for years, must reserve to me the power of taking the kelp on discounting to the tenants forty shillings yearly for every ton of manufactured kelp produced from their respective farms.

2d. As I have set the farm of Arduera to Colin Campbell during pleasure at £40 yearly you must put him in possession at next Whitsunday, taking care to have the fence previously erected which is mentioned in John Kelly's report as necessary to preserve the bush of oak on the west side of the hill near Louchcorrie.

3d. Inform the tenants of Icolmkill that I am resolved to put a stop to the practice of carrying away stones from the ruins of the religious houses in that island, and that all who shall hereafter transgress in this respect will certainly be removed.

4. Let me know what sheep stocks there are within 15 miles of Tobermory, and the number of which each stock is supposed to consist.

5. It was held out to me at one time that the island of Calve would become of value when applied to the supplying the Tobermory settlers with hay and grass. Let me know when that is to be, and in the meantime the island should be in grass and not ploughed.

28 Oct. 1797

/Signed/Argyll

#### REPORT ON INSTRUCTIONS 1797

*Art. 1.* As a means of always giving My Lord Duke a distinct view of the advantage arising to his interest from the kelp shores of Mull and Morvern and at the same time of putting it in the power of the tenants to have the working of their shores themselves and the use of the whole sea-ware, either for manure or for kelp, as the state of markets may render adviseable; the chamberlain begs leave to submit how far the following plan might meet with his Grace's approbation.

In the sett of all farms yielding kelp, whether for a short or a long period of endurance, let the rent of the land with the use of the black wreck, tangle and drift ware for manure be settled at a definite sum distinct from and independent of the possession of the yellow or box wreck generally used for the purpose of kelp. At the end of every three years let the kelp ware be offered to the tenants occupying the land on setts of three years' endurance at such a rent for every ton of the average annual quantity of kelp produced from the shores as the state of the markets, at these triennial periods of sett, may be thought fairly to afford; and let the chance of the fluctuations of the market remain with the tenants. But that they may not have it in their power to take advantage of any circumstance which may furnish them with an opportunity of beating down the rent which the state of the markets, at these triennial setts of the shores may give My Lord Duke a right to expect, nor to put his Grace to the expence of making establishments in the different quarters of the estate for supplying and superintending the manufacture of the kelp, let it be stipulated in the leases to the tenants, or in the conditions under which they shall possess the land

where there are no leases, that if His Grace chuses to take the entire management of the kelp into his own hands, they shall be obliged to manufacture the ware produced upon the shores of their several farms at a certain fixed price per ton; and that in this case the quantity delivered shall not be less than what it will be possible to instruct the part of the shores under manufacture had yielded on an average of the three preceding cutings.

Upon this plan the chamberlain submitts a scheme for seperating the rent of the land from the rent of the shores of such kelp farms as are not under lease and for laying a new rent upon the shores of those farms for three years from Whitsunday next. In making up this scheme he calculates the rent of the shores at £3. 10 p. ton on the average annual quantity of kelp which they should produce in the course of three years, and allowing 50/- p. ton for the expence of manufacture, he proposes in this way to leave the tenants of those farms in the possession of their kelp at a price of about £6 per ton when ready to be delivered, and to allow them to take their chance of whatever the markets for the next three years may be over or under that rate.

2d. Colin Campbell has been put in possession of Ardeura and the fence pointed out in John Kelly's report has been erected in terms of this instruction.

*Art.* 3d. This notice has been given to the tenants of Icolmkill.

4. A report is submitted of the sheep stocks within fifteen miles of Tobermory according to the best information the chamberlain could procure.

5. The Tobermory settlers have had the use of the black wreck and tangle of the island of Calve for manure agreeably to article 11th of instructions 1792, and the inn-keeper is supplied annually with some hay from thence. Being the only thing now belonging to my Lord Duke contiguous to Tobermory, it ought to be always kept open to be made subservient to the accommodation of the settlement either by allowing future settlers to raise small plantations of potatoes upon it, by furnishing them with a little hay for Winter provender or by making it usefull to some person of enterprize who may form an establishment at the place. No labouring has been permitted on it for some years back.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 4th Oct. 1798

Ja. Maxwell

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL  
OCTOBER 1798

1st. I approve of what you propose as to the kelp shores and desire the plan may be put in execution. But notice that Torloisk has a promise of the island of Gometra during his life at the rent he pays at present so that nothing can be required from him for the kelp.

2d. Betwixt and next meeting be at pains to inform yourself as fully as possible with regard to the value of the different farms which are to open for sett within the next five years and report to me.

3d. As the inhabitants of Tobermory seem to be at a loss for arable land consider if the whole or a part of the island of Calve can be made convenient for them and more productive to me than it is at present by giving them plots of it in the way that acres are sett to the inhabitants of Campbeltown and other towns.

4. The augmentation to the minister of Torosay must be charged against the tenants who are bound to pay it by their tacks.

Roseneath 25 October 1798

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT ON THE PRECEEDING INSTRUCTIONS

1st. The scheme proposed last year with regard to the management of the kelp shores has been put in execution. The small tenants possessing farms yielding kelp have all taken new sets of their farms upon that footing, but excepting Mr. Campbell, Barmolloch, who possesses Penmore, the single possessors of farms not under lease have made no answer to the notification made to them of this charge though I believe they all acquiesce in it.

2d. I have been at pains to inform myself as accurately as possible of the value of the farms on the estate which fall out of lease within the next five years, and herewith submit a scheme of their estimated yearly rent accordingly.

3d. The island of Calve has been surveyed with this view and 17 plots of ground are marked out upon it for letting to the inhabitants of Tobermory for raising potatoes. A rent is schem'd to these lots of £6. 12. 6 and the rest of the island, which is coarse pasture ground fit for the wintering of cattle, should be worth about £15 more including the kelp shore.

4th. The augmentation to the minister of Torosay has been charged to the tenants and is brought to account in the rental.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 7th October 1799

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL  
OCTOBER 1799

1st. It would appear from your report on the preceeding page that little advantage is to arise, either to me or to the village of Tobermory, by giving the island of Calve to the inhabitants and therefore let it be continued as it is at present.

2d. While almost every person able to bear arms is turning out in one shape or other in the service of the country, I cannot but greatly blame the people of Icolmkill for refusing to allow their sons to go into the militia, a service so mild and at the same time so necessary for the protection of ourselves and our property; and as a mark of my displeasure I desire that Archd. McInnes and his son, Hugh McDonald and Donald McKillop, all of that island, who were concerned in beating and abusing Hector Mcphail, employed to take up the lists of young men for the militia, be removed from their possessions at Whitsunday next, as I will suffer no person to remain upon my property who does not respect and obey the laws, and let it be understood that whoever harbours any of these persons in the island after that time will be served in the same way.

3d. As you inform that a number of petitions & memorials were only given to you recently before you left home, and many of them on your way to this meeting, by which you have had no time to consider and report upon them, let it be known in the country that unless petitions & memorials are given to you on or before the 1st of August that they will not be taken under consideration by me till the following year.

4th. The island of Gometra is to be given to 16 small tenants at next Whitsunday at £200 of rent. I wish a few of the old possessors of that island and some of the fencible soldiers to be chosen for it. Consider of this and send me a list of those you think most proper.

For the Duke of Argyll

/Signed/Ja. Ferrier

## REPORT

1. The island of Calve has been continued in the possession of the baillie of Tiry agreeably to this instruction.

2. Arch<sup>d</sup>. McInnes, Hugh McDonald and Donald McKillop have been removed from Icolmkill and Fencible soldiers put in their place.

3. This has been notified to the tenants and others upon the estate, by publication at the church doors and other public places.

4. Gometra has been set agreeably to this article.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 2d October 1800

Ja. Maxwell

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL

21 OCTOBER 1800

1. Being satisfied that it will be of great advantage towards the improvement of my estates in Mull and Morvern if the small tenants were led to divide their farms, or at least the arable parts of them, and every man to build his house upon his own particular lot, you will turn your attention to this object, and report to me next year what farms you think may admit of this kind of management. I am aware that much cannot be expected from small tenants in this way whilst they possess from year to year, but I will agree to give leases for 9 years and to help such of them as shall undertake to divide their farms and sit down upon the separate lots.

2. Let me know how the tenants who have divided their farms in that country already are succeeding, and as I am desirous to encourage them if they have been dilligent, you will report the names of any of them that have been particularly industrious that I may distinguish them by some premiums or mark of my favour, and suggest what premiums you may think will have the best effect.

3. Attend to what I formerly recommended [as to] finding a fit person to point out the proper improvements to be undertaken by the tenants and to report to me from time to time what improvements are made and what neglected.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT BY THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL

1. The advantage to the tenants themselves from the division of farms is so obvious in the few instances where this management has been introduced upon the estates of Mull and Morvern, that with very few exceptions they seem to have enter'd very heartily into My Lord Duke's wishes in regard to this measure. In compliance therefore with this instruction the chamberlain in the beginning of the season desired the tenants possessing the several farms mentioned in a relative report to consider of the proportions into which their respective farms would best admit of being divided and to mark out the lines in which they would propose to run the boundaries of the different lots for his examination. He has since been over the whole of them and with the approbation of the tenants has corrected the lines where they appear to have been either irregularly or injudiciously drawn. The general adoption of the measure therefore only now waits for the sanction of His Grace's approbation, but in giving it this sanction the chamberlain humbly submits that it should be qualified with the following conditions 1st. that in all cases where the tenants shall undertake to divide their farms into four or more lots or into separate lots for each tenant, where there are fewer tenants than four, they shall be allowed to possess at the present rents for nine years from Whitsunday 1802; 2dly. that the tenants who shall only undertake to divide their farms into two parts shall have a promise of possession on the same condition for five years from that term; 3dly. that each tenant shall build a sufficient house for himself within his own lot in 12 months from Whitsunday 1802 and that he shall have his lot surrounded by a sufficient fencible inclosure adapted to the nature of the ground at or before Whitsunday 1805, and 4thly. that upon the failure of any of the tenants to fulfill this last condition his Grace shall be understood to be released from his part of the bargain, and shall have it in his power to resume the possession of the refusing tenant and to introduce another in his place.

2. In the farms of Ardichoirk, Kilpatrick, Ardtun and Callioch, which have been already divided, a great deal has been done; several good houses have been built, and the breed of cattle has been much improved. Instead of distinguishing any individual at



present by a premium the chamberlain will rather presume that the tenants of Ardchoirk shall get 240 bolls of lime equally amongst them, the tenants of Kilpatrick 180 bolls, the tenants of Ardtun 360 bolls, and the tenants of Calloch 150 bolls, making in whole 930 bolls of lime, they themselves being at the expence of carrying it home. If the plan of dividing the farms is approven of by my Lord Duke, a general scheme of premiums for the best houses and inclosures, and for the greatest quantity of waste ground brought into tillage, should have a considerable effect in exciting a spirit of emulation and industry, and the chamberlain will prepare such a general scheme and report the same on a future occasion for my Lord Duke's consideration.

3d. The fittest person that has fallen in the chamberlain's view for undertaking this duty is Alexander McCallum who has served last year as one of the ground-officers on the estate. He is sober, writes a good hand, and has the character of being honest, steady and attentive. He will attend at Inveraray along with the chamberlain, and may then be treated with as to terms.

Humbly submitted by

Aross 3d October 1801

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL

22 OCTOBER 1801

1st. I approve of dividing the farms possessed by small tenants on the conditions proposed in your report on last year's instructions and desire that the scheme may be carried into execution.

2d. As you say that the tenants will be a loss for tools and cars for quarrying and leading stones for building their houses and dykes, I agree to furnish the tenants of every farm that is to be divided with a sledge-hammer and crow iron amongst them and with as much timber as will make a car to each individual. I hope the expence of these articles will not exceed the sum of £100 and you will consider of the cheapest way of getting them and if necessary correspond with Mr. Ferrier and Col. Graham about them.

3d. I agree to employ Alexander McCallum at a sallary of £25 to superintend the execution of the improvements undertaken by the tenants, and you will cause him to report, occasionally to yourself and annually to me, how they advance.

4th. You may give the tenants of the four farms that have been already divided the different quantities of lime recommended in your report as an encouragement from me.

5th. From what has happened in Tiry I see the error of allowing the tenants of farms to break them down into small proportions by giving shares of them to their younger children, and I desire that it may be kept in view upon the estate under your management that this practice is not to be permitted, and that the small tenants ought not to be allowed to possess less than in the proportion of a farthing-land to each tenant, except where I may see it proper to order a situation favourable for crofting to be broken up entirely for the accomodation of people who are to derive their subsistence from other sources than the produce of the land. I wish however [to be informed] how many settlements of this kind there may be on the estate and when a farm becomes open it is always to be considered how far it will admit of this management.

6th. You are to pay the late baillie of Tiry a pension allowed him from me of forty pounds yearly and charge it in your accounts.

7th. Let the tenants in Mull know that I will give the same premiums there that I gave in Kintyre to the ploughmen who plow with two horses without a driver and who use oxen in place of horses. Captain Stewart<sup>1</sup> will inform you what these are and answer any questions you may have to propose on the subject.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT

1st. The whole of the small tenants are going on with the division of their farms upon the conditions referred to in this article, except the tenants of Tengie, Ledmore, Suie and Tirergan in Mull; and of Iniemore, Savary, Kilcolmkill and Knock in Morvern.

2. Twenty four sledge-hammers and the same number of crow irons with timber for 123 cars have been provided at an expence of £74. 17. 6. and delivered to the tenants who are employed in dividing their farms.

3. Alex. McCallum is employed on these terms to superintend the execution of improvements.

<sup>1</sup> Duncan Stewart, chamberlain of Kintyre.

4. The tenants of these farms were not prepared this year to receive the lime ordered for them by My Lord Duke, but request that they may be allowed to get it next season.

5. This will be attended to.

6. The late baillie of Tiry will be paid his pension in terms of this article.

7. A note of the premiums given in Kintyre was got from Captain Stewart, but as they do not appear to be altogether adapted to the present circumstances of Mull and Morvern, the chamberlain takes the liberty of offering a scheme of premiums for these estates which he humbly submits as better calculated to encourage a spirit of emulation and excellence in the particular branches of improvement which have been undertaken by the tenants or are adapted to the nature of the country.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 1st October 1802

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL

20 OCT. 1802

1. The lime allowed by the 4th article of last year's instructions may be given this year.

2. As you say that a few more cars and quarry tools will be wanted for the tenants who are dividing their farms, you may provide them for them to the value of not more than twenty pounds.

3. As I understand that the change-house of Aros has become ruinous you may prepare a plan of such a plain house as can be erected at a small expence and send it to me, with an estimate, to be considered.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT

1st & 2d. Some of the tenants have got the lime and cars allowed to them by My Lord Duke, but the prices have not yet been called for nor brought to account.

3. Two plans for the change-house at Aros were submitted to his Grace and the one which was appoven of is now under execution at an expence of £220 str.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 3d. Oct. 1803

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL

20TH OCT. 1803

Now that the means of removing to America have been render'd more difficult by the operation of the late Act of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> I see a necessity for taking some steps to endeavour to accommodate cottars and the other supernumerary population of the country who cannot be provided in farms. I understand there are many people of this description in the parish of Ross who formerly found accomodation among the tenants when the farms were possessed in common, but who will be more at a loss for settlements now that they are divided and every tenant has his own separate share. My engagements in that part of the country do not at present admit of giving relief to those people to the extent that may be necessary or that I would otherwise incline, but still I wish to do as much for their accomodation as circumstances will allow. I therefore desire

<sup>1</sup> For the provisions of this Act see p. 73, n. 1. The Act, in the event, did not stop emigration, but it appears not to have affected the Duke's lands seriously. James Maxwell, writing to the Duke on 7th Feb. 1804, comments: "The spirit of emigration which was so active last year, though restrained by the regulations of the late Act of Parliament, is by no means extinguished. Some individuals who cannot afford to pay the increased freight have already enlisted in the Canadian Fencibles, on condition of having their wives and children carried free to America; and many single families will probably engage passages on board of ships that, by taking out only a few, will not come within the operation of the Act. This spirit does not however extend to your Grace's estate, nor do I understand that, with the exception of one worthless individual, there is a single tenant upon it who has at present any intention of moving." Writing on 14th Aug. 1805, Maxwell says: "In this part of the country the spirit, though restrained by the regulations of the late Act of Parliament, is by no means extinguished; but about Lochaber and in the island of Skye it has manifested itself more openly. From the former district three vessels have sailed already with passengers for America this season; and one or two from the latter; besides several families and individuals that have embarked from the Clyde, and many more that are said to be preparing to follow them next season."

1803 was a year of widespread bankruptcies among drovers, with consequent hardships among tenants. (Maxwell's letters dated 12th April and 10th May 1804.) This correspondence makes it plain that the collection of rents depended directly on cattle sales; the delayed appearance of dealers led to delays in the rents and caused the chamberlains much additional anxiety.

that you will consider whether Catechant and perhaps a small part of Salchur, possessed by General John Campbell,<sup>1</sup> lying contiguous to Creich, can without much inconveniency by separated from his farm and cut down into small lots or settlements for such of these people as are the most destitute and maintain the best characters. In doing this you are to have it in view that I wish to leave the General in the possession of a farm that will still be a comfortable place of retreat for him, whenever he chuses to retire to the country, and you will be prepared to report to me at next Meeting what rent he should pay for the remainder, and what stipulations should be made in regard to improvements, and the means of obviating the contingency of the same person succeeding to that possession and to the farms in Torosay possessed by General Campbell's brother.<sup>2</sup>

2. You will receive with this a petition from the tenants of the farm of Hough in Tiry stating that about nine years ago the late baillie took from them £48 sterling for the purpose of building march-dykes and other improvements upon the farm, but that he only laid out £12 of the money. You must recover the balance from him with interest by retaining it from the annual pension he draws from me and pay it over to the present baillie, to be by him restored to the tenants or laid out in building dykes and improving the farm as was originally intended.

3d. If no claim is made for the wrecked deals and anchors lying at Icolmkill, you must sell the same and account to me for two thirds of the proceeds after paying for salvage and other charges, reserving the other third to yourself as the share which I usually allow to my Deputes from unclaimed wrecks.

Inveraray

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT ON THE ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS

1st. There is some extent of improveable ground at Catchant, which might be laid out into crofts like those at Creich, but Mr. Langlands the land-surveyor having been otherwise engaged last year, the chamberlain could not get his assistance to mark them

<sup>1</sup> See p. 147, n. 2, on Colonel John Campbell.

<sup>2</sup> Colin Campbell, tacksman of Achnacross and Ardura.

off, and he therefore cannot lay any specific plan for that purpose at present before my Lord Duke. He has however to submit to his Grace that the pendicle of Catchant, having always been used by General Campbell as a wintering for his young store, and that the different inclosures he has made upon his farm have all been executed with a view to the continuance of this scheme of management. It therefore occurs that the taking away of as much of Catachant as would afford any material relief to the supernumerary population of Ross must entirely overturn the settled economy of the farm, and oblige the General to make a new arrangement for the management of his stock, and probably a new disposition of his inclosures, adapted to the circumscribed extent of the remaining part of the possession.

As it stands at present, it pays a rent of £31. 2 8<sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub>. besides the ministers' stipends, and in the view of a new lease of the whole without requiring General Campbell to lay out any further sum on improvements than he has already done, an hundred pounds or a hundred guineas would be an adequate rent for it. But as the General may incline to lay out more money upon the farm, in order to make it a comfortable retreat for himself, it is humbly submitted whither an option might not be given him, either to pay a rent of £90 str. and to lay out £150 str., or of £80 str. and to lay out £250 under a nineteen years lease without any claim for repayment at the term of its expiry. Should it be finally resolved upon to cut off Catchant, or any part of it for crofts, the deduction of rent to be allowed on that account will be best ascertained by a reference to the judgement of two indifferent persons to be mutually chosen.

With regard to the contingency of the same person succeeding to Fidden and the farms possessed by General Campbell's brother, it is submitted whither the same may not be obviated by introducing a clause into the lease of Fidden, declaring that in case the succession to both farms shall open to the same person, the lease of Fidden shall upon the occurrence of that event become void and null, and his Grace shall have it in his power to resume possession thereof at the first or any subsequent term of Whitsunday which shall happen after such event shall have taken place, upon paying to the heir a proportion—corresponding to the unexpired part of the lease—of the sum actually laid out on improvements under the

stipulation to that purpose contained in it, or of such a further sum as General Campbell at any time during its currency may be authorised to employ upon the farm; declaring at the same time, that in case the heir shall prefer the possession of Fidden to that of the lands in Torosay, he shall have it in his power so to do, and upon his signifying his intentions to that effect in writing, either to my Lord Duke, or his Grace's chamberlain, within six months after the first term of Marts. or Whitsunday that shall happen after the succession shall have opened to him, and delivering in a renunciation of the lease of the lands of Torosay, with an obligation to remove therefrom, then, and in that case, the lease of Fidden to have full force and effect, and to be as binding on all parties as if the above clause had not been inserted therein.

2d. The late baillie of Tyree does not admit that the sum which he retained from the tenants of Hough is altogether as much as they call it. He has in the meantime paid £40 to account of this claim by allowing the same for last year's pension, and the chamberlain has charged himself with that sum as there was no opportunity of paying it to the present baillie. No claim having been made for the wreck'd deals, they have been lately sold, the deals for £22.19.3 and the anchors for £23.12.8. The money has not yet been wholly paid, nor the salvage and other charges settled, so that the value of them could not be brought to account at this time.

Humbly submitted by

/Signed/Ja. Maxwell

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL OCTOBER 1804

1st. General Campbell to have a nineteen years lease of his present possession of Fidden &ca., to commence at Whitsunday next, on the terms suggested by the chamberlain in his last report, the General taking his choice of the alternatives there proposed. But the lease must contain a power to me and my heirs to take off Catchant for the accommodation of small tenants, or crofters, whenever we shall think it proper to do so, on discounting one sixth part of the total rent.

2d. George Langlands to be employed to survey Catchant and to give a plan for dividing it into crofts.

3d. The tacksman of Kilichronan<sup>1</sup> having refused to take the new lease which I offered, and his son having in his proposal represented the farm as not worth the rent I proposed for it, I desire that it may be advertised for sett, and proposals taken in for it both by you and my agents at Edinburgh. The like to be done as to the farm of Barr. Entry to be at Whitsunday 1806.

4. You will settle and pay the arrears due to the minister of Morven for his augmented stipend as you best can, and charge him yearly in future forty guineas for his farm.<sup>2</sup>

5. The tenants who are bound by their leases to relieve me of stipends must be made to pay their shares, both as to bygones and in future, and you will of course charge them the same prices that you pay to the minister.

6. The tenants who possess without leases cannot be desired to relieve me of bygone stipends, but you may make them pay their shares in future.

7. No demand can be made for any part of these stipends on tenants whose leases do not bind them to pay stipends.

8. The tacksman of Achnaha must either build the head-dyke on his farm in terms of his lease or grant an obligation to pay to me or my heirs at the end of the lease the sum which it would cost to build it at this time.

/Signed/Argyll

## REPORT

1. General Campbell having taken the option of the outlay of £250 upon his farm, with a rent of £80, a lease has been proposed on these terms and under the other special conditions proposed in this instruction and in last year's report.

2. It has not been possible to get Mr. Langlands to make a plan for dividing Catchant but it will be kept in view to take the first opportunity of getting him to do it.

3. Since passing this instruction, my Lord Duke having con-

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Campbell.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the farm of Funary.



sented to give a lease of Kilichronan to the son of the tacksman on the terms offered to his father, there was no occasion to advertise the farm.

4. The farm of Barr has been advertised and offers have accordingly been received for it.

5. The minister of Morvern has been settled with for his arrears of augmented stipends at the fiar rates of the county and he will in future be charged with the rent of forty guineas for his farm.

6, 7 & 8. A charge for their proportion of these arrears has been made against such of the tenants as are bound by their leases to relieve my Lord Duke of the ministers' stipends, in which the victual has been stated at the same prices that were paid to the minister, and the amount of the whole being £187. 11. 9d. has been recovered from them and brought to account. These tenants, as well as those who possess without leases, have also been charged with their proportions of the new stipends for crop 1804, amounting to £65. 10.  $1\frac{7}{8}$ , and this sum has been added to the rental as an annual charge against the estate. This charge is made up by a medium conversion of the meal at  $17\frac{1}{4}$  the boll of eight stone or  $19\frac{1}{6}$  the boll of nine stone weight, and of the bear at a guinea the Linlithgow boll, in consequence of an instruction upon a report on this subject which was submitted to my Lord Duke in the year 1802, when the Mull clergy obtained their last augmentations, and which since the passing of the present instruction has been extended to the case of Morvern. It has however been found that these settled rates of conversion exacted from the tenants as the medium fiar of the victual stipend have not been sufficient to cover the fiar prices paid to the clergy which on an average of the last three years have been £1. 1.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for the eight stone weight of meal and £1. 7. 1 for the Linlithgow boll of bear, and it will therefore be for my Lord Duke to consider whether the conversion to be charged in future to the tenants should not be raised to something about these proportions.

9. The tacksman of Achnaha has declined to pay the estimated expence of the head-dyke on his farm, being £132. 14. 3, at the determination of his lease, and has resolved to build the dyke.

Humbly submitted by

Aros 5th October 1805

Ja. Maxwell

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAMBERLAIN OF MULL  
17TH OCTOBER 1805<sup>1</sup>

1. Keep in view to get George Langlands as soon as possible to make the plan for dividing Catechant.

2. As I understand that the farm of Barr is not fit for the accommodation of small tenants, you must consider whether any of the tacksmen who possess farms that would answer them could not be removed to Barr, in case Mrs. Campbell the present tenant shall be found unfit to occupy it, so that these farms might be given to small tenants.

3. Make a list of the tenants in Ross and Morvern who owe the arrears of £57:12:8, that it may be struck out of your accounts if it shall appear that there is no prospect of recovering it.

4. Let the victual stipend payable to the ministers be charged against the tenants at a conversion of twenty shillings for the right stone weight of meal and one pound eight shillings for the Linlithgow boll of bear.

Inveraray

/Signed/Argyll

<sup>1</sup> This year's instructions are in a separate manuscript volume at Inveraray Castle containing instructions for Tiree and for Mull and Morvern from 1805 to 1809 inclusive.



## GLOSSARY

- Acre* The Scotch acre contained a little more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  English acres.
- Bear* Four-rowed barley.
- Boar-tree* (*bour-tree*) Elder tree.
- Boll* A dry measure of varying capacity.
- Car* A wheel-less, horse-drawn vehicle, consisting of two long poles (whose further ends slid over the ground), having struts fixed across for bearing the load.
- Cruved* (*crooved*, *cruived*) Enclosed.
- Decreet arbitral* Decision by arbitrators.
- Excambion* Contract by which one piece of land is exchanged for another.
- Fale* (*fail*, *faile*, *faill*) Flat sod of turf.
- Fale-dyke* Wall built of sods.
- Fall* Linear measure equal to six ells; also a square measure of six ells square.
- Farthing-land* Quarter of a penny-land, *q.v.*
- Fiars* Prices for grain, 'struck' annually for each county, on which stipends were calculated.
- Glanders* Contagious disease in horses, affecting them with swelling below the jaw and a mucous discharge from the nostrils.
- Grass-mail* Rent for pasture.
- Greddan* (*graddan*) Coarse oatmeal, made from parched, hand-ground grain. (In parching it, the ears of corn, and even the whole sheaf, were set on fire.)
- Huich* (*heuch*, *heugh*) Cliff, precipice, steep bank.
- Intrormission* Money transaction carried out by an agent or employee.
- Kabber*, *Kebber* (Gaelic, *cabar*) Pole; one of the timbers laid over the ribs of a house.
- Kenmarrie* (Gaelic, *ceann-mara*) Lit., sea-end; sea-ward end of wall or fence. A 'proper kenmarrie' (see p. 126 above) implies bringing the fence to the coast at a place where the ebb-tide does not leave an unfenced foreshore.
- Locality* Revenue from a certain piece of land specifically appropriated to an individual.
- Lonie* Lane, path.
- Mail-land* Land-unit, containing approximately three souns.
- Memorial* A writing, frequently accompanying a 'proposal', in which a tenant set forth his claim to the lease of a farm.
- Multure* Portion of meal retained by a miller as payment.
- Pantree* Synonymous with 'rub (rib)', *q.v.*
- Penny-land* Land-unit found in western districts formerly under Norse government. There were altogether 193 penny-lands in Mull.
- Proposal* A tenant's written application for a lease, usually naming the rent offered.
- Prorogation* Extension of a lease.
- Rough* Rush (botanical).
- Rubs* (*ribs*) Timbers laid horizontally over the couples of a house to carry the sloping roof-timber or kabbers.
- Sally* Sallow, type of willow tree.
- Set(t)* To let (a farm etc.).
- Soum* Unit of grazing reckoned sufficient to keep a cow.

*Stap* Stake, wooden post.

*Stot* Young bull or ox (usually castrated).

*Stuck* Spike.

*Subject* Property, stock, effects.

*Sub-set(t)* Sub-let.

*Tack* Lease.

*Tacksman* Sometimes denotes here a lease-holder of any description, large or small, but usually a gentleman-farmer.

*Thirl* To bind a tenant by lease to grind his corn at a certain mill.

*Victual* Grain of any sort.

*Wreck (wrack)* Sea-weed.

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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE EXECUTIVE

1963-1964

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## REPORT

of the 77th Annual Meeting

The 77th Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday 14th December 1963, at 3 p.m. Professor Gordon Donaldson, Chairman of Council, was in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows:

It is with deep sorrow that the Council records the death, on 9th November 1963, of Dr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, who was elected President of the Society at the Annual General Meeting in December 1962. For thirty years before that, Dr Balfour-Melville, as Secretary of the Society, had faithfully conducted its business and had attended with characteristic thoroughness to every stage in the production of the Society's publications. He was himself Editor of the *Proceedings of the Estates, 1689-90*. His work for the Society was only a small part of his services to history: for over fifty years hardly anything has been done in the historical field in Scotland in which he did not have an active part. Few can ever have worked with such industry and devotion.

The Council also records its sense of the further great loss which the Society has suffered during the year by the deaths of Dr R. C. Reid and Professor W. Croft Dickinson, each of whom served for a time as Chairman of the Council. Professor Dickinson honoured the Society by making it the vehicle for publicising the fruits of his profound scholarship on the sheriffdom, the barony and the burgh in medieval Scotland, and Dr Reid brought to his *Wigtownshire Charters* a lifetime's study of the history of Galloway.

The late Professor Pryde's edition of the *Kirkintilloch Burgh Court Book, 1658-94*, is now ready for issue to members. The Council feels that this will be valuable not only for its revealing details of life in a Scottish burgh in the seventeenth century, but also for the editor's survey of the Scottish burgh of barony throughout its long history. The Council regrets that further unforeseen delays have occurred in the production by St Andrews University of the *Acta Facultatis Artium*, edited by Mrs A. I. Dunlop. These two volumes will be issued to members as soon as they become available. It is hoped that Volume I of Mr E. R. Cregeen's edition of *The Instructions of the 5th Duke of Argyll to his Chamberlains* will be issued before the end of 1964.

Plans for future volumes are well advanced. *Miscellany Volume X* will contain the following items: Bagimond's Roll for the diocese of Moray,

1287 (recently discovered in the Vatican Archives) ; Accounts of the King's Pursemaster, 1539-40 ; Dundee shipping papers, 1600-04 ; Reports on schoolmasters teaching Latin, 1690 ; Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, 1715-17 ; and Sir John Clerk's Observations on the present state of Scotland, 1730. Dr R. S. Barclay is editing the *Court Book of Orkney and Shetland, 1614-15*, in continuation of the record for 1612-13, which he himself previously published. Mr James Dow has discovered in the Riksarkivet, Stockholm, papers of James Spens of Wormiston, King James VI's ambassador to Sweden, covering the period 1612-29, and has undertaken to edit these. Mr Donald J. Withrington and Mr A. M. Broom are at work on an edition of the *Tyninghame Kirk Session Minutes, 1615-50*, which contain unusually full data on social, economic and educational topics. Mrs Dunlop will edit a further volume of *Scottish Supplications to Rome* when her work on the St Andrews *Acta Facultatis Artium* is completed.

The Council has continued its survey of periods and topics where publication of sources has been neglected in the past and is actively engaged in seeking out appropriate manuscripts and suitable editors. The Council has given particular attention to the possibility of publishing nineteenth-century material and hopes to be able to arrange for several volumes covering this period.

Members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Dr I. F. Grant, Rev. Donald Mackinnon and Mr W. A. McNeill. The following will be proposed to the Annual Meeting for election to the Council:—Mr R. J. Adam, Professor S. G. E. Lythe and Dr I. M. M. MacPhail. The other members of Council, who continue to serve, are Mrs M. O. Anderson, Sir William F. Arbuckle, Professor G. W. S. Barrow, Dr R. H. Campbell, Professor A. A. M. Duncan, Mrs A. I. Dunlop, Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Dr A. R. B. Haldane and Dr C. T. McInnes.

During the past year 11 members have died and 6 have resigned; 40 new members have joined. The membership, including 175 libraries, is now 473.

An abstract of the Accounts, as audited, is appended.

In presenting the Annual Report, Professor Donaldson referred to Dr Balfour-Melville's unfortunately short tenure of the office of President of the Society and to the unwearied industry which he had brought to its service for so many years. Mentioning the volumes in preparation, Professor Donaldson said that the Council was considering changes in format and binding, as it was felt that the Society's volumes should reflect something of the streamlined efficiency of the second half of the twentieth century.

He also took the opportunity to pay tribute to the Society's printers, Messrs T. and A. Constable, who gave a great deal of thoughtful and careful attention to the production of the volumes. In conclusion, he said that it was gratifying to note that membership of the Society was still rising. The Report was seconded by Professor A. A. M. Duncan and was duly adopted.

Dr I. F. Grant nominated for election to the Council Mr Adam, Professor Lythe and Dr MacPhail, who were seconded by Dr C. T. McInnes and duly elected.

Sir William Arbuckle then gave an address entitled 'The Massacre of Glencoe: design or mischance?' The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Sir William, proposed by Professor G. W. S. Barrow.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE and DISCHARGE of the INTROMISSIONS  
of the HONORARY TREASURER for the year from 1st November 1962 to  
31st October 1963.

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1st November 1962:—	
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	£1,500 1 5
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	240 10 2
3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet postages . . . . .	0 11 0½
	<hr/>
	£1,741 2 7½
II. Subscriptions received . . . . .	548 8 6
III. Donation . . . . .	35 0 0
IV. Past Publications sold (including postages recovered from purchasers) . . . . .	118 4 0
V. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland .	32 14 2
VI. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account . . . . .	£651 1 8
	<hr/>
VII. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account . . . . .	—
	<hr/>
	<hr/>
	£2,475 9 3½
	<hr/>

## DISCHARGE

I. Cost of Publications during year . . . . .	£52 19 6	
Cost of printing Annual Report, Notices and Printers' postages etc. . . . .	60 8 5	
	<hr/>	£113 7 11
II. Miscellaneous Payments . . . . .	38 1 11½	
III. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account . . . . .	£701 12 6	
	<hr/>	
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account . . . . .	£532 14 2	
	<hr/>	
V. Funds at close of this account:—		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	£2,032 15 7	
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	291 1 0	
3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet current postages . . . . .	0 2 10	
	<hr/>	2,323 19 5
		<hr/>
		£2,475 9 3½
		<hr/>

## II. DR ANNIE I. DUNLOP SPECIAL FUND ACCOUNT

## CHARGE

## I. Cash in Bank at 1st November, 1962:—

1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	£671 17 7
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	19 6 0
	<hr/>
	£691 3 7

II. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . .	14 9 5
	<hr/>
	£705 13 0
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## DISCHARGE

I. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account .	<u>£14 9 5</u>
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## II. Funds at close of this Account:—

1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland .	£686 7 0
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland .	19 6 0
	<hr/>
	£705 13 0
	<hr/>
	£705 13 0
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EDINBURGH, 20th November 1963.—I have examined the General Account and Dr Annie I. Dunlop Special Fund Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1962 to 31st October 1963, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

C. T. McINNES,  
Auditor.

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

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1963-1964





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## RULES

1. The object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be £1 5s. for individual members and £1 10s. for libraries. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues one volume each year.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.











ISLE of TIREE 1768-9



This map is based on a tracing made in 1863 by James Fergusson of an original map done by James Turnbull from a geometrical survey carried out in 1768-9. Turnbull's map, drawn to a scale of 4 inches to an inch, distinguished clearly—as his written report shows—infield, outfield, meadow, common pasture, moss, moor, lochs and blown sand in every farm, giving precise areas. He indicated every house in its exact position by a red oblong symbol. The report is extant at Inveraray Castle, but the map unfortunately is lost. Fergusson's tracing, however, shows farm boundaries and many natural features, and reproduces with care, though sometimes not without ambiguities, the settlements and individual houses and barns. Turnbull's careful record of categories of land within each farm is unfortunately not reproduced. (From the report it has been possible to add the names of several lochs and to indicate the function of the enclosures west of the common moss of Monighel. A capital P indicates pasture shared by neighbouring farms). In this map a number of 19th century features included in Fergusson's copy are omitted. A broken line indicates farm boundaries.

DETAILS OF FARMS GIVEN IN TURNBULL'S REPORT 1768-9

FARMS	MAIL LANDS	ACRES	POP. 1768	NUMBERS OF TENANTS	COTTARS
HEYLIPOLL	40	545	117 (163)	17	16
BALMNOE & QUYEISH	30	440	71 (87)	4*	2
BALEMARTINE	22	250	27 (50)	1*	-
BALEPHUILL	32	464	16 (10)	4*	5
MANNAL & HAYNISH	72	659	37 (56)	4*	4
KENVAR & BARAPOLL	64	829	40 (43)	-	-
BALMENOCH	24	314	70 (66)	10	-
SANDAIG	12	68	18 (52)	3	1
GRIANAL	24	104	47 (51)	6*	5
KILCHENICHBEG	12	111	27 (27)	2	4
KILCHENICHMORE	12	99	12 (14)	1	2
KERANOKILE	12	97	20 (50)	3	2
KERACHROSEGAR	36	230	34 (27)	9	3
KERAHUSEGAR	48	454	85 (113)	5	5
HOUGH	48	431	83 (151)	16*	6
BALEWILLINE	51	567	50 (51)	7*	8
KILMALUAIG & PARK	24	161	35	7*	1
BEIST	40	441	80 (146)	11	8
CORNAIGMORE	40	294	80 (100)	10	4
CORNAIGBEG	48	547	158 (199)	22	14
KENOVA	32	547	78 (74)	6*	9
BALEPHETRISH	48	365	67 (158)	14*	3
VAULL	12	178	23 (36)	2	2
SALUM	48	680	100 (196)	15*	10
KELIS	44	418	61 (106)	15*	3
RUAIG	24	245	29 (87)	3*	5
KIRKAPOLL	12	267	21 (19)	1*	7
GOTT & VUILL	18	277	58 (96)	10	8
SCARINISH	24	242	36 (53)	4	6
HIANISH	24	235	62 (104)	6	9
BAUGH	8	236	26 (58)	4*	3
CROSSAPOLL	-	2968	-	-	-
COMMONS & LOCHS	-	13,833	1676	2443	241*
TOTAL	-	13,833	1676	2443	241*

\* Tenants includes bowmen, mailers etc on farms held by tacksmen, minister & chamberlain.

\*\* The population of the farms in 1792, from an estate census, shown in brackets.



DETAILS OF FARMS GIVEN IN TURBUNUL		DETAILS OF FARMS GIVEN IN TURBUNUL	
NUMBERS OF	NUMBERS OF	NUMBERS OF	NUMBERS OF
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[illegible]