Aberdeen University

SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT IN WESTER ROSS :-LECKIE AND THE HEIGHTS OF KINLOCHEWE

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

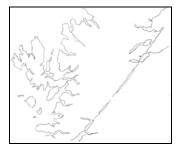
The settlements comprising Leckie and the Heights of Kinlochewe are situated to the northeast of the present village of Kinlochewe in Wester Ross, North West Highlands. Originally part of the, once extensive, Gairloch Estate, the area is now divided between Letterewe Estate and Kinlochewe and Loch Rosque Estates. The settlements are now abandoned for permanent habitation, although one dwelling at Leckie remains in good repair as an Estate Bothy and Heights House is rented out as a holiday let. They are part of the grazing land for Kinlochewe Estate and Culaneilan Farm. Upland areas associated with these settlements provide deer stalking for Kinlochewe and Loch Rosque Estate. Part of the upland area associated with The Heights of Kinlochewe has been fenced and replanted with native tree species.

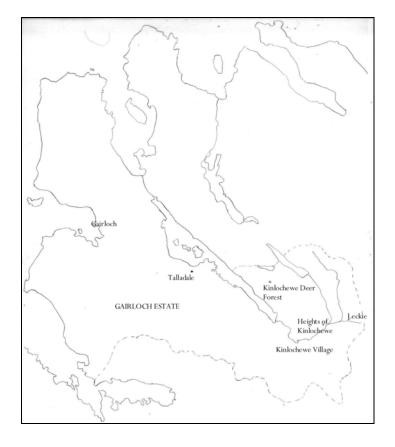
This paper aims to outline the development of these settlements against the national and international economic trends that prompted these changes.

The author wishes to thank Nicola Taylar, the Curator of the Gairloch Heritage Museum for access to the Archives containing copied material from Gairloch Estates: Rentals, Tacks, Leases, Census Returns and letters – and much more. Iain and Malcolm MacDonald of Cullinellan Farm helped with place names and Hedi MacLeod with locating physical remains on the ground. Letterewe Estate Manager, Barbara Macdonald has supported this study throughout. Iain Livingstone, Ardeslaig, provided valuable information on the MacLennan family of Leckie and the Heights.

INTRODUCTION

The underlying geology of the study area is very varied, being composed of a complex of strata associated with post Cambrian Moine Thrust metamorphism. The basal formation of the area is the Diabaig Group of the Torridonian Sandstone Formation exposed on the eastern side of Gleann na Muice. Glen Bruachaig exploits the Kinlochewe Thrust plane, which is part of the complex of thrust planes comprising the Moine Thrust Zone and which is exposed in places along the bed of the Abhainn Bruachaig. Rocks of Cambrian age occur around the Heights of Kinlochewe in discontinuous beds, locally with a high calcium carbonate content which has been exploited for agricultural lime. Above the Moine Thrust, at the confluence of the Leckie Burn with the Abhainn Tanagaidh, Moine Series rocks are exposed grading eastwards into flaggy fine-grained quartz granulites with white mica, separated by mica schists. Further east, towards Strathcromble there is an increase in grade of metamorphism with more abundant biotite and in Allt a'Chlaiginn, south of Strathcromble, the flaggy quartz-granulites alternate with biotite granulites and biotite schists¹. These flags are what gives Leckie its name (Gaelic – *leacaidh* =flaggy). The underlying geology around Leckie is masked by glacial deposits of morainic drift and some boulder clay overlain by peat development above around 300m.





Location Map: Regional (above) Gairloch Estate (left)

¹ Ref: Peach, B.N. et al "The Geology of the Fannich Mountains and the Country around Upper Loch Maree and Strath Broom (1913)

ORIGINS OF KINLOCHEWE ESTATE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

Kinlochewe Estate was originally held by the MacKenzies of Seaforth. However, in 1634 Kinlochewe Estate, together with a half-share of the saw-mill at Bianasdail, was wadsetted² to Alexander MacKenzie of Coul. As a result of involvement in the First Jacobite Rebellion, in 1715, the Seaforth Mackenzie lands were forfeited, except those that had been wadsetted and in 1743 Kinlochewe was able to be redeemed and promptly sold to Alexander MacKenzie 2nd Baronet of Gairloch who died in 1766. He was succeeded by his son Alexander and Tacks of Gairloch Estate signed by "Alexander Mackenzie", presumably the 3rd Baronet, exist to tenants of the absorbed Kinlochewe Estate dated from 1766 for a term of 8 years. However, in April 1770 Alexander was killed in a riding accident leaving considerable debt. His heir, Hector, was only 12 years old but during his minority the Trustees of the Estate managed to clear some of this debt and once in control of the Estates himself, Sir Hector Mackenzie began some of the first agricultural improvements.

Agricultural improvement on Gairloch Estate came about a little later than in many places in Scotland. Although sheep farming was already carried out in the area, the crofting system had still to be organised. In many parts of the estate crofts were laid out to take advantage of inland pasture for sheep and exploit coastal locations for kelp manufacture and fishing. Surrounding estates were already being cleared for sheep. In 1795 Gruinard had been bought by Henry Davidson of Tulloch who sold it on to Meyrick Banks in 1835, when he also bought Letterewe for sheep farming. However, crofts at Kinlochewe were laid out to improve the agricultural productivity and also the housing stock, estate maps suriving for Ananceaun, Culinellan, Tagaan and Bruachaig. Crofts were not laid out for the Heights of Kinlochewe or Leckie and these remained as sheep farms until part of the upland area was converted to deer forest in 1842. It was under the tenure of the 4th Baronet that the first sheep farms were created in the area, firstly at Letterewe around 1795, managed by Mr John MacIntyre and then at Kinlochewe soon after. The crop of oats traditionally grown for subsistence only lasted for 7 or 8 months of the year and once

 $^{^{2}}$ A "wadset" was a form of mortgage. Early wadsets consisted of the disposition of land by a debtor in return for a letter of reversion allowing the land to be returned to the debtor on repayment of the debt.

The 5th Baronet, Sir Francis MacKenzie, suceeded to the Gairloch Estates in 1826 and travelled extensively throughout England, Ireland and Continental Europe gathering information on methods of cultivation, new breeds of livestock and crops and also housing. In 1838 he published a pamphlet entitled "Hints for the use of Highland Tenants and Cottagers: by a Proprietor" in both Gaelic and English. Plans were devised by Sir Francis and his younger brother Dr John MacKenzie to set out crofts of between 4 and 5 acres each – an area that could be cultivated by a spade. However, Sir Francis died in 1843 before these plans could be put into practice leaving his heir, Sir Kenneth Smith Mackenzie, a minor. The Estate was put into the hands of Trustees until Sir Kenneth could suceed. Dr John MacKenzie, who had been managing the estate was not one of the Trustees as he was next in line to inherit. The designated Trustees were Sir Francis' stepmother Dame Mary Hanbury-MacKenzie and one Thomas MacKenzie of Ord, but in effect Dr John continued to manage the estate as Mary Hanbury was unfamiliar with it's workings and Thomas MacKenzie never visited the estate. The estate was in a state of flux as many leases were becoming due for renewal in 1846. The MacKenzie heir, in possession of his estate could grant leases of 19 years. However, the Trustees could not grant any leases which would extend beyond the date of Sir Kenneth attaining his majority. He was succeeded by his son Kenneth John MacKenzie in 1900 until his death in 1929 when Sir Hector David MacKenzie became the eighth baronet.

In the national Census from 1841 The Heights of Kinlochewe is designated as a separate township which remains subdivided into the older placenames in the Gairloch Estate Rentals. Much cross-referencing is needed to identify buildings on the ground with older settlement names and match them to the House numbers used in the Census which also vary from decade to decade.

Throughout the Gairloch Estate Rentals, since the inclusion of Kinlochewe Estate, the township of The Heights, was tenanted almost entirely by MacLennans. In the Middle Ages the MacLennans were the traditional standard bearers for the Seaforth MacKenzies of Kintail who were defeated, along with Montrose at the Battle of Auldearn in 1645. Family tradition, provided by Mr Iain Livingstone of Sheildaig, Applecross, tells of the first MacLennan, John, arriving from Kintail following a clan battle before 1436 and settling "near Strathcromble" which is to the east of Leckie.

The entry in the Old Statistical Account of 1793 by Rev Mr Daniel McIntosh notes that the farmers of the parish of Gairloch can only feed themselves from their own arable ground for seven or eight months in a good year and supplementary meal is shipped in from the northeast of Scotland. The main crop was of oats and barley and a small quantity of pease as well as potatoes. The New Statistical Account for the parish appeared in 1842 drawn up by Rev. Donald McRae of Poolewe. He, very usefully, gives the averages for rent and wages in the parish as follows:

Land – from 10 shillings to £1 per acre

Rent of grazing for a cow or ox for a year – from £1 to £2

Rent of pasturing a ewe or sheep for a year from 1 shilling six pence to 2 s 6d

The wages he estimates as follows:

Farm servants receive from £5 to £8 per annum, "exclusive of their victuals"

Masons receive from 2 shillings 6d to 3 s per day, carpenters from 2s to 2s 6d, blacksmiths 3s and weavers from 1s 6d to 2s all including victuals. Mr McRae futher comments on the need for a road through the parish from Kinlochewe to the port of Poolewe and also that the population was in excess of what could be supported locally and he suggested Government help for one third of the population to emigrate to "Upper Canada" to alleviate suffering. The road eventually came as a result of the potato famine of 1846-8 when relief funds were spent in employing tenants in its construction.

Putting them on the Map

The current Ordnance Survey maps show the collection of buildings at the junction of Gleann na Muice and Gleann Cruchilly as "The Heights of Kinlochewe" which is what they go by in all Census Returns. In the Estate Rentals the settlements are still split into their older names and it has been difficult to distinguish them Thanks to Iain and Malcolm Macdonald from Culaneilan Farm for their help in this matter. They farm Culaneilan and the grazing lands include "Cruchilly" which is taken to be from the road end at Incheril to near Heights House. Bruachaig and Cruchillie were combined in the Rental of 1795.

The first mention of Leckie as a settlement is on Blaeu's map from 1654 which was based heavily on the notes made by Timothy Pont the previous century. It was then written "Lecachy" and located on the southern side of the Abhainn Srath Chrombaill (or as written on the map – "Avon Brecach", presumably *Bruachaig*) near the opening of Glen Tanagaidh.



Figure 3: Blaeu's Map 1654

Another settlement is marked further down the glen as "Glenmuik", which appears to be where Gleann

na Muice opens into the main glen, which is variously know as Glen Logan or Glen Cruaidh Choillie (Bartholemew 1912). Roy's Military Survey of the Highlands names the whole glen as "Glen Leickan" with "Glen Muick" and "Glen Tanigy" entering from the north. Roy only names one settlement in Glen Leickan, that of "Crockaly" on the southern bank of the Abhainn Bruachiag which could be the Cruchille of the Estate Rentals. Roy's surveyors were, in general, non-Gaelic speakers and only recorded a placename as they heard it pronounced locally. Settlements on Roy's map are conventionally indicated with a scatter of red buildings, but the number shown is a styalised indication only and not a true reflection on the number present. Cultivated land is also shown on the map in yellow with hatched markings representing tilled ground, surprisingly these areas are on the south side of the river, either side of "Crockaly" whereas today the improved ground is all on the northern side of the river, which receives more sunlight. Although the road is shown on the northern side there are also indications of abundant tree cover on this side where today there is rough grazing.

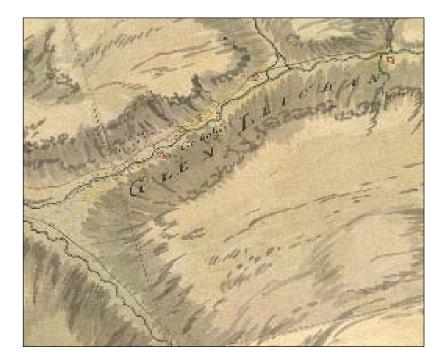


Figure 4: Leckie from Roy's Military Survey of the Highlands 1747-55

At the junction of Gleann na Muice and Glen Cruchuillie, where the present Heights House stands, is marked on the map as Ath na Sealga which occurs in the Rentals associated with the settlements of "Balness" and "Gullen/Goulinour". These are then combined with Stronchile and Strontierd in rentals after 1806.

EARLY RECORDS

Although copies of Gairloch estate Rentals are available in the Archive of the Gairloch Heritage Museum from 1752 the first listings of the settlements around the northeastern part of Kinlochewe occur in 1767 with lease agreements dated from the previous year. Although the Kinlochewe Estate had been redeemed from wadset, some leases issued in the interim by Seaforth Estates were for 19 years and still had time to run before they were renegotiated. Formal Tacks were drawn up between the Proprietor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie (3rd Baronet) and the tenants and witnessed in the presence of Alexander Mackenzie, Tacksman of Inverasdale and Hugh MacKay. They were generally for a term of 8 years.

The lease agreement for Leckie from 1767 reads as follows:

Item, the said Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Gairloch herby setts for the space above mentioned to Farquhar and Roderick MacLennan......(indistinct)the seven pecks of the Lands of Leakie as presently possessed by them for yearly payment of nine pounds fourteen shillings five pence and four twelves of a penny money rent. Sixteen shillings and six pence of Stipend and Schoolmaster salary, two carriage horses, four wedders, one stone cheese and one stone of butter or the conversions therefore before mentioned in the Masters.....?... And further the said Farquhar and Roderick MacLennan oblige themselves to enter into a formal Tack in terms hereof and as the Minute of Sett before mentioned. In witness whereof the parties have subscribed these present place and date foresaid. Before and in the presence of the said Alexander MacKenzie Tacksman of Inveraspidale and the said Hugh MacKay.

The Tack for Leckie from 1766 goes on to set out more fully the terms and conditions of the agreement stipulating that Farquhar and Roderick MacLennan "shall not under any pretext whatever bring low country black cattle or horses" onto the land for grazing under penalty of forfeiting the Tack. This stipulation appeared to be normal throughout the Tacks on the Estate for this time. Tacks issued in 1766 of 8 years duration included the following:

By Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart. to John MacLean and others for the lands of Goulinour, Stronchil and Srontierd

... to Hector MacGregor and others for the lands of Stronchile

... to Kenneth Mackenzie for the lands of Kibuch and Dochartich

... to John MacGregor for the lands of Incheril and Inchlagan

... to Farquhar and Roderick MacLennan for the lands of Leckie

... to Roderick MacGregor for the lands of Tagan

... to Donald MacGregor and others for the lands of Anan..

... to Murdoch and Christopher McEiver for the lands of Torran Cullen

... to Roderick Mackenzie for the lands of Cruchilly and grazings of....

... to John Mackenzie for the lands of Bruachag and Richruim

Rents were stated in crop – usually dairy produce: cheese and butter as well as the use of horses and provision of a specified number of wedders – or the money equivalent thereof, with money also to pay Minister's stipend and a salary for the provision of a schoolmaster.

Once these had expired the 4th Baronet, Sir Hector Mackenzie began renewing them in 1775 but for the duration of 4 years only and they run as follows:

... to Dunan Macrae and John MacGregor for the lands of Strontierd

... to Murdoch McEiver for the lands of Torran Cullen

,,,to Donald and Murdoch MacLennan for the lands of Goulinour

... to Farquhar and Roderick McLennan for the lands of Leckie

... to Donald McLennan for the lands of Stronchile

... to Kenneth Mackenzie "(His Uncle)" for the lands of Kibuch and Glendochartie

... to John and Farquhar McEiver and John McEanlea for the lands of Guise

... to Donald McGrigor and Roderick McDonald for the lands of Annakaun

... to Roderick McGrigor for the lands of Taagan

... to Hector McGregor and Mary McLennan for the lands of Pollicullen and Derrydown

... to Malcolm McAulay for the lands of Frascon and Cullinouw ..?

... to Malcolm McAulay and Roderick Mckenzie for the lands of Cruchille and lands in the Ward

... to John Mackenzie for the lands of Bruachaig and Richraime

... to Keneth Mackenzie for the lands of Kenlochewe and Incheril

In 1800 Sir Hector also issued Tacks to the following people

... to Duncan Mackenzie for the lands of Taagan, Pollycullen, 2/3rds of Kibachy and Glen Tanagy for 20 years.

... to Duncan Macdonald for one half of the lands of Incheril, and half of the lands of the Upper Glen.

... to Donald Macgrigor the town and lands of Achnacan. for five years.

... to John Macgrigor the town and lands of Frascon... for five years.

... to Alex Mackenzie and John Macgrigor for the town and lands of Kibach for five years.

...to Roderick MacLennan, Smith and Malcolm MacAulay.. six score of merks of Bardbog, Culnanellan, Incheril and 100 merks of Glen Dochardich ...for five years.

... to Murdo MacPhail... for five years the town and lands of Smirisarie.....

....to Roderick MacKenzie...for five years...the town and lands of Cruchillie with the grazings and sheilings thereof.

...to John MacGrigor...for five years...the town and lands of Strontierd with the sheilings and grazings thereto belonging.

... to Roderick MacDonald and Katherine MacLeod... for five years the town and lands of Torineoin with the sheilings and grazings.

... to John MacKenzie... for five years.. the town and lands of Brouchaig.

... to Donald and Roderick MacPhail... for five years.. the town and lands of Goulinour.

... to Kenneth MacKenzie (son of John MacKenzie, Brouchaig)... for five years.. the town and lands of Balness and

AthnaShealg with the sheilings and grazings...

...to Farquhar and Roderick MacLennan...for five years ...the town and lands of Lechdy and Arrieluchd with the sheilings and grazings...

...to Donald MacLennan and Murdo MacLean...for five years ...the town and lands of Stronchile with the sheilings and grazings..

... to Mudro MacConlea and Roderick MacLean... for five years... the town and lands of Lurgs of Glentanagy.

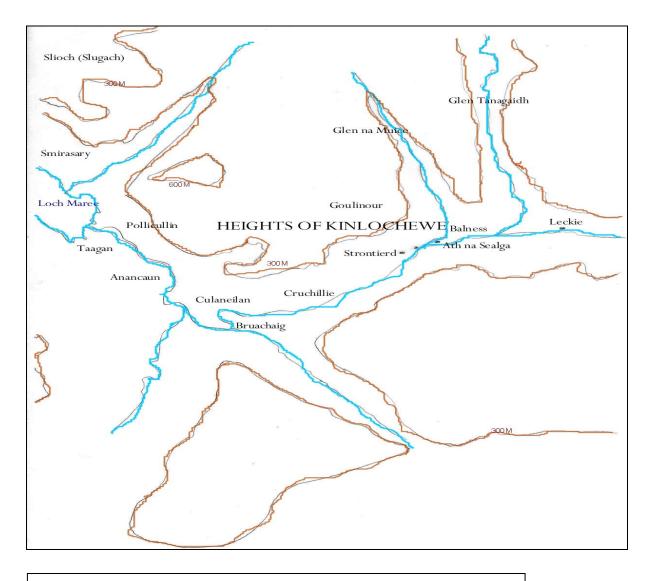


Figure 5: Map of the Heights of Kinlochewe

SHEEP FARMING

The last decade of the eighteenth and first decade of the ninteenth century was a time of great change within Gairloch Estate. The neighbouring estate of Gruinard had been bought from MacKenzie of Gruinard by Duncan Davidson of Tulloch (by Dingwall) in 1799 who created large sheep farms on the land and let them to Lowland, mostly absentee, farmers. On Gairloch Estate the first of the sheep farmers were being rented land. The 1795 Estate Rental show a "Mr John MacIntyre" renting "Smirisary & Sleughach" for £42 per annum, when typical rents ranged from £4 to £12. These settlements are to the west of Kinlochewe along the north shore of Loch Maree. By 1800 these are stated in the Rentals to be let to Messers Birtwhistle & Co, still for £42. In 1802 "& John MacIntyre" is added. (Dixon states that the first sheep farm in the area was, indeed managed by Mr MacIntyre, based at Letterewe, but a later date of "around 1810".)



Figure 6: Shearing shed at the Heights

However, this was a time when the prices of cattle were still high enough to justify their production and it was not until after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 that the cattle economy collapsed.

In 1805 sheep farm expansion seem to have occurred on Gairloch Estate with rents generally rising, sometimes by more than double. Shieldaig (Gairloch) was let to Kenneth and John MacKenzie Esq. for £200 (It had been let to Kenneth MacKenzie Esq. for just £28 7s 6d the previous year.); Talladale and Daum were rented for £150 per annum to William and Murdo Kemp where William Kemp and John MacKay were paying £46 13s 4d the previous year. The lands of Leckie were let to Alexander MacKenzie Esq. of Letterewe and MacIntyre from 1805 for £120. Of these farms the Kemps soon fell into arrears and in 1807 only £60 was paid of the £150 rent, by William alone. Murdo(ch) had emigrated to Nova Scotia where he was petitioning the Governor for a grant of land. The 1808 Estate Rental gives the tenants as MacIntyre and Sir Hector MacKenzie, William also disappears from the Rental Ledger. This entry appears in the Inverness Journal of 7th August 1812 : "The creditors of William and John Kemp, late tenants in Taladale, parish of Gairloch, are requested to meet at Pollew on Tuesday the δ^{th} September next, when a final dividend is to be made on the whole subject, by John MacIntyre, the Trustee, and all persons who do not then come forward and produce clear affidavits as to the justness of their claims, will be cut out of their share of the subject." Throughout this time the lands of Sleughach remained at £42 but this was increased in 1810 to £92. (Letterewe Estate remained in MacKenzie hands until it was sold in 1835 to Meyrick Bankes of Lancashire by Hector Mackenzie, the same year as he purchased Gruniard Estate.) It is possible another sheep farm was formed at this time by combining the holdings of Bruachaig and Cruchilly. These were held separately in 1794 by Murdo MacKenzie (for £14 6s rent) and Alex. MacKenzie (for £14 6s), respectively then combined in the Rentals in 1795 for £36 rent the tenant stated as Murdo MacKenzie and Alex. Mackenzie is stated as tenanting Balness and Goulinour for £18 18s, previously held by Kenneth MacKenzie for £14 14s in 1794. This rent increased to £52 10s by 1806 and £72 10s by 1810 when the tenants are given as George and the Widow MacKenzie. (From the Old Parish Registers, George had been born in 1792.) In the "Minutes of Sett" for 1815 there is a note

to the effect that"Bruchag, the easter third of Leckie, Boutag (?), Coire vic Kerechir, Cabuie and the easter side of Balichnahirnrich to John MacIntyre". Dixon, writing in 1886, and noting that several of the former sheep farms had been forested for deer, says that the only large sheep farm in the Gairloch area was that of Bruachaig. The Rentals show that by 1864 Bruachaig had been combined with Leckie and the whole was bringing in £930 per year. (Leckie had previously been merged with Areliosg in 1851 on a 19 year lease.)



Figure 7: Sheep fanks at Bruachaig

By the 1830s rent arrears began to accumulate but by 1841 the Estate Rentals show that substantial reorganisation of the Estate had begun. Each Tenant and subtenant is listed along with their family and any servants in the household. Also stated is the number of houses, barns and byres the tenant has. The Rental margins have clues to the mangement of each holding eg. For Stronchile:

"At Whits. yearly one of 4 tenants chosen Manager for...?... to manage everthing connected with stock. Each Tenant putting in equal stock and the whole being afterwards held in common. Manager to settle no. of horses and cattle but each Tenant to manage his own and manager may dispose of extra horses and cattle and place amount to general use or deduct £3 for each horse or cow kept extra at Marts. Division of profits. Manager keeping extra stock to be disposed and stock sold as above. No 2 white crops in succession and fallow 4 course shift and sow grass seeds with outgoing crop on payment of seeds. Each Tenant to drain 1 acre yearly. Not to burn above 1/7th cut peat or divert nor keep goats or lay down turf in bottom of peat hags. Keep buildings in good repair or Landlord to repair at Tenants expense after 30 days notice.....?....or pay 5s for each injured...?...unless give up offender. Landlord to take stock and crop at valuation. If Tenants neglect to appoint Manager yearly and obey him or fail in any of the above stipulations (Factor judge) Lease to lapse at next Whits. and Landlord not bound to take stock and crop."

and liming. The following entry is typical, from the farm of Anancaun:

"Also £8 per acre for trenching, draining, liming and clearing waste land, as agreed, or in future writing, @ £8 if removed after 1 year, £7-10/- after 2 years, £7 after 3 & so forth......"

Limestone was available along the glen at outcrops of Cambrian rocks associated with thrust planes of the Moine Thrust Zone. Remains of lime kilns occur in several places around Kinlochewe.

ESTATE RENTALS

Stronchile:	
M., Far., Far Oag., & Alex. MacLennan. Entry 1841 for 10 years.	
Murdo MacLennan	1 House, 4 barns
Children Kenneth, John & 2 daughters	
Farquhar (Buie) MacLennan and wife Kate	1 House, 3 barns
Children 3	
Servant Ann MacLean	
Farquhar (Oag) MacLennan and wife Jess	1 House, 3 barns & 2 other houses
Children 1	
Widow MacLennan & 4 children	
Alex MacLennan	1 House, 3 barns, 1 byre
Children 5	
Subtenant: John MacLennan, wife Ann & 2 children	1 House, 2 barns, 1 byre
Also Margaret MacLennan servant	

This is recorded in the 1841 Census as follows:

HOUSE		AGE	OCCUPATION
Heights 5	Murdo MacLennan	80	Tenant
~	Kenneth MacLennan	35	
	John MacLennan	30	
	Catherine MacLennan	25	
	Margaret MacLennan	23	
	Farquhar MacLennan	20	
Heights 4	Farquhar MacLennan	54	Tenant
	Catherine MacLennan	30	
	Anne MacLennan	12	
	John MacLennan	9	
	Kath MacLennan	1	
Heights 1	Farquhar MacLennan	38	Tenant
~	Jessie MacLennan	24	
	Kenneth MacLennan	1	
	Elizabeth MacLennan	60	Widow
	Roderick MacLennan	20	
	Jane MacLennan	18	
	Kenneth MacLennan	12	
Heights 2	Alex MacLennan	60	Tenant
8	Mary MacLennan	20	
	Catherine MacLennan	18	
	Annabella MacLennan	16	
	Roderick MacLennan	15	
	Donald MacLennan	11	
Haight- 2	John MagLaurer	35	Tomant
Heights 3	John MacLennan Anne MacLennan	35	Tenant
		30	
	Jessie MacLennan		
	John MacLennan	1	
	Margaret MacLennan	18	FG (Female general servant)



Figure 8: The home of Kenneth MacLennan and his sisters: 1901 Census Return

TRANSITION TO DEER FOREST

The Kinlochewe Deer Forest was created in 1842 with Flowerdale added five years later and by 1884 Shieldaig was added bringing the total acreage of deer forest in Gairloch Estate to 42,750 acres. In the Estate Rentals the page headed "Kenlochewe Shootings" begins in 1845 and lists the conditions of the tenancy as follows:

"5 years lease from Febr. 1849. You are to pay keepers.....to keep lodge wind and water tight.....glass excepted. Exclusive rights to anything in the KinlochEwe river, Bruachag and Garry.....to angle in Loch Maree......(Then there is some indistinct discussion of, I think, access to the Deer Forest)..Landlord may send keepers onto your ground and the vermin there killed shall be paid for by you at rate Landlord pays his own keepers." (The conditions then go on to state that any missing articles from the lodge would have to be paid for.)

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Figure 9: Estate Rental for Kinlochewe Shootings: 1845 - 1853

In 1845 the rent was £290, the following year £350 and the year after that £374 and 15 shillings, but by 1848/9 season the rent charged was £525. Early tenants of this newly created sporting estate included a M Webb in the 1849/50 season who paid £420. He remained at Kinlochewe for three consecutive season and the rent remained the same. In 1852/53 a "Chas.W. Digby Esq." a member of minor English aristocracy, was paying £420 and by 1855 he was paying £525 rent; E Betts in 1865 paid an increased £750 and by 1870 the value had increased again to £900 for an S. Clowes, presumably the Samuel

Clowes who continued to rent sporting estates in the area, preferring Flowerdale to Kinlochewe in the 1880s. This Samuel Clowes was from Broughton Hall, Manchester whose family had made money from land deals assoicated with the construction of canals and roads. He was latterly MP for North Leicestershire. Sporting rents by this time were far in excess of what could be obtained from traditional grazing practices and continued to increase.

From the Valuation Rolls for the year ending Whitsun 1877/8 the Lodge, deer forest and shootings of Kinlochewe were let to Alexander Henry Browne of Callaly Castle, Northumberland, on a ten year lease at a yearly rent of £1500. He also leased the fishing rights for the same length of time for an extra £50 per year.

In 1879/80 the same A. H. Browne was renting the lodge, deer forest and shootings for an increased $\pounds 1570$; the value of the fishing rights remained the same. The following years values were unchanged but by 1881/2 there was an increase to £1585 for the lodge, deer forest and shootings but no increase in the fishing with A. H. Browne still the occupier. The rent remained the same for the next two years.

The tenant changed in 1884/5 and the Valuation Rolls record a William Weir taking on a five year lease of the property for £1650 for the lodge, deer forest and shootings and £50 for the fishing, but two years later a C F Young is the stated tenant paying a reduced rent of £1300 but still £50 for the fishing. (There was no lease length recorded in the Valuation Rolls from then on.) The"great depression" of this time may be reflected in the reduction of rents for sporting estates generally in the Valuation Rolls of this time as well as the almost yearly change in tenants. It was a time when the agricultural society in Britain was losing its dominance to manufacturing industrial concerns and with the increased use of machinery, there was a general decrease in the need for agricultural labourers. The population was increasing and more food was being imported into Britain to meet the increased demand. Also demand for home produced wool and woollen goods was declining as imports of foreign raw material and munufactured goods increased. Out of this general unrest came the Highland Land Law Reform Association and from that the Napier Commission and their deliberations at Poolewe in 1883 are discussed below.

By 1888/9 the tenant had changed again and a Mr Kettlewell, was paying £690 for the deer forest, and shootings, a separate £50 for the lodge and £50 for the fishing.

By 1889/90 the deer forest and the shootings had a new tenant – a Mr Bannatyne paying £890 as a yearly rent with the fishing at £50. In 1890 the tenant had changed again and an R B West was paying an increased £1540 for renting the deer forest, shootings and lodge with another £50 for the fishing.



Figure 10: Kinlochewe Lodge

In 1891/2 when the deer forest and shootings were let to W T Crawshay of Caversham Park, Reading for the year at £1490 with £50 for the lodge and £50 for the fishing. W T Crawshay represented a shift in social tenants of sporting estates generally in the Highlands. His grandfather, originally from Yorkshire, began iron manufacture in Merthyr Tydfil in the late 18th century and the business expanding into the extensive Cyfartha Steel Works a century later. Caversham Park was bought from the proceeds and the house rebuilt in the 1850s following a fire, the new superstructure being of metal.

Wealthy industrialist sporting tenants continued at Kinlochewe with a number of years seeing William

Marshall Cazalet in residence for the season. His rent for the deer forest and shootings in 1892/3 was a greatly reduced £800 with £50 for the lodge and £50 for the fishing. There was a slight increase the following year to £1030 for the deer forest and shooting and £60 for the lodge – the first increase in the rental for the lodge since they were valued separately in 1888 – and £15 for the fishing, which was at this time split between the estate tenants and the guests of the Kinlochewe Hotel. (Involved in industrial circles and Victorian society circles WM Cazalet's youngest daughter, Thelma, would become an MP in the 1930s.)

The tenant had changed again by 1900/01 when a James Ross C.E. of Montreal was renting the deer forest and the shootings, the value had been reduced to £725 with £50 for the lodge and £10 for the fishing. Ross had made his money from transport, starting an electric trollybus company in Winnipeg with his partner William MacKenzie in 1892. The company expanded into general utilities becoming the Winnipeg General Power Company in 1902. James Ross had also bought a majority share in the Dominion Coal Company of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, diversifying into iron and steel in the early years of the 20th century. The whole of Gairloch Estate at that time was being administered by "Trustees of the late Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie".

Leading politicians also rented the sporting rights of Kinlochewe Estate. In 1910 the Honourable William Wellesley Peel, Conservative MP for Taunton and grandson of Sir Robert Peel, paid £1110 for deer forest, shootings, lodge and fishing. The Estate Proprietor at that time was Sir Kenneth J MacKenzie.

Five years later the Valuation Rolls of 1914/15 list the tenant as A R C Pitman, 48 Castle Street, Edinburgh who was paying £700 for the deer forest, £500 for the shootings, £100 for the lodge and £10 for the fishing. Many other Highland Estates were, at this time, going unlet, or at a much reduced rent with a corresponding scarcity of able bodied men as stalkers, gamekeepers and estate workers who were invaluable for their accuracy as snipers. This alternative employment was also on offer some 20 years later. In the Valuation Rolls of 1918/19 the estate was being administered by John MacAskill and the deer forest was let to a Mr Joseph Crewdson for £125. This was separated from the shootings, valued at £100 and the lodge for another £100 with the fishings at £10. Crewdson was another industrialist who had married into the wealthy textile family, the Jowitts of Manchester. At this time there were also fishing rights attached to the Kinlochewe Hotel which were valued at £80 and another £80 for the Hotel, both rented by Alexander Robertson. (These had been combined in the Valuation Roll of 1900/01 as £160 and the tenant was a Mrs Mary Ann Macdonald.)

In 1920 Kinlochewe Estate, as it had become, was owned by the Hickman family and the total valuation from the Valuation Rolls staes deer forest, shootings, lodge and fishing to be worth £300, only just above the 1845 value. The Hickmans subsequently sold to the Whitbread family and it is now (2009) split between the beneficiaries of the estate of the late Paul Ventnor van Vlissingen and Mr Pat Wilson, also of Loch Rosque Estate.

ESTATE WORKERS

With the advent of sheepfarming there was a movement of people into the area familiar with the requirements of the new industry. The existing population, although in excess of what could be supported on the reduced arable and pastoral lands, were generally not employed for the more skilled positions within the farms. From the Census Returns of 1851 (the 1841 does not give place of birth) shepherds came from the eastern parishes of Fodderty, Contin as well as Lochbroom and Applecross and Argyllshire. In 1861 the family of Walter Grieve arrived at the enlarged sheep farm of Bruachaig. He had been born in Hawick, Roxburghshire and several of his children are listed as being born in the parish of Contin before moving in Gairloch parish. Later Census Returns indicate that the majority of shepherds and sheep farmers came from the west coast parishes. Regarding the sporting estate

workers, the Valuation Roll for 1900/01, states that during the brief tenure of James Ross of Montreal, Donald Cameron is listed as living on the ground employed as a gamekeeper and with his house, at Tyvaird at the entrance to the glen, valued at £8. Born at Duthill, Inverness-shire around 1853, he was married with one daughter at home. Two underkeepers were also living at Tyvaird at this time - a James Fraser, born around 1877 and Alexander MacIver (born around 1879) both from the parish of Gairloch. Alexander had been born at Cromasaig, Kinlochewe and was employed as a Kennelman but was killed in the First World War. Another gamekeeper lived at Leckie, the bachelor John MacIver (born around 1867) who lived with his widowed mother and spinster sister. The MacIvers had been at Leckie since, at least, 1858. John's father, Duncan, is recorded, in the 1861 Census as being born in the parish of Fodderty and his given age is 42. His wife Mary (31) was recorded as being born in the parish of Applecross. At that time they had two children, both daughters Ann, aged 3 years and 1 year-old Helen. Duncan's occupation is listed as "Undergamekeeper". Their house was the larger of the two inhabited dwellings at Leckie, the other being occupied by the much larger household of shepherd Walter Scott (34) from Roxburghshire and his 30 year old wife Janet. They appear to have been resident on Skye prior to 1856 as their first two childrens' place of birth is given as Bracadale (Isabella aged 9 and Hellen, 7). Their first son, John and the next two daughters, Mary and Janet are stated as being born in the parish of Gairloch. Along with the family the household also included domestic servant Flora Collier and a 19 year old shepherd from Contin called Thomas ?. Neither of these two households appear in the previous 1851 Census when Leckie is the farm of Murdo Maclennan who disappears from the Census district of Kinlochewe after this time.



Figure 11: Leckie, looking towards Kinlochewe

By the 1871 Census the MacIver family at Leckie had expanded to six children, Murdo C.(9), Christina (7), John C (5) – see above, and Elizabeth aged 2, all born there and they had staying with them an unemployed shepherd, John MacLean. The shepherd's house next door had different tenants, but still a large family. Head of the household was Hugh MacLean, aged 48 and born in the parish of Lochbroom, together with his wife margaret from Kilmuir. Their first three children had been born in the parish of Fodderty (aged 16,15 and 13), the next two in Contin (aged 11 and 9) and the following three in Gairloch parish (6, 4 and 4months). Also sharing this dwelling were two undershepherds in their twenties. The MacLeans and MacIvers were still at Leckie in the 1881 Census, still as shepherds and gamekeepers respectively, but by 1891 Hugh had retired and his married son Alexander (13 in 1871) had taken over the duties with the help of a young shepherd boarding with them. Duncan MacIver had also retired by this time leaving the work of gamekeeper to his son John.

Tyvaird seems to have become the focus for the business of the sporting estate as the settlement was close to the lodge and a kennel had been established there to help with vermin control.



Figure 12: Tyvaird and the Kennels

Kennelman in 1891 was bachelor Kenneth MacKenzie, aged 20 and predecessor to Alexander MacIver (above). In the same year, Donald Cameron's predecessor as gamekeeper was a John Macdonald from Laggan who, in 1891 had only moved to the area in recent years, two children being born in the parish of Alness (ages 11 and 9) and a third in Kinlochluichart (aged 7 in 1891). As well as his wife and children his household included his widowed father Donald, a retired gamekeeper, aged 84, from Laggan. (Another retired gamekeeper, Alexander Macdonald, lived near Taagan, Kinlochewe, in 1891 and he was also stated as being retired in the Census of 1881.)

From the 1881 Census returns Donald Macdonald was living at Tyvaird and employed as gamekeeper with 15 year-old James MacGregor as kennelboy with Donald Ross from Rosehall as head gamekeeper with his wife and family of 8 children at home assisted by his elder son William (22). In 1871 Donald Ross was also at Tyvaird with his large family: William (12), then Alexander (10), George(8), Donald (6), Isabella (4) and John (2) – this was added to in the 1881 Census by the birth of Hugh (1872), James (1874), Kenneth (1875), Catherine B (1878) and Christina M (1880).

In 1871 the other house at Tyvaird was occupied by crofter Roderick MacLennan (72), his wife Mary (67) and their grandchildren Roderick, Jessie and John (12,11 & 9). Going back ten years to the 1861 Census this Roderick is listed as a farmer of 2 acres, the dwelling where he lived being called "3 Blarmore of Tyvard" with a family of wife, Mary, daughter Mary (aged 21), married daughter Catherine (32) with son-in-law Duncan (45) and also a Maclennan with their children Roderick (4) and Janet aged 3. Estate gamekeepers in 1861 included Duncan MacIver at Leckie and 30 year old bachelor John Murchison from Contin living at Tyvaird. The second housse at Tyvaird was occupied by "spinning woman" Janet Cameron who was 53 and a native of Gairloch parish.

The 1851 Census does not subdivide the village of Kinlochewe, so identification of the individual settlements within the area is difficult. Estate gamekeepers listed in this Census include Peter Grant, from Morayshire and a John MacRae from Contin. Roderick MacLennan is described as a farm labourer. The 1841 Census lists the occupations of people living at the Heights of Kinlochewe and Leckie as "Tenants", "Agricultural Labourers" and "Farmers" with none identified as working with the deer forest.

The sporting estate of Kinlochewe saw many new settlers coming for work after honing their craft elsewhere but by the 1920s, the occupier of Leckie was a James Fergusson, native of Tomatin in Inverness-shire. He is listed in te Valuation Rolls of 1918/19 as "gamekeeper" and the annuall value of his dwelling being £6. After a number of years at Kinlochewe Estate Fergusson died in January 1930 and, according to his wishes, was buried in Glen Tanagaidh, on the slopes of Groban, his coffin carried by a party of 35 fellow keepers, stalkers and crofters.

CONFLICT BETWEEN SPORTING ESTATES AND FARMERS (?)

The Napier Commission which took evidence from landlords, tenants and reliable residents (eg ministers of the church) in the summer of 1883 sat at Poolewe on Friday 31st July of that year. The Committee consisted of Lord Napier and Ettrick KT – Chairman, Sir Kenneth S Mackenzie, Bart., Donald Cameron, Esq, of Locheil, MP, C Fraser MacIntosh, Esq. MP, Sheriff Nicolson, LLD., and Professor MacKinnon MA. Sir Kenneth Mackenzie withdrew from the Committee when his own tenants were giving evidence.

The general consensus from each witness was that Sir Kenneth was a good proprietor, but would be even better if he lived on the property and not on his estates in Easter Ross. The argument was that there had been some mismanagement of his affairs by some previous Factors, although no blame was openly attached to the Proprietor himself.

It is significant that all witnesses called were from the northern part of the estate and none from the Kinlochewe end, although Duncan MacKenzie, the Estate Manager was questioned on the impact aforestation for deer had had on the farms and farmers in the area:

"Q:29132: Do you know, from asking people who were there before you came what land they (the deer forests) consisted of before they were turned into forest? Were any crofters removed, or were the large farms done away with to make the forests?

A: The highest parts of the large farms, parts which were almost useless for sheep, were taken – the worst on the estate."

"Q: 29133: And the best for deer?

A: I believe the deer would like good land too."

"Q: 29134: But can you tell me wheter or not there were any people removed to other parts of the estate in 1842? A: I can. There were 4 people transferred from one small part of the Kenlochewe forest – 2 crofters and 2 cottars, all on the estate."

"Q: 29135: How many sheep farms were broken up?"

A : There were no entire farms broken up. There are 3 deer forests and part of 3 farms were taken." "Q:29136: *What are their names?*

A: One was Kenlochewe or Talladale."

"Q: 29137: I want to know the names of the farms?

A: The Heights of Kenlochewe was one farm, and part of Talladale and part of Tagan."

From a combination of the Estate Rentals and Census Returns it is not easy to determine what parts of whose land were required for deer forest. It is possible that the household of Kenneth MacLennan of Taagan was removed to South Sand (by Gairloch) on the creation of the deer forest as they appear in the 1841 Census at Taagan then in the Rentals of 1841-45 at 25 South Sand before moving again to No 5 South Sand in the Rentals of 1846-52.

In general, on Gairloch Estate, the main grievances aired to the Napier Commission were that the crofts provided were too small, typically 4 acres, so individual crofters could not be self-supporting from the produce of the land and their income had to be supplemented. This other employment was predominantly from fishing, in coastal settlements, but also significant proportions of the population increasingly worked away from the area for several months of the year. The 4 acre croftland had also become subdivided, as was the custom amongst succeeding generations resulting in no available land to lie fallow leading to an exhuastion of the soil fetility. Many crofters also complained to the Commission about the expansion of sheep farms, usually at the expense of their hill grazing, with no corresponding reduction in the rent charged. There was no compensation available at the end of the term of a lease to offset any improvements carried out and therefore no incentive to improve the land. There had been Government money available in the 1840s to drain and reclaim land which was administered by the Trustees of the Estate at the time who paid the crofters in meal when potato crops failed. However, there was interest to pay on this which was still a burden to the crofters although some claim they had been told it would be paid off in 20 years.

When the Commission met at Inverness, Duncan Darroch, Proprietor of Torridon, gave evidence and produced a set of figures from A H Browne, the tenant at that time on Kinlochewe Forest, on his expenditure during the year excluding the rent of £1730. (This rent differs from that stated in the Valuation Roll for that year - £1585 for lodge, deer forest and shootings, plus £50 for the fishing rights – Total £1635, which is £95 short.) Mr Browne states, through Duncan Darroch, that "he pays through the keeper no less than £1566 per annum; and in addition to this he has spent in improvements, rates &c, over £5000 in his ten years lease – an average of £500 per annum, making a total os £2066 per annum, not counting small bills paid by himself, £3796, if rent is included." Duncan Darroch continued that this was far in excess of what sheep farmers could produce from the same area of ground.

Conflict did occur when land was used for multiple purposes. Cattle from Leckie strayed from grazing land at the head of Glen Tanagaidh and onto Dundonell Estate land leased for sporting purposes and were poinded before being returned and resulting in several letters being exchanged between the proprietors of both estates who eventually met to try and settle the march between them. The Proprietor of Gairloch giving assurances that his tenants would keep off the ground during the shooting season.



Figure 13: The home of Roderick MacLennan and family – 1901 Census Return

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Gairloch Estate is unusual amongst the majority of Highland estates in that it has remained in the same extended family for over 400 years and not until the 1920s was Kinlochewe sold out of MacKenzie famly control. In this part of the wider Gairloch Estate, trasitions between economic use of land overlapped considerably for many years. Cattle were still being grazed in upper Glen Tanagidh when it had been let to MacIntyre and Birtwhistle at the turn of the 19th century. Cattle were still a problem years later when they were poinded by staff of the neighbouring Dundonell Estate over a dispute in the march boundary. The sporting tenant of Dundonell, in the 1870s also complained about incursions of Kinlochewe livestock, this time sheep and agreement was made to keep the stock off that part of the hill during the shooting season.

Population growth since the 1760s exacerbated the problem of overcrowding on available arable land as holdings were divided amongst the tenants' sons. The introduction of sheep farming to the area not only decreased the available land for a cattle/arable economy, but dispensed with the need for an increased labour force.

After the mid-18th century hereditary proprietors no longer required the population of their lands to provide them with military force but the population had increased in the wake of the widespread introduction of potatoes as a staple food, which required less land than cereal on which to grow, allowing increased subdivision of holdings amongst family members. Where the cereal crop had only sustained the population for 7 or 8 months of the year, the increasing percentage of potatoes grown allowed self sufficience for 9 or 10 months. Higher populations were generally encouraged to provide a labour force for kelp manufacture and fishing enterprises in coastal communities and for cattle based economies inland.

The early introduction of sheepfarming into Gairloch Estate was feeding a demand for wool from southern manufacturies. Prices for wool remained high until the end of the Napoleonic Wars when sanctions were lifted from foreign imports supplies flooded the market from Australia, South Africa and Argentina. Cattle prices went the same way as beef was imported from Ireland at the same time as the lucrative wartime market disappeared. After 1812 manufacturing was increasingly centralised in the Lowlands of Scotland or further south and the Highlands became a net importer of manufactured goods, including cloth, which had been a home industry. Kinlochewe retained some weaving families, although the numbers halved from 1841 to 1891 when worsted was still produced locally.

With the collapse of wool and cattle prices, combined with a succession of years of famine most proprietors found that there was an increased need to import more meal to sustain the population. Several turned to emigration to ease the population concerns; a few bancrupted themselves or incurred severe loss. The Highland estates had transformed from an economy that was self-sustaining and a net exporter of cattle to one which was an importer of both goods and services, bringing in expertise such as shepherding and, later, gamekeeping skills. An economy that relied heavily on external market forces to survive, reacting to demands and failing to be proactive.

The small part of Kinlochewe Estate that is the subject of this study went from being a series of individual agricultural holdings supporting twelve families in 1841 to grazing land for the sheep of

Culaneilan Farm today with no permanent residents. Deer stalking and some rough shooting occurs on the higher ground with a substantial area newly fenced and planted with native tree species. Estate ponies also graze the area around the Heights House. The last family of MacLennans left around 1960 after approximately 500 years association with the settlements adapting, over time from pastoralists to shepherds and sporting estate workers.

APPENDICES

GAIRLOCH ESTATE LEASE AGREEMENTS

1800

LECKY

I Sir Hector MacKenzie of Gairloch Bart. do hereby promise a Lease on stamped paper to Rodrk. John and Murdo MacLenan for Five years from Whitsunday Eighteen hundred of the Lands and grazing of Lecky in Kinlochewe presently possessed by them for which they content and oblige themselves to pay me my Heirs or Factor for time Forty pounds Sterling of yearly Rent beginning the first years Rent at Martinmass Eighteen hundred for that current year and so on yearly during the Lease with Forty pounds more at Entry as the Grassum. Moreover the said Rodrk. John and Murdo MacLenan oblige themselves to send Carriage Horses if required to the Low Country and to furnish Four good Wedders yearly at the rate of three shillings and six pence each to be deducted from the above Rent of Forty pounds and both parties agree to the above terms under penalty of Ten pounds Sterlg. ??? and allows ?performance. In Testimony whereof they subscribe this Minute.

Hector MacKenzie				
Rod.	RML	MacLenan		
John	IML	MacLenan		
Murdo	MML	MacLenan		

GAIRLOCH ESTATE LEASE AGREEMENTS

1800

STRONE CHILE (Whole lease scored out)

I Sir Hector MacKenzie of Gairloch Bart. do hereby promise a Lease on stamped paper to Donald MacAulay and Finlay MacLean for Five years from Whitsunday Eighteen hundred of the Lands and grasings of Stron Chile presently possessed by the said Finlay MacLean and Colin MacKenzie. For which they content and oblige themselves to pay me my Heirs or Factor for time Twenty one pounds Sterl. Of yearly Rent beginning the first years Rent at Martinmass Eighteen hundred and so on yearly during the Lease. With Twenty one pounds Sterling at Entry as the Grassum. Moreover the said Donald MacAulay and Fínlay MacLean oblige themselves to furnish one yearly with two Carriage Horses and two good Wedders when required at the rate of Three pounds Sterl for the horses and three shillings and six pence for each wedder to be deducted from the above Rent of Twenty one pounds Sterl. And both parties agree to the above terms under penalty of Ten pounds Sterlg. ??? and allows ?performance. In Testimony whereof they subscribe this Mínute.

Hector MacKenzie

This was subsequently corrected to read:

STRONCHILE

I Sir Hector MacKenzie of Gairloch Bart. do hereby promise a lease on stamped paper for Five years from Whitsunday Eighteen hundred of the Lands of Stronchile Balness except Balichbaner and that part of ?Guilinour being the east Sides of Glen Muick as presently possessed by Colin Mackenzie and Finlay MacLean and others lying in the parish of Gairloch and County of Ross to Donald and Alexr. MacAulay and Finlay MacLean for which they content and oblige themselves to pay me my Heirs or Factor for the times the Sum of Thirty pounds Sterling of yearly Rent viz. the said Donald MacAulay fifteen pounds Alexr. MacAulay Seven pounds ten shillings Ster. and the said Finlay MacLean seven pounds ten shillings Sterling beginning the first payment at Martinmass Eighteen hundred for that current year and so on termly during the Lease With the like Sum of Thirty pounds Ster. at entry as Grassum, they also oblige themselves to furnish three good wedders and three horses when required annually the usual rate being deducted from the above Rent. And both parties agree to the above terms. In Testimony whereof they subscribe this Minute.

> Hector MacKenzie DorddMaAUay

Alexr.	AMA	MacAulay
Fínlay	FML	MacLean

STRON TIRD ETC

I Sir Hector MacKenzie of Gairloch Bart. do hereby promise a lease on stamped paper for Five years from Whitsunday Eighteen hundred of the Lands of Strointeird Anasealg and Guilinour except the east Side of Glenmuik with Binesveg and Balich bann lying in the parish of Gairloch and County of Ross to John Macgrigor Colin Mackenzie and Roderick MacLean for which they content and oblige themselves to pay me my Heirs or Factor for the times the Sum of Thirty pounds Sterling in equal portions by each of yearly Rent beginning the first payment at Martinmass Eighteen hundred for that current year and so on termly during the Lease With the like Sum of Thirty pounds Ster. at entry as Grassum, they also oblige themselves to furnish three good wedders and three horses when required annually the usual rates being deducted from the above Rent. And both parties agree to the above terms. In Testimony whereof they subscribe this Minute.

Hector MacKenzie

John IMG MacGrígor Colin CMK Mackenzie Rod. RML MacLean

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